SYSTEMS THEORY AND ATTITUDE MEASUREMENT IN POLITICAL SCIENCE: AS APPLIED TO THE AUSTRALIAN ACCORD

by

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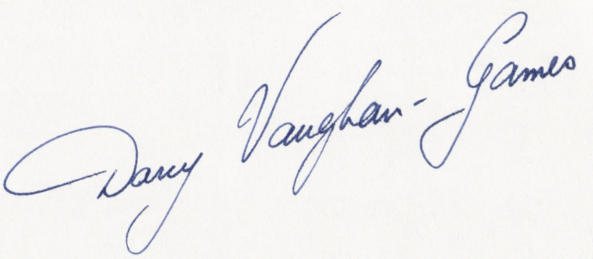
Declaration

This thesis is my own work,
except as acknowledged.



Dedication

To the memory of my father,
Janis Podins,
who first showed me that learning
is not limited to the young.

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Acknowledgements

I thank Professor Don Aitkin as Head of the Political Science Department at the ANU for encouraging a non-traditional line of work, and as a supervisor in the later stages of my thesis work. I thank Dr Don Rawson for patience and perservence as we struggled to communicate across intellectual styles, traditions and languages; it takes a very special kind of person to encourage a student as deeply as Don did for me without moulding the intellectual thrust of the work. I think we succeeded in bringing about a useful synthesis of ideas. Professor Eugene Kamenka, my adviser, I thank for his supportive presence and intellectual example.

Other people whose contributions I gratefully acknowledge are Yvonne Pittelkow for assistance with statistical analysis, Dr Roger Jones and Kay Britcliffe for helpful comments, and Christine Treadwell and Sue Wrightson for assistance with manuscript preparation. Outside ANU, I have gained much from conversations with Professor William Ascher, Professor Steve Brown, Professor David Easton, and Professor James Grier Miller. The seeds of inspiration for the line taken in the thesis were sown in years past by Professor John Martin, and by the writings of Stafford Beer. The ongoing intellectual nourishment that is available to anyone who partakes of the systems paradigm is limitless, and I acknowledge my deep indebtedness to that intellectual milieu. Ultimate credit for my doing the thesis at all goes to my husband, Peter McDonell, for telling me to do it.

Abstract

The first part of the thesis takes a macro-view of the social significance of the agreement known as the Accord, whilst the second part takes a micro-view of the same subject, delving into individual psychology in search of attitudes to the Accord.

A broad interpretation of politics is required to analyse the full (political) import of the Accord. The theoretical framework for the macro-analysis is based on David Easton's model according to which the political system processes inputs of demands and support into outputs of policy for the authoritative allocation of values for society. Easton's work benefits from being associated with wider and more recent systems theorising, especially the hierarchic aspects of living systems theory. It is then possible to say that the political system is an *essential* subsystem of society and all that that entails, and to interpret contemporary political events associated with the Accord as subsystemic differentiation of the political system. The thesis also suggests that the Australian trade union leadership is playing a key role in the political development of Australia. The history of ideas that shaped the Accord shows that it is much more than a prices and incomes policy instrument. The national interest role of the ACTU and industry restructuring are shown to be the key ideas involved.

Part Two looks at attitudes to the Accord. Deficiencies in scale-based techniques of attitude measurement are examined and a better method -- the Stephenson/Brown approach -- is demonstrated by two studies of attitudes to the Accord. The responses of 60 persons who performed Q-sorts were factor-analysed and used as the basis of other computer analyses to obtain the range of attitudes in the community towards the Accord, and a group of 12 persons undertaking an intensive education program about the Accord were tested with Q-sorts on two separate occasions to study attitude change. Six typical attitude patterns were found in the first study, and the rigidity of attitude structures was confirmed by the second.

The common theme of the two parts of the thesis, aside from the Accord being the substantive matter investigated in both, is their search for sound methodological bases for dynamic modelling of political culture. For such a task, the macro-model must be capable of handling multi-level complexity, and only systems models are capable of this. The raw data of political culture -- attitudes -- also require a methodology of measurement which is equal to the task of capturing complexity, now available in the Stephenson/Brown approach to attitude measurement and analysis.

Abbreviations

ACAC	Australian Conciliation and Arbitration Commission
ACET	Australian Council for Employment and Training
ACPI	Advisory Committee on Prices and Incomes
ACSPA	Australian Council of Salaried and Professional Associations
ACTU	Australian Council of Trade Unions
ALAC	Australian Labor Advisory Committee
ALP	Australian Labor Party
AMC	Australian Manufacturing Council
AMFSU	Amalgamated Metals, Foundry and Shipwrights Union
AMWSU	Amalgamated Metal Workers' and Shipwrights Union
AMWU	Amalgated Metal Workers' Union
APSF	Australian Public Service Federation
AWU	Australian Workers' Union
CAGEO	Council of Australian Government Employee Organizations
CAI	Confederation of Australian Industry
EPAC	The Economic Planning Advisory Council
LO	The Swedish Trade Union Federation
MTFU	Metal Trades Federation of Unions
OBG	The Austrian Trade Union Federation
OBU	One Big Union
SACO/SR	Confederation of Professional Associations
SAF	The Swedish Employers' Confederation
SAP	Swedish Labour Party
TCO	Federation of Salaried Employees
TUC	Trade Union Congress
VOI	Voluntary Association of Individuals
WIUA	Workers Industrial Union of Australia

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CHAPTER ONE

CONTEXT AND OUTLINE OF THE THESIS

This thesis is an exploration of techniques for representing complexity in political science, both at a macro-level and at the level of the individual. The systems paradigm as introduced to the discipline by David Easton is re-examined and found to be a valuable framework for dealing with large-scale social complexities, although in need of some updating. The complexity of human psychology as instanced by political attitudes is found to be amenable to empirical analysis through the Q-methodology of psychologist William Stephenson.

The **research goals** of this thesis are to give a systems interpretation of the ALP/ACTU Accord and to identify attitudes towards it. These specific objectives need to be seen in the light of the **purposive goal** of the thesis, which is to make a contribution towards the development of models for use in computer-aided simulation of political culture. Such simulation is not currently possible. The present work is addressed to the prior steps of choosing a suitable theoretical model and to finding a methodology for measuring attitudes, as attitudinal information would constitue the major data input for such models. For it is only when satisfactory solutions have been found to these two methodological requirements that computer-aided simulation of political culture becomes possible. Such simulation is not attempted in the present work, and will require years of additional work to bring it to fruition. The point of introducing the idea here is to provide a conceptual context for what may otherwise appear as unrelated lines of research. Systems theory and Q-methodology become

integrated in the light of the purposive goal of the thesis, as they are both contributions to the development of modelling in our discipline.

The narrative theme of the thesis is the role of trade unions in the formation and transmission of social policy, and the specific instance of contemporary political history which is used for illustration and investigation is the Accord - an agreement between the federal government and the peak trade union organization. The inspiration for this focus came from C. Wright Mills:

> Inside this country today, the labor leaders are the strategic actors: they lead the only organizations capable of stopping the main drift towards war and slump (C. Wright Mills 1948:3).

Mills' dramatic judgment as to the social impact of unions derives its power from touching upon true social dynamics: for good or ill, union leaders are a significant force in national affairs in Australia today as well as in USA in 1948.[1] Several decades later it remains true that the union elite have great potential power for political action, just as Mills' analysis of their ambivalent position remains full of insight. Labour leaders are a power elite in society, but subject to intrinsic constraints because the likelihood of their acting in socially responsible ways is curtailed by the elective nature of the very organizational position which gives them their power. In contrast, the power bases of a landed elite or a caste-based elite are independent of elected office. If members of such elites choose to speak and act in the best interests of their country - as they see these best interests - and are not re-elected because of the stand they have taken, their status in society, *ie* their membership of the power elite, remains unchanged. Labour elites, however, are generally dependent on elected positions for their social power.[2] If they are not re-elected they lose the status flowing from being a member of a power elite. Labour leaders are often in the anomalous situation of having potential social power so long as they don't seek to use it.

Mills hoped that by exposing the intrinsic limitations of union leaders' power he could

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[1]There are, of course, differences between the two countries' union relations, such as that unionisation levels were approximately 33% in the USA in 1948 and are 55% in Australia now, and that the USA had a relatively straightforward collective bargaining system whereas Australian industrial relations are greatly affected by systems of compulsory arbitration. During the last 40 years, the level of unionisation in Australia has been relatively stable, whereas in the USA unionisation has steadily declined to below 20 per cent.

[2]Unions registered under the Conciliation and Arbitration Act, which include over 80 per cent of all Australian unionists, must choose their officials by secret ballot. In nearly all cases, this is a ballot of rank and file members of the union. In a few cases, the officials are chosen by a council of the union, the members of which must themselves be elected by rank and file ballot. Officials must face re-election at periods not longer than four years.

help both labour leaders and intellectuals recognise and overcome the inherent difficulty of actualising the great potential power of labour leaders for social good. The American labour movement has achieved less than he might have wished in the intervening 36 years but Mills was fully aware that he was dealing with a potential power for good, not describing an inevitable process. The final words of *The New Men of Power* are 'Never has so much depended upon men who are so ill-prepared and so little inclined to assume the responsibility' (Mills 1948:291). Australian union leaders today are somewhat more prepared and more inclined to assume the responsibility.

The Australian trade union movement achieved a significant change in its political role in 1983 with the signing of the *Statement of Accord Between the Australian Labor Party and the Australian Council of Trade Unions regarding Economic Policy*, known as 'The Accord' (ALP/ACTU 1983). This document was a plan of action by the industrial and political wings of the labour movement of Australia, to be implemented in the event of the Australian Labor Party (ALP) attaining office at the next election, (which in fact happened three weeks after the Accord was signed). This thesis claims that the Accord is associated with underlying structural change in society. The claim is substantiated by an analysis of the Accord within the general systems theory frame of reference developed for political science by David Easton (Easton 1953, 1965a, 1965b). The Accord can then be viewed as the expression of a systemic[3] shift in the authoritative allocation of values for society, although it is in itself no more than an agreement between a peak union organization and a political party. That union leaders are significant political actors is borne out by the key role they played in the formation of the Accord.

The thesis is interdisciplinary, synthesising ideas from several disciplines and applying them to a piece of contemporary history. It has a home base in political science but draws upon psychology, sociology and general systems theory as well. A wide span of mental constructs is required because the empirical research concerns attitude change in individuals whilst the conceptual setting is a general account of political activity in all societies. If a single title were required for the theoretical framework for the thesis it would have to be general systems theory (GST), as that is the only theory eclectic enough to embrace all that is utilised. However, that body of theory is itself so diverse that only those aspects of GST which are relevant to the development of the argument are discussed.

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[3]Systematic and systemic are not interchangeable adjectives. Systematic means methodical, rational, orderly, not random but carried out according to a plan. Systemic means of, or pertaining to, a system as a whole.

The thesis is divided into two parts, each dealing with the Accord in quite different ways. The first part is directed at exploring how to use systems analysis to understand contemporary political phenomena and we begin with a summary of the document known as the Accord and a brief description of prevailing views as to its origins and nature. Chapter 2 describes four sets of ideas that were critical to the final form that the Accord took. Chapter 3 is concerned with David Easton's systems interpretation of political life which is the foundation for the theoretical part of the thesis. Relevant portions of his work are summarised, together with some criticisms and suggestions for minor improvements to the model. Chapter 4 introduces other systems ideas and locates Easton's political system in a living systems hierarchy.

The radical assumption of a systems approach is that social processes are not *just* the sum of individuals' actions. When analysed in the living systems tradition, society and its subsystems are subject to cohension/autonomy dialectics, and to the metasystemic functional requirements of society. To say that politics is a subsystem of society seems so obvious that its significance can be easily overlooked. No-one would deny that politics is part of society. But there is a great deal of difference between regarding the relationship as self-evident, not needing to be explicitly accounted for in analysis, and the systems viewpoint in which something derives analytic status through a functional relationship to a metasystem, *ie* the political system is in a functional relationship to its metasystem, society. Political activity is explicitly serving a necessary social function, necessary to the survival of society. Thus its internal logic is subject to functional control. Chapter 5 looks at two kinds of analysis of the Accord which can be made according to the model developed.

Systems approaches remain controversial within the discipline, perhaps because of their association with functionalism, which has been largely discredited. Appendix B contains a discussion of the relationship between functionalism and the concept of function used in this thesis, concluding that the problem areas of functionalism disappear in the context of *hierarchic* systems analysis. Nevertheless, from the viewpoint of Australian political scientists, a paradox of the twenty-year period since Easton's major work has been that systems theory in our own area has dwindled and become either vague or idiosyncratic whereas general systems approaches have gained in sophistication, range and confidence. The obvious question which arises is whether political science has been missing out on valuable concepts and patterns of thought because of an inability (on the part of political scientists, systems theorists, or both) to make the necessary connections between the expanding volume of general theory and its possible application to the study of politics. If, as many GST exponents assert, this is a body of theory which is appropriate to, quite literally, better understanding of

the universe and everything which happens within it, then by definition it is appropriate to a better understanding of politics. Bowler, for example, writes not only of the nature of the physical universe in systemic terms but also says these concepts will eventually apply to our concept of humanity and social organization:

> To the extent that generalizations can be identified that are universally applicable, one can begin to define the conditions of existence and the essential nature of the universe as revealed by the contemporary state of knowledge ...The main barrier is the compartmentalized mind set of those who are needed for the dialectical process of hypothesizing and testing. Eventually, as these generalizations are organized, they will provide a new model of humanity and the world and a new context within which we can struggle with the basic human problems (Bowler 1981:216-7).

Going beyond philosophical and mathematical generalizations, Stafford Beer has organized national economies as well as business enterprises according to systemic principles (Beer 1974, 1981). But since my research led not to an interest in the reorganization of economies but to an interest in computer simulation of political attitudes, let me end this introduction to part one of the thesis with a comment that provides encouragement to the idea that systems modelling may yet enjoy a new lease of life in political science.

> While the idea of systems is certainly not new, it can be argued that the ability for systems thinking has not been well developed. The idea of complex multilevel systems in which relationships change in accordance with system prerogatives has not been implemented in global models because the conceptual apparatus of simulators has not been tuned to whole systems. As we move from 'science' perspectives to 'systems' perspectives, a move that will be enhanced by increased computer literacy, our thought processes and style of analysis will increasingly implement whole systems models (Smoker 1985:113).

Part Two of the thesis needs less introduction as it is a straightforward empirical study of attitudes to the Accord. It introduces Q-methodology for the measurement of political attitudes. This technique, which is new to Australian political science although well-tested in the USA and the UK, is able to handle complexity and subjectivity, and can encapsulate attitudes in computer-manipulable form. Chapter 6 discusses psychological theories concerning attitudes and Chapter 7 deals with political attitude measurement, focussing on the deficiencies of scale-based measures and trait-correlation analysis, contrasting them with Q-technique. Chapter 8 describes the empirical research in which the range of attitudes within the community to the Accord was obtained (using Q-methodology), and an attitude change experiment by the

Amalgamated Metal Workers' Union (AMWU),[4] designed to educate their officials and shopstewards as to the significance of the Accord and their role in it. Results are reported in Chapter 9. The final chapter integrates the two parts of the thesis - the theoretical analysis of the Accord according to a systems model and the empirical study of attitudes to the Accord. The unifying theme is that both parts explore avenues for improving the capacity of political science to handle social and psychological complexity.

SUMMARY OF THE ALP/ACTU ACCORD

The full title of the Accord is *Statement of Accord by the Australian Labor Party and the Australian Council of Trade Unions regarding Economic Policy.* The Australian Labor Party was elected as the federal government of Australia on 5th March 1983, two weeks after the signing of the Accord. Since then the Accord has been a central element in Government strategy, extending into a second term in office. The other signatory to the Accord, the Australian Council of Trade Unions is the peak union organization in the country. Its participation in the Accord was ratified by a special conference of federal unions on 21st February 1983 with one union dissenting.[5]

The Accord affects almost the entire workforce of Australia and their families. About 55% of Australian employees are unionised and of these about 90% are affiliated to the ACTU. Thus about half the employees of Australia are *not* tied in to the Accord in a formal sense. However, this is of little practical significance because unionised labour is the pacesetter for prevailing terms and conditions of employment in this country. A summary of the Accord document now follows (for the full text see Appendix A).

INTRODUCTION - WHY INCOMES AND PRICES POLICIES ARE NECESSARY, states that the parties (*ie* the ALP and the ACTU) have been talking for a long time about the economic crisis, and the failure of the (then) current economic thinking to combat increases in both unemployment and inflation. Orthodox economic thinking, the authors of the Accord claim, is intrinsically unable to consider the possibility of increases in BOTH unemployment and inflation as a joint process. This twin evil is, however, a reality and The Accord condemns the

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[4]The AMWU changed its name several times in recent years and reverted to Amalgamated Metal Workers' Union in February 1985. This is the title it bore from 1972, when the Amalgamated Engineering Unions, the Boilermakers and Blacksmiths Society and the Sheet Metal Union merged, until 1976. In the interim the union has been called the Amalgamated Metal Workers' and Shipwrights Union (AMWSU) and the Amalgamated Metals, Foundry and Shipwrights Union (AMFSU). The current title is used throughout the thesis, irrespective of which name applied at the time referred to.

[5]This was the NSW Nurses Association with 33,000 members, or 1.3% of ACTU total membership. Through its 156 affiliated unions ACTU represents a membership of 2,444,600 (July 1983). Source: *Australian Unions 1984* D.W.Rawson & Sue Wrightson, 1984, Croom Helm. p. 5.

Fraser (Liberal-National) government for adhering to advice based on economic doctrines that do not reflect reality and also condemns those economic doctrines as leading to what are inherently unacceptable conclusions even if things did work according to those theories. The ACTU and the ALP were in agreement that a resolution of the economic crisis was not possible without a radical new policy approach. The prime objective of the agreed new policy approach is full employment and the policies to be stated later in the document are said to be capable of realising that objective eventually. The penultimate paragraph of the introduction brings in a second objective - the redistribution of income from the wealthy to the less well-off. A significant indication of genuine, as opposed to rhetorical, commitment to the Accord lies in the statement that both parties recognise that full employment cannot be attained in the short term by any means whatsoever.

THE NATURE OF PRICES - INCOMES POLICIES, explains the negative features of the Fraser government's *de facto* wage policies, contrasting them with the more equitable character of the proposed policies. The notion of 'social wage' expenditure by governments is introduced.

The third section, ELEMENTS OF POLICIES FOR PRICES AND INCOMES, itemises fundamental features that are essential for acceptance and viability whilst giving a flexible interpretation to the policies. These features are: the maintenance of living standards; the application of the policy to all, not just to wage-earners; and the need for equity, consultation and government support.

AGREED POLICY DETAILS is the next heading, with 5 sub-headings:

Prices deals with pricing authorities and associated legislation:

Wages and Working Conditions deals with the most widely-known aspect of the Accord, namely centralised wage fixation and indexation with no over-award claims. The section also states that increased national productivity may be shared by wage rises or by shorter working hours.

Non-Wage Incomes concerns indirect measures to control dividends, capital gains, rent, interest, etc and incomes from fees to directors, doctors and lawyers, saying that if indirect measures fail, direct controls will follow.

Taxation and Government Expenditure deals with the restructuring of tax scales and their annual review, measures to combat tax evasion, and social wage expenditure.

Supportive Policies is the longest section of 'Agreed Policy Details', occupying approximately 40% of the text of the Accord and is further divided into eight parts:

- Industrial Relations Policy
- Industry Development Policy and Technological Change
- Migration
- Social Security
- Occupational Health and Safety
- Education
- Health
- Australian Government Employment.

Of these, industry development is by far the longest part and its inclusion gives the Accord a unique character in the spectrum of prices and incomes policies.

The MECHANICS OF IMPLEMENTATION section starts by reiterating a commitment to continuous consultation between government and the union movement. The Accord also envisages machinery which is more extensive in

membership than the two parties to the Accord itself. It specifically mentions The Economic Planning Advisory Council (EPAC), which, as established, includes not only unions and Commonwealth government representatives but representatives of employers, state and local government and community interests. (Non-government persons attend in an individual capacity.) The Accord also proposes a tripartite body of government, employee and employer representatives which later took shape as the Advisory Committee on Prices and Incomes (ACPI). A further point in 'Mechanics of Implementation' relates to improving the current information base with respect to economic and industrial relations matters and giving unions access to the information.

The one-paragraph CONCLUSION reiterates that the policy proposals will combat unemployment and inflation and that 'over time economic and social aims can and will be realized'.

Both parties to the Accord (but with the ALP now as the government) made a two-year recommitment in September 1985, expressed in a statement called 'Agreement between the Government and the ACTU regarding implementation of the Accord over the next two years' (Accord Mark II). This agreement drew attention to the fact that the Accord had been effective to date and set out the procedures to be followed in some matters not specified in the Accord, such as the treatment of the effect of devaluation. Other parts of Accord Mark II were an elaboration of points in the original agreement. In particular, superannuation was flagged as an area of further policy development (originally in the Social Security sub-section of Supportive Policies) and there was a specific commitment by the Government to legislate, since honoured, to establish a national safety-net superannuation scheme. In addition, there was agreement to seek two changes to the current wage fixation principles, namely to allow claims for reduction of standard hours to 38 to be arbitrated and a review of paid rates *vs* minimum rates awards.[6] The September 1985 agreement also restates the need for continuing tax reform, prices control, and policies for industry development. It ends with a restatement of the consultative nature of the Accord processes.

FOUR INTERPRETATIONS OF THE ACCORD

There is no shortage of data concerning the Accord and the activities it has engendered. The document itself is readily available from several sources,[7] while

[6] In December 1986, the Australian Conciliation and Arbitration Commission (ACAC) approved in principle a 'two-tier' wages system which has been accepted by the ACTU as a temporary measure. There will no doubt continue to be changes in wages policy and related subjects.

[7] *eg* The Australian Labor Party, The Australian Council of Trade Unions, The Trade Union Training Authority, The Amalgamated Metal Workers' Union. Appendix A uses the ACTU's print of the Accord.

published handouts, press reports and annual reports by government departments itemise everything that has been done by government in relation to the Accord,[8] and it is mentioned almost daily in the media. It is likely that, at the very least, most people in Australia have heard of the Accord as some kind of wages deal. Government advertising has promoted it as the orchestrating force leading to a better and more harmonious future for Australia, and mail from the Department of Employment and Industrial Relations bears the logo: THE ACCORD - BUILDING A BETTER AUSTRALIA.

Given the multiplicity of interests that were accommodated in the compilation of the Accord, it is not surprising that there are a number of interpretations. The more prevalent interpretations, although not the most useful ones for political science, identify the Accord as an implicit contract, as an electoral instrument, as a prices and incomes policy, and as corporatism. Each of these approaches is now outlined. Another approach to interpreting the Accord, a general systems theory perspective, must wait till Chapter 5, following two chapters that present the systems approach that is to be used for the analysis.

The Accord as an Implied Contract

Whilst it is not a contract in the commercial sense, there is an implied contract in the Accord: namely that if the government does not perform adequately, then unions will feel free to engage in unrestrained collective bargaining. Conversly, if unions do not perform adequately, government will not support wage indexation nor continue with consultative bodies and reforms listed in the Accord. It is assumed that if the Accord is broken, the ALP will not be re-elected. Unlike a commercial contract, however, no redress is available to an aggrieved party. All the sanctions are negative. The implied contract view of the Accord drew attention to the mutual loss if either side defaults; namely that the ALP would lose government if the unions adopt 'free-for-all' tactics, which they would do if government did not stick to the Accord. If the ALP lost government, the unions would lose CPI-indexed centralized wage fixation and would lose their increased participation in economic policy matters.

The implied contract approach is useful in that it highlights unspoken threats as culturally legitimate sanctions. Aside from that insight, it has not stood the test of time. In 1986 the government withdrew its support for wage indexation, which was at the core of the 'contract' but this action did not bring to an end the more general

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[8] *eg* Reports issued by the Advisory Committee on Prices and Incomes, 1984, 1985; 'The Accord and Low Income Earners' Nov. 1985, D.Peetz, Wages and Incomes Policy Research Papers no 7.

pursuit of collaboration with the unions which lay behind the Accord. This indicates a serious weakness of the 'implied contract' interpretation.

The Accord as an Electoral Insturment

Another approach, more popular during the first year of the Accord than now (*eg* The Financial Review editorial of 22 February 1983), is to see the Accord as an electoral instrument, as something that was created for electoral purposes, 'stitched together' to catch the mood of the moment. Those using this perspective initially predicted that the Accord would last for a few months only, having served its purpose of assisting Labor to win the election. To the surprise of many cynics and 'realists' the Accord has held. It will fall apart or change its character eventually, as does any institutional arrangement in a sufficiently long time-span, but in the meantime many interesting questions remain about the specific strains on the electoral stitching and about what will have been irrevocably changed in Australian society during the active life of the Accord.

A different meaning has been attached to 'electoral instrument' by members of the Liberal and National parties, who still say that the Accord is simply an electoral instrument. There is duplicity, they say, because the electorate is told that the Accord is a solution to economic problems when it is not contribution to the solution of those problems at all. In other words, despite government claims that the Accord is the central plank of its economic policy, it is actually maintained because it is effective in keeping electoral support for the incumbent government.

The electoral instrument view of the Accord as something 'stitched together' from agreements, hopes, and non-negotiable positions in February 1983 under the impetus of an impending election is more useful for analysis than may seem to be the case at first sight. It is useful to disaggregate the various strands of thought that coalesced into a workable policy, to know what various parties hoped to get out of participating as well as what the words of the document say, if we are to speculate about the future of the Accord. The process of negotiating the Accord provided opportunities in many quarters and there is a rather uneven texture to the document which reflects a process of accommodation in a hurry. For example, areas of solid agreement are illustrated by occupational health and safety matters (OH&S), which are non-controversial as between ACTU and the ALP; the Accord is but one of many thrusts to bring the specific OH&S recommendations to fruition. The treatment of industrial development and technological change, on the other hand, reads more like a catalogue of hopes than concrete agreements. Evidence of a non-negotiable position can be seen in an isolated

phrase about redistribution of wealth, whilst a prices and incomes referendum, long sought by some in the ALP, is conspicuously absent. Metal and manufacturing unions took the Accord negotiations as an opportunity to re-assert hegemony against white collar unions; the ACTU found the Accord negotiation process to be an opportunity to move towards a more planned economy with its own leaders centrally placed; the ALP knew that a promise of industrial peace would be a vote-catcher. But opportunities given and taken in pre-election fervour often disintegrate after the event. The Accord did not fall apart after the election. In fact it is growing in potency as time goes by, confirming that something far more fundamental than vote-catching is involved.

The Accord as Prices and Incomes Policy

Looking at the Accord as a prices and incomes policy should focus on the ALP as the government of Australia and examine it in the light of the government's economic management of the country. Also, as an economic policy instrument, this Australian version can be compared to prices and incomes policies elsewhere (see pages 34-PI-F). The general aim of prices and incomes policies in industrialized countries is to curtail a wage explosion when an economy is on the rise after a period of recession. ALP politicians were made sensitive to the damaging possibilities of a wages explosion by the experience of the Whitlam government. The present incumbents did not want to choke off recovery, and believed that even the anticipation of pent-up wage claims acts as a brake on recovery. An agreement with the union movement for controlled and moderate wage rises forestalls such fears, and thus avoids the negative effects of anticipating a wage explosion. Once in operation, prices and incomes policies produce a measure of economic stability and business confidence and the predictability they introduce for national economic planning is attractive to administrators.

An inspection of the text of the Accord, however, shows that it is a questionable oversimplification to consider it as just a prices and incomes policy, and even more so when it is thought to be no more than an instrument for wage restraint. It is true that the Accord represents an alternative approach to economic management; alternative, that is, to relying on market forces, but that is not the full extent of its significance, as much of the rest of this thesis seeks to demonstrate.

The Accord as Corporatism

The last of the popular interpretations of the Accord is that it is evidence of corporatism in Australia (Gerritsen 1986, Stewart 1984, 1985, Warhurst 1985, Palmer 1986). Corporatism has been enjoying widespread popularity in journalism and the academic world as a concept suited to discussion of some contemporary changes in

state/society relations. It is a term with a long history and a variety of meanings. Phillipe Schmitter, probably the most consistent and influential of the neo-corporatists, has defined corporatism as a

> system of interest representation in which the constituent units are organized into a limited number of singular, compulsory, non-competitve, hierarchically ordered and functionally differentiated categories, recognized or licensed (if not created) by the state and granted a deliberate representational monopoly within their respective categories in exchange for observing certain controls on their selection of leaders and articulation of demands and supports (Schmitter 1979:13).

This is a very general formulation, which does not specify institutions or policy areas. Most other writers who have used the term, however, have said that it is essentially related to matters of economic policy (Lehmbruch 1979, Panitch 1977, Cawson 1978). On this basis the Accord can be partially interpreted according to Schmitter's categories. Under the Accord the state grants a deliberate representational monopoly to the ACTU with respect to affiliated unionised employees (and implicitly covering all workers and would-be workers) in return for observing certain controls over its articulation of demands and supports, and no doubt the representational monopoly would be withdrawn if the ACTU leadership were not selected in an appropriate manner. Thus government/union relations in present-day Australia are encompassed easily in the Schmitter definition. But it is difficult to fit the other partners in industrial relations -- the representatives of capital, let alone society as a whole -- into the definition, and Schmitter's definition of corporatism seems to be intended to apply to society as a whole.

Leo Panitch provides an example of a more restricted definition of corporatism as:

> A political structure within advanced capitalism which integrates organized socioeconomic producer groups through a system of representation and co-operative mutual interaction at the leadership level and mobilization and social control at the mass level (Panitch 1977:66).

The ACTU role within the Accord comes within such a definition to some extent. But the Accord is a bilateral agreement which does not involve any other 'organized socioeconomic producer groups', so making it difficult to pursue the Panitch line also. The phrase 'mobilization and social control at the mass level' is very strained in the Australian context, where union leaders have had to learn to live with the fact that the Australian worker is singularly unresponsive to any kind of mobilization, let alone social control through the union structure. But Panitch is not alone in including social control as a characteristic of corporatism. Crouch, for example, says that the social control aspect of the concept of corporatism is quite central to it as a theoretical contruct, that the '...heart of corporatism is that interest organizations constrain and

discipline their own members...as well as (or even instead of) representing them' (Crouch 1983:452). Wolfe also accepts that proposition. In his analysis of changing power relations within a union in response to changing environmental imperatives and their significance for corporatism, he speaks of 'corporatism's dual functions - internal representation and social control' (Wolfe 1985:434).

Notwithstanding the difficulties encountered with definitions of corporatism, there is substantial agreement as to what is meant by corporatism in an industrial relations context:

- it applies to tripartite configurations of unions, employers, and government;

- the negotiators are peak associations of employers and unions plus government representatives and bureaucrats;

- the negotiators are presumed to have the power to ensure compliance with the consensual decisions from those whom they represent, and to have the intent to deliver such compliance;

- bargaining takes place at tripartite meetings; issue stands are traded *ie* something of major concern to one of the parties is canvassed, seeking agreement in return for a change of position on other issues.

The logic of corporatism, whether on Schmitter's or Panitch's definition or the more pragmatic industrial relations description, predicts that the two-party (ALP/ACTU) agreement will become increasingly tripartite. Some tripartite developments of this kind immediately followed the election of the Hawke government. The National Economic Summit held shortly after the Hawke Government was elected in 1983 included leading business representatives (although officially present in a personal capacity). The Prime Minister made a few statements in October 1984 that the Accord might become a tripartite agreement, but these were shortlived. Union response to these 'feelers' was to declare clear opposition to any broadening of the Accord and on 9/10/84 Mr Ralph Willis, the Federal Minister for Employment and Industrial Relations, told journalists: 'What the Prime Minister has said about the role of business in all of that is that they might have an interest in considering the workings of the Accord' (*Financial Review* 10/10/84). Cliff Dolan, then ACTU President, has spoken favourably of MITI, the Japanese Ministry of Trade and Industry which takes a tripartite approach to the organization of industry development and control, saying something similar would be beneficial to Australia but denied that the Accord itself could ever become tripartite. In regard to Hawke's remarks that the business community may be involved in renegotiation of the Accord, Dolan said this could only occur in the form of a second Accord spanning only those areas where it was possible to get mutual agreement. The ALP/ACTU Accord could

not be 'watered down' (*Financial Review* 11/10/84). Business group leaders have consistently said that business could never be a party to the Accord.

Three years is a short time when discussing structural change in societal institutions. It seems clear, however, that the Accord *per se* will not be the framework for corporatist arrangements in Australian industrial relations if for no other reason than that it is not a tripartite structure and that the tripartite bodies that have been set up under it are advisory, not representational monopolies with power to enforce compliance by those whom they represent. That does not preclude the possibility that existing arrangements may be preparing the ground for further moves in the direction of corporatism.

The above interpretations of the Accord as an implicit contract, as an electoral instrument, as a prices and incomes policy, and as corporatism, taken together, provide quite a rich understanding of the Accord. But more is possible. Chapter 5 places the Accord in the context of the political subsystem of society, whereby the identifying function of the political subsystem is the authoritative allocation of values for society. The Accord is then seen as evidence of the emergence of a work-related subsystem of the political system, and a shift away from traditional parliamentary procedures as the locus of some of these authoritative allocations.

ORIGINS OF THE ACCORD

The genesis of the Accord is open to interpretation. It rather depends on how much of the final package has to to be included to constitute 'the Accord in early stages'. The full package does not have much of a history. But a number of ideas which are encompassed within it and which shaped its final form can be clearly distinguished. We shall look at these shortly. But we should first note the documented versions of when, where, and with whom the Accord began.

Cliff Dolan, ACTU President from 1980 to 1985, says that the Accord is the result of discussions commenced in 1980 between ACTU and ALP (Dolan 1984:4). Another version says discussions held just prior to the 1974 ACTU conference constitute the genesis of the trade union movement's interest in social contract type thinking (Downing 1974). This date is supported by Laurie Carmichael of the AMWU: 'The formulation of the Accord was entered into by myself and the union as a matter of principle because I believed in it. I started to consider such an approach back in 1974 when the Whitlam Government was in office'. (ACTU undated publication *It's Accordable*). Another account gives August 1981 as the start of the home run for the

Accord (Apple 1982:13) when a subcommittee of the Australian Labor Advisory Committee (ALAC) consisting of Bob Hawke, Bill Hayden, Ralph Willis, (all senior member of the ALP, which was then in opposition), and Jan Marsh, Bill Kelty, (both ACTU officials) and Charlie Fitzgibbon (an elected ACTU executive member) began seriously negotiating the terms of an agreement between the ACTU and the ALP in support of a prices and incomes policy for the next election. Input for these discussions, according to Apple, was the ALP incomes policy as prepared for the 1980 election, which was in turn based on the 1977 ACTU tripartite economic strategy, a position that had evolved in response to the failure of the previous ALP government to manage the economy sufficiently well either to satisfy union expectations or to stay in office.

The Federal Election Campaign Launch Policy Speech of 16th February 1983 gives it a history of only months: 'As a result of the months of painstaking consultation, discussion and work, we, the representatives of the incoming Labor Government, have reached an historic accord with the trade union movement...(ALP 1983:7). Yet another account places the origins of the Accord with Bill Hayden in mid 1979. Hayden's desire to bring the industrial and political wings of the labour movement closer together is postulated as the genesis of the Accord. The specific format of the Accord is said to have been prompted by Ralph Willis, later Minister for Employment and Industrial Relations, who had been in Britain and Europe the previous year and profferred suggestions as to what were the best points for Australia from the various prices and incomes policies, social contracts and the like that had been tried overseas (Kelly 1984:72). Events have proved that the Accord in the form it finally took was a successful policy instrument for the government. Therefore it may not greatly matter which version of the origin of the Accord, if any, is accurate.

So far as individuals are concerned, Ralph Willis is the person most often cited as the prime mover of the Accord, both in the media[9] and in my conversations with politicians and union leaders. An interesting issue of personal style concerns what people regard as appropriate tools of management for a government. Hawke and Willis were committed to seeking a mandate for legislative control over prices and incomes whilst many other labour leaders thought that legislative control had no part to play in such matters. Prior to the ALP Biennial Conference in Adelaide (July 1979) the ALP's Economic Policy Committee (Hayden, Hawke, Hurford) worked out a comprehensive set of recommendations which included a wages policy in which the

[9] *eg National Times*, June 2, 1979 p. 11 'Secret labor talks aim at social contract'.

ALP would, when in government, hold a referendum to give the Commonwealth government power to legislate on wages. The committee proposal on this issue seemed to have the numbers to be passed, at least until the lunch break. In the event an amendment was passed, following a well-documented piece of political drama in which Hayden double-crossed Hawke. The amendment contained no commitment to seek legislative control. It suggested that paragraph 4, calling for a referendum that would give the power, be deleted and a much weaker statement replace it, saying that the party should, 'with the understanding and co-operation of the trade union movement, develop and implement a policy which will encompass prices, wage incomes, non-wage incomes, the social wage' (ALP 1979:200). The amendment was passed and consequently the ALP went to the electorate in 1980 with nothing concrete on price and wage controls, and lost.

Labor did not win the 1980 general election and negotiations over the proposed agreement between the ALP and the union movement continued fairly slowly and quietly until the Fraser Liberal-National government announced a wage pause in November 1982, shortly before the Flinders by-election. Whether or not the wage pausé had anything to do with the Liberal win in Flinders is debatable, but there was a generally favourable response to the pause. Even the three Labor state premiers were pleased with the pause, despite some mandatory rhetoric to the contrary, because their State budgets would be slightly easier to manage with a wage pause in operation. Unfortunately for Hayden's leadership position, the unions had made a landmark concession not to him but to the Fraser government. The unions did not demand immediate wage restoration and agreed to wages catchup 'over time' - something on which Labor had been unable to get a firm commitment despite widespread recognition within the union movement that in current economic circumstances nothing else was possible (Kelly 1984:313). The press made much of the split amongst the various branches of the labour movement, but for our present purposes it illustrates the contingent nature of historic events and also points out the strength of ideas when their time has come. The next chapter examines some ideas that shaped the thinking of Australian political elites and led to the Accord.

CHAPTER TWO

IDEAS THAT SHAPED THE ACCORD

The act of signing the Accord transformed various theories, ideas and objectives from **talk** into a framework for **action.** These ideas are examined under the headings of 'Social wage concept', 'A national interest role for the ACTU', 'Industry policy and restructuring' and 'The prices and incomes policy debate'. In searching for their origins a few basic facts about the Australia, as well as some specific aspects its history, need to be borne in mind. Australia is a large country geographically but small in terms of population (approaching 16m). Its economic and social structure is egalitarian by international comparisons, although still subject to criticism for unjustly-large inequalities.[1]The federal government contains many persons with trade union connections largely as a consequence of Australian Labor Party being one of only five parties in the world today in which trade unions formally comprise a large part of the party's membership.[2] This assortment of facts has a bearing on the plausibility of the claim that the evolution of common understandings amongst the political elites of this country made the Accord possible at all and made it enforceable policy. They also have a bearing on the 'transportability' of the Australian experience, making it unlikely that it can be copied successfully, but that is a subject that lies outside the scope of this thesis. Our focus in this chapter is on various ideas which played a role in determining the final form of the Accord.

[1]Australia appeared 50th in a list of 52 nations listed in order of inequality of income distribution (Taylor and Hudson 1972:263). There is no reason to think that this position has since altered fundamentally.

[2]The others are United Kingdom, Sweden, Norway and New Zealand.

The Social Wage Concept

The Accord reflects an increased awareness that money wage increases do not automatically result in improved standards of living. On the contrary, a bigger pay packet accompanied by less government services can mean a lower standard of living. To address this issue union parlance sometimes divides wages into two components: the industrial wage and the social wage. The 'social wage' refers to components of living standards obtained via government expenditure decisions such as direct income transfers or provision of services. It is called a 'wage' because if the government did not provide services such as education, medical facilities and social services, an individual would have to make provision for these things from his/her industrial wage. The pay packet is called the 'industrial wage' when seeking to distinguish it from the 'social wage'. There is little benefit in receiving a higher take-home pay if more of it has to be spent on maintaining a standard of living which is dropping because of reduced government expenditures in certain areas. Conversly, paying more taxes does not reduce one's standard of living if services are improved by a greater amount than the loss from the industrial wage.

The ACTU had been campaigning on a wage/tax trade-off for a year before the Accord was signed, although not using the phrase 'the social wage':

> The ACTU Executive believes that the economic challenges facing the Australian community demand the concentrated attention of the Australian trade union movement. In particular the Executive is concerned about the increasing unemployment and the increasing taxation. The ACTU policy does not rule out taxation increases where such increases are justified on social and economic grounds. However, the failure of the Government to introduce effective tax reform and to publicly jusify tax increases is contributing to economic instability and the deterioration of confidence in the economy. To this end we believe that a campaign should be initiated on the economy and integrated where necessary with the Public Sector campaign. The campaign should concentrate on unemployment, taxation and interest rates. To this end a committee should be established to consider the means of implementing the campaign. The Officers of the ACTU in conjunction with the Committee and State Branches shall be responsible for organizing the campaign. (ACTU Executive Decision, February 1982.)

AMWU publications of 1982 and 1983 take up this campaign vigorously under the title of the social wage and explicit recognition of the social wage is embodied in the Accord. The social wage aspects of the Accord have so far produced the tax reform debates and the superannuation issue was a central element of Accord Mark II. We shall return to superannuation in Chapter 5.

A National Interest Role for the ACTU

An exploration of the symbolic identity of the ACTU and the union movement's interpretation of national interest gives an historical setting to the subsequent systemic analysis of the Accord. One relevant stream of debate concerns where in the labour movement should social reform be initiated. The ALP was formed as the political wing of the labour movement and has been regarded by the bulk of the labour movement as the proper spearhead for reform of society, except for a period around the time of WWI. At that time the emergence of the Communist Party of Australia and moves to form the One Big Union opened up the question of who should spearhead reform of society in the national interest. Some suggested that perhaps the trade unions should assume that mantle. Things did not happen that way in the 1920s, but the debate has been opened again by the Accord.

In discussing the question of the proper locus of initiatives for social reform it is helpful to bear in mind the distinction between individual unions, the trade union movement and the labour movement. Individual unions are representatives of sectional interests and may be in competition one with another. Many have a craft history and outlook whilst the largest and most influential are mass industrial unions, although the growth of white collar unionism is challenging their supremacy. Unions are legal entities and membership is unambiguous. A 'movement' on the other hand, is not coterminous with any distinct grouping of organizations, but rather is an identification term related to objectives:

> To the extent that there is a trade union movement it is because unions and their members believe that the protection and betterment of trade unionists is not merely one sectional interest among many but a means of moving ... towards a more just society (Rawson 1986:13 and pp. 11-16 generally).

It is this self-identification, whether explicitly recognised as such or not, with an objective to bring about a better society that identifies a movement. The identification was clearer in the past when there was a 'working-class' movement. Although there have been too many social changes in Australia to continue talking of a contemporary working-class movement there is still some value in distinguishing between the pragmatic, sectional advancement characteristic of unionism as an aggregation of organizations and the sentiment that unites many persons who are members of unions. Thus the trade-union movement is a subset of persons most of whom are members of unions but includes only those who feel an identification with a collective concern to improve living standards for working people, as a class. The trade-union movement does not include all unionists. For example, jet pilots who are members of the Australian Federation of Air Pilots use their union to advance sectional interests but do not, in general, share the class aims of the trade-union

movement. The labour movement includes the trade-union movement, the ALP and any sympathisers not belonging to either set of organizations.

Early days of the labour movement

The formation of the labour parties in the colonies of Australia from 1890 and of the Australian Labor Party upon federation (1901) was motivated by broad social objectives, as well as a more pragmatic aim of improving the environment of work by legislative means. The ALP had more success early in its life than other labour parties for reasons, and with consequences, that do not concern us here. The extent of the trade-union involvement in issues beyond the workplace was hotly debated during the decade following the Russian Revolution of 1917. The debates of this period also fall outside the scope of this thesis except insofar as they shaped the ground from which the ACTU sprang. News of the Bolshevik coup had a strong impact on Australian society. Australia's prosperity had faltered, raising questions as to why this had occured. Conscription had been proposed in 1916 but our immigrant heritage made many Australians ill-disposed to fight for other countries. News of Russian events in 1917 seemed to place us at a watershed between supporting the old ways of the old countries which had been left behind, or embarking on new paths in social organization. The future shape of society was perceived to be in the balance and people formed strong beliefs as to the directions in which the changes should be guided and the means for so doing.

The example of a successful revolution in Russia was grounds for fear or admiration in many parts of the world, but the bulk of the union movement, here as elsewhere, could not be roused to revolutionary attitudes let alone actions to emulate the attainment of 'the historically given form of this dictatorship of the proletariat' (from the declaration of the 3rd International, quoted in Gollan 1975:4). Unionists generally take reformist positions, not revolutionary ones. They perceive their own existence as bound up with the capitalist system, within which they seek improvements. But following 1917 there was a surge of interest throughout the trade-union movement in workers' control of capitalist society. Support for the idea that control of the means of production was central to working-class conditions was widespread, as also the belief that capitalists, left to themselves, would not improve conditions. Efforts to establish One Big Union exposed various outlooks as to where the impetus for changing society should originate. The most radical OBU development was the Workers Industrial Union of Australia (WIUA), founded in 1918, whose proponents favoured union-led initiative for social change including the overthrow of capitalism for 'capitalism could only be abolished by the workers uniting in one class-conscious economic organization to take and hold the means of production by revolutionary industrial and political

action' (WIUA, quoted by Gollan 1975:11). The WIUA sought to be a true grass-roots organization with workers belonging to it directly, in six industry departments. (Only the Mining Department was actually established.) They believed that amelioration of hardships through a parliamentary route would not be effective and wanted the union's Supreme National Council to ultimately replace Parliament. The approach by the WIUA's leadership to the union movement generally was influenced by the communist idea that reformers who want to work through the existing system are pawns and allies of the bourgeois state. Such an attitude alienated the powerful AWU as well as many other unions. Within a couple of years the 'pawns and allies' were organizing to ensure that WIUA could not succeed as the One Big Union.

By 1921 this radical OBU push had faltered and the WIUA was superseded by an Australasian Workers' Union, known as the 'The New AWU', as contenders for the OBU which all others should join. The old AWU, the nationwide Australian Workers' Union, was the largest union, and the most influential union voice in the ALP. Its leaders felt that the AWU was the natural basis for the new organization. Serious differences soon emerged. The AWU leaders were committed to political action through the existing parliamentary system and to arbitration. They were unable to change the objectives of the proposed OBU organization, (which were similar to those of WIUA), expressing confrontation with the capitalist class. The final collapse in 1924 of the New AWU as the OBU stemmed from the impossibility of reconciling irreconcilable ideologies: the commitments of the AWU and like-minded unions to parliamentarism, on the one hand, and on the other, those who wanted One Big Union to lead revolutionary change in society. (Other OBU initiatives are described in Chapter 1 of Gollan 1975, and Donn & Dunkley 1977:404-413).

The failure to establish an OBU was not only due to ideological differences. Personal pragmatism also played a part for the OBU would have required a radical reshaping of the union structure in this country, whether in the New AWU version or that of the WIUA. That restructuring would have meant that many people who enjoyed the status of being the president of a union, even if only a small union, would lose that status. This requirement probably guaranteed the failure of the OBU even had its ideological position received adequate support. Notwithstanding unwillingness to amalgamate, union leaders were well aware of the need for some degree of central organization.

Growth of of the ACTU

A pragmatic need for a central union organization had existed well before 1917. Australian unions had been trying to found an organization to represent them

collectively for some time before the first major efforts at an all-Australian body occurred in 1889 (see Donn & Dunkley 1977:404-413 on early attempts at central federation). With the advent of the federal Arbitration system in 1904, the need for a peak body became more urgent, giving rise to several concerted attempts to establish such a body. We have looked briefly at the two two main stages of the failed OBU. Here we consider the pragmatic nature of the successful central trade union organization - the ACTU.

Australian unionism needed a central union organization for pragmatic reasons. Since the arbitration system had come into force, the number of unions in the country had risen to about 380, many of them very small. With little in the way of financial or personnel resources, small individual unions could not mount any industrial campaigns. A central body was needed to coordinate such campaigns; also to arbitrate, 'in house' as it were, on demarcation disputes, as these could prove very costly if handled in any other way. In addition, the Conciliation and Arbitration Court was determining many matters of national scope at basic wage hearings. A central union body was needed to prepare and present a coordinated case on their behalf at these hearings.

The Australasian Council of Trade Unions, now called the Australian Council of Trade Unions, was formed in May 1927 to meet the above needs. It suceeded where other ventures had failed by taking a compromising, pragmatic approach rather than identifying with ideological stances. The structure adopted left existing state power balances undisturbed. The rules did not require that affiliation bound the affiliates to ACTU decisions. The personalities running the organization did not demand agreement with their views from colleagues. The survival of the ACTU from small and shaky beginnings in 1927 is largely attributed to the ability of its founders to avoid ideology and concentrate on pragmatics (see Donn & Dunkley 1977:404-424). The fledgling ACTU, with its four (unpaid) officers, did not cover all unions nor even all major ones, with the Australian Workers' Union, the then-largest union, prime amongst those who refused the invitation to affiliate with the new central body. (The AWU affiliated in 1967). The AWU's attitude was due, in part, to the hope that ACTU might soon follow previous central bodies into oblivion and so renew the chance for AWU to form the basis for the central organization and, in part, to the fear that the ACTU had taken over the radical aims of the OBU. In short, the ACTU was formed to service trade unions operating in an industrial relations system which lent itself to negotiations with a central body. The original (and continuing) component of the ACTU identity is derived from its institutional role on behalf of trade unions in the Australian conciliation and arbitration system. It now also has a number of other roles.

Growth of the ACTU

The ACTU has undergone many changes since 1927, as would be expected of any organization that has survived more than half a century. It has grown considerably as its scope in arbitration and other industrial matters increased, expanding into economic enterprises and, since the 1950s, adding the role of policy adviser to government. In this latter development Australia is following a general trend. Contemporary governments of all political colours realise, whatever the contrary rhetoric, that unions are a necessary and useful part of social structure and that permanent contact between government and union leaders is a necessary element of contemporary capitalism, although specific forms vary.

Formal government-ACTU consultation was initiated under a non-Labor goverment. During the long post-war period of Liberal-Country Party dominance in federal politics (1949-72) the government found it necessary to consult trade unions - at least during the implementation of economic and industrial policies, if not before introducing them. Some level of formal or informal contact has continued ever since, with the general trend being towards an increase in formal participation. Union leaders, although opposing non-Labor governments politically, felt it was in the interests of the trade union movement to have a voice in all governments. The ACTU was perceived by non-Labor governments as the locus of responsible and moderate union leadership, or at least the 'lesser evil' if it was necessary for government to take account of unions at all. The Liberal-Country Party approach to unionism in the 1950s and 1960s was based on a perception (an accurate one) that 'rank and file unionists were much less hostile to the purposes of these governments than were their leaders' (Rawson 1986:63). The general strategy to make unionism more tractable sought measures to regulate the internal affairs of unions in such a way as to strengthen the voice of the rank and file, (*eg* secret ballots in union elections), and other measures to penalise union militancy. These moves were complemented by rewarding ACTU's relative moderation by increasing its consultative role. The Ministry of Labour Advisory Council, consisting of representative of several employers' organizations, State public authorities, the Ministry itself and the ACTU, was established in 1952. The ACTU was the only trade union organization represented, although it then covered only about two-thirds of Australia's unionists. Other unions tried to obtain representation on the Council on the basis that ACTU was not fully representative, but the government maintained the stand of having only one union body on the Advisory Council - the ACTU. Subsequent arrangements for consultation are outlined briefly in Rawson (1986:63-64) and fully in Hagan's official history of the ACTU (Hagan 1981).

The Communist influence

The position of unionists as a practical, moderate section of the ALP for the first twenty years of its existence is in line with typical international experience of the political stand of unions. But in Australia, untypically, there followed a period of radical, including communist, control or influence in some key unions. Communist strength in the unions produced great strains between the industrial and political wings of the labour movement and alienated large sections of the workforce from union ideals (Rawson 1966:14). Trade unionism is inherently committed to the capitalist system, a fact whose widespread verification has been a constant irritation to communists in their efforts to persuade these organizations of workers of the need to overthrow capitalism. Paradoxically, with respect to the foregoing statement, Australia, a country which plunged straight into the industrial age and the unionism that goes with it, produced a remarkable communist presence in union leadership.

> Except for France and Italy, there has been no other capitalist country in which communists were so prominent in the trade unions, and in Australia, quite unlike these other countries, there was no sign at all of comparable communist influence or popularity in any other field' (Rawson 1978:107).

The explanation for the paradox seems to lie in the protection afforded by the arbitration system, combined with effective non-revolutionary industrial leadership by communists. The arbitration system, in operation from the beginning of the century, both increased greatly the number of unionists, because of the preference in employment that it gave to trade unionists, and secured the positions of large numbers of people as union officials. But the majority of the new members were apathetic to union ideology, leaving the activists to pursue whatever political line they chose. A former ACTU vice-president said that most unionists regarded union officials as debt collectors, people to whom you gave money because you had to rather than people with whom you saw common interest (Evans *et al.* 1981:16). Since the communists' ideological position had little support among unionists, their success depended on the belief that the party affiliations of the communist leaders were little more than a personal eccentricity which did not prevent them from concentrating their attention on immediate industrial gains (Rawson 1978:107).

The period of communist influence declined from the 1950s onwards and by the time the federal Labor Party came to office in 1972, communist influence in the labour movement generally had changed its character. Revolutionaries had all but disappeared. The remaining influential communists had modified their position, either because they had been influenced by a long period of prosperity or because they found it necessary to do so to retain their union positions. By 1972 communism was no longer a destructively divisive factor in the ALP. Neverthless, ALP's return to

government after 23 troubled years out of office exposed many unworkable expectations on the part of both the parliamentary and industrial wings of the labour movement, expectations nurtured in the absence of practical tests. The period of Labour rule, 1972-75, saw difficult times in government/union relations, with greater expectations on both sides than could be delivered.

Historical settings for the Accord

Two historical backgrounds for the Accord have been identified in the preceeding pages. If we focus on relations between the political and industrial wings of the labour movement, the 1983 ALP/ACTU Accord appears as an accommodation between persons belonging to these two parts of the labour movement in the context of a re-examination of the proper source of initiatives for social reform. The issue has not been the focus of attention since the 1920s. In this setting the Accord is the current solution to an ongoing dialectic in the labour movement.

If, on the other hand, we focus on the trends in government/union consultation we see that an increasing level of such consultation obtain whichever political party is in power. Formal relations between government and the ACTU have been developed in varying degrees since 1950 including the long periods of Liberal-National coalition rule whose approach to industrial relations in general and to the ACTU in particular was to divorce rhetoric from action. That is, many specific union actions were opposed whilst consultation with the trade union movement, as represented by the ACTU, continued. In this context the Accord is just a progression continuing the trend of increasing union/government relations. Whilst this is certainly plausible, it remains the contention of this thesis that a significantly different government/union role exists for the ACTU since the signing of the Accord.

The national-interest role of the ACTU can now be seen in perspective. The role change that we are concerned with hangs on the interpretation of 'national interest' within the trade union movement. Looking briefly at the circumstances which gave rise to various union ideologies we may say that the earliest rationale for unions was to fight outright exploitation by employers. In the early days of unionism employers and workers were unmistakably different; class identification was prevalent. Class-conflict ideologies were appropriate. Then, as the working-class fight against oppression and outright exploitation was generally won and economic conditions improved, union objectives changed.

The 'proper' role of trade unions

Since the end of the depression the predominant view of the role of unions has been that they exist to get the best pay and conditions for their members, more or less in isolation from other considerations. In other words they are sectional interest groups; class identification has declined. Support for that transition in ideology came from both institutional and economic factors. The Australian system of conciliation and arbitration supports limited sectional perspectives. It creates a protected environment for each and every union in that it guarantees rights of representation to registered unions. In effect, this means that sectional power bases become entrenched in an institutional environment that gives no encouragement for the union leadership to think in wider terms. A related criticism concerns the dynamics of arbitration. Union negotiators are encouraged to seek maximum gains irrespective of wider implications because the union bears no odium if national outcomes are bad. The arbitrators make the decisions and it is not the job of the unions to worry about reaching balanced decisions and viable outcomes. The conciliation and arbitration system allows, some would say encourages, irresponsibility on the part of unions.[3] A buoyant economy also encourages sectional interest outlooks. During the long post-war boom the expanding economy resulted in an increased standard of living for the majority, which improvements were taken as vindication of the prevailing orthodoxy by unions.

The recent past has given rise to an alternative view, at least in some important enclaves of the union movement, whereby the national interest, rather than sectional interests, has been given a new lease of life. This change of attitude can be loosely attributed to a general increase in nationalism. In union terms, this general mood manifests itself as recognizing that what is good for one may not be good for all even within a single union, let alone for all the workforce. The emerging ideology of the union movement is that national wellbeing is necessary for individual wellbeing.

The changed outlook was facilitated by the loss of power suffered by two myths, the first of them the myth of class solidarity. The notion that improvements could only come about through unionists sticking together as a class seemed to fit experience when workers were an oppressed class and union solidarity was an essential component in gaining any concessions from employers. Throughout the long boom unions were increasingly successful in removing 'oppression'. Solidarity became less relevant as

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[3]These general comments about the conciliation and arbitration system could of course be modified if space permitted. There were always elements of the system which sought the overall benefit of society. These elements have been greatly strengthened during recent years, partly because of the same factors which have modified the attitudes of trade unions. However, the conciliation and arbitration system as such is not our concern in this thesis.

sectional claims could be pursued and won in many specific areas. Technological advances have increased the power of small groups of people to exercise industrial muscle. Not only is union solidarity often irrelevant to obtain gains, it has also lost its symbolic power as a belief that signifies class identification. Union membership is no longer associated with the traditional cleavage of workers against employers when unions cover such diverse groups as pilots and miners, bureaucrats and welders, when employees can become employers, and *vice versa*, in many industries and occupations, and when the State, in one form or other, employs a third of the workforce.

The second myth concerns the rationale of free-market operations. Given that there must be a viable national economy for sectional interests to bargain for shares, the free-market rationale rests on an implicit assumption that something akin to Adam Smith's invisible hand is at work. Smith popularised the seemingly magical way in which the operation of free-market forces caused self-interested actions by individuals to culminate in a rising standard of living for all - as if directed by an invisible hand. He was well aware that his theoretical model was an abstraction, not a description of reality, but the idea that community good results from individuals acting according to selfish profit motives entered modern mythology. It was a highly convenient idea, too convenient for Smith's provisos and qualifications to be accepted, or even noted.

Although unions saw themselves as opponents of *laissez-faire*, in reality they often acted in accordance with this myth. To get the best deal and most money for one's members was the name of the game. Everyone was seen to be doing the best only for himself so it was up to others to organize as best they could. To raise any wider issues was to be greeted with the typical reply, 'That's not my problem, mate.' The world has now changed. Union attitudes which are in keeping with the times need to be articulated and become the new myths.

The long boom has ended; modern technology requires less labour; the owners of that technology are not intrinsically committed to dividing the gains amongst displaced workers. Given these key factors, an individualistic, free-market approach leads to a reduced labour force operating within the highly productive technology. These high-tech enterprises are highly profitable as oligopolies develop and the enterprises can afford to pay high rates to a declining workforce in order to continue technological improvements. If unions continue with the singleminded pursuit of gains for the membership under such conditions the result is a set of sweetheart deals[4] for a minority of workers combined with massive unemployment amongst the rest.

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[4]Sweetheart deals: an employer pays higher-than-the-norm wages to avoid industrial trouble.

Current stance of the ACTU

Opposition to the introduction of changes that reduce employment is counterproductive if it means that businesses fail. The questions raised by the technological replacement of labour are not new, and they are of profound importance to our economy and to the welfare of the population. There are no easy solutions, with local, union-wide and national perspectives producing different 'best solutions' on occasions. Local-level elected union representatives are keenly aware of local circumstances and less conscious of union-wide or national effects. Individual unions are subject to traditional philosophy which is opposed to enterprise unionism and subject to the dynamics of their *raison d'etre* - representing their members. The stresses that are imposed on union leaders by the conflict between the national interest and the interests of their members in the short-term are great. Elected officials can explain long-term trends to their members but when it comes to election time they are vulnerable to more gutsy competition that promises MORE, NOW. That particular dynamic could snowball to disaster. The movement will need help from ACTU in articulating a new response. The ACTU, by developing a national-interest ideology in the Australian trade union movement, is taking steps to avoid the marginalization of a large percentage of the workforce. The ACTU's current national interest role is not inevitable; in fact, there is nothing in its history to suggest the current development.

The ACTU succeeded where other attempts to establish a central union failed. It survived because it adopted a structure that was a pragmatic compromise, and was staffed by pragmatic individuals. Both structure and staff were capable of accommodating the diverse elements of unionism of the day. It maintained these adaptive characteristics throughout the long boom and during the long period of Liberal-Country Party governments, when the ACTU consolidated its primacy as the voice of the trade union movement in dealings with government. The ACTU's consultative role grew, as did aspects of its organization.

With the signing of the Accord the ACTU has entered an era of heightened pragmatism. The established trends in the economy suggest that unemployment could increase dramatically if current trends continue. Massive unemployment is not in the national interest, and the best course of action available to combat the possible effects of new technology on the workforce and markets is a planned approach rather than one of free competition. For industrialized societies the allocation of work is of vital importance, embodying as it does both social and financial values. The ACTU is the linchpin in the reformulation of work, pay, and control concepts into forms that will bring about socially acceptable redistributions of work commensurate with economic growth.

This broader role for the ACTU and the longer time-scales involved inevitably mean that the ACTU cannot satisfy the demands of all who fall within its constituency. Pragmatic solutions have always been the ACTU's strength. Now that the stakes are much higher, pragmatism is called for even more. A bit of unifying ideology helps. ACTU can provide the rationale for maintaining unity against perhaps deliberate attempts by some multinational employers to fragment the workforce into tame, highly paid unionists, and the powerless masses. The changes and problems are most clearly revealed in the case of manufacturing industry, which is discussed next.

Industry Policy and Restructuring

Australia, in common with all OECD countries, is experiencing problems with the state of manufacturing industry. Industry restructuring exercises many minds and increased productivity is unanimously sought in what is otherwise a diverse and complex field for study. Labour-saving technologies are an ubiquitous solution to increasing productivity, notwithstanding management schools' theorising about developing the richest resource of any organization - its people. The corollary of the increased-technology road to increasing production is loss of jobs. At a national level increased productivity means there is more to share out and therefore, if the increases are shared equitably, everyone is better off. Even if shared equitably, this rationale presupposes that productivity gains are retained within the nation. When multinational corporations are involved this is clearly not the case (Crough and Wheelwright 1983, Ewer *et al.* 1987).

Industry policy is the trickiest knot in the Accord. It involves tensions not only between labour and capital, but also between the public and private sectors, between the primary, secondary, and tertiary industry sectors, and between the federal and state political arenas (Higgins 1986). For example, manufacturing unions as a sectoral interest have viewpoints which do not coincide with those of other unions, of farmers or of consumers. Tariff protection given to one industry reduces the resources available elswhere in the economy. States vying with each other to attract industries by subsidisation do not consider national outcomes. The ACTU tries to reconcile these sectoral interests by persuading non-manufacturing sectors that the industrial sector is essential to a viable national economy. Not only must it be maintained in some rudimentary form, but it must not be allowed to decline. The white collar unions who have swelled the ranks of the ACTU since the amalgamation with the Australian Council of Salaried and Professional Associations (ACSPA) in 1979, the Council of Australian Government Employee Organizations (CAGEO) in 1981 and the Australian Public Service Federation (APSF) in 1985 may come to have a significant

impact within the ACTU as a power block opposing representatives from the industrial sectors, but only time will tell.

Manufacturing industry was the first sector of the economy to feel the end of the long steady growth period in post-war Australia. A response to the declining position of manufacturing had been articulated by the AMWU in their 1977 publication *Australia Uprooted* which called for a 'People's Economic Program'. The booklet was devoted to the proposition that manufacturing industry was being destroyed for the benefit of the mining industry and that mining wealth is not being used for the benefit of the country. The AMWU proposals were submitted for consideration by the ALP Federal Conference and the ACTU Congress of that year. Item 1 of the metalworkers' document is given below; it can perhaps be considered as an ambit claim:

1(a) Establish a Dept. of Economic Planning to give advice to and carry out instructions from the elected Government. The department will seek advice from other Australian Govt. departments and agencies, State Governments, employees, employers, local govt., consumers, etc.

1(b) All other Aust. Govt. Depts. will be subject to co-ordination by the Dept of Economic Planning through the government.

1(c) The operating and decision making guidelines of the Dept. of Economic Planning shall include:

- maintenance of full employment
- protection of the environment
- progressive reduction of working hours
- promotion of general quality of life of Australians.

1(d) The decisions, deliberations and operation of the Department of Economic Planning will be made public.

Judging by subsequent events it was quite a successful ambit claim because industry planning is now part of the political agenda of this country. There is a large gap still between what has been achieved and the demand for a Department of Economic Planning but any progress in the area is significant.

In Australia the ideology of private enterprise is deeply entrenched, and few politicians are willing to give a commitment to the planned economy approach (their political opponents could make headway as champions of freedom and self-determination). Also many unions oppose industry-wide planning because experience has taught many workers and their representatives that planned restructurings are often just a fancy name for job losses.

The proposals prepared by the ALP's Industry Development Platform Committee for the ALP Biennial National Conference in July 1984 contained no mention of Department of Economic Planning, but during the three days prior to discussion of the economic platform on 13 July, substantial changes were made. These brought part of the AMWU's demands into the platform. The Conference adopted an industry platform which calls for a new planning division in 'the appropriate department', which is taken to be the Department of Industry and Commerce (ALP 1984a:156). This change to the ALP's platform is said to have been brought about by the metal unions' claim to Senator Button, the Minister presently concerned, that the platform as prepared did 'not meet the widespread interventionist planning requirements of the prices and incomes Accord' (M.Stutchbury, *Financial Review*, 16.7.84). It is possible that the new Division could grow to a fully fledged Department of Industry Planning, but also it is not certain that the metalworkers' union still want that ten years on from 1977. For the present, we must wait and see how the new division will fare if and when it is established.

The major mechanism currently operating in the field of industry policy and restructuring is the two-tier system of manufacturing councils (Ewer & Higgins 1986). The Australian Manufacturing Council (AMC) was first established in 1977 under a Liberal-National Country Party Government, following various committees of inquiry into the needs and possible futures for Australian industry (especially the Committee of Economic Enquiry of 1963 known as the Vernon Committee). The Crawford Report (Report of the Study Group on Structural Change) addressed industry problems again in 1979. These pre-Accord moves indicate an awareness of the need to do something. The present restructured AMC has a smaller council, wider terms of reference, greater independence as to activity, audience, secretariat and input. Also many of its members are the chairpersons of Industry Councils, of which there are now eleven. The former AMC had transient activities which rarely reached fruition, whereas the industry councils are continuing bodies with a brief to review medium- and long-term industry conditions and prospects and develop possible solutions to industry problems for industry and government to implement. In addition they provide advice to the Minister on matters referred by him to the Council and keep him (and the public) informed of the Council's activities. Each of the Councils has at least four union representatives and all operate under the general guideline: 'The integration of industry policy into general macro economic and price and income policies represent the basic economic strategies of the Government' (AMC 1984:2).

The industry development and restructuring part of the Accord has been discussed in preference to other supportive policies (which were listed on page 7) in the belief that

industry matters are, and are likely to remain, the most contentious and critical aspects of the total Accord package. They are contentious because they expose deep divisions in attitude towards both the desirable future of industry and how to get there. These division did not begin with the Accord, but they have been brought into sharp relief by the increased rights of consultation that the unions have gained through the Accord. Industry matters are critical because there is no viable alternative to the Accord for advancing the union viewpoint in industry development and restructuring matters. This is in contrast to taxation reform or occupational health and safety matters, which would proceed in approximately the same direction, albeit perhaps more slowly, without the Accord. Even industrial relations legislation was moved out of dependence on the Accord by the Hancock Committee.[5] But for advocates of industry development and restructuring there are no viable alternative mechanisms for change. Hence it is quite likely that pressure will increase on this particular segment of the Accord framework. One should not underestimate the combined power of the ACTU and the Metal Trades Federation Unions (MTFU) and an implied threat can be read into relatively mild words such as:

> ... it has been of some considerable concern to the ACTU and to the Metal Trades Federation of Unions in particular that little has been done to integrate the Accord's industry development policy with macro economic policy ...(MTFU 1984:ix).

The Prices and Incomes Policy Debate

The prices and incomes policy debate has been left till last in this survey of the ideas that were influential in the formation of the Accord so that it does not overshadow other, less widely debated, sets of ideas which played a role in shaping the Accord. That is not, however, to downgrade the significance of debate about prices and incomes policies in the formation of the Accord. There was discussion in government, union and academic circles concerning the relative merits and demerits of various positions and approaches to such policies as practiced in other countries. The process of debate clarified acceptable parameters for the participants in the Accord and some lessons appear to have been learned about implementation.

Prices and incomes policies have, as their generic objective, the control of cost inflation. The other kind of inflation, that generated by excess demand, has been around much longer than cost-inflation, making spasmodic appearances over the

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[5]The Committee of Review into Australian Industrial Relations Law and Systems, chaired by Keith J. Hancock.

centuries, as a result of financial mismanagmeent, debasement of the coinage, wars, large gold discoveries and so on. Demand inflation is amenable to control by appropriate manipulation of monetary and fiscal instruments but cost inflation is a post-war phenomenon which requires a more direct approach to the inputs of the cost-push of the inflationary spiral, except in the view of monetarists who believe that fiscal and monetary controls can contain both kinds of inflation. Cost inflation manifests itself when both the labour force and employing units have an element of monopolistic power. Only then can the levels of pay and prices be raised independently of aggregate demand. In addition, the pervasive inflation of western democracies in recent decades seems to have been accompanied by widespread acceptance of the view that the government would look after any problems generated by inflationary activity (Isaac 1973:237-243).

Contemporary responses take one of three general forms. Some consider inflation to be no real problem at all, saying we can adapt to high rates of inflation and that equity is just a technical problem of indexation. The majority, however, consider inflation to be decidedly negative for society and that it should be reduced, whereupon there are monetarist (freemarket) approaches to control inflation, and interventionist approaches which are are often lumped together and called prices and incomes policies.

There are equity arguments and economic efficiency arguments favouring and opposing various kinds of incomes policies. Much of the academic output in the prices and incomes policy debate is arguing against free market philosophies with respect to the labour market and exposing the examples of its failure. One line of argument is concerned with the amount of government intervention and planning. When <u>not enough intervention</u> in the labour market is the alleged culprit, the argument runs broadly as follows: government must formulate and implement policies which regulate labour participation and rates of pay and it must do so in order to attain social justice, because the market for labour is not, cannot be, nor should be, a free market in the classical sense. In other words, these proponents of interventionist prices and incomes policies believe that the operations of labour markets in modern capitalist economies are not capable of producing the right results. Uncontrolled markets produce too much unemployment or too much inflation. This equity argument for prices and incomes policies can be linked to one associated with social conflict. Social conflict was progressively reduced as the gap between rich and poor was gradually narrowed, particularly in the post war era, but inflation reversed the trend and the gap is widening again. The relatively rich are better able to defend themselves against inflation than are the relatively poor; thus inflation widens the gap between rich and poor, giving rise to the spectre of increased class conflict.

When too much intervention in the labour market is blamed for difficult times, national efficiency, so this argument runs, would be improved if the labour market were deregulated (allowing only for the enforcement of some minimal standards). Resultant improvements in national efficiency are ultimately to everyone's benefit, including all workers. An 'incomes policy' acceptable to these theorists might be to tax employers who exceeded guidelines for wage movements (see Isaac 1973:244 for a brief discussion of this approach and references to further reading). Another line of argument related to efficiency concerns the pricing mechanisms of the market. Inflationary expectations distort the allocations of expenditure made within the economy and thus weaken the value of prices as signals for resource allocation.

Another line of discussion concerns the voluntary or compulsory nature of prices and incomes policies. In the economics literature the 'public goods' quality of price stability means that compulsory prices and incomes policies are to be preferred to voluntary ones. The 'public goods' concept applies to items which cannot be made exclusive; the costs of benefits of such goods have a public character and individuals' contributions are relatively minute. The favourite examples in the literature are pollution and taxation, the latter illustrated as follows: everyone benefits from roads, water supply, defence etc and all agree that they are a good thing and that they are willing to contribute to their provision; but if contributions to the Treasury were voluntary we would be in a mess! It would be rational for an individual to seek personal advantage by saving the amount of the voluntary contribution in the knowledge that their contribution was such a small proportion of the total cost as to make its absence totally insignificant.

Similarly everyone benefits from price stability. But, according to this line of theorising, each individual benefits even more by unilateral action against the norm. Individual rationality says that 'my one action of breaking the guidelines will not affect national outcomes' and thus the gain of a unilateral increase is sought in the expectation that the general context of stability will not be appreciably affected. This process applies not only to individual persons but also to individual unions seeking a wage rise, and to employers seeking to buy industrial peace with a wage rise. In economic terms, then, price stability is a 'public good'; it has a collective nature whereby it can only be obtained if all members of the community act in a way that goes against individual economic rationality. Hence one should not expect voluntary wage restraint to be effective. Manadatory compliance is required. (See Fallick 1981:18 on the public goods aspect of wages policy in an article devoted to economic rationales of such policies, not otherwise discussed here. Also Hughes 1981:3-11.)

The theoretical analysis of price stability as a public good, and hence the need for adherence to the guidelines of prices and incomes policies to be compulsory, does not appear to be borne out by experience. Periods of statutory wage control arouse so much resentment that they are followed by periods characterised by aggressive catchup activity whereas negotiated voluntary schemes have given rise to some long-term success stories, two of which are described below.

Comparative studies

Incomes policies formerly or currently operating in Britain, Sweden and Austria are the most quoted examples in the Australian prices and incomes policy debate of recent years. Before looking at them individually, a brief outline of the Australian method of wage determination will make the subsequent discussion more meaningful.

Australia is a federation in which the States have residual powers, *ie* all powers not specifically allocated to the Federal Government rest with the State Governments. The administrative arrangements that are entailed in industrial matters with six different state and two territory legislations and a federal system are very complicated in their detail and therefore cannot be presented here (see Walker 1970, part 1, and Deery & Plowman 1985, parts 3 and 4). We shall be looking only at federal level activities, and it is reasonable to do so in view of their contemporary pre-eminance so far as general direction is concerned, if not administration of industrial relations in Australia. Federal level activities have increased in influence over time, a trend which is expected to continue (Blain 1985:207-233).

The Australian Conciliation and Arbitration Commission is a federal body within a network of federal and state industrial relations institutions. The statutory function of the ACAC is the prevention and settlement of industrial disputes. It soon became apparent, however, that a change to one award to settle a dispute might trigger many others. 'Since it was the business of the federal tribunal to settle disputes, not to make them, it was necessary to develop some mechanism which would allow many awards to be varied simultaneously' (Deery & Plowman 1985:285). Hence from 1907 onwards, when the Harvester Judgment established a federal definition of a 'living' wage (established initially for the purposes not of the Conciliation and Arbitration Act of 1904, but of the Excise Tariff Act 1906) it has been the practice that certain awards are regarded as test cases whose decisions will be automatically incorporated at all subsequent award variations, provisions being made also for awards to be varied without the need for there to be a dispute.

It is customary to regard the Commission as being amenable to government policy. This is substantially correct, but two points which affect the exercise of government intentions deserve mention. The fact that the Australian federal government does not have the constitutional right to legislate on wages is the first point that has an effect on the particular form in which policy is implemented. Secondly, the ACAC is an independent body and thus not required to carry out instructions from the government. This arrangement imposes a moderating influence on any changes of policy but in broad terms we might say that the ACAC is strongly influenced by government policy provided that government policy is within socially acceptable bounds. When it is not, the Commission ceases to be an effective instrument in wage determination (as during the early 1970s).

The Accord offers a centralised system of wage determination, linked to rises in the Consumer Price Index (CPI), through the medium of a bi-annual National Wage Case heard by the full bench of the Australian Conciliation and Arbitration Commission. New guidelines were issued by the Commission in September 1983 which stated that:

> The Principles have been formulated on the basis that the great bulk of wage and salary movements will emanate from national adjustments. These adjustment may come from two sources - CPI movements and national productivity.

(taken from Deery & Plowman 1985 where the Guidelines are reprinted pp. 312-318). Six-monthly adjustments based on the last two quarterly movements in the 8-capitals CPI were to be the norm and a productivity case was not to be heard until 1985. By saying that the great bulk of wage and salary movements would emanate from national adjustments, it was not intended that regional or industry negotiations were to play a major part; wage determination was to be centralised. Australia has had a centralised system of wage fixation for much of the century, but not in the period preceeding the signing of the Accord. Thus the Accord brought about a return to centralised wage fixing: it did not introduce it.

The National Wage Case sets the standard movement in wages at hearings at which ACTU for workers, CAI for employers, government representatives and other bodies on an occassional basis (*eg* the National Farmers Federation) present their respective cases for preferred wage movements to the full bench of the ACAC. Federal and State awards, of which there are many thousands, are varied by the amount of the resultant increase. Anomalies provisions allow for variations outside the wage guidelines but historically established differentials (which often look anomalous) are jealously guarded and wage rises generally apply uniformly upon the existing structure of differentials. Not all of the workforce is covered by awards; not all workers are

members of unions; not all unions are registered unions; and some employees are covered by several awards (for a more detailed description of the structure of unionism in Australia see Rawson & Wrightson 1984). The State industrial systems vary with, for example, Victoria having 211 Conciliation and Arbitration Boards where registration of organizations is not compulsory. Other States operate their wage determinations through a small number of industrial tribunals where only registered organizations are affected by their decisions. Nevertheless, the influence of the decisions of the Commission in National Wage Cases is sufficient to warrant the title of national wage decisions.

Outside the unionised sector, the rates paid within the centralised system influence de facto wage rates. At the lower end of the wage scales, if the market-negotiated rates with non-unionised employees are dramatically lower than for comparable work by unionised employees, there is a strong incentive for unionisation, which is presumably considered as undesirable by those offering the market-negotiated rates. Comparability of wages, on the other hand, favours maintenance of the *status quo*. At the higher end of wage scales, rates paid in the centralised system set the benchmark against which 'doing better', as an incentive to work for that employer, is measured; but there is no need for the employer to pay a great deal more than for comparable work by unionised employees.

The Austrian Social Partnership

'The Austrian Social Partnership' is a descriptive title given to a semi-formal agreement between workers, employers and politicians concerning economic management of the country. There is no specific written agreement outlining the Social Partnership but it is customary, (at least in English language academic writing), to date it from the establishment of the Tripartite Commission on Wages and Prices, (also known as the Parity Commission) in March 1957. The descriptive title 'Social Partnership' is similarly a convention, the term 'Economic Partnership' being preferred by its participants in Austria. Whatever the titles, the longevity of the Austrian experience with consensus management of the economy suggests that it holds many instructive insights for contemporary Australia.

The circumstances surrounding the birth of the Social Partnership have a lot to do with its longevity and success. They are not, however, of a kind that can be reproduced at will. Post-World War II leaders had a common perception that Austria's turbulent history and uncertain nationhood earlier this century meant that internal dissention, in industrial relations for example, would very likely have led to post-war collapse and takeover. Leaders of varying ideological stances spent time

together in concentration camps during the war, an experience, that cemented shared perception of this possibility and, according to the Austrian Trade Union leader, Anton Benya, encouraged them to seek a new consensus in the post-war world. (See Dunkley 1984:366-7 and cited references for a description of the events that led to this consensus seeking and compromising political climate. Furstenburg (1983:223) refers to deep-seated Austrian cultural patterns which favour pragmatic compromise rather than idological purity.) A similar consensus pertains with respect to the desirability of a market economy rather than a state-planned one, and that income distribution is based upon growth rates and not upon redistribution.

The institutional structure of the Social Partnership is decidedly corporatist and has pre-war origins. Classical corporatist notions (as opposed to the neo-corporatism of Panitch & Schmitter, already discussed on page 11, advocate an economic parliament in which the various estates of society are represented, who then deliberate economic matters and are the national decisionmaking unit with respect to such matters. Thus landed interests and agricultural workers, industrialists and industrial workers, and craft based bodies are elected from and on the basis of their economic function in society to represent their respective sectors. The post-war consensus approach was grafted on to the existing Economic Chambers, established during the previous century.

Chambers of Labour: There are nine individual provincial Chambers of Labour which are represented at federal level by the Council of Austrian Chambers of Labour. They appraise legislation, draw up representations of employees' interests, provide training and advice for employees and workers councils and public relations.

Economic Chambers: There are nine regional chambers and one federal. Employer membership is obligatory. Each chamber is divided into six sections according to industry classifications and further subdivided. The economic chambers are public corporations representing employers in industry, commerce, trade and transport.

Federation of Austrian Industrialists: (VOI) is a voluntary association of individuals and/or firms which has an influential voice in economic decisionmaking but no formal role in wage negotiations.

The Austrian Trade Union Federation: Membership of the The Austrian Trade Union Federation (OGB) is voluntary and OGB covers less than 2/3rds of the workforce but its activities have *de facto* force for all. In these respects OGB is like the ACTU. They are similar also in that OGB is an influential advisory body to government, as is the ACTU, but this is a role in which OGB is fully established and accepted whereas in Australia there are sections of society within which close government/union relations are considered inappropriate.

The structures of the two organizations differ markedly. A few of the more obvious

points are that (1) OGB is the only peak legitimate trade union organization in Austria and it presides over 16 industry unions, organized on a regional basis (9 regions). (2) It is a non-party organization. (3) Industrial workers formally belong to the central federation, not the industry unions directly, and pay dues of up to 1% of annual income to OGB, which then passes approximately 20% on to the industry unions. (4) OGB leadership can and does hold political positions; for example, Anton Benya, Chairman of the OGB since 1963 has also served as President of Parliament.

Some differences between Austria and Australia

By comparison, (1) ACTU has approximately 180 affiliated unions, or about 80% of the organizations which are registered legal entities that can be described as unions. Trades & Labor Councils in each state constitute ACTU branches. (2) Over half of all unionists belong to unions affiliated to the ALP and that all of these are also affiliated to the ACTU and/or a TLC, but there are some large unions that are affiliated to ACTU and not with ALP and which maybe outspokenly anti-ALP. (3) Union membership fees are approximately 1% of annual income.[6] Workers belong to the unions and pay their dues to them. The union pays less than 1% of fees received to ACTU (the current ACTU afilliation fee is $1 per member, as set at the 1985 ACTU Congress: 87.5 cents per member on adult pay plus an International Fund levy of 12.5 cents, making a total of $1 per member). (4) The holding of joint trade union and parliamentary positions would be considered as 'conflict of interest' in Australia and does not occur. Parliamentarians with a trade union past must relinquish any important official positions with the union movement, but may of course, retain their sympathies.

Wage determination: An historically entrenched difference is that OGB does not take part in wage negotiations; these are conducted regionally by industry. ACTU, on the other hand, has long been the officially sanctioned workers' representative at National Wage Cases. These formal differences also reflect different outlooks. The Austrian approach is more willing to recognise regional and industry-related differences than the ACTU, which is strongly committed to comparative wage justice (*ie* the same pay for similar work, irrespective of the employer or industry or region) through a centralised system of wage fixing. In Austria, collective bargaining takes place at industry level, *ie* between the industry based sections of the Chamber of Commerce for employers and

[6] ACTU policy is that fees should be 1% of annual earnings, but this is an aim rather than a reality. Average membership fees are $100 - $140 per annum, but some go much higher, as, for example, in the case of the Seamen's Union whose fees are approximately $700 p.a. (Information supplied by Mr Charles McDonald of the Trades & Labour Council of the ACT Inc.)

the relevant industry union for the employees. Industry-wide agreements are complemented by agreements between management and works councils as and when the parties deem this to be appropriate. Negotiations are not challenging the basic position of the partners. Instead, their outcome only modifies relative advantage in the course of booms and slumps in the business cycle. The main task is in streamlining wage and price movements according to observable growth patterns, with the following as the major instruments for so doing:

- Objective information about the actual situation and possible trends
- Co-ordination of wage and price claims
- Anticyclical actions.

Wage determination in Austria is not centrally negotiated although there is a Tripartite Commission on Wages and Prices who set policy guidelines and for whom the state of the market place and capacity to pay are determining factors (McDonald 1985). The actual determination of the rates of pay is according to regional industry-based negotiations and these tend to be minimum rates. Regional Chambers of Trade and Industry negotiate with individual trade unions for wage settlements which are oriented towards the capacity of marginal enterprises to pay. Then at the enterprise level management and works councils (not unions) negotiate the margins above that. At the regional level there is variation according to industry and according to regional factors. At the local level market pressures determine the take-home pay.

Information exchange. The main point of interest for our purposes is the extent of pre-decision discussion. The Parity Commission meets monthly. It has 12 members; 4 from government, 2 from the Chamber of Labour, 2 from the Chamber of Commerce, 2 from the Chamber of Agriculture, and 2 from the OGB.

> The monthly meetings of the Parity Commission are preceeded by 'Presidents' discussion' of the top functionaries, pre-shaping and predetermining to a large extent the margins of possible compromise. Perhaps it is the non-institutional, voluntary way of approving general guidelines for (or, more realistically, a proper timing of) price and wage movements which enables the Commission to work sufficiently effectively to continue. Its sanctioning power is entirely based upon the personal authority of its members, being almost unchallenged, as employers' associations and unions are highly centralised with a high degree of membership density (Furstenberg 1983:223-4).

The Commission is supported by three main units: a Wages Subcommittee which meets fortnightly and deals mainly with the timing of bargaining of new agreements, a Prices Subcommittee which meets weekly and whose brief covers about one fifth of all prices in the CPI basket, and the Economic and Social Advisory Board with three advisers from each of the four main employers' and workers' organizations (OGB,

VOI, the Chamber of Labour and the Chamber of Commerce), and two secretaries-general to promote longterm economic and social planning, and making use of numerous outside advisers. The wages subcommittee usually requests preliminary talks between unions' and employers' representatives before approving official negotiations. This is again an indicator for the importance of rather informal contacts for an overall strategy of conflict avoidance.

> The main feature of information within the system of Social Partnership is the possible informality of manifold contacts permitting the discussion of problems and the clearing up of a situation in an atmosphere of preliminary non-commitment. This opens a chance for finding solutions by argumentative 'trial and error' (Furstenberg 1983:225).

Dunkley reports that Anton Benya has stressed that indicative planning and other 'non-prices and incomes' aspects are crucial features of the unwritten social partnership because they result in a high level of confidence among trade unions and business that economic buoyancy will be promoted and employment maintained (Dunkley 1984:370).

Lessons of the Austrian experience

The framers of the Accord seem to have learned a number of lessons from the Austrian experience. The first is that long-term co-operation can be to everyone's benefit, is possible if there is a will to achieve it, and need not be a sellout of the working class. After nearly 30 years of such collaboration the workers of Austria can hardly be said to have suffered systematic exploitation or to have been reduced to desperate poverty or subservience to the bosses. Their example provided a strong argument against those in the Australian labour movement who opposed 'collaboration' from pragmatic considerations, although some still oppose it as a matter of principle. The very existence of the Accord is evidence that traditional union solidarity was no longer a convincing approach to serving the best interests of the working class, at least so far as their leaders were concerned.

A second 'lesson' concerns the need to avoid redistribution as a focus. Talk of redistribution is socially divisive and in a country as relatively egalitarian as Australia anxiety about potential loss affects a very large proportion of the population when such talk is in the air. It is better to concentrate on smoothing wage and price rises and link it all to productivity. The Accord states that the objectives of prices-incomes policies are to protect living standards and over time 'those standards should be increased to reflect the distribution of improved output as measured by national productivity' and to effect an equitable distribution of real disposable income (ACTU

1983c:5). Re-distribution is mentioned in a phrase near the end of the introduction: 'within a framework of policy measures directed at alleviating unemployment and redistributing income and wealth to the less well-off' and again later I suspect that most negotiators of the Accord would have preferred to omit specific reference to redistribution, but that its inclusion was a pragmatic concession to a non-negotiable position on someone's part.

A further 'lesson' concerns the need to spread the involvement and consultation and to share information. The British Social Contract (to be discussed next) and Austrian arrangement differ markedly in this respect. The Accord is closer to the Austrian arrangements with respect to consultation and involvement. The Austrians have widespread involvement in consulations prior to formal decisions being taken and the exchange of economic information is extensive and frank in the belief that without such an exchange of information, distrust among the parties is likely to arise. Achieving consensus decisions is difficult enough without the added burden of suspicion that the other side has more information and so may be advantaged by it. Common interpretations as to the true nature of a situation are a prerequisite to agreement on sharing the obligations and burdens that it entails. The Accord is clearly founded on the same principles, difficult though their implementation may be.

The British Social Contract

The British Social Contract was a two party agreement between the Trades Union Congress (TUC) which is the peak union body in Britain and the British (Labour) government, in operation between 1974 and 1977. (For a description and fuller discussion of the Social Contract see Tarling & Wilkinson, 1977:395-414, McDonald 1985:139-143, Fallick & Elliott 1981:273-275, Wright & Apple 1980:453-475). The British Social Contract is similar to the Accord in that it addressed wage control and the adoption of union-favoured economic and social policies on the part of the government. Another similarity is that negotiations for the agreement took place whilst the Labour Party were in opposition although it was finalised and formalized after Labour gained office in 1974. Significant differences are to be found in the fact that the British agreement was not endorsed by the member unions of the TUC at a mass forum, as was the Accord, a point which indicates a difference in committment at the very start of operation of the two agreements. Another difference between the two agreements lies in the degree of specificity of committments, with the Australian agreement having a great deal more in the way of specific undertakings than the Social Contract; and in the question of implementation, on which the British agreement is silent whereas the Accord section entitled 'Mechanics of Implementation' starts with a one-sentence paragraph that says: 'There shall be continuous consultation between

the Government and the trade union movement in respect of these prices and incomes policies' followed by a list of points which specify the Advisory Committee on Prices and Incomes (ACPI) which is tripartite, (*ie* employers are also represented) and the establishment of an Economic Planning Advisory Council. Both of these bodies were established promptly. Later the existing but not influential Australian Manufacturing Council was expanded and revamped and its structure of committees all now have extensive union participation.

Given the inclusion of specifc commitment to union participation and consultative mechanisms in the Accord, it seems that discussion of the failures of British Social Contract, which did not make a feature of extensive involvement and consulations nor of information exchange, as compared to the Austrian success, where they are fundamental to normal proceedings of the Social Partnership, was a lesson well learned by Accord negotiators. To the extent that some of the failures of the British Social Contract can be attributed to these causes, the Australian Accord can be expected to fare better. The British Social Contract lasted for three years, effectively ending on 7 September 1977 when the annual TUC Congress demanded a return to free collective bargaining. At the time of writing the Accord has lasted slightly longer, and does not look like breaking down. In September 1985, after two and a half years of the Accord, it was re-endorsed by the ACTU Congress, making it virtually certain to last till the next Federal election due in 1988.

The Swedish Model

'The Swedish Model' grew out of what the Swedes refer to as 'an historical compromise between capital and labour' in 1936: The Saltsjobaden Agreement, between LO and SAF (The Swedish Trade Union Federation and the Swedish Employers' Confederation). The agreement lasted 40 years, being formally abrogated in 1976, although wage negotiations between LO and SAF continue. Given the longevity of Swedish experience with consensus in industrial relations, it is to be expected that their experience will be regarded as a 'model' in some respects. Some points of interest when comparing Australian and Swedish industrial relations experience concern political power and union structure. The Swedish Labour Party, Socialdemokratiska Arbetreparteit[7] (SAP) held office continuously during the life of the 'historical compromise', *ie* from 1936 - 1976. They regained power again in 1982 until the present time and SAF/LO negotiations continue (Rawson 1985). The

[7]Socialdemokratiska Arbetreparteit means Social Democratic Labour Party but is often translated as the Social Democratic Party, omitting the word Labour. However, the SAP is a true labour party in that unions are affiliated to it.

Australian Labor Party has spent rather less time in control of the nation, but no doubt hopes that the agreement negotiated with the unions, the Accord, will be the start of a comparable period in office.

Union structure is sufficiently similar to encourage the view that similar arrangements may be effective. Eighty percent of the Swedish workforce of approximately 3 million are members of unions as compared with 57% of Australia's 6 million strong workforce. There are three peak union bodies in Sweden: LO for manual unions and the Federation of Salaried Employees (TCO) and the Confederation of Professional Associations (SACO/SR). Many branches of LO unions are affiliated with SAP but the white collar unions and their peak bodies are not affiliated with any party. The historical compromise was between LO and SAF. ACTU is the sole peak union body in Australia, covering both manual and white collar workers since absorbing the ACSPA, CAGEO and APSF, thus leaving an insignificant number of unions outside their umbrella.[8] Given the breakdown of distinctions between manual and non-manual labour and the likelihood that technological advances will continue to blur the distinctions further, it seem that ACTU is more in keeping with the times than the 'progressive' Swedes. In the matter of political affiliation of unions, the two countries are roughly similar. Union affiliation with the Australian Labor Party (ALP) is direct, not via their ACTU association, and only about 60% of all unionists belong to unions affiliated to the ALP (Rawson & Wrightson 1984:19).

The really significant difference, however, concerns the partners to the agreement. agreeme Sweden's historical compromise was between peak union and employer organizations. The Australian Accord is between the peak union organization and the government. To consider them comparable, are we to say that, in practice, both agreements involve tripartite negotiations and it is immaterial which party was omitted from the original deal? In Sweden the government performed a facilitative role in the LO/SAF negotiations and both parties continue to want to keep it that way: 'employers and unions were united in wishing to exclude it (the government) from direct involvement in wage determination .... it remains their position to the present time' (Rawson 1985:7), although the 'Rosenbad Agreement' was tripartite (Rawson 1985:18). The Australian experience to date indicates that neither unions nor business wish to pursue the possibility of including business in Accord negotiations.

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[8]Although only a small number of unions now remain outside the ACTU, the loners are not necessarily insignificant in power *eg* Australian Federation of Air Pilots.

Comment: If incomes policy is broadly defined as conscious interference with the free market in labour, then Australia has had such a policy ever since the Australian Conciliation and Arbitration Commission and its forbears have been in existence, *ie* from 1904 onwards. On the other hand, if it depends on explicit recognition that intervention is on behalf of the economy, then Dabscheck says the 1975 National Wage Case marks the beginning of an Australian incomes policy on the basis that the Commission then saw its primary function in bringing down a decision which is consistent with the needs of the economy (Dabscheck 1975:298-404). It all depends on your definition of an incomes policy but any definition that excludes the need to take cognisance of Australia's long arbitral history must surely be wide of the mark.

The prices and incomes policy debates in Europe failed to notice the interesting Australian situation and therefore it has not received the benefit of being included in the debate as defined in Europe. The question of whether to have labour market interference or a free market is largely superfluous to Australia, or at least should be couched in terms that fully acknowledge the historical facts of labour market intervention. Arbitration Tribunals have persisted, even though we have had non-labour governments for the greater part of this century; the Liberal and National Parties make customary noises in honour of free labour markets but the Arbitration Commission continues with its activities, interfering with any theoretical free labour market. The questions of practical significance in Australia are what kind of incomes policy we should have. That it should be a centralised system of some kind is widely accepted, despite Liberal party rhetoric to the contrary. This general pragmatic acceptance is illustrated by a statement by the employers to the National Wage Case in 1982, made in pre-Accord days:

> There has been a centralised system of wage and salary determination in this country for almost 50 years and the reality is ... that the system will not materially change (ACAC National Wage Case Print E9700 page 52).

Historical context is important in two more ways for marking differences between Australia and other countries. Australia is traditionally an egalitarian society. Despite differences in wealth within the country (and the comment that this arouses), we are, by international standards, an egalitarian society. This general factor takes on specific significance for wage determination if we consider the antecedent conditions for inflation as:

- variation in productivity in the economy
- an ethic of comparative wage justice
- widespread monopolistic elements.

The first item refers to variation between sectors of the economy as to their

productivity (see Isaac 1973:243). Whilst it is desirable and possible for productivity gains to be passed on to consumers in the form of lower prices, it is also possible for them to be used to pay higher wages. The next factor, the ethic of comparative wage justice, acts so as to make productivity criteria for higher wages operate in one direction only. Whilst market forces would ensure an adequate supply of labour to the more productive areas of the economy by higher wages, this factor allows the less well paid, in less productive sectors, to make claims for similar wage rises. These claims are supported on the principle of comparative wage justice. Thus the more profitable sectors of the economy are the pacesetters for wages through 'flow on' wage rises. The third point, about monopolistic positions, facilitates the other two in that when large proportions of modern economies are NOT in a state of 'free competition' they can pass on higher wages and higher costs. One might add that those businesses which are close to the atomistic competitive situation and cannot pass on cost increases are disadvantaged by the general thrust of comparative wage justice in a monopolistic society. Whilst the sequence described above is a general process, it is particularly noticeable in Australia in the latter two points. Comparative wage justice is deeply entrenched in the egalitarian philosophies of this country, possibly the most egalitarian-minded nation there is. We also have relatively small markets. This favours monopolistic development in areas where high-tech high-capital investment ensures high productivity, such that competition from a multitude of smaller enterprises is not feasible.

The major point of difference between the Accord and other countries' prices and incomes policies is our background of being acculturated to government involvement in wage determination.

> Now that Australia has had over 60 years experience of compulsory arbitration, it is possible to get a clearer perspective on this bold social experiment and to assess its role in the working of the Australian Industrial relations system (Walker 1970:429).

So began Walker's final chapter, 'Compulsory Arbitration in Perspective' in *Australian Industrial Relations Systems*. Today Walker could rewrite the chapter, making more significant points than those available to be made in 1970. For with the advent of the Accord, Australia's long history of involvement with compulsory arbitration bears a new kind of fruit. This long history of arbitral involvement in the labour market provided a unique perspective in terms of entrenched national attitudes from which the Accord is able to draw subtle strength and which facilitates its persistence. Conclusions drawn from comparative studies should be assessed in the light of the similarity of the antecedent conditions, bearing in mind that Australia has a long history of labour market interference and that acceptance of such is well entrenched in the national political culture.

Conclusion

The social wage concept, a national interest role for the ACTU and industry restructuring have been identified as three important themes in the formation of the Accord. They were introduced because the prices and incomes policy debate alone does not adequately explain the origins of the Accord, nor provide a sound basis for prediction. Neither do the other interpretations given near the end of Chapter 1 (Implied Contract, Electoral Instrument, and Corporatism).

In Chapter 5 it will be argued that the changes which are being put in place in Australia in the context of the Accord present structural changes in the authoritative allocation of values for our society, and that these changes will not be substantially reversed by this or any other Australian government of the next decade. Before making that claim it is necessary to present the conceptual framework from which that interpretation arises, namely a systemic perspective of political life, a task which occupies the next two chapters.

CHAPTER THREE

EASTON'S SYSTEMS MODEL OF THE POLITICAL PROCESS

Systems concepts have been around for a long time but have been relatively slow to make their impact in political science. David Easton began the process of assimilating them in the 1950s, but he was not alone in introducing systems concepts to political science. Others who have made notable contributions are Karl Deutsch, who used cybernetics as the foundation for his analysis of government in *The Nerves of Government* (Deutsch 1963), and Gabriel Almond, whose influential works in comparative politics drew their theoretical inspiration from the first wave of systems thinking in the social sciences (Almond 1965). Riker (1963, 1982) and other game theorists also brought some aspects of the systems approach into political science. Notwithstanding these and other isolated contributions, the systems paradigm has not become a major mode of analysis in the discipline.

The choice of Easton's 1965 theoretical model as a foundation for this thesis may seem strange at first sight, given that the systems approach has not attained widespread popularity in political science in the intervening years. But lack of popularity is not necessarily synonymous with lack of worth. There are two reasons to expect a resurrection of systems models in our discipline. The first is simply that we have not used the systems paradigm enough to be able to say on the basis of experience that it has little to offer. It has yet to be given a fair run. Secondly, systems theorising has developed considerably in its own right since Easton published *A Systems Analysis of Political Life* and *A Framework for Political Analysis* (both in 1965). We must seek

out from the new developments that which is useful to our discipline, but, as with any paradigmatic shift in thought modes, decades may pass as the false trails are sorted from the enduring contributions. Systems approaches in the social sciences are still relatively new, especially those dealing with sociocultural phenomena like politics, in which symbolic meanings and attitudes play a large part. Later in the chapter the section called 'A Critique of Easton's model' (p. 65) will suggest that some of the systemic assumptions made by Easton were unproductive and that alternative assumptions can now be seen as more appropriate. Nevertheless, Easton's work remains the best foundation for a systemic approach to political science.

GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS OF EASTON'S MODEL

It can be claimed that in political life everything ultimately affects everything else, so the research task is to find a vantage point from which observed relationships make sense at a chosen level of inclusivity. Easton has selected the input of demands and support as the pivotal vantage point for understanding politics, when identified as the authoritative allocation of values for society.

Easton's main systems text, *A Systems Analysis of Political Life*, postulates a simple theoretical structure (the basic systems model), elaborated by a rich diversity of illustrative material showing how existing ideas of politics and government fit into the systems model. His vision encompasses all societies, all types of regimes, and all time periods, and he supports his claim that the systems framework can be applied to all societies by the reinterpretation of many traditional approaches to politics into a systems framework. For present purposes, however, I will concentrate on the theoretical framework and its application to contemporary democracy. We commence by separating out the system-theoretic implications of the foundation used by Easton. Then we consider his interpretation of the basic structure as applied to political activity, together with a more detailed account of those parts that will be used in the subsequent analysis of the Accord.

Systems-theoretic aspects of Easton's model

The basic systems model, FIGURE 1 below, treats a system as a unit for transforming inputs into outputs. Observed regularities in the relationships among the inputs and outputs of a system can be studied without regard to internal processes of the system.

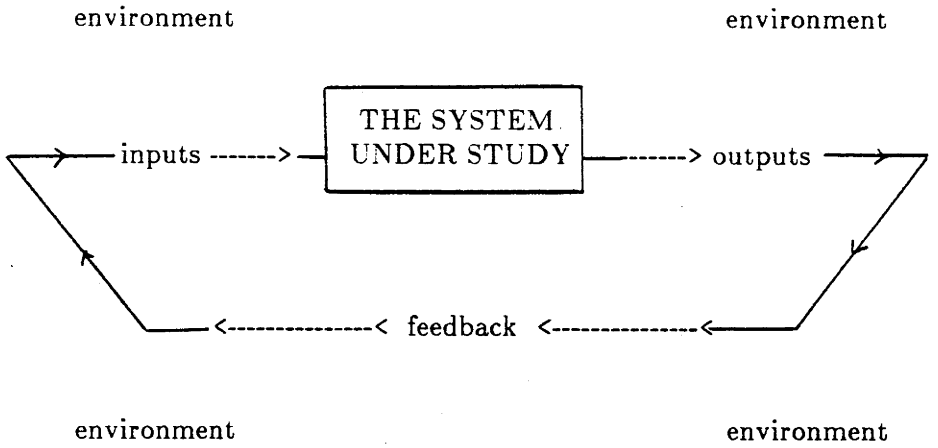


FIGURE 3.1 BASIC INPUT/OUTPUT/FEEDBACK MODEL

In the perspective taken by Easton:

- the political system is an open adaptive system,
- adaptations are directed at system persistence,
- and the analysis is in terms of inputs, outputs and feedback.

These phrases embody some fundamental propositions of general systems theory. In systems terminology **open** means that the system receives inputs from its environment; **closed** systems do not. Closed systems can be viewed as a subset of open systems -- those in which inputs and outputs are equal to zero. The social sciences never study closed systems because all social phenomena are fundamentally interactive and open to influences from their environment. System boundaries can be identified physically in concrete systems and are of variable permeability; system boundaries can also be delineated by a functional relationship. What constitutes the environment of a system can vary according to the research perspective.

Adaptive here means that the system can rearrange its own parts and influence the environment. Not all open systems are adaptive to such an extent. Some open systems react to stimuli from the environment only by responding in greater or lesser degree in predetermined patterns. A higher level of sophistication permits systems to influence their environment by controlling outputs in the light of feedback information. Still more sophistication occurs in systems which are goal-directed and can change their response patterns towards attainment of a set goal. Sociocultural systems can change their goals *and* structure. Characteristic limits to adaptive behavoir are part of the definition of system types and finding these limits is an ongoing endeavour. In living systems there are, *inter alia*, physiological limits to the range of responses available. These limits and normal ranges are known for many organisms. Organizational behavoir has also been studied sufficiently for an impressive array of characteristic limits to be known. But the characteristic limits to

adaptive behavoir of sociocultural systems are virtually unknown at present. Some further remarks about Easton's use of 'system' appear later in the chapter (page 72) and system types are discussed in the next chapter, in the section commencing on page 89.

Adaptations are directed at system persistence

All naturally-occuring systems are directed towards persistence, their ability to persist circumscribed by limits to their capabilities, and by external constraints. Constraints on adaptation are in part unique to each situation and in part general. General constraints depend on the nature of the system, and some classes of systems stand in fixed relations to classes of constraints. In systems that involve physical components, for example, (whether the systems are natural or constructed), physical laws are always a constraint on the system under study. Likewise, in behavioral systems there are social and psychic laws which set limits to the operation of these systems, but the social and psychic laws which act as constraints on sociocultural systems are far less understood than physical laws. Man-made systems do not have this characteristic of adaptation directed at system persistence unless it is specifically incorporated in system design.

Analysed in terms of inputs, outputs and feedback

Inputs, outputs and feedback are fundamental to all open adaptive systems. They are the categories which define an open system. The particular system under study is defined by the content of inputs and outputs, which are infinitely variable. By definition inputs originate outside the system under study. Thus a system cannot itself encompass everything that is relevant to it. That inclusivity is reserved for its metasystem.

Feedback is information about system effects which, when fed back into the system, is capable of altering its behavior. Negative feedback is deviation-reducing and positive feedback is deviation-amplifying. When positive or negative is not specified, negative is implied. All open systems obtain negative feedback about the environmental effects of past performances and, according to the degree of sophistication of the system, make adjustments that reduce deviation from goals; this is essential for system persistence. Positive feedback refers to a process whereby information that a certain effect was produced elicits more of the same. Positive feedback can cause the amplification of 'bad' or destabilizing effects, but even 'good' effects can become destabilising in excess (see Maruyama 1963). Easton does not distinguish types of feedback and his approach to feedback is criticised in a later section of this chapter.

The model in a political context

Easton argues that by using the input/output/feedback model for organizing data about political activity we can reveal the patterns which have survival logic at a macro-level for all societies. He uses the general systems model, identifying demands and support as two separate inputs, and decisions and actions as a stream of outputs:

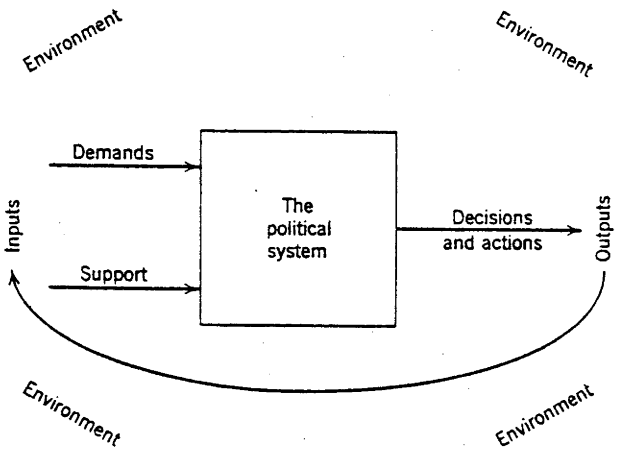


FIGURE 3.2 EASTON'S SIMPLIFIED MODEL OF A POLITICAL SYSTEM (Easton 1965b:32). The key phrases used in the analysis, (summarised from his text), are as follows:

inputs	=	demands and support from the society
outputs	=	laws and other binding pronouncements, messages of cultural reinforcement, coercion
environment	=	society
feedback information	=	past successes and failures influencing the next round of political demands and support
feedback channels	=	potentially the whole of society
system	=	the political system, a set of interactions abstracted from the totality of social behavior behavoir
system process	=	transformation of demands into binding decisions
system function	=	the authoritative allocation of values for that society
political life	=	the whole flow process.

PERFORMANCE AND FAILURE

Eastonian analysis is distinctive with respect to performance and failure of the political system. Unlike most political analysis, it is not addressed to the activities of political parties but to the performance of a socially necessary function, that of the authoritative allocation of values within the society. It is this function which defines the relationship between political system and society and which is, therefore, the source of fundamental insights into the directions in which political systems develop. Whilst the authoritative allocation of values for society as an identifier-phrase for political activity is not as catchy as Lasswell's *Politics: Who gets What, When, How* (Lasswell 1958), it is equally well known. The value of Easton's formulation emerges when we examine the range of ideas that it encompasses.

The word **authoritative** limits the scope of interest to those activities which must pass through authorities, whether these be bodies established by the state for the purpose of implementing governmental decisions or proto-authorities in very small-scale societies where the empirical manifestations of social authority may be a group of elders in ad hoc discussion. 'An allocation is authoritative when the persons oriented to it consider that they are bound by it' (Easton 1965b:50). Often this statement will be synonymous with legal sanctions being available for non-compliance, but the wording that Easton chooses can encompass binding decisions in a traditional society where there are no laws as we know them. The definition also accommodates the situation in modern society when many outputs of the political system do not have the status of law and yet people feel bound to comply.

The distinctive characteristic of authoritative allocation is that the weight of society is deemed to be backing the particular decision. It thereby excludes from the domain of Eastonian systems analysis all sorts of allocations made in society by other means *ie* those valued things which are distributed in non-political ways. For example, there is status value in certain jobs, a value which is largely allocated through the educational system. As another example, many financial allocations are made through the economic system in the exchange of goods, services and money. But some financial benefits are allocated through the political system; pensions are one example; export promotion subsidies another. In this latter case of export promotion subsidies as an authoritative allocation of values, the money involved, $296m in the 1983/4 Australian Budget (ACPI 1984:45), could be obtained without recourse to the political system if a number of producers agreed to subsidise a particular product for export. They might do this in the belief that overseas success for the chosen product would improve their own production. That would be an export promotion subsidy allocated through the economic system. In the politically-oriented case the promotional funds

come via a government authority from taxpayers. Politically-allocated subsidies are highly sought after for several reasons. The subsidy recipient may claim that the democratic political system has adjudged his efforts to be in the national interest. Equally likely, or more likely perhaps, are pragmatic reasons. The dispersion of those paying taxes makes them powerless to exercise control over the exporter whereas the group of allied producers are better able, and more likely, to exercise control and limit the freedom of action of the exporter with respect to the funds. Thus, whether for moral reasons or otherwise, there is great competition to have rights (financial and otherwise) allocated through the political system.

The word **values** in the definition is an abbreviation of an otherwise cumbersome list consisting of rights and duties, financial gains and losses when allocated through the political system, and status-type benefits which are allocated in the same way. Easton uses the omnibus term 'values' so that both material and psychological things may be encompassed and the particular things and psychological goods may vary between societies. In a modern democracy material things which are authoritatively given or taken away through the political process include, most obviously, money, in the form of taxes, grants, subsidies etc. To a lesser extent, goods are also confiscated or distributed (for example, marihuana crops are confiscated, military uniforms are distributed). Non-material allocations range from those which are close to tangible allocation such as granting licenses or the right to establish a monopoly (*eg* the Wheat Marketing Board) through to status oriented-allocations such as giving the right to vote to young people or to Aborigines.

The authoritative allocation of values **for society** identifies the fact that the political system serves a function for society as a whole. In fact it can be described as an essential subsystem of society, given that each and every society must have this function performed in some way. Therefore the strength of Easton's definition comes from being inclusive enough to cover all societies yet not so general as to be meaningless. Each society, from tribal groupings, through dynastic empires to modern regimes (military, dictatorial, monarchic and democratic), has some means of reaching decisions that are binding upon the whole of that society.

System Performance

The political system processes demands into authoritative decisions and these have to be such that most people will obey most of them most of the time. Whilst this may sound rather vague at first reading it is a statement that is capable of supporting a workable and realistic analytic interpretation. The 'most people/most decisions/ most of the time' formulation allows that some people can disobey some of the authoritative

outputs. It also allows that some people can disobey some decisions all the time and that there may be some outputs which can be ignored by virtually everyone and yet the political system will not be unduly stressed. In concrete situations we can point to specific individuals whose compliance or otherwise is more important for the political system than mass response. Similarly not all laws are equally important. It is possible to make some generalizations about types and their relative significance, but to do so would be to digress into a taxonomic exercise that is irrelevant to the present purpose of explaining what system performance and persistence means in systems analysis.

The system is performing satisfactorily if it can handle the flow of inputs and a high level of compliance is occurring with respect to its outputs, irrespective of the means of obtaining that compliance, irrespective of the nature of the outputs to which that compliance is directed, and irrespective of which individuals hold authority positions and how they obtained them. System performance can be evaluated, using Easton's framework, without reference to the specifics of what decisions are made by whom for whose benefit. Policy shift, replacement of individuals occupying particular roles and changes in government procedures, and even the overthrow of regime types, can be viewed as systemic adaptations necessary for system persistence (Easton 1965b:320-323).

This generality is limited, however, when we confine our interest to the subset of political systems known as 'Western democracies'. In these, implied threats of coercion play a small part in obtaining compliance with the activities of the authorities. Obedience rests on cultural legitimation and the cultivation of suitable attitudes in the population, thus considerably restricting the range of adaptive responses available to the system concurrent with remaining a Western democracy. Whilst at the most general level of analysis a political system can adapt to changing circumstances by replacing a democracy with a military dictatorship, such a system would no longer be part of the subset 'Western democracies'. The political system, viewed as an essential subsystem of society, would not have failed. Rather it would have succeeded in adapting to changing circumstances, and historical changes of this kind are not uncommon in history. But on a more local and involved plane, the gross parameters of political system persistence are unacceptable. We would deem a change to rule by military dictatorship a failure of the political system. Neverthless, it is useful to recognize that a political system can perform the authoritative allocation of values for society successfully under arrangements other than the current institutional structure.

System failure

When we take an Eastonian approach to analysis of political activity, system failure occurs when the authorities are unable to make decisions, or when their decisions are not accepted as binding. Although failure is directly evidenced by failure on the part of the authorities, we should not equate this to loss of confidence in particular politicians. System failure means the final loss of support for three political objects: the political community, the regime and the authorities, (described in Chs 11, 12, and 13 respectively of *A Systems Analysis of Political Life*). In respect of the *political community*, Easton says:

> This concept, as I shall now use it, will refer to that aspect of a political system that consists of its members seen as a group of persons bound together by a political division of labor (Easton 1965b:177).

Political community is the *sine qua non* of a political system. It refers to the linking of a group of people through a political division of labour. Their involvement may be extensive and active, or minimal and just compliance born of powerlessness, but it is meaningful to speak of the political system persisting so long as the political community is maintained, even if regime structures and personnel occupying authority roles change.

The term **regime** refers to 'The basic procedures and rules relating to the means through which controversy over demands was to be regulated' (Easton 1965b:191). Attachment to regime norms is especially important in democracies. Disagreement about substantive issues and personalities need not, and usually does not, affect attachment to existing regime type for the majority of the population. The regime concept has three components: norms, structure and values. Norms are the pragmatic operating rules of authorities, regime structure is the institutional framework of a particular system, and values are ideological symbols associated with a regime, operating as parametric constraints on any given political culture. The complexity of contemporary society is such that it is hard to find values held in common right across the political community. Value consensus as a positive motivator belongs to sub-groups rather than community. Sometimes values are more unifying in their negative form, by the limits they impose upon political action, than for the specific objectives they dictate or the universal consensus they commend (Easton 1965b:198). An example of a value statement of the kind to which there is a common negative response might be 'to leave the poor/sick to fend for themselves'. This is unacceptable to all value sets within our political community.

The authorities are occupants of authority roles. To be a member of the authorities a person

> must engage in the daily affairs of a political system; they must be recognized by most members of the system as having the responsibility for these matters; and their actions must be accepted as binding most of the time by most of the members as long as they act within the limits of their roles (Easton 1965b:212).

In modern societies the authorities are political leaders (in the role of the executive), legislative representatives, persons employed in government bureaucracies (the administrative service) and the military establishment (Easton 1965b:97). 'The authorities' refers to individual people as distinct from the roles they occupy, which roles are part of the regime structure. For example, the prime ministership is a role in parliamentary democracy. The individual prime ministers are part of the authorities. Easton's definition of the authorities includes persons of little political significance for it encompasses all minor officials as well as key persons. And it excludes persons of high political relevance who do not occupy authority roles (Easton 1965b:214-5). His discussion of the relationship between political relevance and the authorities can be summarised in the Venn diagram below in which the **political community** is the entire adult population (excluding foreign visitors, diplomats, criminals, and the insane). **Politically relevant members** of the community are those who share in the effective power of the system. They are the pre-processors of demands, gatekeepers within the authority structures, and the mediators of support (Easton 1965b:154,425/6). The **authorities** are those persons who occupy authority roles in the regime.

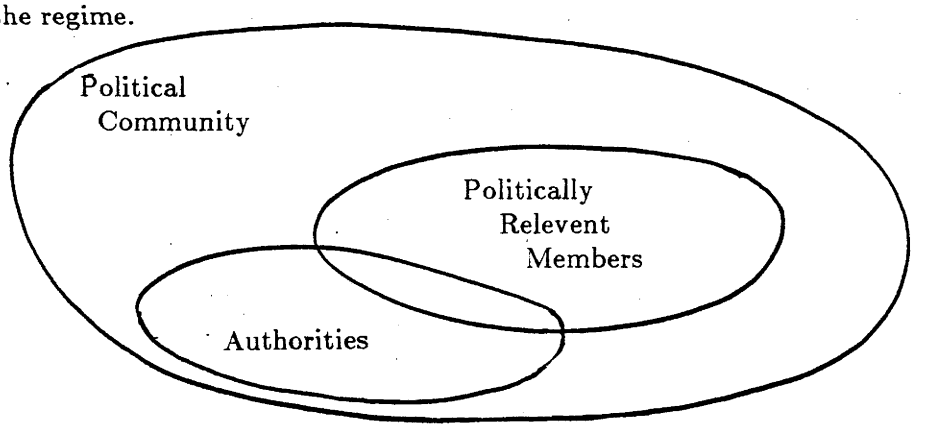


FIGURE 3.3 VENN DIAGRAM ILLUSTRATING THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN AUTHORITIES AND POLITICALLY RELEVANT MEMBERS.

The drawing indicates that some occupants of authority roles are not politically relevant in the sense defined, and that some persons who are politically relevant, but by no means all, also occupy authority roles. Some members of the authorities may have no political clout beyond their vote. In the extreme the authorities *en masse* could be puppets of the powerful, and still they would be a necessary analytic category, for it is the authorities who must be obeyed by most of the people most of the time. Normal operation of the political system requires support for the current

authorities and regime in order that processing of wants into binding outputs can proceed. Interruptions at each level must be temporary if the political system is to persist.

> Change of a system will turn out to mean change of one or another of these objects and only where all objects change simultaneously can we consider that the former system has totally disappeared. Conversely, a system may persist in toto or only with respect to one of its basic objects. It will also become apparent that modification in one or another of the objects may represent a fundamental way through which systems are able to cope with stress from the environment and to keep some kind of political system in operation for the particular society (Easton 1965b:172).

Thus the political system has totally failed when all objects change simultaneously. The second sentence of the above quotation however, says that, conversly, a system may persist with respect to one of its basic objects only. I doubt this, and think that the only one for which this is possible, even as a temporary situation, is the political community. As for the others, support for the authorities presupposes support for the regime, which presupposes support for the political community. This point is developed further in the critique section of this chapter (page 74).

TYPES OF INPUTS, OUTPUTS, AND CHARACTERISTIC PROCESSES

This heading summarises the key variables and processes of the political system, as presented by Easton. In this approach, items need be selected for analysis only if the interactions they produce are threatening to system survival. Thus the key to understanding political system persistence is to understand how it copes with potentially destructive stress. Disturbances to the system are continuous and multifarious. Stress occurs when these disturbances cannot be handled by the normal patterns of response. Easton abstracts stress indicators from the myriad actions and interactions that constitute and surround the political system and finds that stress is caused by excessive demands (to be elaborated below) and is reflected in loss of support for the system.

Inputs to the political system

In the Eastonian approach to the study of political life only two types of inputs to a political system, DEMANDS and SUPPORT, need be considered as these variables pick up all interactions that are treatening to system survival. Everything that affects system survival is transmitted to the system via these two variables. Easton says: 'it is through fluctuations in the inputs of demands and support that we shall find the effects of the environmental system transmitted to the political system' (Easton 1965b:27). Although very many interactions take place between system and

environment, everything that is relevant to system persistence is reflected in those two kinds of inputs. They are, however, treated as analytically distinct. This is in contrast to the usual way of looking at inputs to the political system. Usually they are combined, as in 'support for a set of demands'. But for this type of analysis demands and support need to be viewed as separate inputs because demands are a source of stress whereas support is not a direct source of stress – loss of support is an **indicator** that the system is not coping well, and thus is essential information for the system, but is not of itself a cause of system failure.

Demands

Demands are summary variables. Everything that happens in society which is of relevance to political system survival is picked up by Easton's definition of demands. Any desired situation, the achievement of which is sought through the political system, will have to be acted on by the authorities in some way and therefore the request for it will have to be expressed to some part of the authority structure. What makes demands political is that the *imprimatur* of social approval, the weight of society, is sought for the demand's satisfaction. Most demands emanating from the generic category 'wants' are satisfied otherwise.

The nature of demands

'By definition demands are articulated statements, directed toward the authorities, proposing that some kind of authoritative allocation ought to be undertaken' (Easton 1965a:120). Easton distinguishes demands from expectations, motivations, interests, ideology, preferences and public opinion (Easton 1965b:41-47). For convenience he puts all of these (except public opinion) together and gives them the generic label 'wants'. Examples of various concepts of 'wants' illustrate the meaning that Easton attaches to them as distinct from the input of demands. One concept from the generic category 'wants' is that of expectations which can be illustrated by saying that it is expected that certain conventions will be observed, such as that people will act according to certain rules of compromise and negotiation. Failure of these expectations to be fulfilled is generally a matter of personal disappointment. In rare cases the expectation may lead to a demand that the authorities do something about it. Motives may give rise to demands but whilst they are in the domain of 'state of mind' they lie outside the scope of the type of analysis being undertaken here. Interests may be closely linked to particular sets of demands but there is a conceptual distinction between the two. Interests in political activity are instrumental values, the means through which a person or group seeks to implement actions beneficial to that group. The associated demands are a specification of part of those interests. Ideology is much wider than a set of demands, although in some instances it is meaningful to

speak of the two things as coterminous. For example, free market ideology might, for some people, be equivalent to a set of demands for the removal of government controls and nothing more. Preferences may include that a particular person be leader of a party without there being any direct expression for a change in that direction; and until it has been voiced as a demand it is not included in Eastonian systems analysis. Public opinion is also related to, but not the same as, demands. People may express opinions favouring more housing for the poor but fail to support moves to allocate more finances to it in the belief that other priorities are more urgent. That is not to say that public opinion (and the other categories mentioned in this paragraph) are unimportant to practical politics. A politician or would-be politician needs to be in touch with the smorgasboard of potential future directions that are to be found in public opinion, expectations, motivations, interests, ideology and preferences, for on the skill, or luck, with which he/she identifies with trends of the future hangs that person's career. But for the political system *as a system* no response is required to these other expressions. Only when they are voiced to relevant persons do they become important to Eastonian systems analysis.

There is nothing counter-intuitive about the use of the word 'demands' nor about the distinctions that Easton makes between them and wants, but the distinctions permit the delineation of a boundary to the political system. Wants are in the environment. If they are voiced as a demand that something should be done about them through the political system, then they are considered to have crossed into the political system. 'Demands as input' for a systems analysis is a threshold concept. The precise definition of the boundary where such a threshold exists is unimportant, as it is not a spatio-temporal unit of analysis. What counts is that the inputs originate outside the system under consideration; inputs are by definition outside the system. This requirement is met because articulated demands are preceded by some activity from the 'wants' category.

Content of demands: Regularities can be observed in the content of demands even without being specific as to the cultural context. To make demands for an authoritative allocation of many valued things is fundamental to social life, and they fall into a limited number of categories. There can be demands to allocate good things to the requesting group or bad things to others; or to PREVENT the imposition of undesirable values on the requesting group, or to prevent others from access to desired things. They may be addressed directly to the authorities or to their perceived alternatives. Political demands are not necessarily self-seeking; they may also be altruistic in their intended outcomes, or entirely phoney, voiced to serve some other end (Easton 1965b:41).

When a cultural context is introduced we can observe the norms that pattern what is acceptable within a society and what is not up for consideration, and these patterns vary between societies. A demand to limit age difference between spouses to twenty years would not be entertained in Australia; in Nepal it has been a political matter (Easton 1965b:101). Cultural norms change over time, but do so in the 'slow lane' in comparison to the rate of flow of demands. Cultural norms will need to be understood and documented if modelling of the political system is to have any practical significance.

Support as an input to the political system

Support is the input variable that summarises information relevant to the increase or decrease of support for the system (Easton 1965b:Chs 17-21). For analytical purposes Easton divides support into **specific support** which is directly linked to attainment of demands and is thus primarily directed at authorities (the incumbents of the existing regime), and **diffuse support**, which refers to a general commitment, directed towards the perpetuation of a particular regime type (*eg* a parliamentary democracy) and general sentiments like patriotism. Diffuse support also applies to the most general level of commitment, namely to the political community, defined by Easton as 'a group of persons bound together by a political division of labour' (Easton 1965b:177). The analytically-important difference between specific and diffuse support is that diffuse support is independent of the effects of daily outputs of the political system.

A further point raised by Easton about support concerns measurability. He distinguishes **overt** and **covert** support, saying that the indicators of overt support are observable actions, past and present, but that covert support may not be the same as that expressed overtly. Covert support, however, would be the better indicator for the future,[1] but the required measurement techniques were not then available, saying that theory has outdistanced the current capabilities of empirical technology:

> theory..(must) face up to the requirements of a satisfactory political analysis and pursue these ends even when the technical means for the implied research have yet to be devised. Just as computer technology has today provided empirical research workers with techniques that in the social sciences have already outrun the theoretical capacity of these disciplines to utilise the machines fully, so at times theory itself may outdistance the current capabilities of empirical technology. In each case, efforts of the one to catch

[1] A recent demonstration of this proposition is to be found in the Philippines, where overt support indicators for President Marcos were not in line with covert feelings for a decade or so; the overt actions of voting for Marcos on the part of many Filipinos were brought about by bribery or fear.

> up to the other are not only unavoidable; they are an essential ingredient of scientific progress (Easton 1965b:169-70).

The scaling techniques popular for attitude measurement at the time Easton wrote the above were indeed unable to match theoretical requirements for measuring subjective political views, but there has been progress. Part two of this thesis uses a methodology that is both reliable and sensitive to much of the complexity of attitudinal information and is perhaps capable of matching Easton's theoretical requirements.

Outputs of the Political System

Outputs are the authoritative and associated actions and messages from the political system. Authoritative outputs comprise the formal (legal) decisions and actions of the authorities. Associated outputs are decisions, actions, policies, rationales, and commitments that lack formal sanction by the might of the state and yet function so as 'to be virtually indistinguishable from the binding outputs with respect both to the goals of the system and to the effect on support' (Easton 1965b:352).

Easton suggests that we take a threefold look at the outputs of the political system: (i) as *products* of the political system; (ii) as *raw material* for feedback; and (iii) as dynamic *coping mechanisms*. The traditional focus of research is on outputs of the political system as products only. Such studies might investigate how particular legislation or policies are altered, delayed, hastened, truncated, or whatever, with interest terminating when the legislation is promulgated. In systems analysis, arriving at a decision is only one third of the story about outputs, but an important third because 'outputs as product' alter the balance of distribution within the society. Some groups that were seeking a change in their favour are now in the position of protecting what they have achieved; others perhaps see an opportunity to advance, having been shown new paths by the success of others.

Outputs are raw material for feedback information in that they have a considerable influence on what is subsequently seen as the realm of the possible. This aspect of outputs is the attitudinal counterpart of the formal products of the political system. It concerns what people believe to be the true outcomes of legislation and policies; in other words, people's interpretation of the links between demands, process, outputs (official) and outcomes (actual effects). Interpretations filter facts and it is the perceptions of reality that shape future demands. Easton's interpretation of feedback is discussed at greater length later in the chapter.

The third role of outputs, as coping mechanisms, is distinctive to systems analysis and

directs our attention to the power of the authorities to plan for future inputs through a strategic use of outputs. Thus outputs are not merely the product of a:

> passive summation of demands, as though the role of the authorities were to add up the pros and cons in a controversy, compare one demand with another, cancel or modify one in favor of another and so forth, until, using the rules of the game in the system, they arrive at some decision or output and reconcile conflicts among relevant members.
> On the contrary, the authorities, or those politically relevant members under whose inspiration they are acting, are able to intervene positively in the course of events (Easton 1965b:346).

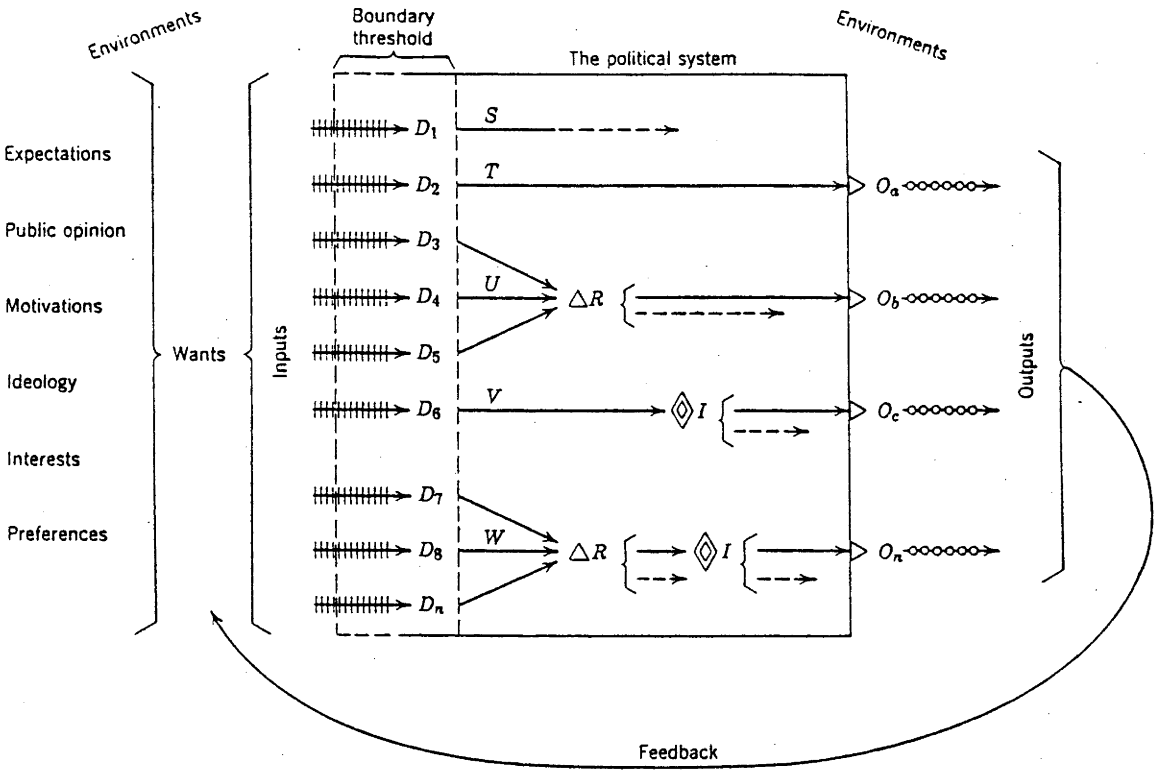
Easton is contrasting a systems approach with conventional approaches to political analysis which tend to see political activity as bargaining or power plays between individuals or groups. The question of systemic control simply does not arise in conventional treatment of political activity. At best, economic constraints are noted and occasionally bureaucratic constraints also, but all the positive action is assumed to stem from the individual interests and power positions of the players. Systems analysis acknowledges individual and group interests and relative power positions to be influential on outcomes, but, in addition, looks at how the outputs affect stress on the system. Rather than accepting a passive role, the adaptive political system helps itself to cope with inputs by shaping them.

Characteristic processes

Combination and reduction of demands are the most characteristic activities of the political system, whose culmination is the transformation of some demands into authoritative outputs. Law-making is a small, albeit important, aspect of political activity, and monitoring the effect of outputs is another characteristic process, associated with the Eastonian view that the system uses its outputs strategically to influence future demands. The large 'economic management' component of modern governments should not blind us to the essential function of this subsystem of society.

The characteristic procedure is for wants to be combined and amended through a series of gatekeeping functions and for a much smaller number of 'issues' to be presented for legislative authorisation or other method of making a binding decision. Few of the original demands are transformed into binding decisions; but, provided the populace support the procedures employed during the reduction, combination and selection process the outcomes are obeyed. Easton's diagram illustrating the options is as follows:

FIGURE 3.4 TYPES OF DEMAND FLOW PATTERNS (Easton 1965b:75/5).



LEGEND AND EXPLANATIONS

Environments: These include the intra- and extra-societal environments indicated on Table 1, in Chapter 2.

Boundary threshold: This is shown as a broad band, indefinite as to limits, in order to indicate that it matters little whether we interpret the conversion of wants as taking place in the environments or in the system.

Wants: By definition this term refers to expectations, opinions, motivations, ideology, interests and preferences, out of which demands arise or by which demands are shaped.

Conversion points:

Symbol	Reference	Interpretation
⇉	D_{1-n}	Voicing of demands: The shaded arrows represent the points of entry and inflow of demands. They indicate that varying wants have been voiced as demands. The letters *D* and their subscripts identify different demands.
→ --→	*S* to *W*	Flow channels and patterns: The solid arrows represent the channels along which demands flow, and the broken arrows suggest the disappearance of the demands. The letters identify the five basic types of flow patterns that demands may take.
△	*R*	Reduction and combining points: Once a demand is part of the political processes, it may be modified or combined with others, thereby reducing the total number of demands in the system. Reducing units: These are not shown but may consist of any individuals or groups in the system. Typically, in modern systems they take the form of parties, opinion leaders, elites, interest groups, legislators, administrators, and the like.
◈	*I*	Conversion to issues: At some stage demands are transformed into issues; from these a selection is ultimately made for conversion to outputs.
▷ ⇝	O_{a-n}	Conversion to outputs: Demands in their original or processed form are turned into decisions and associated actions. The subscripts identify different outputs. The circled arrows represent the flow of the outputs into the environments. Output units: Outputs are produced and implemented by the authorities.

Feedback: Although this is shown as a single line, in fact it represents extremely numerous feedback channels. They represent the paths taken through the environment by outputs as they influence prior wants and demands.

The conversion of demands into legislation was much studied in political science prior to any contributions from Easton. The value of his systems model with respect to the process of converting demands into socially-binding decisions is that it reveals two interesting aspects of the political process which do not receive much attention: the need to satisfactorily process demands without granting them; and the cultural nexus of authoritative decisionmaking with the legislature, the judiciary, and the executive. The first of these, the need to satisfactorily process demands without granting them, does not lie within the scope of this thesis (but see Easton Chs 17-21 and parts of Chs 25 & 28 for an elaboration of this idea). The second point, concerning expectations about where authoritative decisionmaking takes place, is pertinent to this thesis. The Accord can be viewed as a cultural mechanism for the regulation of demands. It can also be viewed as part of the structure for the transformation of demands into socially-binding decisions. This thesis has chosen the perspective in which demand overload is the characteristic source of stress for Western democracies, hence stress reduction and irreconcilable demands are introduced in more detail than other aspects of his work.

Stress reduction

Some stress reduction mechanisms act to reduce the input of stressful demands, others to build up support by manipulation of outputs and cultural legitimation, as greater support increases the stress tolerance level of the system. Easton divides stressful demands into those which cause trouble simply on the basis of excessive quantity and those of irreconcilable content. A single and obvious theme underlies all the ways of dealing with excess volume demand stress; that is, to reduce the number of demands that the system must deal with. In democracies cultural mechanisms of reduction and legitimation are usually involved. Cultural and structural forms, internal and external to the political system, are outlined by Easton as follows (page and chapter numbers refer to *A Systems Analysis of Political Life*):

STRUCTURAL REDUCTION MECHANISMS
external to the political system are to
. limit the number of authorised access points (93-95)
. increase outer processing layers (Ch.6)
internal to the political system are to
. limit channel capacity
. impose delaying timetables (134)
. increase the number of 'gatekeeping' functions along the way (133)
. force combinations (Ch.8 & Ch.9 to p. 139)

CULTURAL REDUCTION MECHANISMS
external to the political system are to
. limit the range of wishes, desires, *etc* which become converted to demands (Ch.7)

internal to the political system
. elite ideology
. legitimating issue formation (140-149).

All the ways of reducing demand stress (except issue formation/combination when this is based on genuine consensus) have the potential to reduce support for the system because they all seek to exclude demands from consideration; their advocates are, therefore, refused satisfaction. Potential negative responses are pre-emptively counterbalanced with ideological reinforcement to boost support (Easton 1965b:Chs 16 & 21).

Irreconcilable demands

Many political allocations have the characteristic of zero-sum games in that whenever some persons gain or are pleased by an outcome, others lose or are dissatisfied with the allocation. A situation of irreconcilable demands is often referred to as 'political cleavage', and Easton uses that term as well as calling it content stress and stress from irreconcilable demands. The major response to this source of stress is reinforced legitimation of the regime *ie* bolstering diffuse support for the basic social order; but it is also possible to try to move contentious issues out of the political arena.

In most Western democracies work-related matters generate a large and growing body of demands on the political system which are irreconcilable through legislation, raising the spectre of increased class conflict unless the political system makes appropriate changes. This situation has developed since Easton wrote his major systems texts and hence is not covered in his works. We shall return to the subject in Chapter 5 when making a systems analysis of the Accord, but it is appropriate to discuss Easton's concept of critical zones in preparation for that further discussion.

Stress occurs when the multitudinous disturbances perceived by the political system cannot be handled by the normal patterns of response, and Easton then speaks of 'critical zones' for the essential variables: collapse of the system is possible. 'Stress will be said to occur when there is a danger that the essential variables will be pushed beyond what we may designate as their critical range' (Easton 1965b:24). If the system is pushed to the outer edge of the critical zone, then collapse of the system is possible. For analysis of concrete situations, however, the search for new response patterns is of greatest interest. I suggest, therefore, that normal operation and collapse be considered as limiting cases on a polar continuum, along which two types of adaptation are broadly distinguished: the adaptive zone in which evolutionary change takes place, and the critical zone, in which radical transformation occurs. Adaptive responses to varying degrees of destablilising inputs could then be illustrated as follows:

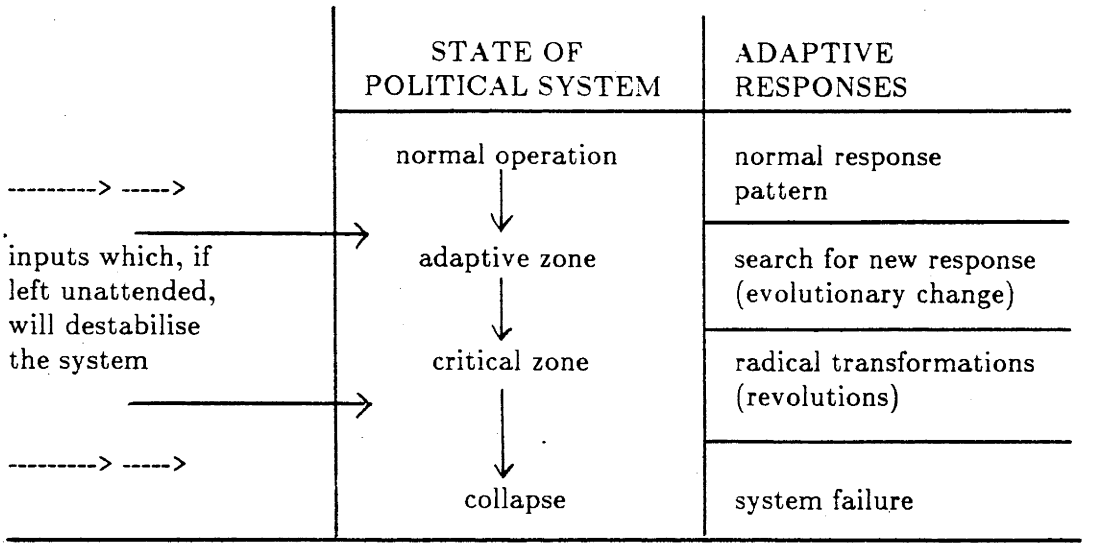


FIGURE 3.5 RANGE OF POLITICAL SYSTEM ADAPTATIONS.

The above tabulation is derived from Easton but includes an extra division, the adaptive zone. For Easton, normal operation of the system is stress-free and the critical zone includes all stressful levels, but it seems useful to distinguish radical transformations from those which leave the bulk of the system as is, whilst yet making permanant and significant changes. I found it necessary to suggest this because the Accord falls outside the normal operation of the Australian political system as we have come to know it during this century, and yet it seems too dramatic to say that we are in a critical zone. The Accord is a new kind of response by the political system, and it is likely to change the complexion of political life in this country in a permanent and significant way.

A CRITIQUE OF EASTON'S MODEL

Easton's work on a systems view of political life received much critical comment during the years following publication of *A Framework for Political Analysis* and *A Systems Analysis of Political Life*, but the criticisms generally failed to address specifically systems-theory aspects of his work. My interest in the work of David Easton is specifically as the foundation for a systems analysis of political phenomena, and for future work in the construction of systems-based models of attitudinal aspects of the political process. I now critically appraise his use of the concept of feedback, comment on some confusion as to boundaries, and suggest that a stronger definition of system would be more productive. Some remarks by Phillip Converse about the Eastonian framework are the basis for comments about system persistence, and, to the extent that Easton was criticised as a functionalist, Appendix B 'Functionalism and the concept of function', answers those criticisms. including the charge of an equilibrium focus in systems theory. Other criticisms are not discussed in this thesis, except to say that many were demolitions of 'straw men' created by the critic and that most failed to understood that Easton introduced a new thought paradigm – the

systems paradigm – to political science rather than proferring a middle-range theory within the linear thought paradigm associated with repeatable, cause and effect type of scientific analysis.

Systemic feedback

Easton devotes four chapters to dealing with the feedback loop, feedback stimuli, the feedback response, and the communication of feedback response (Easton 1965b:Chs 23-26). But these four chapters deal with information flows of a kind that we are hard-pressed to consider as a political system's systemic feedback loop. Easton chose to contravene normal systems terminology in three ways. He extends the concept of feedback beyond information; he loses the transformation-control character of the feedback link; and he confuses information networks with systemic feedback loops.

Feedback in systems terminology, in 1965 as now, refers to information about outputs returning to the system and causing it to adjust its behavoir in response to that information. Easton declares that he is not limiting himself to information: 'The concept "feedback loop" is being suggested here as a way of identifying not only information that returns, but all the other actions directed toward taking advantage of this information', and postulates 'two interlocked processes: first, the regulative outputs of a system and their consequences; second, the information itself that is fed back about the state of the system and the consequences flowing from whatever regulative or adjusting actions have been undertaken by the authorities' (Easton 1965b:366-7). This is far too broad. I see not value, but much confusion in trying to make the concept of feedback stretch to cover all of these things. The standard meaning could be retained with respect to information, and the other actions directed towards taking advantage of this information could be called coping mechanism loops.

Directness of the loop

In standard use of the term, feedback is information that affects the behavoir of the system, which subsequently has effects on the outputs and thereby results in different disturbances from the environment. Easton implies a shortcut: that feedback enables the system to affect disturbances directly: 'In brief, the feedback loop ... enables a system to control and regulate the disturbances as they impress themselves on the system' (Easton 1965b:366). The net result of both the standard version and Easton's is that feedback information can improve control of the environment. In both the feedback information is an input to the system, so, in a simple diagram in which all inputs are subsumed under one heading, feedback information need not be differentiated from other inputs. For present purposes we need to distinguish it as a separate type of input:

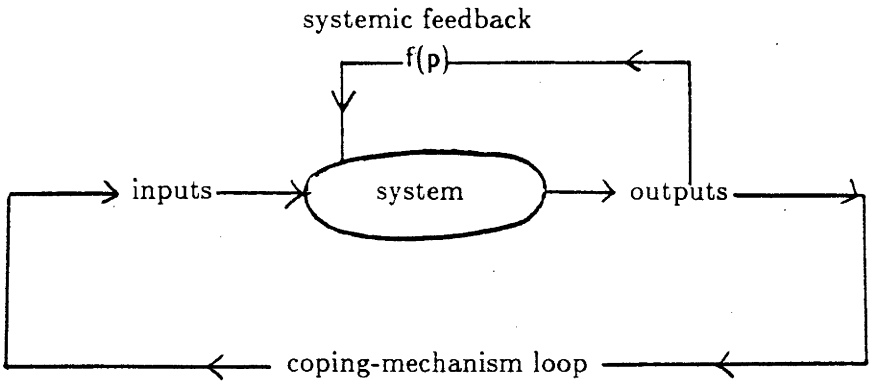


FIGURE 3.6 FEEDBACK AND COPING-MECHANISM LOOPS.

The sketch illustrates a systemic feedback loop in which the system's outputs are the input to a transfer function [f(p)] which modifies the information so that what goes back into the system will bring about some adjustment to future outputs. The other loop, which would be called the feedback loop in a single-input diagram, I have labelled the coping mechanism loop. That title describes the way Easton uses feedback for the most part. In his analysis outputs influence the environment of the political system, changing the individual perspectives of people and organizations, so encouraging them to alter the inputs that they present to the system. In his discussion of outputs, he calls this a coping mechanism of the political system in that, by the manipulation of outputs, it can influence the range and type of demands that are presented to it and the level of support for the various objects of the political system. The discussion implies that the loop passes through information networks in other subsystems of society before affecting the behavoir of the political system.

But does it matter if the loop is direct or via other subsystems of society? After all, the political system is continually responding to changes in the environment and itself changing that environment. It matters in two ways. Firstly, there is a body of research on systemic feedback, in cybernetics, which can be drawn upon for analysis of a systemic feedback loop, but which does not apply to social information networks. Secondly, for analytic purposes it is useful to be able to link types of adaptations with types of causes. One set of adaptations is linked to changes initiated via the systemic feedback loop. These are directed towards better achievement of the goals of the system, to staying on course. Another set of adaptations is linked to changing goals. These stem from social or economic changes which require a different pattern of authoritative allocations in the society, and lead to adaptation of the goals of the political system. This is well illustrated by three trends in Australia at the present

time. The three trends are those of an ageing population, combined with declining population growth, and increased mechanisation/computerisation in the economy. Their combination is making our traditional goal of universal support for the aged via government pensions inappropriate in that the 'value' of a decent standard of living in old age cannot continue to be met by the traditional route. The authoritative allocation of values of this country is moving to greater emphasis on private superannuation. It is surely worth distinguishing changes which keep the system on course as opposed to those which prompt new courses.

A third idiosyncratic use of terminology is that Easton seems to equate feedback loops with information networks. He presents the following diagram, called 'Multiple Feedback Loops of a Political Systems'.

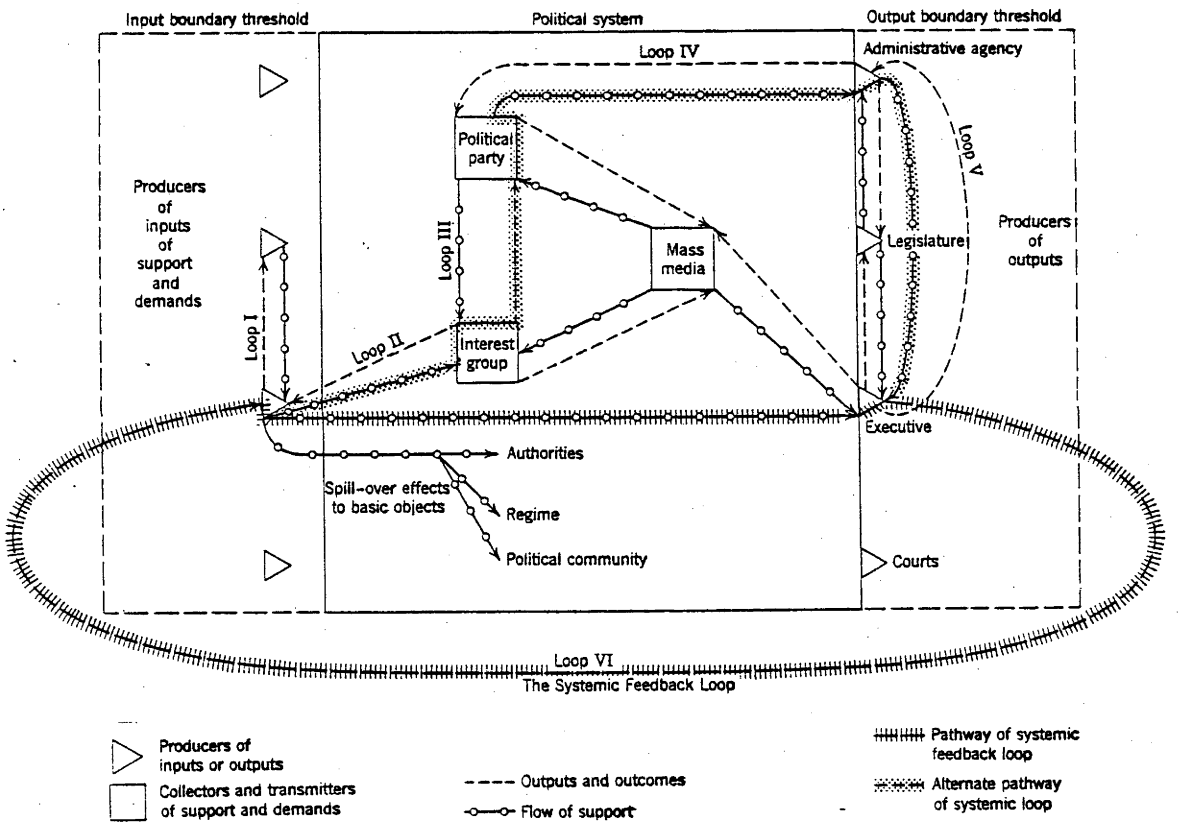


FIGURE 3.7 MULTIPLE FEEDBACK LOOPS OF A POLITICAL SYSTEM.
(Reproduced from Easton 1965b:374).

These loops, he says, are but an indication of the many possibilities, and 'Through the interlocking chain of feedback loops all of the participating members in any one loop may be coupled, if only loosely, with many other members in the system' (Easton 1965b:376). Once again he has extended the meaning of feedback beyond its normal use without advantage. Information networks and feedback loops are essentially different in two respects: (*i*) social information networks may link together units that are not parts of a system, but a feedback loop only exists with reference to an open

system, (*ii*) social information networks may be purpose-neutral, but a feedback loop is a feedback loop only if the information it carries serves to influence the behavoir of the system. I can see no good reason to deviate from the standard meaning of feedback. The feedback loop is a subset of information networks within which the political system and its members are involved (a subset restricted to information flows that link outputs to system directly), and the phrase 'coping mechanism loop' can be applied to the balance of matters that Easton tried to incorporate into the feedback concept.

Alternative unit of consideration

Systemic feedback can, however, be applied correctly to much of Easton's analysis in Chapters 23-26 if we changed the empirical unit that is considered as the system. A strictly systemic perspective on feedback could be obtained from the same material by making the systems under consideration organizations or individual members of the political system. Both of these units are themselves open adaptive systems and, as such, monitor their environment and the impact of their own actions on the environment. For the sake of ease in reading, let us talk of just one organization for the balance of this paragraph: the peak trade union organization, the ACTU. From the point of view of the ACTU as an organization, the political system is part of the environment. The demands of the leaders of the ACTU to the political system are outputs of the organizational system, the ACTU. What they perceive as the relationship concerning their own actions and the outputs of the political system affects their decisions on how to present their demands to the political system, adapting the behavoir of the organization, the ACTU, in such ways as will keep it on course with its goals (*ie* outputs of the political system provide feedback information to the adaptive system, the ACTU). Whilst such processes are feedback and they are concerned with the political system, they are at a different level of analysis to that of Easton's stated aim: to investigate the life processes of the political system as a whole.

There is less to be said about the systemic feedback loop of the political system than about those of individuals and organizations. The systemic feedback loop of the political system is beyond the direct cognition or proof of individuals. In the hierarchy of systems, the political system stands in a metasystemic relation to individuals. The systemic loop is pertinent to the system as a whole and hence is not directly knowable to subsystems. With regard to theories and proofs, political scientists are more like astronomers than chemists. We can deduce and postulate on the basis of theoretical knowledge gained in testable situations, match predictions from those theories to actual events and adjust them accordingly, but we cannot prove a postulated relationship by experimentation. Studying the political system is not like chemistry

where you can hold all factors except the test variable constant and in which effects of changes should be repeatable under similar conditions. But I digress beyond the scope of this thesis.

To conclude the criticism of Easton's use of the feedback concept, the substance of his analysis is not in question. I have been criticising the choice of labels. There are many insights to be derived from Easton's treatment of feedback for any full-scale operationalising of a systems model of politics. For such a model would necessarily be multi-dimensional and multi-levelled and therefore material that is appropriate to individuals and organizations has a place in the overall scheme. Now we turn to an aspect of Easton's analysis of feedback which I consider to be a very valuable contribution to political science, namely, his explicit recognition of indeterminate chains of cause and effect and the implication of this for the role of perception.

Indeterminate chains of cause and effect

The question of perception is central to systems analysis of democracies. What people perceive as outcomes of activities of the political system is what influences their future behavoir. This almost self-evident statement carries implications that are not self-evident. Its significance rests on the anastomotic reticulum[2] characteristics of modern political systems. Easton calls this 'the indeterminate chain of cause and effect' but the more obscure phrase 'anastomotic reticulum' is preferable because 'cause and effect' has such deep-seated resonances in our educated Western psyches that putting the word 'indeterminate' in front of it does not over-ride the evocation of causal connections. The concept that we are looking at is precisely that of inability to trace causal connections. The unfamiliar phrase is therefore justified.

The anastomotic reticulum concept is of great importance in political science, and particularly in the study of ideational aspects of our subject matter, because when reasoned cause and effect cannot provide the guide to thought and action, other psychological processes come into effect. Easton says that 'Aside from any other consideration, the importance of perception in the feedback process is multiplied to an

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[2]Stafford Beer's phrase for situations in which unique input and output channels cannot be identified, only batches of them. A lot of information arrives at a point (a person. an office, an organization) and many activities ensue but we cannot specify a transfer function, except in trivial cases. He makes an analogy with a river delta in which there are many streams flowing to the sea or to the flood plain and the streams branch repeatedly, flowing into each other. There is no way of tracing the route by which a particular pailful of water taken from the sea arrived there; there is no way of saying from which source or sources it originally came (Beer 1981:30). The Macquarie Dictionary defines ANASTOMOSIS as the connections between parts of any branching system and RETICULUM as a network; any reticulated system or structure.

extraordinary degree by the highly indeterminate character of the chain of cause and effect in social matters' (Easton 1965b:392). When faced with effects whose sources cannot be traced unambiguously, mediated perceptions and their associated attitude structures have paramount importance as feedback stimuli. Not all who mediate the interpretations of outputs of the political system do so honestly, and even when they do, their preconceptions play a large part in their sincere interpretations. Several sets of differing perceptions can, and typically do, co-exist on any given issue. So where lies the objective truth as to effects of outputs? No doubt there are some policies whose effects are unambiguous. If outputs have traceable effects and there is a clear accepted interpretation, the coping mechanism loop of the political system can influence inputs by changing the policy effect of those outputs. But a large percentage of policies have anastomotic effects. What if the majority of authoritative allocations of values cannot be causally linked to their full range of outcomes? Easton has identified the need for political science to address anastomotic reticula; it follows that different techniques are required for analysis will be required than those which are appropriate of the analysis of linear cause-effect relationships. No solutions to answer this need are supplied by Easton, not by this thesis, but the point was raised as an important contextual consideration in a thesis dealing with attitudes.

Boundaries between system and environment

There is some lack of clarity concerning the boundaries between environment and system in Easton's main systems texts. His view is summarised in the following diagram, taken from *A Systems Analysis of Political Life*:

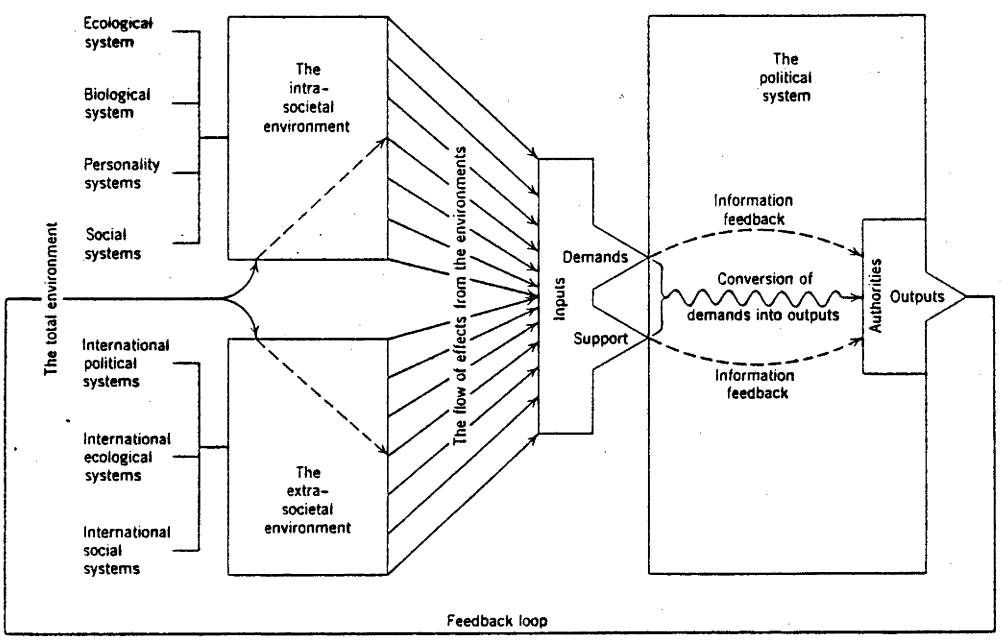

FIGURE 3.8 A DYNAMIC RESPONSE MODEL OF A POLITICAL SYSTEM.
(Reproduced from Easton 1965b:30).

The layout of the drawing indicates that the division into *intra*-societal and *extra*-societal environments is significant. That Easton thought environment to be a significant part of his overall scheme can be judged from the space devoted to it: Chapters 4 and 5 of *A Framework for Political Analysis*, and, *inter alia*, p. 21-33 of *A Systems Analysis of Political Life*. So much attention to environments seems strange. It contradicts his proposition that one of the key features of the systems approach is that it uses the inputs 'demands and support' to summarise all that is relevant for system persistence from the environment; *ie* without the need to look at sources (Easton 1965b:25/6,156). Furthermore, Easton never makes any use of the divisions. Even the major division into *intra*-societal and *extra*-societal environments do not figure in the balance of the text, and indeed, in a theoretical model of political system dynamics, the distinction between *intra-* and *extra*-societal environments would seem to be irrelevant. Inputs are inputs. By definition they originate outside the system under study and are what the system must transform into something else. Where inputs originate is certainly of interest to students of politics but it makes no difference to a systems analysis just which part of the environment was the source of inputs.

Easton's classification of environments is a useful taxonomic device, a checklist for cataloguing sources of inputs, reminding us to look both within the society and outside and, as such, has a place in an overall conceptual framework for political science. Even as a 'source of demands' diagram it could be improved. The source of some of the most significant inputs to the political system, namely the economic system, is subsumed under social systems, having been listed there in a more expanded table given earlier in the text (Easton 1965b:23). The result is disproportionate. Also, Easton's classification is not comprehensive by his own criteria. He says many demands are generated within the system (Easton 1965b:55), but there is no indication of that on the sketch, so it is not a comprehensive listing by his own standards. In summary, Easton's attention to the classification of environments is irrelevant to systems analysis, but nothing is lost by it. His conceptualisation of 'system' is a choice which carries more significant implications.

Easton's conceptualization of 'system'

Society is viewed as the suprasystem and he identifies a number of subsystems of society, such as political, economic, religious, but does not consider them to be more than **analytic systems** because persons participate in each of these. The individual

is a biological unit and society is the totality of those persons (Easton 1965a:38). This implies that there are no systemic levels between individuals and society. Once again we have an idiosyncratic approach which is less productive than more widely-accepted approaches, (but these views about the political system being only an analytic system are not repeated in *A Systems Analysis of Political Life*).

In *A Systems Analysis of Political Life* the difference between political life and the political system is not altogether clear. The problem is that Easton describes political life as a system of behavior and does not establish that that is different to an input-output system model; but we cannot treat political life as an input-output model because it has no inputs and no outputs. He speaks of political life as a system of behavior without defining it in *A Systems Analysis of Political Life* (Easton 1965b:17), having dealt with the subject in *A Framework for Political Analysis*, Chapter 2: 'Political Life as a System of Behavior'. There he says that his objects of reference are both the behaving and symbolic systems. The behaving system is the empirical behavoir which we observe and characterise as political life and the symbolic system is the abstracting of symbols through which to identify, describe, delimit and explain the behavoir of the empirical system. 'System here applies to a set of ideas or theory; hence we may call it a symbolic or theoretical system' (Easton 1965a:26). The net result of that chapter appears to be that the behaving system is 'empirical reality' and the symbolic system is the 'model'. That a model is a symbolic system is self-evident nowadays, although perhaps this needed to be discussed in the 1960s. Not so self-evident is the status of either the political system or political life as a behaving system. It is difficult to pursue the question further because Easton did not provide any basis for distinguishing a behaving system. We are left with 'political life' as a loose descriptive term that covers the political system and its inputs, outputs and feedback.

By 1979 Easton was no longer making the distinction between symbolic and behaving systems, although mentioning the abstracting role (Easton 1979:27). In this later work he implies that there is a progression through physical, living, and sociocultural systems, which idea is in line with suggestions of this thesis (to be developed in Chapter 4) as to the most useful way of making broad delineations to locate the social sciences in the general scheme of systems approaches. It seems reasonable to assume that Easton came to the view that to treat 'behaving systems' as a separate class was a non-productive line of research for political science.

Easton also seems to have undergone some change of mind concerning the notion of 'system' itself. In both *A Framework for Political Analysis* and *A Systems Analysis of Political Life* Easton uses a minimal definition of a system:

> any set of variables regardless of the degree of interrelationship among them. The reason for preferring this definition is that it frees us from the need to argue about whether a political system is or is not really a system. The only question of importance about a set selected as a system to be analyzed is whether this set constitutes an interesting one (Easton 1965b:21).

By 'freeing' us from the need to argue about whether a political system is or is not really a system Easton has also freed us from much of the power of the systems mode of analysis. His minimal definition of system encompasses all types of systems, including those of much lower orders of complexity than living systems. But society and the individuals who make it up are clearly not of a lower order than the generic category 'living system'. Therefore, there is no need to use a definition that is broad enough to include all systems, including very simple ones and artificially related sets. We should use system concepts that are more meaningful to complex naturally-ocurring systems.

It will be suggested in the following chapter that the hierarchic quality of living systems can add to the power of the Eastonian model. At this point we merely note that such a development is not inconsistent with some ideas expressed in the Easton texts that are the foundation of the theoretical approach of this thesis. The third chapter of *A Framework for Political Analysis*, 'The Theoretical Status of Systems', focussed on the analytic character of all social systems in a way that is reminiscent of Talcott Parsons (Parsons is not referred to in that chapter, but his influence is acknowledged by Easton elsewhere). By 1979 Easton refers to an analytic system without discussing 'system' *per se*, (Easton 1979:27). Four pages later he mentions the emergent quality of political systems as social systems and the distinction of these from physical and biological systems, indicating a development of ideas in a way that is sympathetic to the sociocultural systems approach taken in this thesis.

Persistence of the system

One frequently-mentioned dissatisfaction with the approach presented by Easton is that virtually all change is consistent with persistence of the political system. 'The nub of the problem' Converse said, 'is the negative case, or what it means for the political system in this most overarching sense to *fail to persist*', for once we have set aside any question of the persistence of <u>particular</u> modes of value-allocation, then we are looking at the collapse of societies by earthquake or epidemic, issues which 'scarcely strike me as theoretically exciting' (Converse 1965:1002). The systems approach of borrowing concepts from other disciplines can help out here. For whilst it may be true that the most fundamental explanation of political activity is to be found in acknowledging that the political system is an essential subsystem of society and

thus the two must co-exist, it is also true that a great many interesting questions concern changes that occur well short of collapse. Let us then introduce the notion of evolutionary change, originally developed in the biological sciences, and relate this to progressive loss of support for the political system. The consequences of lack of support can then be summarised as follows:

Object of Support	Effects of Lack of Support	Demand Efficacy
Authorities	personnel and minor structural changes to elections and other changes to the incumbents of authority roles	Demands for these changes can be effected through the political system
Regime	evolutionary structural adjustments to revolution	Political system cannot meet demands
Political community	emigration civil war	Society is collapsing

FIGURE 3.9 EFFECTS OF LOSS OF SUPPORT FOR THE VARIOUS POLITICAL OBJECTS.

When support for the authorities has declined, the effects range from the minor changes that are a regular feature of political life through to elections and the renaming and revamping of part of the bureaucracy. Such changes are common and can be described as minor adjustments to changing situations so far as the system is concerned (although careers and reputations may be destroyed in the process). This is evolutionary change, *ie* partial change, such that the bulk of the structures are not being changed at any one time, although over a long time-span all parts may have become different in some way. Evolutionary structural adjustments may arise from loss of support for the regime and result in changes to the regime. However, lack of support for the regime can also lead to revolutionary change, when the percentage of changes taking place at the same time is much greater than in evolutionary change. Hard and fast divisions are not intended; rather the labels 'evolutionary' and 'revolutionary' change focus attention on what may be called local midpoints along a continuum. The changes brought about by deep lack of support for the authorities and moderate lack of support for the regime might be empirically indistinguishable on this scale. But when lack of support for the regime deepens, revolutionary change to the political system, replacing the regime structures as a block, is likely.

A loss of support for political community is equivalent to that society's being in a state of collapse. Disintegration of the political community accompanies the collapse of a society and *vice versa*. (But that is not to say that political disintegration causes the collapse of society; there may be other social, economic, or ecological factors that take primacy in the explanation of the collapse of a particular society.) Whilst 'loss of support' is still a valid empirical category in a given situation, prior to collapse, there is hope that the political system will once again function effectively (*eg* after civil wars). It is only at the level of political community that the political system is seriously at risk. Changes at the levels of authority and regime are systemic adaptations, brought about in the pursuit of continued fulfillment of the systemic objective of processing demands towards binding decisions concerning the allocation of values for that society.

Political system collapse occurs only if no alternative regime or set of authorities can emerge from that political community to perform the function of the authoritative allocation of values for that society. This amounts to saying that the political system is an essential subsystem of society; its failure is tantamount to the demise of that society. Easton says as much in the following sentence, which comes after a description of system failure: 'Under these conditions, authoritative allocation of values are no longer possible and the society would collapse for want of a system of behavior to fulfill one of its vital functions' (Easton 1965b:240). This is in line with his having demonstrated that every society performs this function in some way, but he does not follow through on the systemic implication of the political system being an essential subsystem of society. Empirical evidence from history supports loss of identity of a society through inability to perform the authoritative allocation of values; a contemporary example is Palestine. Not only has it been deprived of its geographical territory, but also Palestinian society is collapsing because its government, the Palestine Liberation Organisation (PLO), cannot meet the most/most/most requirement and there is no alternative group that can perform the function any better.

A further point, not made specifically by Easton but a reasonable contraction of his ideas, is that a system can be destroyed externally or internally. In the first case the system is subjected to external forces of an order of magnitude to which it cannot respond or adapt. When a system is destroyed internally, the disturbances are within the range that could, in principle, be accommodated, failure is attributable to internal causes; it is failure to perform in such a way as to cope with things that are within the response possibilities of the system. Easton is more discursive about the matter, but the similarity of intent is visible when he says: 'Where one system may be destroyed

through failure to take the appropriate action to alleviate the stress, another may sail smoothly on as a result of a reserve of past experience upon which it can draw for coping with stressful conditions' (Easton 1965a:119). Political system failure due to external forces is associated with the demise of societies and is largely the province of history. Systems analysis in political science is most usefully directed at 'copable stress', that is, stress that can be handled, looking at effective and ineffective ways of dealing with potential internal causes of system failure.

Conclusion

Easton claimed merely to have sketched an initial framework in the task of constructing an integrative theory for the discipline of political science. He was too modest! He has both provided a unifying frame of reference for the discipline of political science and introduced the contemporary thought paradigm - systems thinking - into the discipline.

A unifying frame of reference

Easton intended his framework to guide the spread of research activity in political science so as to produce more even progress throughout the discipline (Preface to Easton 1965a). The objective of balanced progress can only be achieved if newcomers to the discipline are in a position to choose their area of work on the basis of disciplinary need and this can only happen if they are exposed to a disciplinary framework according to which overworked and underworked areas can be identified. Otherwise future contributions often continue to add on to what are currently well-worked areas simply because these are most visible. To have provided a vehicle for achieving a more balanced spread of work in political science is no small service for the discipline in the long term. This contribution of *A Systems Analysis of Political Life*, however, is based on the discipline-spanning nature of Easton's work, rather than its specifically systemic nature.

Introducing the systems paradigm to political science

The systems paradigm provides useful ways of thinking about government in modern societies, ways that have not been adequately explored in the discipline to date. The approach is particularly useful because modern societies are too complex to be amenable to reductionist theories. The systems paradigm describes complexity and therefore should be regarded as one of the essential academic tools of today, essential but not, of course, exclusive. Time-honoured modes remain valuable; discursive writing, autobiographical material, eye witness accounts can all capture some of the complexity of reality which is lost in any theoretical formulation, let alone in mono-

causal explanations or theories. Discursive writing has always been able to express actions rebounding on the doers and responses to unanticipated shocks, but the 'scientific revolution' put a premium on experimentation and cause-effect analysis, thereby introducing a linear mode of thinking to our culture, and it became the predominant mould for training researchers. Of course not everyone was convinced that scientific method as exemplified by physics could be the objective for all scientific investigation but those who were unconvinced lacked credibility until the language necessary to discuss complex, interactive, non-repeatable processes with precision was evolved. The language is now available in general systems theory, cybernetics, information theory, and autopoiesis. Technology is developing whereby simulated experimentation with sociocultural systems can begin in earnest. Whether Easton has correctly identified the broad parameters of the political system for purposes of systemic analysis, explanations, and prediction is an open question. The proof will come as the framework is computerised for simulation.

Eastonian systems analysis deals with general processes at work in society as distinct from the unique and particular, and draws attention to the socially-essential nature of some political activity, thereby rescuing political science from being taken over by other disciplines. He showed that there is something vitally important to be explained which is not adequately covered by the analyses of economics, history, and vote-marketing. Easton's general, yet specifically political science,perspective prompted the following analysis of the Accord, in which it is viewed as a systemic response of the political system to overload generated by democratic ideology. Before proceeding to that interpretation of the Accord, some additional systems concepts are introduced in the next Chapter.

CHAPTER FOUR

UPDATING EASTON

David Easton introduced the systems paradigm to political science but the amount of systems thinking presented in his works is not sufficient, by itself, for a full appreciation of the value of his contributions to the discipline. Whilst it is the norm that all academic works, save introductory texts, assume knowledge beyond what is given in the work itself, it seems that the systems paradigm is familiar to few political scientists. This chapter, therefore, contains some systems-based ideas which support, expand, enlighten or advance Easton's systems analysis of political life.

The first thing to note is that 'society' is used in two analytically distinct ways: **Society as environment** and **society as metasystem.** This distinction will become important when we place the political system in the hierarchy of living systems, for then the metasystemic status of society will have theoretical significance. But first, **society as environment**, which is the the usual way to think of the relationship between the political system and society. That is also how Easton uses the concept. In his basic input/output, feedback model of the political system, the word 'society' is an abbreviation for 'all members of society'. Amongst the multiple social roles of the adults of a society are some with political significance. Politically-relevant aspects of social activity are picked up by inputs and fed back to the political system. Some people also have structural roles in the system itself, such as when a person is active in interest aggregation, policy formulation, or implementation. ('Withinputs' is the term that Easton uses for political demands from such persons.) But whether

active within the mechanics of the political system or not, all members of a society are potentially the source of demands (inputs) and recipients of binding decisions (outputs). A popular way of expressing this idea is to say that the political system is embedded in society.

Society as metasystem. For the kind of systems analysis of politics that is proposed here, we need a second conceptualization of society: that of metasystem. This idea of society is related to the everyday notion that society is something other than the individuals of which it is composed. Society cannot exist without people, but nevertheless society is not coterminous with the sum of those persons and their institutions. Many persons and institutions can be removed or disappear from a society and it still retains its integrity. For purposes of systemic analysis, metasystem refers to an inclusive unity with emergent properties; it is the sum of related parts plus the resolution of their separateness into a whole. Society includes, and is composed of, its subsystems; political, economic, educational, religious; but it is more than the mere sum of these parts because each derives meaning from its existence as part of that society. The notion of the whole being greater than its parts is a little tricky for persons unaccustomed to thinking about life processes in the abstract. For, in everyday use, it is quite usual to think of the whole as being precisely and only the sum of its parts. It is so in the mathematics that compulsory education extends to all. For example, a diagonal divides a rectangle in two and the areas of the two parts equal the area of the whole figure. Here is is not only true, but necessarily true, that the whole is equal to the sum of its parts. There is no difficulty in appreciating the different wholeness of living systems, in which the whole has properties not posessed by the parts in simple aggregation, but the power of early-established rules has to be recognized for them to be waived.

MODELS OF COMPLEXITY

Complexity exists in the real world, and our models of the world need to be capable of handling it. However complicated things may look, we know that there are ordering principles at work. Complexity only exists in order; randomness is equivalent to disorder. Whilst it may be useful to study disorder (so as to be better able to contain it, or to look for signs of emerging structure) to do so is not germane to the present work. We are concerned with a complex form of order, multidimensional hierarchy.

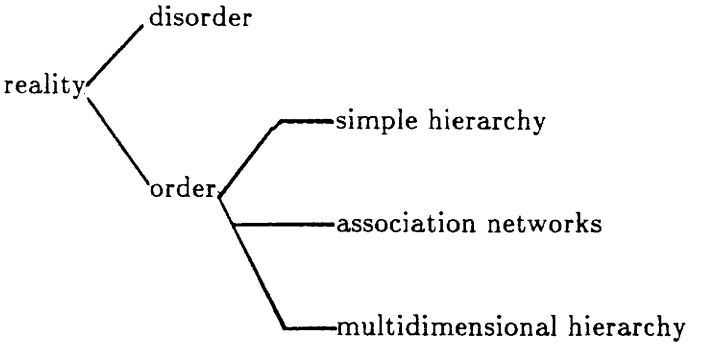

FIGURE 4.1 TYPES OF ORDER.

Simple hierarchic organization is the most prevalent structure in the world, found time and again in both biological and social systems. It refers to the relationship in which several units are under the control of one which in turn is subject to control by another level. Association networks are non-hierarchic linkages which may be studied as systems, but ecological or uncontrolled systems, *ie* the dynamics of living system hierarchies do not apply to them (see Dmowski 1974 and Kuhn & Beam 1982). Multidimensional hierarchies are compilations of the other two. The political system is a multidimensional hierarchy.

The systems paradigm is addressed to complexity, in contrast to traditional rationalist deductive scientific method, which is reductionist. Approaches to understanding the world change and improve over time. The scientific approach was an improvement on earlier mythological approaches to understanding the world, and deductive science reached its apogee in the 19th century. Such 'scientific method', with its emphasis on unambiguous definition, measurability, repeatability, and above all, the establishment of causal chains, has been supremely influential in creating the world we live in. But it is now apparent that it is valid only for a limited class of problems in the sciences, including the social sciences (see, for example, Koestler & Smythies 1969). Given that social progress precludes the experimentation necessary to establish causality beyond reasonable doubt, traditional scientific method is inadequate for our needs.

Social scientists can benefit from adopting systemic thought patterns pertinent to the life sciences. The limitations of deductive science have been transcended by the systems approach, which allows us to talk scientifically about life processes and social activity. It gives ways of conceptualising the world that do not deny complexity or conflict, yet are logical and straightforward, as can be judged from the relatively new field of Organization Theory (*eg* Emery & Trist 1963, Beer 1981, Kuhn & Beam 1982. Systems analysis can also be quite mathematical. A good introduction to mathematical approaches is Casti 1979, and examples of the range of applicability in the social sciences can be found in Cooke & Renfrew 1979).

The systems approach is now the dominant paradigm in most branches of science, but has not been well absorbed into the discipline of political science. Perhaps this delay has occurred because re-orientation of deeply-ingrained thought patterns takes a long time, and in order to begin to adopt the systems paradigm one must be convinced that traditional rational/scientific approaches are limited in their scope and applicability. (For an introduction to the blind spots of traditional scientific method, its failure to predict the outcomes of even deterministic systems, operating according to simple algorithms, see Waddington 1977:145-160.) The social sciences deal with life processes that are of an order of complexity at least as great as those faced by biological science, and that discipline found traditional scientific method inadequate. If it was too restrictive to study life processes in biology it must surely be inadequate for us. In saying this I am not denying the need to simplify things for modelling purposes. Rather, I am suggesting that complex social phenomena can be modelled if characterised as the hierarchic resolution of multiple contradictory trends. The simplification required for model construction comes via understanding the typical processes of the phenomena and their contingent evolution.

Hierarchic Structure

In the present context hierarchies are descriptions of dynamic structure, thereby ruling out two familiar sets of associations. Firstly, they do not imply that lower levels on the hierarchy are 'lower' in any derogatory or class sense. Secondly, although it is a characteristic of the world we live in that hierarchic structure is one of the most basic principles of organization, we are **only concerned with dynamic hierarchies**, not with **static** hierarchies (such as a tree diagram of the hierarchical classifications of a library cataloguing system). Hierarchy takes the form of a recurring set of relations : metasystem / system / subsystem. For analytical purposes, whatever is at the focus of study is the system, and every system has a (single) metasystem and (several) subsystems.

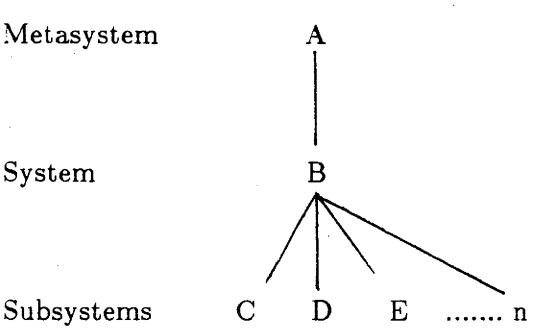

FIGURE 4.2 HIERARCHIC RELATIONS OF SYSTEM B.

Once the focus of a study is chosen, a metasystem and subsystems are specified in

relation to the system. The systemic relations between levels of a hierarchy are called the system's vertical environment and the relationship metasystem / system / subsystem is a recursive one. Any system is a subsystem of its metasystem at the next higher level of analysis. If one were studying system A above, B would become a subsystem (together with other subsystems) and a level above A would be included as its metasystem. If the focus of attention was C, then C becomes the system, B becomes its metasystem and we add another level for C's subsystems, as below.

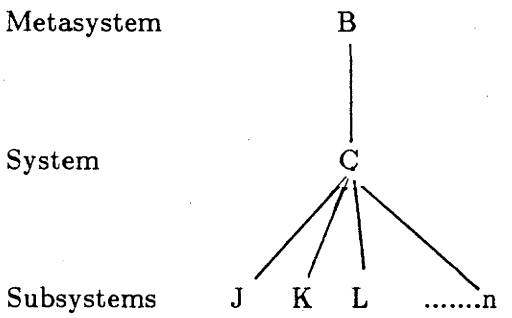

FIGURE 4.3 HIERARCHIC RELATIONS OF SYSTEM C.

Choice of model

The question of how to describe a chunk of the social world is an important one, because different solutions flow from different problem-specifications. An hierarchic systems analysis is but one of many possible ways to approach contemporary political events. The hierarchic systems approach does not replace or deny cross-level linkages, but rather is an additional dimension of analysis. When non-systemic cross-level interactions are of interest they are represented as association networks. Association networks and hierarchic systems are not interchangeable ways of describing a situation. Association networks are used to represent observed or hypothesised links between events or units, sometimes also showing direction and rates of flow of materials or information. But association networks do not contain **control** information. The observed relations are, in part, determined by the hierarchic relations in which the units are involved, but association networks are used to model a situation where those hierarchic relations are not fully known. The message flows in an association network are not structurally predetermined whereas, when a situation has been specified in systems terms, the metasystem has control over the system, which has control over its subsystems. Before proceeding to system dynamics, which section may sound too abstract to be appropriate for political matters, an aspect of human information processing is introduced to illustrate that the abstract concepts of systems analysis are beginning to be interpreted in specifically human terms. Some biological terminology that is useful to political science is also introduced.

Hominid Control Systems

All control processes require an input of (meaningfull) information. Humans and animals have control processes which are similar in many ways to general control processes, but the type of sign processed differs. This difference is one whose implications are just beginning to be explored. Humans process symbols. Animals and other controlled systems process icons (Busch 1979; see also the semiology literature, *eg* Berger 1982, and Nimmo 1978 Ch.3, Burke 1982).

Icons are directly related to the things for which they stand. An electrical impulse which causes a thermostat to switch off is directly related to temperature; a robot's eye sending digitally-coded messages to a production belt is directly related to the things it is seeing; a wolf's sense of smell is directly related to the prey. In each case an icon message is used to direct the control processes which attain the result, whether it be a steady 72 degrees, or a hub-cap in place, or rabbit for dinner.

Symbols, on the other hand, are arbitrary signs, not directly related to the thing about which they are conveying information. Cultural context gives symbols their meaning. When 'party loyalty' is invoked to produce certain results there is no iconic message equivalent to that transmitted by the robot's eye or the wolf's nose. The sounds of the words making the appeal are not relevant to the response produced.[1] Words about party loyalty only have effect if the recipient has similar culturally-determined categories of symbols as the speaker. Some symbolism is common around the world – motherhood, for instance. A visual image of the protective relationship between mother and child can be universally understood. Also expressions of rage or violence can be understood anywhere, although cultures can vary as to what is considered as friendly banter and what is condemned as violence. The meaning of colours is partially culture-specific – white for death in some cultures, for weddings in others; red for lust in some cultures, for royalty in others, – but some colour associations are also related to natural phenomena, so that in a temperate climate green is the colour of nature, whereas in a dry land brown tones carry that association. At the opposite end from universal symbolism is language, which is completely culture-specific.

Language is a primary vehicle for cultural control. Ritual is another. They depend on symbols, not icons or physical stimuli. Their operation in control processes is not well understood, although we can assume, *a priori*, that there are many continuities with other control processes. The study of control in animal and machine, as cybernetics was described by its founder, Norbert Wiener (Wiener 1948), is a well-developed

[1]There are exceptions, when human sounds are icon-type control messages, as when the sound of a baby's crying causes a mother to feed the baby.

discipline, some of whose principles hold for all control processes, including cultural control. But not all processes are relevant to all systems. Complex systems bring into play processes which are irrelevant to simple systems, and *vice versa*. To date, mechanical and living systems' control processes have been studied more widely than those of sociocultural systems. The aspects of greatest interest to political science, symbolisation and cultural control processes, lie at the frontier of systems research, therefore any work we do on such processes can contribute to the advancement of that interdisciplinary field as well as having intrinsic interest within our own discipline.

Biological Metaphors

Three biological concepts that are of great value in the social sciences are: growth and differentiation; contingent evolution; and genotype/phenotype. The first, **differentiation in the context of growth**, is a key concept underpinning the analysis of Chapter 5, where it is claimed that the Australian political system is currently in a process of subsystemic differentiation and that this development represents systemically-viable growth. Growth means increase in size or mass, getting bigger, perhaps by expansion, or by simple multiplication of constituent units, or accompanied by increased complexity. Another way of expressing this is to say that growth is the addition of material to that which is already organized into a living pattern. Differentiation is the emergence of distinctive parts within a whole. **Development** is growth accompanied by differentiation (Needham 1964:1-3; see also Thompson 1952, Waddington 1977). In the social sciences 'growth' is often used as a synonym for 'development', and 'differentiation' is taken to mean 'differences'. Much is lost in these circumstances. For it is only when we are looking for signs of differentiation in the context of growth that they are seen.

Contingent evolution is contextual development: inherent trends and forces take their actual form in response to specific environments. The idea is well expressed in the following quotation:

> For the essence not only of human behavior but of all life is that it is contextual; the manifest character of life substance depends upon the unfolding of an inner capacity in the context of an environmental setting (Goldschmidt 1966:37).

Little more needs to be said on this because it is a straightforward, almost obvious, idea. It was introduced to serve as a reminder that the systems approach is not deterministic in the way that some functionalists were guilty of being deterministic. A unit defined as a system may have much or little influence over the environment, but not total control, by definition, as controlled areas are within the system. Thus the

development of living systems must be examined in their environmental and historical settings. History and culture shape social events just as the physical environment shapes biological evolution, but in both social and biological development internal forces, human will or genetic determinism, limit and direct the unfoldings that can take place in response to the environmental factors.

The biological term **genotype**, which means template or set of possible instructions for development, is useful in talking about social development also. The concept highlights the notion that, although many different paths of development may be permitted by a genotype, they are not unlimited. An organism cannot develop in ways that are not permitted by the genotype. **Phenotype** refers to what actually develops. Whilst development must remain within the bounds set by the genotype, the unit responds to environmental conditions and the actual examples of the plants or animals show considerable variation which variations are due to history and environment. Thus the dual concept of genotype/phenotype allows for explanation of observed variety in form and behavior. There is a rough correspondence between social laws and genotypes, and between typologies and phenotypes. Unfortunately classifications of outcomes, which are really typologies of phenotypes, have too often been thought to have a direct relationship to social laws, *ie* to be like genotypes.

SYSTEM DYNAMICS

There are universal dynamics in all living and sociocultural systems.We are interested in growth, and in the dynamics created by tensions between metasystemic control and subsystem autonomy. There is little more to be said about growth than on the previous page. All that we need to know is that development is growth accompanied by differentiation. We take it as axiomatic that society is a living system. Therefore social development occurs in the context of societal growth. Their growing larger is accompanied by greater differentiation of subsystems.

In addition to the time-based growth dynamic, there are structurally-determined dynamics. For a system to exist it must have a recognizable degree of autonomy, and all living systems are subsystems of some more inclusive unit so the system control / subsystem autonomy drive is endemic, although the relative balance varies widely between system types. We shall examine these briefly, just sufficiently to provide a basis for the claims concerning the Accord in the next chapter. (An introduction to the relevant literature could begin with Beishon & Peters 1976, Bowler 1981, Brunner & Brewer 1971, or with the older classics like Gerard 1958, Boulding 1956, Miller 1965).

Metasystemic Control

The relation of system / metasystem is one of functional control and conflict resolution.[2] The relation system / subsystems is one of operational control. The latter is about mechanisms established and operated within the working of the system, for its own level, and is concerned with how systemic objectives are to be met. The former, metasystemic control, is a functional control over a system in that it sets limits to the behavior of the system. The system must perform the function assigned to it according to the requirements of the metasystem.

Metasystemic functional requirements are a given to a system, they cannot be questioned in the same frame of reference as the analysis, neither can the mechanics of metasystemic control be expressed in the operational language of the system under study. To study the functional relationship of a system to its metasystem we must move up a level in the hierarchy so that what was the metasystem becomes the system under study. We must then define its metasystem and subsystems and the functional relationships. In the present instance we are studying the political system; its metasystemic function is the authoritative allocation of values for society. This is the system's purpose, to which its activities and adjustments are directed, and in the interests of which the system itself must undertake internal reconstruction if the old structure is failing to fulfill the systemic purpose. If we were to make **society** the **system under study**, then politics can constitute a subsystem along with economics, education, religion and others. But we would need to specify a metasystem for society. Is it the human species? Is it God? And what is the relationship between God and society in functional terms? These questions do not, fortunately, concern us here as we have a widely-accepted functional definition of the metasystem/system relationship at the level needed for this analysis.

Some authors call the metasystem the supra-system. A little bit of tidiness is gained by using the prefixes *supra* and *sub* as they are both Latin, rather than *meta* and *sub* where one is Greek and the other Latin. However, the meanings of *supra* and *meta* are a little different, making *meta* more suitable for systems theory. *Supra* means above, whereas *meta* means 'over and beyond' and therefore captures the notion of unknowability of purpose which is part of the metasystem concept. An alternative way of expressing this relationship is to say, following Stafford Beer, that in any given situation some questions are inherently undecidable within the situation's own frame of reference. These undecidable propositions or questions must be answered by processes that operate in different parameters, a meta-language (Beer 1975).

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[2]These relations do not apply to constructed systems whose purposes and processes are engineered without that requirement.

Subsystem Autonomy

We have already noted that there is a continual dialectic between the systemic unifying force (metasystemic control) and subsystemic autonomy drives. A system has subsystems over which it exerts unifying control, but subsystems incorporate a drive towards autonomy. Interaction of the opposing forces of system dominance (cohesion) versus subsystem autonomy (splitting off) is a constant balancing act, and if either of these tendencies predominate without correction, then sooner or later the system will be destroyed (Bowler 1981). Tightly-coupled (joined) systems are those in which the cohesion dynamic is relatively dominant (although within an established range) and it is not possible for a subsystem to gain autonomy and survive. Social systems, however, are generally loosely-coupled systems and their subsystems can, and do, break loose and survive as relatively autonomous units.

A related concept is that of stress/relaxation, and that a system under stress performs more pointedly than a relaxed system. In a stressed system the metasystemic requirements are to the fore; when the system is relaxed, subsidiary processes may account for the bulk of a system's activity. This idea can be illuminating in relation to political activity. During a period of peace and prosperity we may regard society as relaxed, and in this state the subsystems are not exercising their critical functions strongly, *ie* the political subsystem is busy doing other things and its basic function, the authoritative allocation of values, is not much in evidence. Other, subsidiary, processes come to the fore. In party-political regimes these subsidiary processes may be rhetorical posturing, political quibbling, and the growth of bureaucratic phenomena like clientelism. These are always present, but they are more active when the system is relaxed. They are less in evidence when the system is under stress, when it must perform its metasystemic function more effectively.

Resolution

Contradictions necessarily arise between subsystems, but contradictions at one level are resolved by dominance of the next hierarchic level. There are contradictions at a micro-level of analysis, and on a grand scale, such as when conflicting physical laws are resolved by biological systems. Social reality is full of tensions and contradictions. Systems models are designed to cope with the inherent contradictions of the real world. They assume conflicting forces to be the norm, to be analysed, in part, as subsystemic autonomy drives. Operational control at the level of the system resolves many subsystem contradictions. Inherent undecidability is resolved by metasystemic

control (see Beer 1975 on metasystemic resolution of undecidability). The inherent contradictions between subsystems of society cannot be dealt with simply in terms of the discourse of interactions between the subsystems. The metasystem, society, operates within different parameters from its subsystems, and as its language is at a higher level of generality or abstraction, it can resolve contradictions between subsystems.

In the political system, viewed as a sociocultural system, the tensions are apparent in several ways. Organizations like political parties and government bureaucracies, (organizations created to serve the political subsystem), exhibit tendencies to independence, to increase their autonomy and lessen their dependence on any controls (this is common to all organizations, not just political ones). Secondly, considering the cultural hierarchy, in which national identity is composed of numerous subcultures, these subcultures also resist the unifying force. A dialectic process of thesis, antithesis, synthesis, is prevalent in most of the aspects of social life that we are interested in. All political movements contain the seeds of their opposition; as groups become a significant force, counterforces emerge, ideologies evoke backlash. Life is a constant stream of counterpulls, of continuously weaving contradictions: we stand upright despite gravity; we have a workable society despite cultural diversity. It is the natural order for opposite trends to maintain balance.

SYSTEM TYPES

System classifications, and the characteristics appropriate to each, comprise a large and far-from-settled subject. Systems have been classified in many different ways, for example -

- manmade/spontaneous
- living/inorganic
- conceptual/abstract/materially based
- symbolic/behavioral
- wholistic/arbitrarily related
- progressive/terminating
- manmade/natural/symbolic
- morphogenic/morphostatic
- natural/cognitive
- formal/existential/affective
- physical/living/sociocultural

These different classifications do not signify fundamental arguments between their proponents. They reflect, rather, the particular purposes for which a systems approach was being used at the time. Some seek to be inclusive of all systems, such as the division: formal / existential / affective, in which formal systems are mathematics and language systems, existential ones are real world systems, and affective systems are

aesthetic, emotional and imaginative systems (Bowler 1981:221). Other classifications point out an important distinction, such as the difference between morphogenic and morphostatic systems, a classification which distinguishes a form-creating capability in morphogenic systems (Buckley 1967a). Miller makes a global classification which divides systems into conceptual systems (in which the units are terms, numbers, or other symbols), concrete systems (which are non-random accumulations of matter-energy in a region of physical space-time and whose units are also concrete systems) and abstract systems (in which the units are relationships abstracted or selected by an observer in the light of his interests). Miller's major interest is in living systems, which are a subset of concrete systems (Miller 1965, 1978, 1985, 1987. See also Waddington 1977). Our interest also lies with living systems (and sociocultural systems) for we specifically wish to exclude consideration of engineered or constructed systems, and uncontrolled (ecological) systems.[3]

Living systems and sociocultural systems

'What is a living system and what does it do?' is the opening sentence of Chapter 1 of *Living Systems* (Miller 1978:1). In a sense all 1051 pages of the book are an answer to that question, but a simple response could be that living systems are everything that we normally think of as being alive, from cells to complex social units. Miller's initial response to the question introduces structural characteristics and the unifying theme of the book, namely that the same nineteen critical subsystems can be identified at each of seven levels:[4]

> Complex structures which carry out living processes I believe can be identified at seven hierarchichal levels ... cell, organ, organism, group, organization, society, and supranational system. My central thesis is that systems at all these levels are open systems composed of subsystems which process inputs, throughputs, and outputs of various forms of matter, energy, and information. I identify nineteen critical subsystems ... whose processes are essential for life, some of which process matter or energy, some of which process information and some of which process all three. Together they make up a living system ... (Miller 1978:1.)

Accumulated research findings concerning the first three levels, (cell, organ, organism) are used convincingly by Miller to support his arguments about there being twenty critical subsystems, and about their presence at each level. However, the notion that

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[3]For a good overview of the systems approach to dynamic engineering systems see Karnopp & Rosenberg 1975, and for and introduction to uncontrolled systems, see Kuhn & Beam 1982.

[4]Miller's next book will postulate eight levels of living systems: cells, organs, organisms, groups, organizations, communities, societies and supranational systems, and twenty subsystems, as a 'timing' subsystem has been added since the 1978 publication which is referenced here.

the other levels (groups, organizations, communities, societies and supranational systems), are comprised of the same twenty critical subsystems as cells and organs is not widely accepted in the social sciences. Part of the resistance to accepting his proposition stems from habitual thought modes in various disciplines being so well entrenched that the language of a common frame of reference can appear to be intrinsically wrong. On the other hand, the 'higher' types of phenomena may require different treatment. Other writers in sympathy with the notion that any naturally-occuring system is always part of an hierarchy of systems make different divisions (*eg* Boulding 1956, Bowler 1981, Buckley 1979). Buckley, for example, views sociocultural systems as a new stage of evolution He sees three levels of organized complexity : (1) the biological, (2) individual psychology and (3) sociocultural complexity. This basis for making major divisions in a hierarchy of systems is more intuitively appealing to the social sciences. By distinguishing sociocultural systems we acknowledge the significance of the symbolization capacity of the human mind.

Miller's purpose is to describe analytically all concrete living systems. In this framework the political system is an essential subsystem of society, the decider subsystem. He also pinpoints a basis for distinguishing sociocultural systems from living ones. He says 'A prime tenet of my conceptual system is that emergent new processes arise at each higher level' (Miller 1978:749). This sentence follows a section that mentions changes in characteristics as between levels, such as that higher animals and humans are constantly active and often innovative in contrast to lower levels which are mostly inactive, but that some qualities are also lost (in this case the ability to change structure). An emergent characteristic of groups (and thus applying to all higher levels also) is their ability to reorganize their internal structures. A second quality that appears at this level is that their components are not held together by physical forces. This change—from living systems whose components are held together by physical forces to living systems whose cohesive force is not physical—warrants special attention in my view although Miller points out[5] that other differences within the organism level can be equally, or more, dramatic, instancing the difference between organisms that can move around in space as opposed to those which must exist in a fixed location.

The difference in approach is based on selection criteria. Miller's levels are defined by identifying systems which are composed of systems of the next level below. This objective criterion does not necessarily make divisions the same way as would a

[5]Personal communication 29/1/87.

criterion based on the most important emergent characteristics from the point of view of understanding social action. Significant emergents do not necessarily denote a new level, although each level-change is accompanied by important emergent qualities. For example, an emergent characteristic that arises with organizations is that they are not tied to specific components (people) whereas groups are so tied. On the other hand, an emergent characteristic of at least equivalent importance to 'the non-specificity of persons in organizations as opposed to groups' is language, which emerges within the organisms level. Tadpoles and people are both organisms but the emergent characteristic of gamma-processing[6] does not constitute a basis for a new level on the level-criterion that Miller uses.

In political science we must pay special attention to culture and to symbolic meanings. If we wish to do so in the context of an hierarchy of living systems we can do so by postulating a progression of system types as follows:

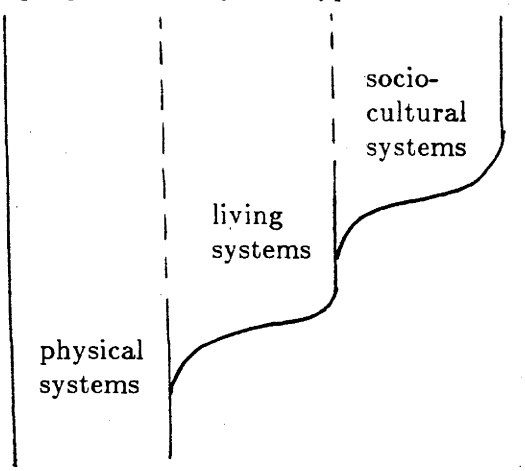

FIGURE 4.4 PROGRESSION OF PHYSICAL/LIVING/SOCIOCULTURAL SYSTEMS

If we read the sketch from left to right it implies that living systems are dependent on physical phenomena but have unique characteristics not present in physical systems, and that sociocultural systems are dependent on physical phenomena and on living systems but that they have unique characteristics not present in the other broad bands. What this is meant to imply is that in many respects sociocultural systems are part of the hierarchy of living systems, but exhibit a characteristic that warrants a distinctive division, namely that attitudinal and cultural aspects (*ie* non-physical forces) bind the components of sociocultural phenomena into systems. For the rest of this thesis political systems are categorised as sociocultural systems. They are cultural phenomena which deal primarily with attitudes and beliefs. It is attitudinal and cultural forces which bind the components of sociocultural phenomena into systems.

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[6]Alpha-processing is of the lock and key type, where a signal-message fits or does not fit a response set; beta-processing concerns wave-form signals; and gamma-processing concerns symbolization.

We could expand the diagram by making each band an hierarchy. In the middle band society would appear in the hierarchy of living systems and the political system as its decider subsystem (*ie* the political system is not a level of the hierarchy). In this context the political system can be modelled with space-time co-ordinates. In the sociocultural systems band, the political system would appear in an hierarchy which linked individual attitudes to political culture, *via* group norms, myths and ideologies.

EASTON'S MODEL IN A SYSTEMIC HIERARCHY

Easton wrote his major systems texts before living systems theory had been developed very far. It is no wonder then that his work does not make use of living systems theory. Those accidents of history mean, however, that Easton's model now reads as an association network type of system (which can be represented two-dimensionally) rather than a fully dynamic model. When we consider Easton's model of the political system as a sociocultural system, in a hierarchy of such systems, which are a development from living systems, the model acquires another dimension of environment. The basic input - output - feedback systems model creates one kind of environment by definition. Inputs to a system necessarily come from somewhere other than the system itself, *ie* from the environment. But a systems model should also create an hierarchical environment by definition, in that any living system is subject to metasystemic control and to subsystem autonomy drives.

By taking this approach, analysis can draw on insights from the cohesion-autonomy dialectic which is present in all living and sociocultural systems. This dialectic is, however, played out in an infinite number of ways: variations can be so great that it may not be useful to compare some systems, and in those which have many similarities it is often the differences which are of greatest practical relevance. Despite the importance of system differences there are times when it is appropriate to focus on underlying constancy of process, especially when things no longer make sense according to traditional methods of analysis. Then it can be useful to go back to universal fundamentals, such as the functions of the processes which are being examined, and to relate a specific function to general systemic processes.

Politics is often discussed in terms of processes: democratic, parliamentary, authoritarian and the like. These are indeed fundamental in political science. Sometimes they are used as a base-line for comparative work. Othertimes they are taken for granted, as, for example, in research on pressure group influence, where parliamentary processes are taken for granted. More fundamental than these traditional political science concerns are general systemic processes. A series of specific

events can be examined in the light of general systemic processes if the events are difficult to explain by traditional categories of analysis. The sketch below shows Easton's model of the political system as the (2-dimensional) system under study

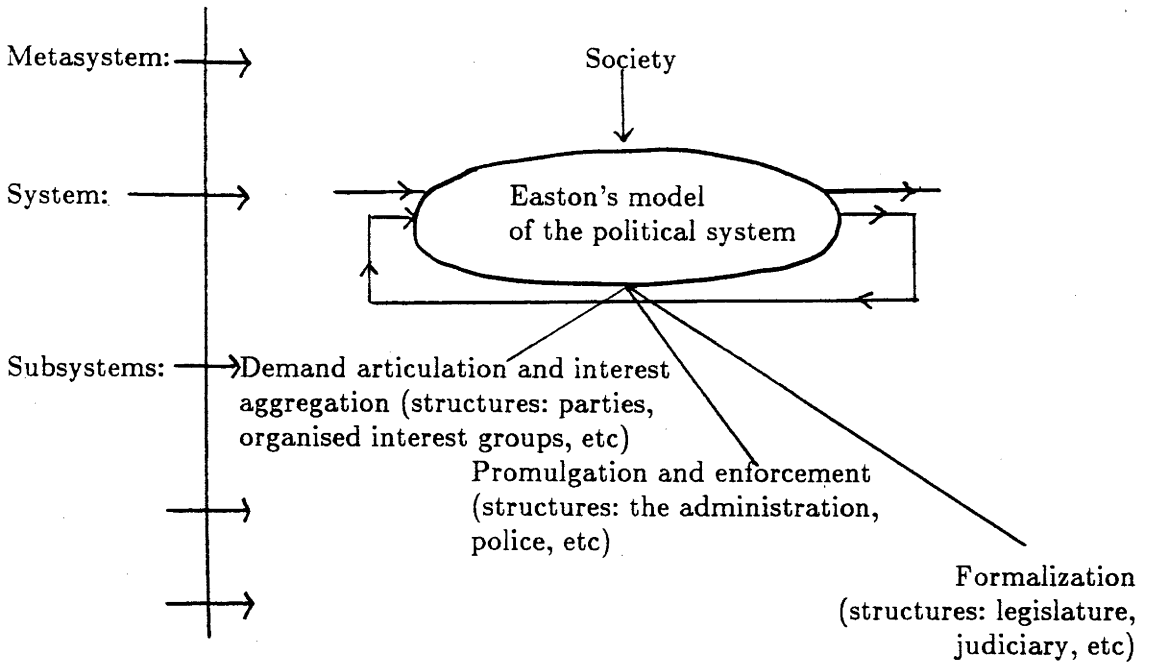

FIGURE 4.5 EASTON'S MODEL IN A SYSTEMIC HIERARCHY.

in an hierarchy of systems.[7] The political system is an essential subsystem of society. In other words, some level of political activity is necessarily present in all viable societies. We can see this in functional terms, as Easton does, and find empirical evidence to support the proposition that each and every society, past and present, has a means for performing the authoritative allocation of values. Or we can see the relationship between society and political activity in terms of Miller's theory of living systems, in which many aspects of political activity constitute the decider subsystem of society. Whilst all 20 subsystems are not necessarily found at every level of living systems, the *essential* ones are, and the decider subsystem is one of these. Easton's theoretical work was developed before living systems theory had been fully expressed. That body of theory should be integrated with Easton's model, for the Easton formulation becomes more powerful when the *essential* nature of the political system for society is incorporated into the model.

Since a system can partake of several hierarchies, its location in the vertical dimension determines the outcome of the analysis. We are regarding the political system as the subject, and we are interested in the restructuring of that system. We have specified

[7]Diagramatically, this hierarchy is related to the progression of physical / living / sociocultural systems (Figure 4.4) if we tip it on its side, putting society to the left (as society belongs in the living systems band). The political system and its functionally-defined subsystems belong in the socio-cultural band.

society as its metasystem and a functional relationship between the two, *ie* the political system performs the authoritative allocation of values for society.

When we regard Easton's input/output/environmental feedback model as being in the horizontal plane and the hierarchic control dimension as vertical, some material that is in the nature of comment in his writing becomes endogenous to the political model. Easton automatically excluded hierarchic dynamics when he took a minimal definition in which a system is any collection of related variables that are of interest to the researcher. There are advantages to being more specific. By reducing generality we can apply system dynamics which cannot be applied to all systems. Many of the characteristics which apply to living systems, for example, are not relevant to abstract, artificial, or formal systems, but are relevant in sociocultural systems. Explicit recognition of the system/metasystem relationship, for example, gives theoretical status within the model to one of Easton's most important contributions to political science. I refer to his having identified the functional relationship between system/metasystem (political system/society) as the authoritative allocation of values for society. Functional control is implied in his descriptions of the relationship, but, having chosen a very weak definition of system, he was unable to give the relationship theoretical status. In the model-structure presented here the relationship does have theoretical status.

Another instance in which a vertical dimension improves Easton's model of the political system relates to his comments about organizations searching for latent wants within the framework of their beliefs (Easton 1965b:96). On the two-dimensional model this is comment only. On the three-dimensional model, subsystem autonomy forces are clearly in evidence and thus organizational search for latent wants become endogenous to the model. The organizational behavior is an instance of the subsystem autonomy drive.

In conclusion, the *a priori* attraction of using the systems approach for our analysis is that it is in the contemporary scientific paradigm rather than that of the 19th century. Political scientists generally are not yet confident about expressing their subject matter in systems terms, and the lack of tuition in systems approaches in Australian political science is a serious barrier to their acquiring such confidence. The initial specification of research issues in systems terms is the main problem. Subesquent translation into formal logic will not be as difficult as the initial stage because other disciplines lead the way in rigorous specification of processes which are appropriate to systemic description, and, being systems descriptions, these are therefore able to be transposed into political science as soon as we are ready.

CHAPTER FIVE

SYSTEMS PERSPECTIVES ON THE ACCORD

A systems approach in political science confronts the complexities and contradictions of socio-political reality in ways that are not available through other political theories. A typical inventory of currently used theories in our discipline lists liberal theories (pluralism, elitism, public choice), public policy and administration studies, neo-corporatist theories, as well as neo-marxist theories including instrumentalism, structuralism, fiscal crisis of the state and Offe's input-output and crisis management approaches (Wu 1986). Systems theory could be included in the listing as another category, but it is also both overarching and supportive; supportive in that the listed theories can find cross-disciplinary insights and corroborations through systems studies; overarching in that it can include all the other theories, although not replacing them because the levels of generality at which they operate are different to that of systems theory. Since systems concepts and teminology are largely unfamiliar to them, political scientists are sceptical that theories which purport to apply to virtually anything are of any use in analysing concrete situations.

In order to demonstrate that systems theory does have something to offer in analysis of contemporary political events, two systems approaches to analysis of the Accord now follow. These are broad-brush outlines, to give an insight into how the approach proceeds. (It would take a whole team of researchers working for several years to fully specify and operationalize systems models of the political process.) Easton's notion of outputs as coping mechanisms to modify future inputs is illustrated with reference to

one aspect of the Accord (superannuation) and the other line of analysis suggests that the Accord marks an evolutionary change in the Australian political system, a change which can be characterised as growth by subsystemic differentiation. The observed changes are matched by a plausible theoretical explanation, in which a metasystemic imperative for the internal restructuring of aspects of the political system of Australia stems from changing work/technology patterns.

Before proceeding with systemic analysis of the Accord, a few remarks about words and viewpoints. It is worth restating that although the word 'system' crops up often in political discussion, it is rarely used with **systemic** meanings, as in this thesis. However, phrases like 'the party system' and 'the electoral system' are useful, and are an acceptable use of 'system' if it is defined minimally as 'interacting networks of units'. Clearly the various political parties interact, as do the components of the electoral system. Political parties also have a place in hierarchic systems analyses. Political parties can be metasystems or subsystems in different hierarchies or they can be treated as the system under study, with varying metasystems and subsystems, according to the focus of the study; but they fall outside the triad of levels that is used in the present work.

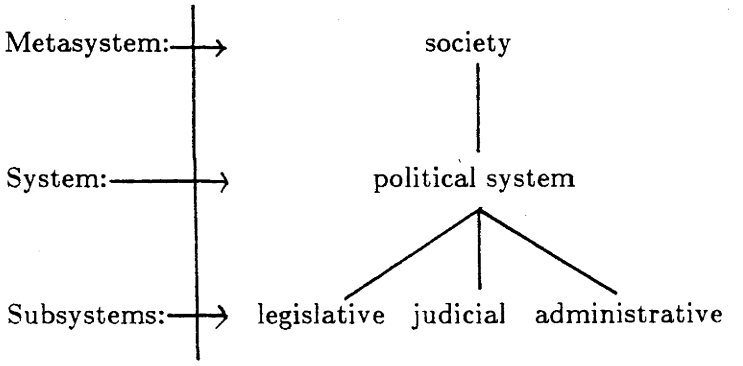

FIGURE 5.1 SUBSYSTEMS OF THE POLITICAL SYSTEM.

Here the political system is the system under study and political parties are not a subsystem. They could appear if we moved one level down the hierarchy, for then the party system could be treated as a subsystem of the legislative system. In other words, the exclusion of parties is an artifact of analysis which in this instance is focussed at a level which excludes them. Systems analysis does not exlude political parties from being studied as organizations *per se*, or in sectional interest mobilisation, or in any of a number of other contexts.

Similar comments can be made with respect to industrial relations. The system of industrial relations described by Dunlop (1959) or Walker (1970) is a 'system', if we use an 'interacting network' definition. But, we may ask, is it a subsystem of the political system or the economic system, and is it subject to systemic dynamics? The

answers depend on the focus of the study. For example, part of the network of relationships encompassed by industrial relations is relevant to wage determination, and for that purpose an industrial relations system may be considered as a subsystem of the economic system. When we are investigating the political allocation of values, industrial relations can feature as a subsystem of the political system.

The question of whether a subject is an economic or a political matter has often been raised. One response has been the development political economy, which seeks to solve the problem of 'which discipline?' by creating a joint discipline. A systems approach allows us to maintain disciplinary distinctions by providing an hierarchical framework in which each has its place. Society is the inclusive system; the political system and the economic system are both subsystems of society and, as such, interact with each other, but neither is subsumed within the other. In this thesis the Accord is viewed as a political manifestation. That is not to deny the validity of its being viewed also as an economic document, but rather to say that it is not only a matter of economics. It is quite proper that the Accord has been much analysed as an economic document for we need to know the results of economic analyses. But the conceptual categories of the discipline of economics put limits on what can be discussed. Economists look at the Accord as a prices and incomes policy and analyse it almost exclusively in terms of labour markets. The practice of calling the Accord a prices and incomes policy has increased during its currency. Having so defined it, so it is analysed. For example, Peter Kenyon, in the first page of a recent article twice refers to the Accord as an incomes policy: 'Incomes policies, like the Accord, ...' and 'an incomes policy like the Accord...' (Kenyon 1986). Having clearly stated the way in which he views the ALP/ACTU Accord it is only to be expected that wider interpretations of the document are excluded. In that, as in many other contemporary analyses, the Accord is treated as an instrument of government economic policy, ignoring any implications that might flow from its being a two-party agreement. The Accord was negotiated between unions and the ALP in opposition, as a framework for union participation in policy-making in the event of Labor winning the next Federal election. It contains many elements that are extraneous to a governmental incomes policy *per se*.

Whilst we can appreciate the value of economists' analyses of the Accord in labour market terms — these allow us to know which policy prescriptions may accurately be justified by the evidence of their effects on the labour market — political scientists must take a broader view of the Accord. Instead of 'labour market' we must look to the full range of values associated with work for which political solutions are demanded. For 'work' is much more than a commodity and the Accord is more than a

wages policy. Lifestyle and self-esteem for the worker and his/her family are intimately linked with employment.

Political science, when it identifies political activity as actions associated with the authoritative allocation of values, can look at the full range of values that are associated with work requiring socially acceptable solutions, transcending the limitations of economic analysis of the Accord. But if we do not use the authoritative allocation of values definition then the current language of political debate does not contain categories which accommodate the Accord as an integrated political phenomenon. Activities associated with the Accord which do not fit an economic perspective tend, therefore, to be reported as discrete news items. The effect is a poor fit between social reality and the mental models of this area. The authoritative allocation of values in work-related matters is taking place, but we cannot talk about it properly unless the sets of relations through which it occurs are conceptualized in more complex ways than is the norm at present. We need to be able to talk about societal decision-making, including that which lies outside the traditional loci for making socially-binding decisions (legislature, judiciary, and executive), and in categories other than those of economics.

Political analysts need to look at all the values which are allocated via the Accord, not just the money value of wages. To do so entails redefining the debate, for not only media but also government ministers and departmental staff tend to interpret the Accord as an incomes policy. This is to be expected so far as government personnel are concerned because incomes policy aspects are associated with control over their political environment whereas the union involvement in a wide range of work-related matters represents a diminution of control. Hence the preference by persons who are part of the authorities for a 'secure' interpretation, although this is not realistic. Even on the basis of a discurisive analysis, as in Chapter 2, non-incomes-policy aspects of the Accord are fundamental. Now we turn to some specifically systems ways of analysing the Accord. Figure 5.2 indicates the two approaches that are examined here.

The theoretical proposition embodied in the illustration is that input overload stresses a system and gives rise to a variety of systemic responses. We are going to look at a cultural and a structural response by an overloaded democratic political system. The first thing will be to establish that overload is a serious and an ongoing problem. The upper loop indicates that democratic ideology stimulates the overproduction of demands on the political system, which then suffers from input overload stress. An upper-loop systemic response is to produce outputs which alter expectations in the direction of inputing fewer demands to the overloaded system. The lower loop

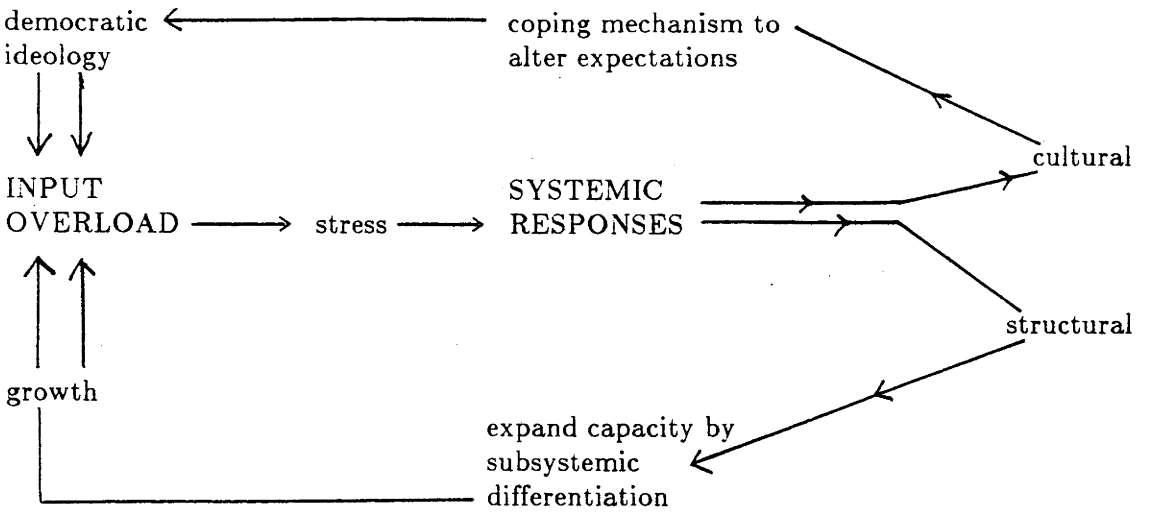

FIGURE 5.2 RESPONSES TO POLITICAL SYSTEM OVERLOAD.

indicates that our society is growing in size and complexity. Both of these trends increase the volume of inputs to the political system. Since it is already operating inefficiently through overload, a structural response is subsystemic differentiation. This entails increased autonomy to an area of authoritative allocation of values but decreases the volume of demands that are input to the older parts of the system, thus permitting growth to proceed.

DEMOCRATIC DILEMMAS

Democratic governments[1] all feel threatened by overload. Easton's framework suggests that 'reduction of demands' is a pivotal process in reducing systemic stress caused by input overload. Demand overload occurs when members of a society expect political solutions to an excessive number of their wants; excessive, that is, from the point of view of what the system can handle. It is almost commonplace nowadays to say that in democratic systems of government the most characteristic problem for system survival is overload (*eg* Rose & Peters 1978, Rose 1980). But it is worth remembering that, whilst demand overload is a common problem in Western democracies, not all political systems have this particular problem. Easton points out that 'in some systems the members may be quite unaccustomed to imposing such demands, except perhaps in times of great crises' (Easton 1965a:120). Nor is demand overload the only dilemma of democracy. Another, well known since Plato's time, concerns education of the citizenry so as to permit intelligent use of democratic processes. Its contemporary companion-dilemma is that the range of knowledge required to make fully-informed decisions is often too large for individual comprehension.

[1]'Government', 'State', and 'Political System' are not always co-terminous: see Easton 1981:303-322. In this instance, however, the three are co-terminous.

Another perennial dilemma of democracy is freedom of speech versus destructive cleavage. This has not been a great problem in Western democracies thanks to cultural inhibitions against using free speech rights to aggravate latent social divisions. The effectiveness of such norms was illustrated in the short-lived Asian immigrants furore in Australia. Professor Geoffrey Blainey was objectively correct when he identified a stream of anti-Asian feeling in Australia (Blainey 1984); but politicians and media were virtually unanimous in condemning him and the issue was quickly swept back under the carpet before political cleavage intensified. In the Arab world, on the other hand, there are lesser levels of cultural inhibition against destabilizing the political system and society in pursuit of a sectional viewpoint. In Egypt freedom of speech is sometimes used to intensify cleavage for political ends as illustrated by the case of the Egyptian soldier who killed seven Israeli tourists in September 1985. Some members of the opposition heralded these murders as an heroic act so as to stimulate anti-Israeli, and therefore anti-government, sentiment. In the same vein, in March 1986 the soldier's conviction was used to incite a rebellion amongst military police conscripts, with some prominent people saying the soldier was a national hero in the Arab war against Israel who should be honoured not punished for his action. (Official explanations for the riots gave a less divisive reason, saying they were in response to a rumour that compulsory service was to be extended for a further year.)

Neither the question of citizen competence nor the cleavage intensification potential of free speech will concern us here. The dilemma addressed by the present use of the systems approach is that the ideology of democracy encourages a proliferation of demands upon the political system whereas system survival requires input of demands to be limited.

Democratic ideology's systemic implications

Intense stress on a political system caused by demand-input overload is a modern problem and it stems from the moral high-ground of democracy being 'government for the people by the people'. In pre-democratic societies few persons had a political voice. The increase in demands began slowly. A few people who ventured a demand not previously entertained were successful; this encouraged others to try, which provided an example for yet others, in a process that is characteristic of positive feedback. (A positive feedback spiral often starts slowly and grows exponentially.) It became prudent for representatives and would-be representatives of the people to be identified with popular demands. Buying votes with promises of action brought matters that were not previously handled through the political system into its ambit. The newly-political matters become the source of further demands and the demand-growth

process continues, accompanied by expansion of legislative work loads, size of government bureaucracies, and the number of advisory agencies. In recent decades inter-country comparisons of what is on the political agenda has fuelled the expansion further. In short, overload is now endemic to democratic political systems.

Easton is aware of the above scenario as a systemic cycle. He commented on the growth of workloads for democratic governments, saying that electioneering made the problem worse (Easton 1965a:121). Nevertheless, in the 1960s he could still say that cultural norms placed responsibility for the future into the mind-set of elected representatives to temper their electioneering:

> Most systems create a suitable motivational structure in occupants of authority roles so that they feel the responsibilities of anticipating possible future sources of discontent and for acting currently so as to avoid them. Internalized cultural norms and, at times, pressures from competitors for the authority roles, will induce incumbents of these roles to take present action so as to avoid decline in support due to future contingencies (Easton 1965b:384).

I doubt Easton would have as much confidence in cultural norms against short-term and narrow interests today. Minorities and special interest groups have found that democracy works for them in such proportions that, since the mid-seventies, overload seems to be the inescapable norm of all democratic governments.

Cultural norms were and remain important in placing limits on the amount and type of demands that are sought and promised through the political system. Western democracies have enjoyed the luxury of being able to claim that everyone's voice is important precisely because cultural norms restrained the profligate exercise of democratic rights. Easton, and many others, have compared Western democracies with the efforts at democracy of transitional societies, pointing out that many of the difficulties experienced by modernising societies are aggravated if they take all the ideology of democracy at face value. The historical aspect of the evolution of democracy has a bearing on its success. In the West, the evolution was slow, and emerged in the context of seeking a political voice for mercantile groups. Universal participation was a legitimating symbol more than anything else. Relatively few additional people became involved in the political process in the early days of democracy (these were the potential beneficiaries and their opponents). The uneducated masses neither expected to be, nor were, much involved in political activity. The progress to today's situation of near-universal literacy was accompanied by a gradual expansion of political expectations. In developing countries the slow historical development to democracy is missing and rapid democratization results in a large percentage of the literate population having expectations that are immediately

on a par with those of the people of long-standing democracies. Although both developed and developing countries suffer from demand overload, we have a large reservoir of tradition and stability to cushion the trauma of readjustment that is necessary now that democracy has reached its limit in this respect. Transitional societies do not have that cushion and hence expose the democratic dilemma more harshly.

System survival requirements in opposition

If a system is overloaded it cannot process demands effectively. It is not just a question of finite capacity. The political system is not a telephone exchange in which extra lines can be laid without taking much away from other users and which can have the extra costs covered by earnings. To increase the channel capacity of the political system takes people away from other activities, and the increased cost of the persons and facilities places a burden on the national economy, which may not be acceptable. In addition, it is often physically impossible to expand fast enough to accommodate rising demands. Furthermore, the co-ordination of multiple agencies and jurisdictions can become so time consuming as to slow to a trickle any (effective) progress towards resolution of political demands.

In general, overloading on a fixed channel capacity (or one expanding too slowly to keep up with increases) results in less than optimal efficiency for the existing capacity. After maximum effective use is attained, output falls below the maximum: *ie* when a system is stressed, its efficiency falls, and if stressed beyond its tolerance levels, the stress can result in inability to operate at all. An illustration of this process in a human situation can be found in the high-stress work of air traffic controllers, which work frequently creates brain-overload. Mental processing systems, like all other systems, cannot perform maximally if constantly overloaded. Thus the air-traffic controllers, working at maximum levels of concentration but still unable to process everything that they think might have some bearing on the situation, cannot sustain maximum efficiency because there is constant overload pressure. In practice, the potential of mental breakdown due to overload stress is minimised by having very short work spells interspersed with rest, but even so, the effective working life of controllers is short. Human processing capacity is limited.

The political system responds to overload in many ways, including increasing channel capacity as per the telephone analogy. The air-traffic controller analogy suggests increasing the intensity of usage. If we consider the work station itself as the channel and individuals as replacement units, overload is alleviated by increasing intensity of

channel usage, *ie* by 'plugging in' a fresh processing unit every ten minutes or so. This analogy has less transferability as a response to political system overload because cultural norms concerning the freedom of action of legislators mean that it is regarded as too mechanistic (although it may, sometime in the future, be feasible to consider having some demand-processing functions serviced round the clock, with legislators working in shifts). The point being made here is that political systems have to cope with input overload and that the response-option of increasing the number of channels or their capacity is severely limited.

The alternative to increasing channels is to restrict demands. In democracies the inflow of demands is restricted by cultural means: reducing the expectations of what can/should be done through the political system; and reinforcing generalised support for the procedures adopted. This kind of demand regulation is the subject of the next section. To conclude this section, it is worth noting that the problems of input overload addressed here have (potentially) serious long-term consequences for life as we know it. As we saw in Chapter 3, system survival is not a cut-and-dried matter between the *status quo* and oblivion. Systems theory acknowledges that democracy is not inevitable. The democratic dilemma of demand overload is that democratic ideology encourages a proliferation of demands beyond the political system's capacity to process them. Traditional cultural inhibitors are losing their effectiveness. A swing towards coercion as a means of reducing demands on the political system can perhaps be avoided if cultural demand reduction is better understood (and better utilised, although that lies outside the scope of this thesis).

THE ACCORD AS A COPING MECHANISM FOR THE AUSTRALIAN POLITICAL SYSTEM

Let us recall briefly some important elements of the Eastonian framework. The political system processes demands; the domain of the system has been entered when some politically-relevant members of the society express a demand that certain of their wants be satisfied through the political system; demand overload causes stress, which threatens the ability of the system to process demands into authoritative decisions, but, since the political system is an open, self-regulating and self-transforming system, outputs can represent not only a terminal point of the political process but also be a means of modifying succeeding inputs of support and demands; *ie* outputs of the system shape the conditions to which the system is exposed (Easton 1965b: 345). Both structural and cultural responses are available to reduce system-stress. We have discussed how democratic ideology generates trends which can lead to critical stress levels. Now we consider the Accord in the top loop of the diagram given earlier in the chapter (p.102) which draws attention to the ability of a political system to use

outputs creatively to influence future demand inputs so as to reduce their stressful character or quantity.

The essence of cultural demand reduction is to reduce citizens' expectations of what can or should be achieved through the political system. Many of the cultural mechanisms used by political systems are of a preemptive kind. Political socialization supportive of an existing regime type is of this kind; also the common understandings which prevail within a culture as to what are appropriate matters to be dealt with through the political system, and voluntary restrictions on the type and number of wants which can be satisfied through the political system. Furthermore, there is an implicit cultural agreement to internalise conflict between democratic ideology and actual access (the universal right of access enshrined in democratic ideology versus the high degree of structural differentiation in specialization of actual access). We have been conditioned to respond favourably to the word 'democracy'. Diffuse support for a regime type accommodates many unfulfilled specific hopes, and conflicts between rhetoric and reality are subliminated in diffuse support for democracy. (The apathy of the mass of people towards political participation is, viewed systemically, an example of successful cultural legitimation of the regime.)

Times change, and diffuse support for Western democratic regimes is less strong now than when Easton was first writing. Concern about difficulty in obtaining action, or even access to a hearing, by persons outside the political elites is a relatively recent phenomenon. The decade when Easton's major works were published was the decade when the politicization explosion began and more recent works document and explore this development, often referred to as 'ungovernability'.

Australians' current expectations of what can or should be obtainable through various channels are in part determined by our history, and are therefore unique to Australia. They are also determined in part by democratic ethics common to all Western peoples. The Accord has brought many issues into open debate. It contains nothing that is totally new. All the topics which it covers were already issues of some note in some quarters. By placing them together and encouraging open debate, the Accord changed the public agenda. In the context of the immobilising complexities that comprise ungovernability, the Accord can be viewed as a strategic output of the political system. It provides a basis for redefining the terms of debate about a number of work-related matters, and the new 'terms' aggregate many previously separate demands as well as reducing expectations concerning what political system is able to deliver.

Altering expectations

For purposes of illustrating how a systems analysis of contemporary events provides a distinctive and insightful interpretation, let us take just one of the issues encompassed by the Accord – that of superannuation. The analytical framework that we have established holds that the political system is an open, adaptive, and self-regulating system whose characteristic problem is demand overload. We therefore expect outputs to be used creatively to reduce future demands. The Accord and Accord Mark II are outputs of the Australian political system which include some agreements concerning superannuation. The logic of our approach prompts the question: 'How is the current superannuation debate easing the overload on the political system?' The structural aspects of the answer to this question are dealt with in the next section. Here we are concerned with cultural mechanisms. Hence we look to see how the debate is altering people's expectations. We therefore need to identify the ideational context of superannuation.

Work-related issues have come increasingly into the political arena in Western democracies. From small beginnings during the industrial revolution (with the passage of laws concerning child labour), political action in work-related matters has waxed and waned, but never ceased. At about the time Australia attained national sovereignty in 1901, she adopted labour laws and practices that were relatively advanced for the time. The most notable for our purposes was the arbitral approach to settlement of industrial disputes, as this has shaped the uniquely-Australian pattern of responses to contemporary political problems.

Superannuation is income for old age, directly related to one's paid employment. It is a replacement for, or supplement to, welfare payments, and it is a political issue because it involves the authoritative allocations of values for society. The superannuation issue raises three areas where expectations are related to value judgments. They are (a) expectations regarding responsibility in old age (b) notions of justice concerning living standards at the end of a working life and (c) beliefs concerning the proper source of life-support in retirement years.

The logical impossibility of continuing existing levels of old-age support with forthcoming demographic distributions has been known for many years, but the matter was not on the public political agenda. Nor could the dynamics of party-political debate ever bring it on to the public agenda. The trade unions put it there (along with other issues that politicians fight shy of) by trading its inclusion for something that politicians wanted, namely wage restraint. Through the actions of, primarily, the ACTU, the idea that it may not be safe to rely on the government to

look after everyone in retirement has entered the public consciousness. Since the idea has a sound economic basis it is likely to spread till it is a majority perception.

The contemporary superannuation debate is encouraging a deflection of these expectations towards a direct relationship to one's work. The building unions spearheaded claims for workforce-wide employer-funded superannuation, which claims were granted through the arbitration system in March 1987. Union debate and media reports of the issues are causing people to think about their chances of getting a livable pension, (notwithstanding that much of the media reporting is speculation as to who is going to control the funds and for what purposes), and perhaps readjusting their demands on the political system, in the forseeable future if not immediately.

In terms of systemic survival, it is advantageous to the political system if welfare mentality on these issues were changed to self-reliance mentality, and not only for reasons of money supply. It is a positive development so far as the political system as a system is concerned because the value-choices involved in income-for-retirement issues are not suited to being handled by a party political system. Competitive party politics encourages denial of factors that say 'we can't keep our promises', which is precisely the judgement that emerges from a combination of increasing outlays on old-age pensions + a declining workforce + increased debt repayment burdens. The Accord has removed the contentious and party-politically insoluble demand for income support in old age to the new work-related subsystem of the political system, to be discussed shortly, where it can be processed as a demand for the authoritative allocation of values for society.

The theoretical perspective taken here suggests that, in the long term, it may appear that the current moves in superannuation mark the end of the welfare era. In saying that, I do not mean to suggest that we shall turn full circle to where a person's savings and the labour of his/her children are the main components of old age living standards for all but the landed-wealthy. Social processes can only repeat themselves under precise and limited specification of what is at issue. In general, precise outcomes cannot be predicted because of the contingent nature of social progress, and, for the same reason the past is never repeated exactly. Provision of income-support in old age is not an integral part of the political function. Historically and comparatively it is not the norm. All industrialised democracies have taken the welfare road to some degree or other and they might also all move away from it. But not necessarily. For the fundamental issue is one of political system overload and the overload problem can be solved in other ways. It happens that in Australia employer-funded superannuation, operated through the market, is proving to be a socially-acceptable way to relieve

some stresses on the political system. Other countries may find other socially-acceptable solutions to reduce overload on the political system. What is common to democracies is the need to deal with overload. Political solutions are phenotypes -- they need not look alike to achieve the same purpose.

Neither corporatism nor liberal theories of politics would draw the conclusion that the current superannuation debate marks the beginning-of-the-end of the welfare era in Australia. Proponents of these theories may comment on observed trends as they develop slowly over time whereas the systems approach to politics has a logic which allows us to make early selection of important trends. In the present case we can say that the superannuation debate has resulted in public consciousness admitting the idea that the state cannot provide for everyone's old age. This idea is readily connected to a diminution of demands on the political system. Therefore, because we have identified political system overload as a central problem for democracies, we can predict that this trend, however small at present, is significant because it contributes a systemically-viable option for reduction of overload. Only with the hindsight of the future will be known if the prediction was correct, but irrespsective of what actually happens, it is better to have a theoretical proposition to monitor than not. When particular events are consistent with systemic responses to a known problem, we have a good basis for selecting those events out of the myriad of ongoing political activity for attention. In short, systems approaches can release political science from an over-dependence on projecting the past.

That is all I want to say about superannuation. To substantiate the argument further requires empirical research, perhaps Q-methodology studies of attitudes towards pensions, superannuation, and welfare issues generally, followed by survey research to establish the relative preponderance of each attitude set, and development of theoretical models concerning attitude linkages. These tasks are outside the scope of the present undertaking.

The balance of this chapter is addressed to the proposition that the Australian political system is differentiating to a fourth subsystem, one concerned with work-related matters.

SUBSYSTEMIC DIFFERENTIATIATION OF THE AUSTRALIAN POLITICAL SYSTEM

There are two aspects to the proposition that structural change by subsystemic differentiation is taking place in the Australian political system. One deals with

societal growth and whether it is developmental or just an increase in size. The other aspect concerns the reasons for political system differentiation to take place with respect to work-related matters. But first some definitional comments, as systems terminology is generally unfamiliar in political science.

Firstly we note that the Accord can be viewed as part of the political system, in which case it is not a demand on the system. To say that the the Accord is not a demand on the political system implies that it is not an input, which may seem counterintuitive. The contrary statement - that the Accord is a demand on the political system - would probably pass without comment. It is true that the Accord generates demands that the government do certain things in response to the various provisions of the Accord. To appreciate the difference between viewing the Accord as a demand on the system and being a part of it, we must bear in mind the specific Eastonian meanings attached to the word 'demand' and the phrase 'political system', a specificity which is not mere play with words but is related to the theoretical constructs of a systems analysis. Demands are 'wants' that enter the political system on being expressed by politically relevant persons.[2] Combination and reduction of demands, characteristic processes of the political system, took place in various ALP/union meetings and continue to do so. The forum for combination and amalgamation of wants into work-related demands is, broadly speaking, the ACTU. The decision-making authority for transforming such demands into authoritative decisions is informal, comprising negotiations between the government and the ACTU. Thus these Accord-activity loci are part of the political system, not demands on it.

Next, we should remember that the political system is the set of relations through which the authoritative allocation of values for society is carried out. This is a more abstract expression of political activity than necessary to encompass modern governments but its advantage is that it focusses attention on the universality of some kind of political function in societies. In accepting that focus we are reminded that the institutional forms we are familiar with are not inevitable. In the limiting case, the authoritative allocation of values occurs by the word of a chieftain. Western democracies are at the other end of the spectrum in terms of complexity, but nevertheless the function of the political systems for societies remains the same throughout the range of political system types. The approach thus opens the way to see that what we are used to is not inevitable and that further development of the political system can occur.

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[2]It is an empirical matter that the politically relevant articulators of workers' wants are the unions. Their parliamentary representatives can also perform this function, but the unions are the more responsive and accessible channel of the two for work-related matters.

The final definitional point concerns system-hierarchy identification. The precise nature of a study determines the delineation of subsystems. In the previous section where we were concerned with the Accord as a cultural coping mechanism of the political system, an output to reduce future demands on the system, we used functional definitions to name the subsystems of the political system. These are perhaps the only kind one can use with sociocultural systems.[3] Functionally-identified subsystems do not have the familiar institutional components of the political system. Some components have a political role in only one functional subsystem. Trade unions, for example, are involved in the interest aggregation subsystem of the political system. Other institutions appear in several subsystems. Political parties, for example, have a role in three functional subsystems of the political system: they are a vehicle for interest aggregation; they are involved in the formalization of legislation when the party whip is exercised; and party identification is a strong force in generation of support. The choice between alternative ways of identifying the subsystems of the political system rests upon their usefulness. The two descriptions of subsystems of the political system that are used in this thesis are the functionally-defined division just referred to (and used in Figure 4.5, p.96) and the traditional tripartite division of legislature, executive, and judiciary.

Growth, overload, and differentiation

The Accord is now examined as evidence of self-transformation of aspects of the political system, suggesting that the internal restructuring improves the channel capacity of the Australian political system by subsystemic differentiation. The basic proposition of this part of the analysis (the lower loop in Figure 5.2, p.102) is that as societies grow larger they also become more complex and their subsystems undergo periodic restructuring. This is analogous to the biological concept of development = growth + differentiation. We previously identified political system overload as a profound problem for contemporary democracies. The upper loop drew attention to the role of democratic ideology in both creating the overload and relieving it by outputs which serve to alter expectations. Now, in focussing on the lower loop, we are saying that growth plays a similar dual role. Societal growth increases the input overload of the political system from growth in population numbers, in types of demands placed on the system, and in complexity of the demands. But a developmental growth process can produce a structural response to enable more demands to be processed, namely subsystemic differentiation.

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[3]The question of how to identify the subsystems of the political system for various purposes has not been resolved in this thesis. The comments made should be regarded as initial suggestions, inviting debate.

Subsystemic differentiation is qualitatively different from simply adding more channels. At a superficial level, more channels increase access and so reduce stress by reducing the frustrations generated by people's inability to gain access. However, when dealing with complex adaptive systems (*eg* the political system), increasing access can aggravate overload problems. The creation of more capacity at the boundaries of the system can be counterproductive if it is not matched by internal capabilities. In Miller's wide-ranging report on researches on response to overload, the characteristic initial response pattern in systems of all kinds was increased performance to match increased input, followed by the appearance of coping mechanisms such as omission (not taking any notice of incoming signals), accepting a higher level of errors, and queuing of incoming data (Miller 1978:121-195). Each of these had some ability to protect the system from breakdown from overload, but limited to relatively narrow tolerance levels. The only effective response to serious overload is 'chunking', which involves transmitting meaningful information in organized 'chunks' of symbols rather than symbol by symbol. This is equivalent to creating nodes in a network which then act subsystemically with respect to the system as a whole. Now we turn to the reasons for thinking that the current round of subsystemic differentiation is in the area of work-related matters.

A work-related subsystem of the political system

Employment/technology relations are socially divisive if left unchecked. It is claimed that these 'destructive social changes' prompted metasystemic imperatives from society to the political system to change the authoritative allocation of values with respect to work-related matters. The contemporary drift in employment/technology relations is towards computerised technologies because they are more cost-effective than labour-intensive ones. Employing fewer people and more technology is frequently the most profitable way for a business to adapt to changing circumstances. The argument in favour of increasing the technology component is that if the nation becomes more efficient, then the gains from trade are greater, so there is more to share around. But the argument is only valid if the productivity gains are (a) retained in the country and (b) shared equitably. Concerning part (a), transfer pricing can take the gains of improved productivity out of the country. Concerning part (b), if increased efficiency means employing fewer people, then the efficiency gains are not shared equitably if Australians get the job-losses and foreign multinationals get the benefits. Even with wholly-national companies, the persons made redundant by the technology-induced efficiency gain are unlikely to receive a share of those gains equivalent to their loss of employment.

The employment/technology tradeoff can be socially divisive if left unchecked and evidence is starting to emerge to that effect. Talk of class conflict is re-entering academic debate in contexts that are not Marxist analyses, according to a research officer from the Federal Republic of Germany who notes, with surprise, that since 1984 ideological argument between workers and bosses has reappeared after many years of co-operation towards increased productivity.[4] A British professor found that managerial attitudes now divide workers according to a core + periphery division which has a different flavour to the segmented labour market concept.[5] Core employees are those workers who are difficult to replace or interchange and includes some, but by no means all, white collar workers. They have good career prospects, and are given a say in many matters related to their work environment. The peripheral labour force may include both white and blue collar workers and refers to those workers who are thought of in market terms -- their labour is a commodity -- to be purchased when needed, for the lowest price available. This peripheral labour force is increased or decreased in accordance with output requirements dictated by the market. In Australia most managements do not think of their workforce in this way, but the philosophy can readily be imported. There is a powerful managerial logic to restructure in the direction of a small core of essential workers who are secure, well paid, well treated and loyal (the equivalent of the boss's family in smaller businesses) and applying maximum-return criteria to all other employees. A labour market philosophy of this kind is a disastrous prospect for a majority of the population, given that many currently employed persons are in the equivalent of the peripheral category, and that fewer and fewer people would be needed as core employees in workplaces that are increasing their technological sopistication.

Metasystemic imperatives

It was stated previously that system function describes the relationship between a system and its metasystem and that the functional definition of the political system is the authoritative allocation of values for society. The question of what values are involved in the metasystemic requirement for internal restructuring has been raised and found to be the protodemand to avoid a new-style work-related class division. A major challenge to contemporary political systems is to avert this socially destructive form of class conflict. The social imperative is that distribution of work and related matters be allocated in a socially fair way, *ie* it is a metasystemic imperative from society to the political system.

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[4]Dr Ulrich Borsdorf, of the West German Association of Trade Unions (Deutscher Gewerkschaftsbund - DGB) ANU seminar 22/7/86.

[5]Prof. William Brown of Cambridge University, ANU seminar, 24/10/84.

It is not conducive to the well-being of society that work-related matters be left to narrow interest groups in an era of high capital costs, high technology, and low labour requirements. Management-labour collective bargaining can be against the interests of society. If we accept society as a systemic entity then we can impute adaptive behavior directed towards system survival. If technology/unemployment matters are moving in socially destructive directions, then a systemic response is to be expected. Given that sociocultural systems operate largely through non-physical means, it is reasonable to speculate that society engages in a bit of 'socio-selection', favouring activities whose philosophies are conducive to social cohesion. Many work-related decisions need to be in the sphere of 'authoritative allocation of values for society' so that we, as a soceity, can deal with technology/work issues fairly. The Accord can be seen as a response to this need.

The time frame

To make a case for an evolutionary development of the Australian political system we need a long time-frame to give the required sense of balance, for day-to-day doings are imperceptible in decades and month-to-month changes are imperceptible in centuries. Societal differentiation is best seen in terms of a few centuries, so we dip into the past, further back even than the origins of this nation, to our cultural heritage elsewhere. When Australia ceased being a collection of British colonies and became a sovereign nation in 1901, it continued the Westminster form of government, comprising a legislature, a judiciary and an executive arm of government. Our cultural heritage, therefore, can be traced in British, European and American history. Political coercion is not excluded from this history but the moral high ground of Western democracies is that consent is the basis of state action. As Key puts it, relations between the views of the citizenry and the acts of its rulers altered radically with the advent of democracy. Previously rulers had found 'legitimacy for their authority in various sources - from divine right on down - but rarely did they place much store on the consent of the governed. The citizen's duty was to obey' (Key 1961:4). Democratic ideology changed that, introducing the idea that a legislature consisting of elected representatives of the people be the core decision-making unit for society.

Further changes have taken place in sociopolitical relations and our perceptions of them. In classical descriptions of the function of government, judicial interpretation resolves any ambiguities in legislation, which has been enacted by the people's representatives and the role of the executive arm of government is simply to implement the legislation. Nowadays it is quite apparent that policy is not made just through the legislature. The judiciary has long been recognised as one source of

national policy,[6] and also that the administration makes policy, although its right to do so is still disputed.

The Accord as a focus for the authoritative allocation of values is not easily reconciled with traditional ideas of where such decisions should be made. Accord outputs are neither legislation nor the administrative rulings of a government department, and yet they are effective, socially-binding decisions. The theoretical framework that we are using suggests that a fourth subsystem may be emerging, concerned with the authoritative allocation of work-related matters.

The fourth subsystem

In Figure 5.3 below, the political system is shown as a subsystem of society, along with other subsystems. The designation and number of subsystems of society can vary according to the specific research purpose. Those shown below are essential subsystems of society in that all viable societies contain aspects that deal with economic, political, religious and educational matters.

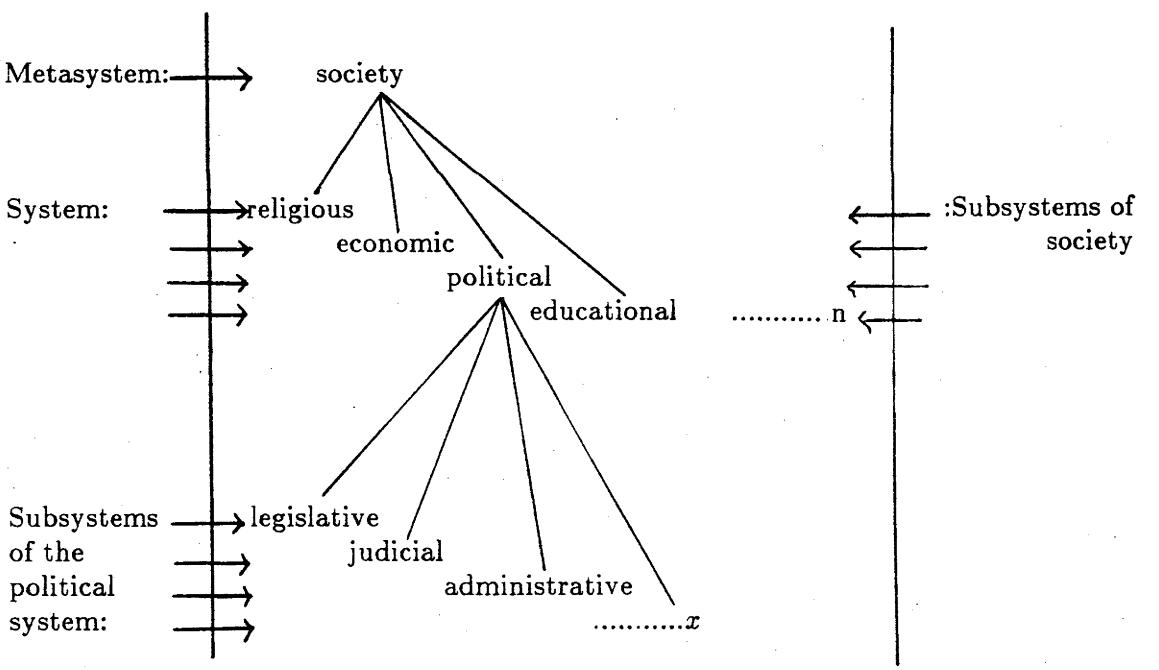

FIGURE 5.3 FOUR SUBSYSTEMS OF THE POLITICAL SYSTEM.

Some may argue that there are other essential subsystems, such as perhaps a military subsystem, whilst others may say that not all of the above are essential. Marxists, for example, may deny the need for religious activity within a society and consider political activity to be a controlled subset of the economic system. Such argument,

[6]Although many members of the judiciary are still reluctant to accept that aspect of the judicial role in society, according to Kirby (Kirby 1983).

however, lies outside the scope of the present work. That there is a political system and that it is an essential component of all societies is a basic premise of the thesis, taken from the work of Easton. The other subsystems were introduced to indicate what might be placed at an equivalent level for this type of analysis of society.

At the next level down, subsystems of the political system, the traditional units are shown, plus one labelled '*x*', which represents the recently-emerged subsystem associated with the Accord. We cannot claim that any of these are *essential* subsystems. We know enough about other societies to say that no single pattern of subsystemic division is common to all, and indeed small-scale societies can persist without any differentiation in their locus of authoritative allocation of values. Within subsets of political systems, however, there is much structural similarity and common perceptions as to the existence (and rightness) of the three arms of government is a major factor in the cultural affiliation of nations. Drawing on mainstream traditions of political studies, we can say that the political system has 'legislative', 'judicial', and 'executive' subsystems. The claim now being made is that the Accord, in association with the arbitration system, is the core of a new subsystem of the Australian political system, and that it has emerged to deal with work-related matters in socially-acceptable ways.

The claim that a fourth subsystem of the Australian political system is emerging is, primarily, the product of the conceptual framework used. Overload produces systemic reponses, which can include self-transformation of the political system. The current undertaking sought only to fit the Accord to this systemic cycle conceptually. Empirical evidence to support the claim can be found at the descriptive level as events unfold, and could also be sought according to system-identification criteria if time and resources were available for the task (*eg* identifying subsystem boundaries by mapping rates of information flow onto a model of the political system: changes in the rates of information flow are indications of a boundary). Even without detailed research, the plausibility of the general propositions can be assessed.

The political systems of Western democracies are under pressure, as evidenced by their inability to satisfactorily process the volume of demands directed at them. The ungovernability notions discussed earlier can be translated into systems language as being descriptions of systems which have been unable to find systemically viable modes of adaptation. (Without differentiation there is no development, society is stagnant.) Systemic thinking therefore leads us to expect subsystemic differentiation. The common factor of changing work-technology relations leads us to expect that such differentiation may well be in work-related allocations of values. The Australian

situation supports this theoretical expectation. Why it should have occurred here before elsewhere can be plausibly explained by our long involvement with arbitration in industrial matters.

The Accord is acting in a subsystemic way. Rather than adding yet another batch of demands on the legislature, judiciary, and administration, it is easing pressures. It does not overload the traditional channels of the political system because it is itself a vehicle for preprocessing demands and producing authoritative allocations of values. Its outputs are, generally speaking, effective socially-binding decisions. Most of the people obey most of them most of the time. What makes it different from many other socially-binding decisions is that its percieved source of legitimacy is not legislation. We are accustomed to thinking that all authoritative allocations of values derive their legitimacy either from an act of parliament, even if authority for decisionmaking has been delegated to other bodies, or from a legal ruling (see the literature on judge-made law, as referenced in Gambitta, May & Foster 1981). Whilst there are multitudinous semi-government organizations whose claims to an authoritative role in society through delegated legislation are difficult to identify, the Accord is clearly in a different situation. It is highly visible and its legitimacy rests on the oldest and most fundemantal of all grounds for legitimacy: it is accepted by most of the people most of the time.

The Accord has been in operation for four years, which is not a sufficient time to say that it has definitely established new patterns for the allocation of values concerning work-related matters in this country, but four years is reasonable time upon which to suggest that such patterns may become firmly established. And it is the re-patterning of authoritative allocation of values that is the innovative aspect of the Accord.[7]

Conclusion

Two systems-based lines of analysis of the Accord have been undertaken in this chapter. In the first, (which can be derived from Easton's model without its being incorporated in the living systems tradition), the Accord was viewed as an associated output of the political system, designed to achieve cultural modification so that future

[7]Substantively, it does not cover anything that can be described as a new area of policy, nor does it create new areas of bureaucracy. With the exception of the Economic Planning Advisory Council and its advisory council, the Advisory Committee on Prices and Incomes, most changes to formal organizations during the lifetime of the Accord are in the nature of revamping (*eg* the Australian Manufacturing Council) or rationalization of existing advisory and consultative bodies (as with the five to be combined in the Australian Council for Employment and Training).

rounds of inputs to the political system would be reduced. This is a *cultural* systemic response to input overload. The second systems analysis of the Accord deal with a *structural* response to input overload and was based on the general dynamic of growth, namely that living systems (society, in this case) can and do grow both in size and complexity. The theoretical postulate is that development encompasses growth plus differentiation. The analytic issues are (*i*) to show cause for the claim that a differentiation is taking place now and (*ii*) find plausible explanations for why the differentiation should be in the nominated part of the system. With respect to (*i*), input overload was given as a causal explanation for the political system to be in need of differentiation. It was claimed that democratic ideology is intrinsically prone to cause such overload, that demands input to the political system have grown exponentially, and that the 'chunking' of subsystemic differentiation is the only effective long-term solution to handling the increase. With respect to (*ii*), the differentiation of the Australian political system took the particular route outlined here because changing employment/technology relations make work-related matters a particularly sensitive area (for most developed nations) and the Australian history of conciliation and arbitration of industrial disputes prepared the way for differentiation to take place with respect to work-related aspects of the authoritative allocation of values in this country.

CHAPTER SIX

THEORETICAL FOUNDATIONS OF THE ATTITUDE STUDY

The next four chapters deal with an empirical investigation of attitudes to the Accord. Through the research, I sought to establish a comprehensive range of attitudes to the Accord and to evaluate a program designed to bring about attitude change. This chapter outlines major contemporary approaches to the study of attitudes and political attitudes in particular. Chapter 7 looks at the problems and objectives of attitude measurement and introduces to Australian political science the Q-methodology of psychologist William Stephenson, as adapted for use in political science by Steven R Brown. Chapter 8 describes the procedures used in data collection and computer analysis. The results are presented in Chapter 9.

THE NATURE OF ATTITUDES

The enormous literature on attitudes emanating from psychological research, sociology, organization theory, political studies, and the practical concerns of marketing organizations is based on comparatively few core concepts which can, therefore, be summarised in a chapter. The USA was the center of a massive research effort on attitudes in the 1950s and 1960s. For confidence in 'The American Way' was at its height in the 1950s, eliciting a great surge of developments in the social sciences, which were seen as an essential component of maintaining and advancing the hegemony of the American way. Emphasis on freedom in action and speech, combined

with confidence in the rationality of citizens, put the study of attitudes into the limelight. Persuasion was seen as the essential engine of social development. Hence, almost everything imaginable to do with attitudes - their formation, change, stability, sources, effects and functions - was the subject of academic investigation (for summaries of this research see McGuire 1969, Suedfeld 1971, Oskamp 1977). Sensible and useful themes were clarified in time, with the most widely accepted perspective being that emanating from the Yale Communication & Attitude Change Program. More recently, the 'stated intentions' approach of Fishbein & Azjen has some practical advantages for public opinion research and marketing, while the social judgment-involvement model of Sherif has advantages for complex attitudinal investigation. The main features of each of these three approaches are given below. But first, a few paragraphs concerning the meaning of attitude.

The word 'attitude', in common with many terms that have both academic and popular uses, needs definition in the light of specific research settings. A good deal of this chapter is addressed to that task, but it is convenient first to dispose of the distinction between attitude as 'physical stance' and as used in psychology. The Oxford English Dictionary (OED) definition of attitude gives first place to physical, not psychological phenomena, and says the word was originally a technical term of the Arts of Design, dating from the 1660s in English. 'The statue shows Hercules in a contemplative attitude' illustrates the physical meaning. 'Attitude of mind' entered the language in 1862 with the work of Herbert Spencer (OED 1933 V1:553), and additional psychological uses were introduced this century (OED Supplement 1972:148). There is no likelihood of confusion between the psychological and physical meanings in the present context, but the several psychological meanings can overlap.

In psychology, 'attitude' has two distinct meanings (with further variations); in one it refers to preparedness, as in 'attitude sets' which predispose a person to act in particular ways; the other is evaluation or affect attached to beliefs. This thesis uses the second, according to which attitude refers to an evaluative dimension, but, since the psychological meanings can be confusing, a brief discussion of those we are <u>not</u> using will help to make the distinction clear.

When first introduced as a psychological meaning by Herbert Spencer 'attitude' meant preparedness to act. In an oft-quoted passage Spencer said 'much depends on the attitude of mind we preserve while listening to, or taking part, in the controversy' (Spencer 1862, quoted by Allport 1935:4). The same slant is used in a clinical setting. L. Lange used the concept of attitude as preparedness in 1888 when he found that a subject who had been told what was going to happen, and so was consciously prepared

to press a telegraph key upon receiving a signal, did so more quickly than did one whose attention was directed at the signal itself. Subsequently it has been established that in nearly all psychological experiments the subject reacts more quickly if attention has been focussed on reaction expectations. This predisposition is now called task-attitude to distinguish it from evaluative attitudes.

Allied to the above is the notion of attitude as a disposition which determines the course of consciousness. 'An attitude is a mental or neural state of readiness, organized through experience, exerting a directive or dynamic influence upon the individual's response to all objects and situations with which it is related', according to Allport (1935). This approach received wide currency by being associated with John Dewey, the American philosopher and educator, and a highly influential American thinker in his time (1859-1952). For Dewey, habit, disposition, and attitude referred to the same phenomenon (eg Dewey 1910:13, 57, 162). Dewey's view of attitudes was perhaps transitional, between task attitude and the more prevalent contemporary use of 'attitude' in the psychological literature as an evaluative component attached to, or associated with, beliefs or opinions.

In recent years the evaluative aspect of attitudes has received prominence. This is due, in large measure, to the impact of evidence generated by Osgood's semantic differential (Osgood, Suci & Tannenbaum 1957). When this method is used to study concepts it appears that people's judgments are heavily weighted by the evaluative dimension. This finding has proved to be robust in other studies during the intervening years. In the contemporary view, then, the central characteristic of attitudes is a positive--negative polarity.

A person's attitude consists of (a) the beliefs that he/she holds regarding the topic (beliefs are an integral part of a person's self-image and may be held without factual evidence), (b) cognitions, the factual data that the person has on the topic, and (c) affect, which is positive/negative, supportive/disapproving, *ie* evaluative feeling.[1] As a simple illustration of the the components of attitude, consider person *A* who <u>believes</u> that anyone who is a Labor politician is a communist sympathiser. Person *A* would have to <u>know</u> that person *B* is a Labor politician for that belief to be relevant. And the strength and direction of *A*'s <u>feelings</u> towards communism (affect) would tell us *A*'s attitude towards *B*. We shall use this illustration again shortly.

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[1]Some authors also include behavior as an element of attitudes, but that just makes the concept even less precise.

The Yale View

In the Yale view attitudes are functional, resilient and internally consistent. The attitude theory emanating from the group of academics associated with the Yale Communication & Attitude Change Program (and subsequently the Center of the same name) revolves around the notion of cognitive consistency. Prominent names associated with the research program at Yale have been those of M.J. Rosenberg, C.I. Hovland, W.J. McGuire, R.P. Abelson, J.W. Brehm, and I.L. Janis. Balance theory, cognitive and affective consistency, belief congruence, cognitive dissonance theory, and the need for affective-cognitive inconsistency before attitude change can occur are amongst the key ideas used by the group. A major focus of the Program's research has been persuasive communication, which developed interactively with the consistency view of attitudes.

Attitudes are **functional** for the individual in several ways. They serve as a coping mechanism for the individual; they provide a cognitive structure which facilitates the processing of information; they help to fit an individual into his/her group; and they assist in maintaining self-esteem. An existing attitude set which fulfils a functional role is **resilient**: inconsistent information is absorbed only if it can be interpreted in a way that makes it consistent with the stable attitude. Attitudinal systems need to be **internally consistent.** When a state of inconsistency becomes apparent to an individual, whether from new information or a reappraisal of currently held beliefs, some change will occur in the attitude structure to restore a stable state.

The point which is of particular interest, given our investigation of an attitude change program, is that attitudes are relatively stable. Attitude change tends to require a realignment of all the beliefs in the attitude set, which implies a period of malintegration amongst beliefs - cognitive dissonanace. As this is a source of stress, it is difficult to change attitudes once they have taken on the structural characteristics which distinguish them from opinions, a distinction which is elaborated later in the chapter. To bring about attitude change requires something more than an encounter with new information: either a drive or an incentive for change is required. An example of an incentive for change could be that the person wishes to become a member of a particular social group whose members hold a different attitude on a topic. A drive motive for attitude change is the resolution of cognitive dissonance. Disturbances to an existing attitude structure may create dissonance,[2] particularly if

[2]Logical inconsistencies and dissonant information can be tolerated if the relevant issues are compartmentalized in the mind and events do not force them together.

the disturbances are ego-involving. We can use the illustration begun on the previous page to demonstrate cognitive dissonance. Person A thinks Labor politicians are communist sympathisers and is negatively disposed towards communism. One of A's offspring falls in love with B. They marry, and are happy together. Then B becomes a Labor politician, to the surprise of A, who had filtered out B's Labor leanings. This selective attention had risen because B's Labor sympathies were inconsistent with A's favourable attitude towards B, based on the happy marriage. But when B becomes a Labor politician, the facts become more difficult to ignore. If compartmentalization breaks down, A is in a state of cognitive dissonance, which psychologically-uncomfortable state can prompt attitude change. The dissonance can be resolved by (1) changing A's belief that all Labor politicians are communist sympathisers; (2) changing A's attitude towards communism; (3) changing B's activities to be no longer associated with Labor politics; (4) breaking up the marriage; or (5) deciding that A's offspring, (B's spouse), deserves no better anyway and breaking off relations with the family. To an outside observer it may seem that the obvious thing to do it for A to change his/her attitude towards communism or belief about the necessary connection between Labor politicians and communist sympathies (options 1 and 2). But this is not a necessary outcome. Attitudes are strangely powerful and irrational phenomena and logical solutions are not always taken. Resistance to change seems to be the norm. Once attitudes have been formed, as an integrated set of cognitions, beliefs and evaluations, they are very resistant to change.

Change through learning

This is less a question of change and more a question of creating an attitude by expanding the range of an individual's comprehension. By learning, acquiring new information, it is possible to create attitudes which fit in with the existing attitude set. Sometimes attitude change appears to have occurred when a different opinion on a topic is expressed before and after a learning experience, thus contradicting the resistance-to-change principle by the apparently easy change of attitudes through learning. The inconsistency is explained if we think in terms of depth-of-internalization between attitudes and opinions. The first opinion may have been an ephemeral or contingent opinion and thus easily discarded whereas the second, the post-learning opinion, is an expression of a newly-established attitude. The general point remains that to bring about attitude change is a very difficult and unpredictable thing to do when dealing with established attitudes.

The Yale approach to communication and persuasion is schematically illustrated as follows:

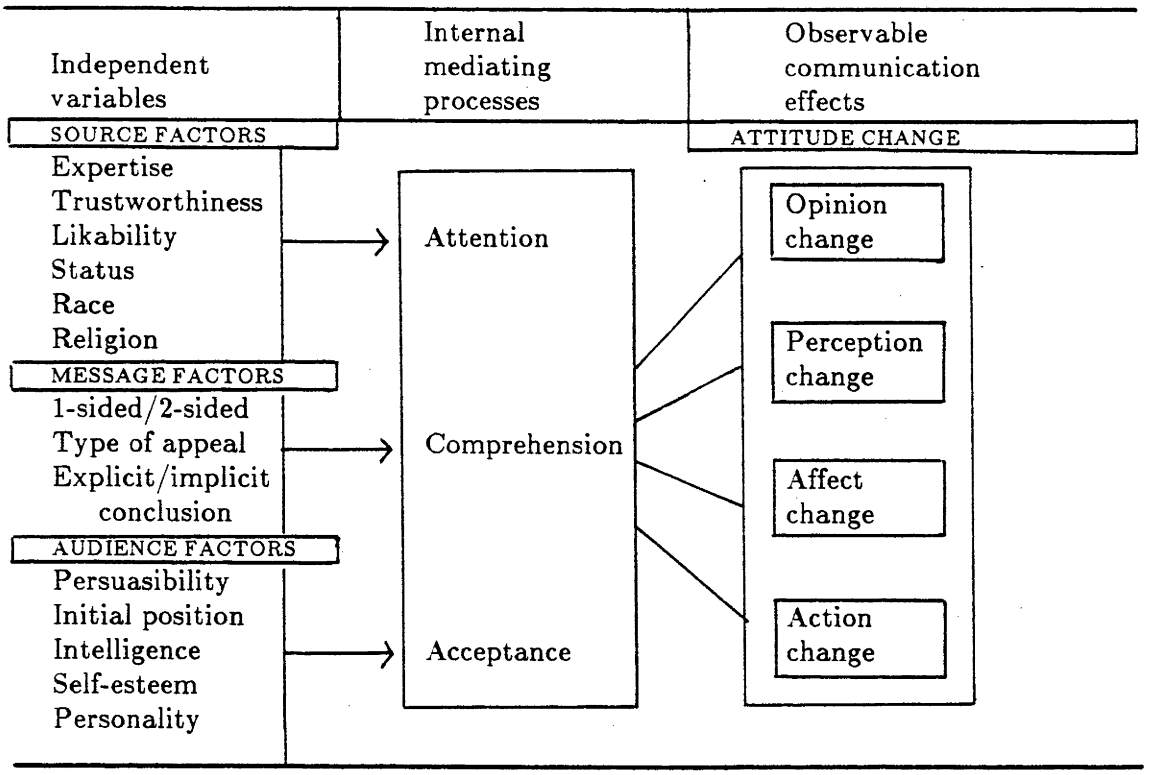

FIGURE 6.1 THE YALE APPROACH TO COMMUNICATION & PERSUASION
(source: Hovland & Janis 1959 page 4 and text).

The above sketch summarises, in the two left columns, the relationships that the Yale researchers postulate between source factors and internal mediating processes. Attention to communication may be affected by perception as to the expertise, trustworthiness, likability, status, race, and religion of the person who is the source of the communication. Similarly, the second mediating process which they postulate - comprehension - can be affected by the order in which arguments are presented, how the stimulus statements are worded, the type of appeal, and whether an implicit or explicit conclusion is incorporated in the stimulus message. Even if a persuasive message is heard and comprehended it may not be accepted. Audience factors come into play, *ie* personality and historical aspects concerning the listener, which are not within the reach of persuasive communication. 'Attitude change' encompasses four categories of effects: opinion change, perception change, affect change and action change.[3]

Another aspect of the Yale view stems from the group's research into cognitive structure, particularly the work of Rosenberg and Abelson (*eg* Rosenberg 1956, Abelson & Rosenberg 1958, Rosenberg & Abelson 1960). They suggest that resolution

[3]Each of these source factors has been researched as an independent variable in attitude-change studies by the Yale group, and the three internal mediating processes were isolated experimentally with respect to source, message and audience factors but were not isolated with respect to observable communication effect.

of inconsistency follows the path of least resistance, and propose eight rules of psycho-logic[4] that are followed in cognitive operations. Although this hypothesis is less widely used than other Yale-initiated attitude theories, it is particularly useful in understanding the difference between rational learning and attitude formation. Rationality applies only to those aspects of cognitive structure which are not based on evaluation or affective response. When new information does invoke an affective response, it will be processed according to the rules of psycho-logic, not scientific logic and cognitive algebra (Abelson & Rosenberg 1958, Abelson, McGuire & Rosenberg 1968, Colby 1968: the field continues to be developed, see for example Anderson 1981). The major ideas concerning attitudes which have flowed from the Yale Communication and Attitude Change Program, outlined above, set the general parameters of contemporary thought regarding attitudes in psychology and related disciplines. We now turn to a more limited approach which is effective in some circumstnaces.

Fishbein & Ajzen's model

Sometimes it is hard to be specific about attitudes because they incorporate subconscious elements. It is this inaccessibility that has led some psychologists to downgrade the study of attitudes. Fishbein & Ajzen started a new round of debate concerning attitudes with their book *Belief, Attitude, Intention, and Behavior* (Fishbein & Ajzen 1975). Their central proposition is that beliefs are explicit and measurable and so is behavior, whereas attitudes are not. Therefore they advocate that attitudes should be relegated to the position of an intervening (unmeasurable) variable and that research work should focus on beliefs, behaviors and stated behavior intentions. They offer a conceptual framework as shown in Figure 6.2 in which attitude is viewed as a **general** predisposition that does not predispose the

[4]'Psycho-logic' is the phrase coined by Abelson and Rosenberg to describe the way in which people's beliefs are based on ideas and concepts which seem to 'go together' comfortably from their subjective viewpoints rather than being derived by strict deductive logic.

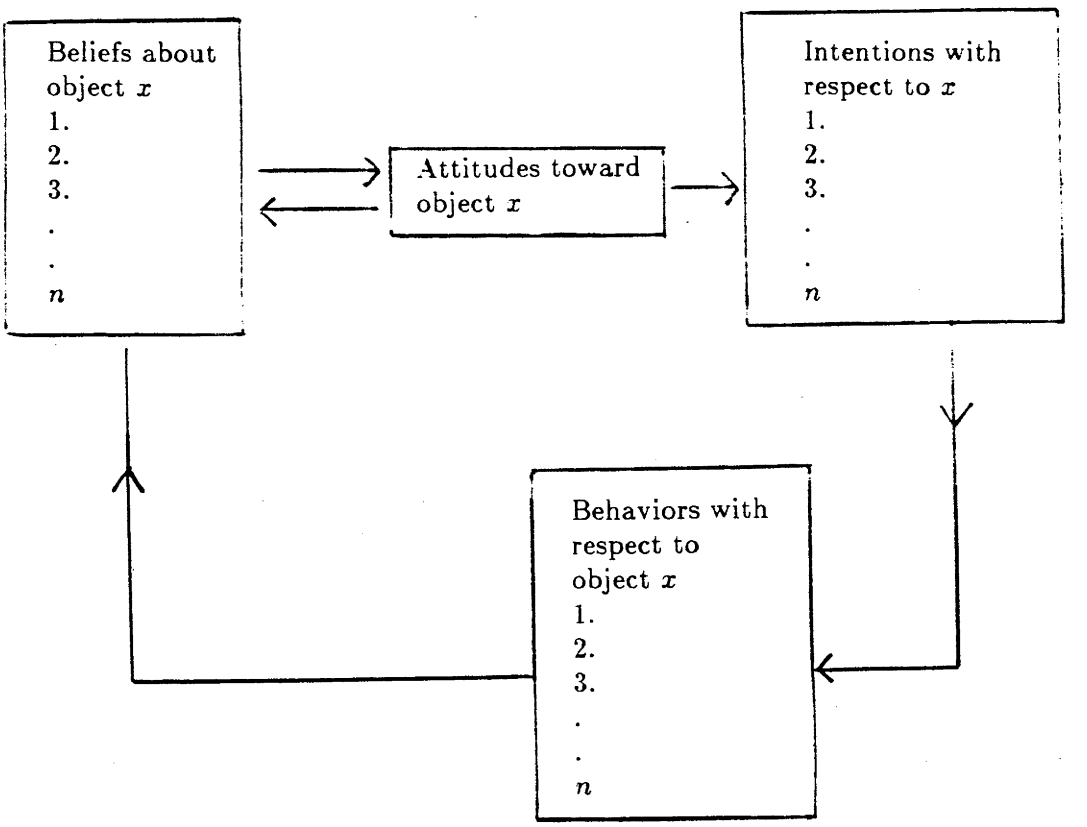

FIGURE 6.2. FISHBEIN & AJZEN'S VIEW OF THE ROLE OF ATTITUDES

(Source: Fishbein & Ajzen 1975:15).

person to perform any specific behavior. Rather, it leads to a set of intentions that indicate a certain amount of affect toward the object in question, and in turn the intentions influence specific behavior. To support their contention that attitude should be relegated to an unmeasurable intervening variable they say 'most investigators would probably agree that attitude can be described as a learned predisposition to respond in a consistently favourable or unfavourable manner with respect to a given object. Consensus on this description of attitude, however, does not eliminate the existing disagreements among attitude researchers. It merely serves to obscure the disagreements by providing a description with multiple interpretations' (Fishbein & Ajzen 1975:6). These authors hold that knowing a person's attitude towards something does not enable us to predict his/her behavior towards that object. If we want to know what someone is going to do we need to know what they intend to do, and that will be a function of their beliefs. Thus the authors wish to use attitude as a description of a learned predisposition, but not use it as a working tool for prediction.

The approach of Fishbein and Ajzen has produced good results, and marketing research and opinion polling have been changed for the better by their expositions. It would seem to be the case that people's responses are more consistent if they are asked

a direct question as to what they intend to do with respect to x or y than if they are asked for their opinion concerning x or y. It appears that when a person is asked for his/her **opinion**, there is too much room for personal contextualisation of the question. On the other hand, high reliability of responses has been reported for direct questioning of intentions, such as 'Will you do .. x .. tomorrow if .. y .. happens?' The high reliability of responses indicates that most people know what they intend to do, and answer questions honestly. Therefore, whenever a forthcoming behavior will tell us what we want to know, it is preferable to ask a direct question concerning intention with respect to specific acts rather than ask for opinions or attitudes, or seek to infer them from indirect questions.

In political science, the subject matter of opinion polls often falls into this category, where a direct statement of intention can be asked, but the approach is limited in its value to our discipline, because of the prerequisite that a suitable behavioral-intention question must be formulated with respect to the subject matter of interest. Often the most pertinent questions in political science are not amenable to such treatment. If we want to know what democracy means to people, what are we to ask? Any question that links democratic ideology to a specific forthcoming action necessarily defines the context within which to answer. It is precisely such limitation that we wish to avoid. But it is just such limitation which permits the Fishbein & Ajzen approach to give reliable predictions. In the process of improving the fit between responses and subsequent actions, it cuts out much that is of interest in the political sphere. The high-reliability predictions that can be obtained from applying the Fishbein & Ajzen approach are available only in relation to a specific action which will or will not take place.

In political science we seek, *inter alia*, to understand the political culture of the nation and the attitudes of the citizenry. 'Behavioral Intentions' is too limiting a concept to grasp this subject matter. So far as attitudes to complex policy matters like the Accord are concerned, the Fishbein & Ajzen approach has little to offer, particularly since a methodology for obtaining computer-manipulable data from subjective evaluative judgments is available in Stephenson's Q-methodology. Fishbein and Ajzen make no mention of either Stephenson or Q-methodology. This omission is puzzling, because Q-methodology overcomes precisely the problem (of revealing subjectivity) which Fishbein and Ajzen say makes attitudes unsuitable as subjects for research. Given that subjective attitudes can be revealed (using Q-methodology), Fishbein and Ajzen have solved a non-existent problem.

The Social Judgment-Involvement approach

The social judgment-involvement approach (SJI) is a combination of Muzafer and Carolyn Sherif's work in the areas of judgment and group dynamics, and a continuation of ideas associated with Hovland, begun within the context of the Yale project. Notwithstanding its Yale ancestry, this perspective is treated separately here because the Yale view is identified with cognitive and consistency approaches whereas the social judgment-involvement approach illustrates those aspects of the Yale view which are particularly relevant in the present context. A full exposition of SJI is given in *Attitude and Attitude Change: The Social Judgment-Involvement Approach* (Sherif, Sherif & Nebergall, 1965). The descriptive title identifies what they see as improvements on prior understanding of attitudes. 'Social Judgment' identifies the need to consider attitudes in the context of a social setting. It points up a vital duality about attitudes in that an attitude is an essentially individual thing and yet inseparable from a person's social setting.

Evaluative judgments are affected by placement of communications, that is, by whether or not the source of the communication is someone within a peer or reference group. For example, you are more likely to cancel your planned holiday to the Middle East if a visiting scholar from that part of the world advises you to do so because of an escalation in terrorist and military activity than if the same advice is given by a taxi-driver. The social-setting aspects of attitude formation and change are not original to Sherif *et al.* There is a considerable body of research evidence which has established that attitudes are formed or changed in peer group contexts rather than by mass media direct, as well as the research findings concerned with 'source factors' as independent variables in the Yale program mentioned above.

The word 'involvement' refers to ego involvement, which is the key to predicting whether information will be heard neutrally, will be interpreted as closer to one's own position, or will be seen as more highly discrepant than it really is (contrast effect). By assessing the extent of ego involvement in an issue, the degree of contrast effect that will be brought into play with respect to new information can be predicted. High ego-involvement increases contrast effects. The corollary is that the chances of attitude change are very low when there is high ego-involvement.

The concepts of 'placement' in social settings and 'ego involvement' refine understanding of how attitudes are formed and therefore also how they change. Attitude change or resistance to change is, in this view, a function of individual categorization of communication, both in terms of its source and its salience. The initial placement according to these two criteria is crucial to any process of attitude

change and is a predictor of direction and amount of change. Sherif *et al.* accept Festinger's dissonance theory as correct, but object when the theory is used to say that options for reduction of dissonance are precisely that - optional alternatives. In many instances the alternatives are not optional and we can predict whether they are or not, according to placement. When a communication contradicts prevailing reference-group values it has virtually no chance of causing any attitude change. When a new issue emerges upon which few hold an opinion, then attitudes will begin to crystallise according to each individual's identification in relation to those expressing opinions, either following the same direction or taking a stand against it. If the source of the opinion occupies a social position to which the person defers, then the seed of favourable interpretation will have been sown so far as that issue is concerned. Future communications on that subject will be received with a slight favourable bias. Alternatively, attitude formation can be seeded in a negative direction. If the source has previously been categorised as 'undesirable to be associated with', then a new issue introduced by that source is automatically evaluated unfavourably. These are the straightforward situations.

Complexities arise when an existing attitude is challenged by a respected or feared member of the reference group. If there is low ego-involvement, the communication will be seen as less discrepant than it is and a shift in attitude towards that expressed is likely. However, if ego involvement in the issue is high, the discrepant information will be viewed as more highly discrepant, increasing the dissonance and none of the 'dissonance reduction mechanisms' will be viable options. Various other patterns of source/involvment/effect are possible, but for present purposes we need only note that Sherif *et al.* believe that social placement of a communication drastically reduces the options available for reducing dissonance and sometimes no options are satisfactory. To illustrate this situation consider a person who does not have strong views on abortion, who is a member of a political party which favours abortion and who is also an active member of a church community which opposes it. If abortion becomes an important national issue the person experiences cognitive dissonance because the two peer groups have different expectations. The option of changing one's own stance in favour of that being advocated is not a viable alternative because a choice in favour of either group's position is unsatisfactory to the other. The option of refuting the validity of information supplied by either side is not possible because to do so amounts to a slur on friends and associates. Simply to ignore the information presented by both sides is the most psychologically attractive option, but may be difficult to attain because peer-group pressure requires a commitment. The result is a distressing choice of making enemies of one or other set of friends, and all over an issue about which the person does not really care one way or the other. After the choice is made post-

decision rationalization will set in, forming a strong commitment to the position chosen in order to justify the break in social relations which has occured.

The SJI approach has obvious relevance in the study of politicization of issues and the study of attitudes in general. This thesis does not set out to prove or disprove any part of the SJI approach, but its role in the general outlook underpinning this work is fully acknowledged.

POLITICAL ATTITUDES

Political attitudes are, in the terminology used in this thesis, personal evaluative belief systems about issues that concern the authoritative allocation of values. More simply, they are attitudes about political matters. The concept of 'public opinion' to cover attitudes on matters political was popularised by early commentators and theorists of democracry like de Toqueville, J.S. Mill and Lord Bryce (Chisman 1976:2). Nowadays, public opinion polls have trivialised the meaning of the term in some respects, so it is appropriate to make some distinctions between public opinion then and now, between the mass phenomenon and individual political attitudes, and between attitudes and opinions.

Opinions and attitudes are treated as interchangeable concepts in popular discussion, as they were in early research. Thurstone, for example, in his pioneering study on the measurement of attitudes, states that opinions are the expression of attitudes and that, allowing for deliberate lies or response sets, a person's (scaled) responses to opinion statements reveal their attitudes to the subject in question (Thurstone 1928). Opinions and attitudes were also treated as synonymous in political science in the early part of this century. The leading political scientists dealing with attitudes a generation ago, V.O. Key, Harold Lasswell, and R.E. Lane, all of whom had established their reputations before survey research or factor analysis were widely used in the social sciences, held a similar view. The mainstream tradition of the time, regarded 'public opinion' and 'attitudes' as coterminous. V.O. Key, in *Public Opinion and American Democracy* (1961), set the pattern for political scientists to think that theoretical statements concerning attitudes were not needed with comments like the following:

> For purposes of political analysis one need not strain painfully toward the formation of a theoretical representation of an eerie entity called 'public opinion' (Key 1961:14).

In a way he proved the truth of his claim by the many useful and perceptive contributions that he made to the analysis of American democracy. He was able to

relate political attitudes to class, education, occupation, family, mass media etc, in fact all the linkages that are, by and large, accepted as valid today (Key 1961:307-8, 310-13, 309-10, 509-10). His view that attitudes do not require theoretical treatment persists to a considerable extent amongst political scientists. Early exceptions were the authoritarian personality studies of Adorno *et al.* and the cultural analyses in Almond's early work, while Robert E. Lane dealt extensively with ideological matters in politics using an eight-part core belief system; but these stand out from the general trend. Compared to, say, education research (Henerson 1978) or marketing (Green & Carmone), political science has done little to refine understanding of attitudes in our sphere of interest till very recent times. The best work of the 1960s and 1970s dealt with attitude distribution and its correlates rather than the intrinsic nature of attitudes (*eg* Butler & Stokes 1969, Aitkin 1977). In the 1980s there is a resurgence of interest in the study of political attitudes, both from a theoretical point of view, to be discussed later, and also from a practical point of view, as witness the work work done by Wirthlin for USA President Reagan (Perry 1984).

The need to distinguish opinions and attitudes came with the popularisation of survey research (Monroe 1975). This indispensible tool of the social sciences has been a source of temptation to take a superficial approach to attitudes themselves in order to proceed to the measurement and analysis of distributions and correlates of attitudes. The frequency and high media profile of public opinion polls merely confuses the issue. Because of the superficiality of most public opinion polls they do not substitute for understanding of political attitudes no matter how often they are taken. Concurrently with the spread of the sample survey came the burgeoning literature on the pitfalls of measuring attitudes, a subject that is dealt with in Chapter 7 of this thesis, and a decline in political science writing on attitudes per se. If we accept that the work of mid-century political scientists was not extensively built upon because of the measurement problem and that this is now solved, then the authors of a generation ago deserve a re-examination. An example of a neglected but rewarding analysis of political attitudes is the work of Eysenck.

In the 1950s Eysenck drew a distinction between attitudes and opinions based on depth of internalization. In his chapter on the organization of social attitudes in *The Psychology of Politics* (1954) Eysenck suggested four levels, two of opinion and two of attitudes. The first contains ephemeral phenomena that are of no great interest or value to research because they do not go beyond themselves; they do not throw light either on the personality or on the ideologies of the people holding them. These are opinions which, if asked in a different way or in a different setting, are not reproducible. The next level contains opinions which are somewhat more constant

part of an individual's makeup. The first of the two attitude levels contains structured opinions about an issue, *ie* Eysenck said that when a person holds a large number of opinions on the same issue, then, in combination, they define his/her attitude towards that issue. Nowadays we would say that beliefs and cognitions combine into an attitude, but Eysenck was still in the process of establishing the difference between stable and ephemeral views. His concept of level-3 attitudes seems to use 'opinion' as a component of attitudes rather than their expression, but, in context, there is no conflict with contemporary views. The ephemerality of opinions and their contingent, even if stable, nature is expressed in levels 1 and 2, whereas attitudes are integrated with a person's psyche.

The fourth level, of greatest interest in political science according to Eysenck, is the domain of structurally interactive attitudes. He stresses that the study of this level of phenomena, of ideologies, is not vague theorising but solid empirical research, dealing with facts about relationships because social attitude structure is based on the empirical fact of correlations. Some correlations are interesting, while some are not. It is not very interesting if two attitudes are related by logical implication. More interesting are those cases where logical implications are violated, for this alerts us to multidimensionality in attitude structure and possible sources of stress. Also interesting are those cases where correlations found between independent stable opinions form regular patterns, for these form the super-attitudes or ideologies.

Context and depth of internalization of feelings about a subject are significant factors in people's responses. Contextual effects fall outside the scope of this thesis, but Eysenck's views, developed in a political context, have continuing relevance within the discipline. We hear much about opinion polls but the insights which they do and do not provide leave a conceptual hiatus between early and contemporary writing on public opinion. What is needed to bridge the gap is a recognition that public opinion used to mean Eysenck's super-attitudes or ideologies, that is, patterns of stable correlations in sets of evaluative beliefs, but nowadays public opinion means individual opinions about individual questions.

The relationship between ideologies, attitudes, and opinions can be expressed as in the following sketch, in which the first column, 'cultural milieux', suggests that ideologies, or super-attitudes to use Eysenck's term, initiate and circumscribe the content of personal attitudes. Cultural milieux predispose people's thought patterns to follow certain routes, and attitudes are the mechanism by which cultural patterns influence individual behavior.

In the second column, 'internal to the individual' we acknowledge that personal

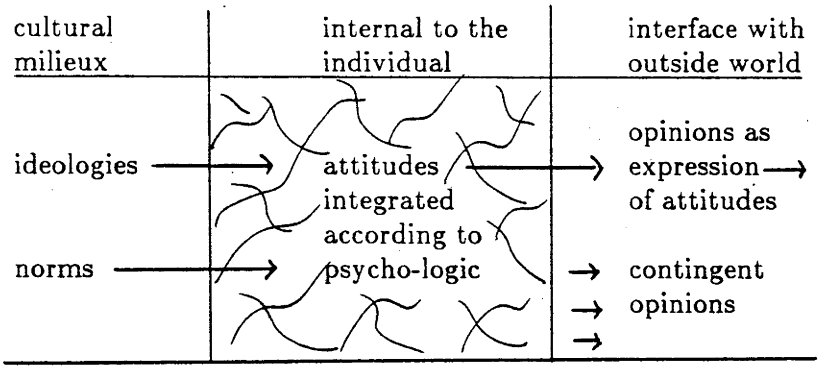

FIGURE 6.4 ATTITUDES DERIVED FROM CULTURE, EXPRESSED AS OPINIONS.

attitudes have a logic of their own, a psycho-logic, not necessarily consistent with deductive logic, as mentioned previously. These internal structures are important when change attitudes is contemplated as unexpected results can obtain if scientific rationality is assumed, but a discussion of the implications of attitude structure for planned attitude change lies outside the scope of this thesis. For present purposes we can accept that attitudes are internal to the individual and cannot be measured directly, but, as we shall see in the next chapter, a person can reveal them in quantifiable ways, through Q-technique which avoids the superficiality of opinion polls.

The depth-of-internalization distinction between attitudes and opinions is invoked in the third column. Opinions can be the interface between a person's attitudes and the world, public expressions, uttered for others to hear. Such opinions are linked to important internal states of mind, whereas others are just ephemeral comment. The latter kind have a contingent quality - they depend on who is asking, how questions are phrased, what circumstances prevail at the time, and such opinions are not necessarily integrated with one another.

Concerning the lack of integration of opinions, relatively few people make a conscious decision that all their public utterances shall be consistent with one another. We have a high tolerance of ambiguity. Without such a conscious commitment discontinuities are tolerated without psychological discomfort. But some opinions do link in to important internal states of mind and then they are an expression of attitude. The early opinion research that produced enduring results was performed by perceptive researchers and was tapping attitude-based opinions rather than ephemeral statements or contingent opinions. Contemporary political science needs clear distinctions between ephemeral opinions, evaluations concerning single concepts, and linked sets of evalutive beliefs. I suggest we reserve the term 'attitude' for the latter. We need the

distinctions so as to be able to apply appropriate measurement methodologies. The complex, hierarchially structured evaluative belief systems that we are calling attitudes cannot be studied properly by using methodologies that are suitable only for simpler mental constraints. The next chapter addresses the topic of attitude measurement.

CHAPTER SEVEN

MEASUREMENT OF POLITICAL ATTITUDES

Obtaining measures of attitude

The fundamental challenge of attitude measurement has always been to represent accurately the subjective feelings of the person under scrutiny and at the same time to provide data that are amenable to quantitative analysis. These requirements are often in conflict. Despite the ingenuity displayed by social scientists in various disciplines since the second world war, attitude measurement still means little more than 'scaling', and scaling, as we shall see, is inherently unsuitable for attitude measurement. This chapter describes techniques that have been tried and found wanting, and introduces a better approach.

Attitude research in political science is exemplified, on the one hand, by large-scale studies like *The American Voter*, *Civic Culture*, *The Authoritarian Personality*, and, on the other hand, by small-scale intensive interview work such as Lane's studies of working class political attitudes (Campbell & Converse 1960, Almond and Verba 1963, Adorno *et el.* 1950, Lane 1962. See also Shaw & Wright 1967). Some attitudes which have been studied repeatedly are quite well understood (*eg* Wilson 1973). The bulk of political science work, however, has not confronted attitudes directly. Aitkin's large-scale survey *Stability and Change in Australian Politics* is typical in that attitudes were implicit throughout (under headings like Ideology and Preferences, Party images and Identification, and Political Socialization), but Aitkin did not move past scales and made no attempt to investigate the attitudes themselves (Aitkin 1977). Typical in

a different way is a one-town one-class study reported in *The Affluent Worker: Political Attitudes and Behaviour* (Goldthorpe 1968). The authors looked at the change in political attitudes that is implied by the concept of embourgeoisement. They assumed that they could interpret respondents' statements into summary phrases (but I could not match unambiguously many of the full replies given as illustration with a 'summary phrase' category). They further assumed that the concepts epitomised by the summary phrases were linked with one of the two major British political parties; and they implicitly defined embourgeoisement as being linked to a change from Labour party affiliation to Conservative party affiliation. Needless to say, their data found that embourgeoisement accompanied a shift to Conservative voting amongst affluent workers.

Irrespective of the merits of particular studies, the identification and understanding of attitudes are central concerns in the study of the politics of Western democracies. Yet compared with psychology or sociology the discipline of political science has invested little effort in their measurement. Even business studies, communication studies, and journalism have contributed more to the understanding and measurement of attitudes than political science. It seems that political science is a 'borrowing' discipline so far as methodologies are concerned. Such may be the empirical situation, but should such passivity also be accepted as proper? Political science ought to be vitally interested in all aspects of attitudes, including their measurement.

There are signs that a new wave of interest in attitudes is gathering force, although the word 'attitude' is not frequently found in political science at the present time. It appears only four times in the titles of articles published in the *American Political Science Review* during the 1980s. The first was 'Self-Interest *vs* Symbolic Politics in Policy Attitudes and Presidential Voting', whose authors 'found the various self-interest measures to have very little effect in determining either policy preferences or voting behavior. In contrast, symbolic attitudes (liberal or conservative identification, party identification, and racial prejudice) had major effects' (Sears *et al.* 1980:670). The second was 'Industrial Self-Management and Political Attitudes' (Greenberg 1981:29-42). In the third, 'Political Attitudes during an Election Year: A Report on the 1980 NES Panel Study', the author found that attitudinal structuring towards presidential candidates showed two prime dimensions: assessment of candidates' personal competence, and of their personal integrity, but 'even among those citizens who claimed to have some idea of the candidates' platforms, we found a tendency for their perceptions to be colored by their own policy preferences and affective orientations toward the candidates' (Markus, 1982:549). The authors of the fourth article, 'Attitude Attribution: A Group Basis for Political Reasoning', argue that

attitude attribution - how people estimate what others think - provides new insight into the workings of mass belief systems (Brady and Sniderman 1985:1061-1078). Other articles express dissatisfaction with political research in attitude-related areas. For example, Cook deals with political socialization, a subject which is inextricably linked to attitude formation and change. He argues that the subfield of political socialization is more important to the discipline than currently recognized but that it cannot receive its due recognition until a good theoretical model of learning is developed (Cook 1985:1079-1093), a requirement which I would argue is intimately linked with understanding attitudes. The impression to be gained from contemporary North American journals (and a study of British journals confirms this view) is that political science must come to terms with attitudes and related psychological phenomena, but is having difficulty in finding ways to do so. The articles mentioned above reassert the significance of 'attitude' as a predictive variable. We can hope that demonstrating this significance will encourage the in-depth study of attitudes in political science.

Another line of argument supportive of the possibility of a new wave of interest in attitudes appears in the article by Herbert A. Simon entitled 'Human Nature in Politics; the Dialogue of Psychology with Political Science', in which he finds that the principle of rationality is useless for making predictions as auxiliary assumptions account for any match between prediction and event. He uses this finding to suggest a paradigmatic shift in the discipline, away from economics, and towards psychology. He desires such a change, believing that it will allow political science to make a valuable contribution to the real world of politics, and concludes that 'It makes a difference, a very large difference, to our research strategy whether we are studying the nearly omniscient HOMO ECONOMICUS of rational choice theory or the boundedly rational HOMO PSYCHOLOGICUS of cognitive psychology' (Simon 1985:303).

UNIDIMENSIONAL SCALING AND ITS PROBLEMS

The most widely used methods of attitude measurement are based on scaling techniques. Scaling theory forms one of the most advanced social science methods, but the sophistication can easily mask a brute fact: **unidimensionality is both an assumption and a consequence of scale construction.** Unidimensional scales are valid only with respect to single attributes, and it is usually the case that attitudes of interest to political science are complex structures. That is not to say there is no place for scale measurement in political science. Rather, we need to distinguish 'attitudes as composite phenomena' from 'attitude components'. The latter may well be unidimensional and therefore suitable for scale measurement but to identify attitudes as composite phenomena requires techniques of pattern recognition, not scalar vectors,

and our research instruments need to be free from *a priori* assumptions as to what will emerge. Only after relevant patterns of association -- those ideas and beliefs which are habitually and evaluatively linked together -- have been empirically determined should we seek to decompose the attitudes into unidimensional components.

Scale measurement of attitudes

The systematic measurement of attitudes began in 1928 with Thurstone's path-breaking article: 'Attitudes can be measured' (Thurstone 1928). The acknowledged pioneers of the field, Thurstone, Likert and Guttman, all thought of attitudes as unidimensional, and developed their methodologies accordingly. When applied properly these methodologies measure attitudes on a single item or concept (Thurstone & Chave 1929, Likert 1932, Guttman 1944:139-150). The consistency which Thurstone scales, Likert scales, Guttman scales, paired comparison scales and successive interval scales seek to achieve goes hand in hand with assumptions that the concepts under investigation are unidimensional. In scale construction efforts are directed towards achieving scales that measure only the desired attribute or quality, and nothing else at all.

Thurstone's method achieves scale 'purity' through the collection of a hundred or so statements which express favourable or unfavourable attitudes to the topic; these are put to a panel of judges who rank each according to the statement's favourability or unfavourability to the topic. The scaling procedure finds a scale value for each item - its assumed strength of association with a positive or negative attitude to the topic in question. Statements to which judges give a substantially different ranking are discarded as ambiguous. Subjects then choose a specified number of statements that best represent their attitudes.

Likert's summated rating method uses item analysis, whereby only the 'best' items from a large initial pool of statements are kept for the main test. The elimination is usually achieved by comparing the top 25 per cent of scorers with the bottom 25 per cent, and eliminating statements that do not discriminate significantly between these two groups. Statements are discarded if they seem to be measuring some other dimension of attitude than that selected by the high and low scorers as being relevant to the topic.

Guttman scaling overcomes a problem that can arise from the procedures developed by Thurstone and Likert - the ambiguity of neutral scores. The unique value associated with a neutral position may have derived from the averaging of extreme

positions or by a respondent's tendency to give weak responses. Guttman scaling demands a cumulative pattern of scoring. A respondent strongly favourable to the topic should also endorse all the statements acceptable to a respondent more moderately in favour.

The stringent criteria of all the above methods ensure the purity of unidimensional scales, but the criteria can only be met in practice if the topic is a very restricted one (Oskamp 1977:22). Most political attitudes involve complex sets of concepts. This is obviously true of something as complex as the Accord, or even of such more specific questions as, for example, the proposed deregistration of a union under Australian conciliation and arbitration legislation. Even on such highly specific questions not all individuals see the same issues as being involved, may dispute the facts involved, as well as having differences as to appropriate ends to be achieved. Whilst ends might be the most visible aspect by which to distinguish attitudes one from another, the perception of 'relevant' facts and of 'proper' means of attaining ends is inextricably linked within the psyche of the individual.

Scale construction involves prior assumptions about both the concepts and about the meaning of the analysis. The first questionable assumption is that there is a 'true' meaning for a word or a concept. Once the questionnaire became a popular research tool, similar questionaires often produced conflicting results about the nature of attitudes. Inconsistent results arose from respondents' apparently having attached meanings to the research instrument which were different to those the researcher expected or intended. Zibbardo has overstated the case in saying that no measurement technique has yet been developed which does not include assumptions that a particular test item has the same meaning for all respondents (Zibbardo *et al.* 1977:214). Nevertheless, his remarks draw attention to an untenable assumption, namely that a particular set of words means the same to all respondents. This touches upon the reason why some people may think attitude measurement is a futile effort. Attitudes are, they might argue, an entirely subjective matter, personal and inaccessible to the researcher, not available to measurement, and therefore not a proper basis for academic research. If opinion polls and scale questionnaires were the only available techniques for measurement of attitudes one might be inclined to agree, but they are not the only research tools available.

Further assumptions arise in that answers to scale questionnaires produce predetermined results. The numerical value given to an answer attempts to capture everything of relevance to an attitude position. We 'decode' the number by assuming that a particular value is linked to a 'typical' attitude structure, and that all

respondents scoring, say, six have the same attitude to the topic. The researchers, however, have predetermined the meaning of each value, perhaps validly as when unidimensional concepts have been scaled competently, perhaps badly as when an untested collection of words or statements is strung together to measure what the researchers think they are measuring. In other words, the researchers have determined what is within the various sections of the continuum. All that the test responses do is to locate the individual somewhere along its length.

Abelson expresses the problem of using scales rather well:

> If the scale is internally consistent, it is one-dimensional. But if it is not internally consistent, then items must be rewritten or discarded or the scoring manipulated in some fashion. The methods do not provide for multi-dimensionality of the material as an alternative to one-dimensionality, and this is an unfortunate limitation on the power of scaling methods (Abelson 1954:405).

Although made more than 30 years ago, Abelson's comments are still pertinent for although multidimensional techniques have been known since the 1950s, the construction of unidimensional scales retains pride of place in the teaching and practice of attitude measurement. In teaching, for example, Oskamp's otherwise excellent text *Attitudes and Opinions* (Oskamp 1977) lists carelessness, social desirability, extremity of response, and acquiescence as factors which may affect the validity of scales, but does not offer the more potent criticisms concerning the validity of assuming unidimensionality in the attitudes being measured. Attitude-scale construction in practice is usually based on Likert's method[1]. but in recent years, attitude studies have fallen out of favour, reflecting a realization that such techniques are intrinsically incapable of capturing the complex nature of attitudes.

In summary, the problems associated with unidimensional scaling for attitude measurement in political science are that if a scale is consistent, it is unidimensional; if it is *not* consistent, then what possible meaning can there be to a scale score or index? Unidimensional scales can be properly applied only to unidimensional concepts and attitudes are characteristically multidimensional. Perhaps the best way to deal with attitudes is to accept that they are holistic patterns of linkages between beliefs, evaluations and cognitions. Pattern recognition is a different process to scale measurement. Scaling was, and is, used in attitude studies because it is a well-developed technique. But it remains the case that a scale measures the extent to

[1]Sometimes the item-analysis stage is omitted, when they are referred to as 'Likert-type scales'

which the respondent agrees with the predetermined definition of the concept continuum; scales are incapable of revealing subjective views, and as a result they are incapable of revealing much that is of interest to us.

Multidimensional Approaches

Factor analysis has been the most popular multidimensional approach to attitude studies since the mid-1950s. It is a generalized procedure for locating and defining dimensional space among a relatively large group of variables. Developed by psychologists, it is now used in all the social sciences to locate a smaller number of dimensions, clusters, or factors contained in a larger set of items or variables. Factor analysis can also help determine the degree to which a given variable is part of a common underlying phenomenon. As it is the foundation for Q-methodology in general and the Brown approach to political subjectivity in particular, much of this chapter and the two following chapters are an exposition of one brand of factor analysis. But first, a few paragraphs about other multidimensional techniques.

Latent structure analysis is similar to factor analysis in that the relationships between variables are explained in terms of *underlying* variables. It differs in that it does not use correlation coefficients but divides the sample into classes based on probabilities, and, in that sense, is a form of discriminant analysis, but one that discriminates between latent rather than manifest classes (see Lazarsfeld and Henry 1968). Cluster analysis covers a wide and growing range of techniques that grew out of classification needs. Its various purposes have been listed as *i* finding a true typology, *ii* model fitting, *iii* prediction based on groups, *iv* hypothesis testing, *v* data exploration, *hypoothesis generating*, and *data reduction* (Everitt 1974:3). The present work used cluster analysis for data exploration, to assist with the interpetation of attitudes (see Chapter 9). Hierarchical agglomerative methods (the kind used in this Accord study) commence with the computation of a similarity or distnace matrix between the entities (correlation coefficients in our case) and proceed by a series of successive fusions of the N entities into groups according to the specific criteria of distance or similarity that are used. The results are usually displayed in a dendogram which provides a visual summary of the sequence in which the clusters were formed (a dendogram of hierarchical clustering of 60 Q-sort repondents is given on p. DENDOGRAM).

Osgood's semantic differential seeks to locate concepts in semantic space, according to three dimensions. Semantic differential rating consists of a series of bipolar adjectival scales, each having seven points. Two opposing adjectives are at the end of each scale.

The polar adjectives identify evaluative, potency, and activity dimensions which, between them, place a concept in semantic space. The semantic differential, with minor variations, is adaptable to any attitude object. Three dimensions are assumed to be common to every word, concept or phrase to be measured: evaluation (good-bad, beautiful-ugly, kind-cruel, pleasant-unpleasant, fair-unfair), potency (powerful-powerless, strong-weak, large-small, heavy-light), and activity (fast-slow, active-passive, hot-cold) (Osgood, Suci & Tannenbaum 1957, Oskamp 1977:34). The semantic differential can be used in the study of complex attitudes by breaking them down into components and applying the semantic differential to each component. Whether or not this is worth doing depends on who determines what are the factors or dimensions of an attitude. If that decision is made by the investigator, then there is little advance on other scaling techniques. If, however, Q-sorts are used to reveal the factors of an attitude, then defining the semantic space of each of the linked concepts is a valid exercise.

The notion of locating items in psychological spaces (of which semantic space is one) developed from psychophysics, which, in turn, developed from the work of Young and Householder in the late 1930s. These authors produced a theorem which permits a multidimensional map to be constructed from a set of interpoint distances $d\text{-}jk$ between each point j and every other point k. This procedure was developed by Torgeson (Torgeson 1958) and continues as one stream of contemporary multidimensional scaling. The fundamental concept involved is that of psychological distance, used to scale physical stimuli in a multidimensional psychological space. The method can be transferred to the attitude domain and Abelson does this using 12 statements relating to war. The resultant contour maps show clustering of some statements as well as their valency; the contour lines indicate intensity (Abelson 1954:405-418). What concerns us here is that the selection of the 12 statements, which were the means of revealing attitude positions, was determined by the researcher. Therefore the same problem of 'researcher assumptions' reasserts itself in this type of attitude measurement, even though it is capable of showing an additional dimension. Notwithstanding respect for Abelson's integrity, confidence in his objectivity, and belief in his sincerity in the pursuit of truth, we must recognise that he has a 'world view' that cannot be controlled, at least at an unconscious level. His judgments, no matter how honest, objective and sincere, must necessarily differ in some respects from those of his respondents. There is no reason to assume that all such differences are irrelevant, and the contrary would seem to be a more valid starting position. We should assume that 'world views', and thus interpretations of statements, do differ, and then argue that there will *some* similarities because of common culture.

A second wave of interest in multidimensional scaling has developed from the computer-based work of Shepard and Kruskal (Shepard 1962). It offers computational improvements not requiring assumptions regarding the interval or ratio nature of input data, and a three-dimensional display of output (or more, but only two and three-dimensional displays are easy to understand). The first use of such programs in political science was, predictably, in analysis of election results. Mauser analysed the 1968 Presidential election in order to discover the features which could enable candidates to be located in a similarity and substitution structure (Mauser in Shepard *et al.* 1972:249-286). More recently, Poole and Daniels used metric multidimensional unfolding to interest-group ratings of members of Congress, to represent congressmen in spatial relationships to each other (Poole & Daniels 1985). Another political study reported under the heading of 'Differences in perceived similarity of nations' compared 'doves' and 'nondoves' from developed and undeveloped countries and among males and females (Wish, Deutsch & Biener in Shepard *et al.* 1972:287). In general, the techniques grouped under the general title of multidimensional scaling have avoided such 'soft' input as political attitudes, and multidimensional scaling has received its most widespread use in analysing marketing behavior (*eg* Green & Carmone 1972, Green & Rao 1972).

The new techniques cannot do away with the perennial 'garbage in - garbage out' problem of computer packages. The argument of this chapter is that data collection methods and scale construction are inadequate to meet the needs of attitude studies, not that subsequent procedures lack sophistication. For this reason the most significant aspect of Q-methodology is that it does not prestructure attitude dimensions. Whether 'old-style' factor analysis or 'new-style' factor analysis (spatial proximity studies, cluster analysis and the like) is used subsequently is of minimal importance compared to having a technique that is capable of picking up what you want to measure.

We now turn to attitude research which pays more attention to the quality of the input rather than the output. A technique known as 'Own Categories Procedure', which was developed by Sherif and his associates (1961, 1965), allows a respondent to sort items into as many categories as he/she chooses.[2] A respondent is requested to sort the stimulus items (usually statements about some topic or issue, but the

[2]The Own Categories Procedure has strong similarities to the philosophy underlying the Stephenson/Brown approach, upon whose method the empirical research of this thesis is based. Both methods aim at allowing people to speak for themselves as far as possible within the constraints of the (natural language) statements. Brown does not, however, discuss the work of Sherif or Hovland.

stimulus items could also be pictures or a collection of objects) into groups that 'belong together' according to the respondent. Sometimes an example of how to proceed is given: for example, 'Statements most damaging to ...x... go into one pile'. Apart from one such illustrative example, given only if the respondent did not understand the procedures, no hints about categorization of items or the number of piles to be used are given. Upon completion the respondent may be asked to rank-order the piles and/or to give each pile a descriptive label.

Concerning education levels, much attitude research is based on research instruments which implicity assume intellectually-sophisticated respondents. The favourite pool of research subjects - undergraduate students - is unsuitable for many matters of political science interest where we are concerned with the whole community's attitudes. Political activists and opinion leaders are not necessarily intellectually sophisticated, nor can we assume trained mental abilities in a random selection of the public. With sophisticated instruments there is an ever-present danger of spurious results born of participants' misunderstandings. Own Categories procedure, however, relies on categorization, which is closely allied to everyday mental habits. Advantages of the approach are that it does not assume any high level of education, and it reveals how individuals differ in their involvement with an issue. Sorting according to similarity is a familiar task employed in non-professional activities such as discussing car models, making statements that sterotype people, or guessing the father of a litter of cats. It is a natural mental activity, not dependent on training in categorization and classification. Thus the 'Own Categories' methodology can be used when dealing with a very wide cross-section of the population as the task only requires grouping of items by perceived similarity. Scaling procedures, on the other hand, are best handled by those trained to do so.

The degree of involvement felt by the respondent in the matter can also be revealed by the Own Categories approach. Sherif, Hovland and various other researchers have established a body of evidence to indicate that the range of positions which a person accepts or rejects, or towards which he/she remains uncommitted, varies systematically according to his/her personal involvement in the issue. 'Specifically, we found that individuals highly involved in some stand on a social issue reject many more positions than they accept, and readily evaluate almost every position as acceptable *or* objectionable' (Sherif & Sherif, in Fishbein 1967:191). This finding is counterintuitive. People with the greatest knowledge of an issue are in the best position to make many fine distinctions and one would expect them to do so. But it is just these people who eschew fine distinctions, preferring to indicate black and white interpretations of the stimulus data. On the other hand, people who do not feel

personally involved with the issue choose many noncommitment positions and tend to have more categories in between. The implication of this for research instrument design is that if only extreme positions are included, valuable information will be lost. Moderate-position items must be included. The degree of involvement of the respondent will be revealed in that mildly negative statements will be regarded as strongly negative by involved persons whereas they will be given intermediate rankings by those less involved. Strong polarisation is associated with personal involvement. When an uncommitted or neutral solution is freely permitted, non-use of that option reveals issue commitment. Both the number of categories and the skewness of the distribution can be used in analysis.

Q-METHODOLOGY : THE STEPHENSON/BROWN APPROACH

Q-methodology is used in psychology as a means of revealing subjectivity, and it can be used, *inter alia*, to reveal attitudes. It is different from scale-based methods of attitude studies in two significant respects: fewer assumptions are made concerning the stimulus items, and greater judgmental activity is invoked on the part of respondents.

The Stephenson/Brown[3] approach to the measurement of political attitudes has its origin in the Q-methodology of psychologist William Stephenson,[4] whose interview and analysis approach has been applied to political attitudes by Steven R. Brown of Kent State University, USA, and is described in *Political Subjectivity : Application of Q Methodology in Political Science* (Brown 1980). Q-methodology offers a more sensitive instrument for assessing political attitudes than hitherto used in Australia. It was used in research for this thesis to obtain attitude profiles to the Accord, and also to evaluate an attitude-change program. The two subsequent chapters are a detailed illustration of the methodology. In this chapter key conceptual issues are highlighted. We shall consider *(i)* how the methodology reveals subjectivity, comparing this to the procedures of scale construction, and *(ii)* differences between Q-methodology and trait-correlation factor analysis.

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[3]The combined name tag for the approach is my choice of label.

[4]According to Brown, Thompson first suggested the use of the letter *q* to stand for people-correlations, in order to distinguish these from the more conventional trait-correlations expressed by Pearson's *r* (Brown 1980:9). Perhaps there is an additional reason for Stephenson calling his theoretical developemnts in psychology *Q-methodology*, connected with his having been a physicist before turning to psychology. If so, *Q-methodology* may have some intellectual connection with analysis of physical structure. Casti calls the first structure vector 'Q' when giving the formula for an approach to analysing connective structure (Casti 1979:59). I can well imagine Stephenson, who is currently working on a Quantum Theory of mind, being equally comfortable with analysis of dimensions and their connective structure in space or in thought.

Revealing subjectivity

Subjective views, although by definition personal to the individual, can be expressed in ways that are amenable to computation. Q-methodology can achieve this. The procedures of Q-methodology are designed to preserve natural variety in language and meaning. The care which must be taken so as not to close off unanticipated meanings and combinations of concepts amounts to a form of qualitative rigor and the construction of the stimulus cazrd set is the key to the success of methodology.

In Q-methodology the research tool is a set of statements which act as a stimulus to evaluative judgments by the respondent. The statements are drawn from what Stephenson calls a 'concourse of statements' on the topic in question, which comprises a broad range of aspects of the issue, expressed in natural language. Ambiguity is thus present in the statements, for language-in-use is, by its nature, symbolic and self-referential, with each combination of words being able to carry a wide range of meanings. The ambiguity is retained by Q-methodology; indeed it is a vital part of the technique. Sub-cultures within the community have substantially different outlooks on life and to 'clean up' ambiguities would be to impose the researcher's world view. Whereas scale construction looks for precision in meaning, the precise meaning of particular statements is not an issue in Q-methodology, which aims to allow common patterns of association of ideas to emerge via the choices made by respondents, no matter whether the same phrase used in two or more of these patterns thereby takes on a different meaning. Once we have accepted that a phrase can have different meanings, it follows that we must retain natural forms of expression, even if they are illogical or inconsistent to our eyes. For what is illogical in our world-view was comprehensible in the world-view of the speaker. To change it to suit our own idea of what is probably meant is to potentially exclude persons who hold the same world-view as the original speaker of the phrase from being able to express their subjective position on the topic in question. The fundamental proposition of Q-methodology is that, given an adequately diverse concourse of statements on a topic from which to choose, an individual can, through the selection and ranking of statements, reveal his/her personal viewpoint.

A glance through the card set, pp. 157-161, gives ample evidence of the idiosyncracies of the English language as used in contemporary Australia. A statement that is nonsense to one person can be full of meaning to another. Q-methodology is not invalidated by this charming characteristic of human communication, whereas scaling techniques struggle to overcome it.

One cautionary point deserves mention. When a Q-sort is prepared there is an assumption that all viewpoints have been expressed and can therefore be represented in the concourse of statements. This can never be guaranteed. Moreover, some perspectives can be lost in the selection process. These issues are discussed in the light of field-work experience in the next chapter.

The Q-sort is administered in the form of a set of cards, each bearing one of the statements. Respondents sort the cards into three piles: (1) those statements that they agree with, (2) those that they disagree with and (3) the rest. Respondents are then asked to consider each of the first two piles for rank ordering. The respondent gives a 'most important' weighting to two statements and a 'strongest disagreement' to two statements. Three statements are ranked 'slightly less important' on each pole and then four more statements are ranked even less important. These rankings provide the input for factor analysis.

The judgmental processes that take place during the interview session marks another key difference between Q-methodology and scale-based measurement of attitudes. Scale responses can only reveal the extent of agreement with the researcher's hypotheses concerning the attitude, as structured into the items. Q-technique reveals the factor structure that is meaningful to the respondent. The factors or dimensions of the attitude-topic which are to be represented in the response sheet of each respondent, and their relationship to each other, are chosen by the respondent (given an adequate concourse of statements). Then the judgmental efforts also differ between the two methods. In responding to scales, the respondent considers his/her reaction to one statement or phrase at a time, marking off the appraisals one at a time. In most cases there is nothing to prevent a respondent looking at the full set of stimuli before starting to evaluate any of them, and then making the judgments each in the light of the others; yet it would be a rare person who did this. The exercise is presented in a sequence and that is generally how it is done, because, apart from anything else, it is much easier mentally to take things one at a time.

In performing Q-sorts a one-at-a-time approach is all that is asked for in the first sorting, that is, into piles that the respondent agrees with, disagrees with, and does not want to have counted in his/her attitude for whatever reason. (The option of a 'don't count' category is part of the process of structuring of the revealed attitude for each individual.) When the respondent picks up the 'agree' pile of statements, the massively complex processes of human judgment come into play. For these are all statements that the person has agreed with but which touch on different aspects of the topic; now the respondent is weighing up all the unspoken images and associations

that these facets of agreement awaken in him/her. They are evaluated in relation to each other, and in relation to their importance to the topic in question. Q-methodology therefore reaches further into the psyche of the individual.

The mechanics of filling in the response sheets is explained in the next chapter; the result is a quantifiable representation of the attitude factor structure present in the mind of the respondent. After factor analysis and further processing by the JINNI program (also decribed in the next chapter), attitude profiles are written up. Again we can make a contrast with scale methodologies, where a single number is supposed to express the respondent's position on an attitude continuum, requiring assumptions about the unidimensionality of attitudinal concepts. Attitude profiles cannot be used to capture everything of relevance to an attitude position in one number. Attitude profiles are about pattern recognition; similarities emerge because the patterning of responses among respondents turned out to be similar. The technique accommodates potential differences in interpretation of the English language as well as differences in sub-cultural world-views, and does not require any assumptions about the unidimensionality of attitudinal concepts.

The number of attitudes to be expected.

To this point in the chapter I have been emphasising that it is not reasonable to assume either unidimensionality of attitudes, or that a word or sentence has the same meaning for all people. In other words, I have been arguing for greater flexibility in attitude measurement. Now let us see just how much variety we can expect to encounter if natural-language Q-sorts are used as the research instrument in attitude measurement.

Whether or not attitudes to any given topic are great or limited in number depends partly on how attitudes are defined and partly on empirical evidence. The argument in favour of saying they are great in number is that people have a unique capacity to express themselves, and, if asked to state their attitude by giving an an open-ended expression of their thoughts on a subject, it is unlikely that any two people would use exactly the same words and phrases or mean exactly the same with those words or phrases. To that extent, attitudes are unique. On the other hand, it is a matter of everyday experience that recognisable attitude patterns can be seen in the community on particular issues. There is even a tendency in some quarters to reduce issues to simple dichotomies - the widespread use of opinion polls has contributed to this oversimplification of issues, and whilst opinion polls may be useful to gauge the popularity of a leader, they are liable to miss crucial differences in more complex attitudes. Nevertheless, between simplistic dichotomies and unlmited variety lies the empirical fact of regular patterning, which makes for recognizable attitudes.

There is no single 'correct' answer to the question of how many attitudes there are on a given subject, either empirically or theoretically. Political attitudes might be more diverse in a pluralistic society than some social attitudes closely linked to the values of given sub-cultures; but on the other hand political attitudes might tend to be limited in number because most people have a limit to the extent that political matters interest them: their attitudes are likely to follow those of the major political parties. My expectation of six attitudes to the Accord was tested empirically by asking people whether one of the six attitude-profiles presented to them was an adequate representation of their viewpoint on the subject. Analysis procedures also do not have unique 'correct' solutions. The practice of disregarding factors with an eigenvalue of less than one gained popularity in the 1960s (following Kaiser 1958). Whilst this might be a good selection criterion in some circumstances, it is not appropriate when there are substantive reasons for expecting a number of outcomes. In attitude analysis it often happens that only one factor has an eigenvalue in excess of one but we know that there is more than one attitude on the topic. Percentage-representation bias and computational and statistical factors can produce spurious and misleading precision when imprecise concepts like attitudes are measured and computer-analysed. The problem is not unique to factor analysis (see Everitt 1974:59-61).

Brown suggests that the number of attitudes to be found in the community towards a given subject can in practice be resolved to seven or less. Seven possibilities provide a much more realistic basis for attitude research than dichotomies or unlimited individuality, and we can accept that for practical purposes seven, or fewer, recognizable attitudinal viewpoints (we shall call them attitude profiles) are sufficient for an overwhelming majority of any given population to be able to say that one or another of the 'attitude profiles' is a fair representation of their own viewpoint on any given issue. These are, of course, attitudes elicited by Q-methodology, not seven positions along a unidimensional continuum of attitude.

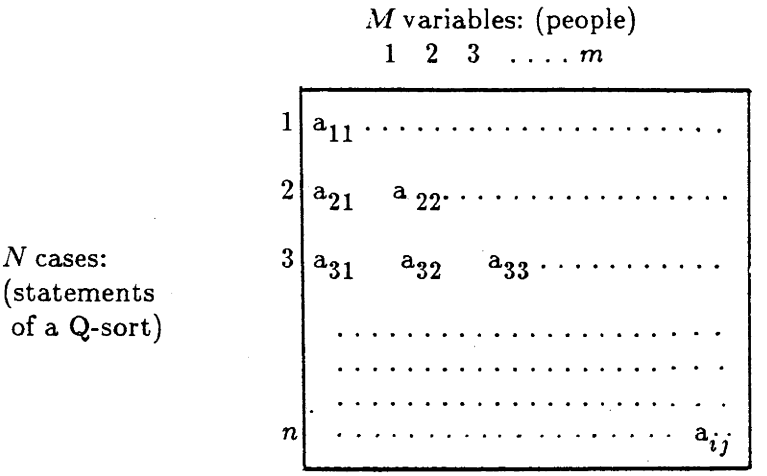
One of Brown's illustrations is drawn from the work of Wilson and Banfield (1964, 1971) whose studies of political ethos implied two basic attitudes on a single continuum (Brown 1980:19-28). At one end of the continuum is public-regardingness, alternatively called unitary ethos, characterised by a tendency to think in terms of serving the community as a whole. At the other end of the continuum is private-regardingness, alternatively called individualistic ethos, which identifies persons who think in terms of competition among local interests. Brown demonstrates Q-technique by compiling a Q-sort from Wilson and Banfield's statements about political ethos. When Q-sorts performed by 50 people were analysed, the results showed that the socio-economic correlates of public/private regardingness assumed by Wilson and

Banfield do not hold, and that only the unitary ethos of the original research matched a Q-derived attitude. Not surprisingly, unitary ethos corresponded with the personal viewpoints of Wilson and Banfields. Therefore the concourse of statements included the means to express such a position. However, respondents who did not share their attitude did not display individualistic ethos as defined by those researchers. Q-sort analysis showed two alternative attitudes instead of a single quality of private-regardingness. This extra information was available via Q-sorting even when the statements were selected from a secondary source, namely the perceptions of Wilson and Banfield. Even better results could be expected had the Q-sort been selected from a concourse of natural-language statements.

To further illustrate Q-methodology Brown uses the theory of prismatic society advanced by Riggs (1964), Reich's (1971) theory of social consciousness, and his own study (performed jointly with Michael Rohrbaugh) of decision-making perspectives of members of a ward team in a large psychiatric hospital (Brown 1981:29-43). These studies found three or four factors or attitudes; none of his illustrations dealt with five, six or seven attitudes, presumably because it would be cumbersome to illustrate the methodology with more than four factors. The point at issue is that whilst the meanings which people attach to a given set of words are not unique, they are limited. It seems to be a reasonable assumption that the number of attitudes on a given topic can be limited to seven or fewer.

Q- and R-Methodologies

The most important aspects of Q-methodology for attitude measurement lie in data collection procedures, but one mathematical point is worth mentioning. It concerns the difference between 'Q' and 'R' matrices, and that a Q-matrix is not the transposition of an R-matrix. The point needs to be raised because a number of texts erroneously conceive of Q-methodology as the correlation and factorization by rows of the same matrix of data that in R is factored by columns (Brown 1980:11, 13, lists a number of texts that make this error). The generalised data matrix for Q-methodology is an n x m matrix in which the m variables are people and the n cases are the statements of a Q-sort:



Q-methodology is person-correlation factor analysis and the above data matrix can have no other types of variables than those shown:

- each column relates to an individual; the M variables are m persons

- each row gives values associated with statements of a Q-sort; the N cases are n statements.

R-methodology is trait-correlation factor analysis; the application of Pearson's product-moment correlation coefficient r to the study of trait relationships, expressed in a matrix R, is the most widely used factoring technique in the social sciences. The generalized data matrix shown above applies here also, but the m variables can be many different things: traits, physical measurements, demographic characteristics, preferences, etc.; and the n cases can be many diffferent kinds of units: animals, countries, boxes, or people.

Given the flexibility in the nature of entries in the data matrix used in trait-correlation analysis (R), it is easy to think that Q is a special instance of the more general R-technique, reasoning that since in R-technique the variables and cases can each be many things, then the Q-combination of 'variables = people, cases = statements' is one option. That is not correct: Q is a separate technique, not just a special instance of the more general R-technique (Brown says that opposite assumptions are made concerning row independence in the two techniques; see also Gower 1966, which is a classic paper showing that distance properties of latent roots make the two techniques non-interchangeable).

In the context of research into political attitudes, the difference between trait-correlation factor analysis and Q-methodology is profound, even revolutionary, according to Stephenson (1967). What exactly is so dramatic? Certainly not

computational differences. These, where they occur at all, are differences in the applicability of statistical assumptions. The profound difference lies in the *a priori* theoretical postulates of attitude studies. When R technique is used in attitude studies, the 'traits' to be correlated are intensities of agreement with something predetermined, namely the items of a scale deemed to be measuring a particular attitude. Subjective expression on the part of respondents is simply not possible (unless they happen to have the same view on the issue in question as the researcher).

Conclusion

Attitudinal research in political science has not developed as might have been expected in the 1960s because results have been so disappointing. In retrospect, the decline can be attributed to the lack of an appropriate methodology for eliciting political subjectivity. The objectivisation of concepts, which is the aim of all scales, has proved to be a dead end. Also in retrospect, we can understand the attractiveness of the methodologies that were used: scaling techniques looked to be so precise, so scientific, that they enticed social scientists with their apparent rigor. But by trying to get rid of ambiguity, scaling techniques also lost the essential complexity of attitudes. Now, with Q-methodology, we can study attitudes more realistically.

The methodology recommended by this thesis, Q-methodology, is person-correlation factor analysis. In studying person-groupings, subjective viewpoints can remain intact. The meaning to be attached to a respondent's selection of statements is raised only after the self-selection amongst like-minded persons has taken place. In addition, the statements which identify the viewpoint are expressed in natural-language and so are richly ambiguous. With this approach, therefore, we can reveal multiple outlooks and furthermore, we can do so in computer-manipulable forms. With this advance, the modelling of political processes comes a step closer, but that is for the future. The next chapter describes in detail the empirical investigation of attitudes to the ALP/ACTU Accord using the Stephenson/Brown approach to the measurement of attitudes, which is a version of Q-methodology.

CHAPTER EIGHT

A Q-METHODOLOGICAL STUDY OF THE ACCORD

The empirical investigations undertaken as part of this thesis sought to establish the range of attitudes to the Accord, and to evaluate an attempt to change them. This chapter concentrates on fieldwork. The practicalities of collecting statements according to the dictates of Q-methodology are described, then the iterative process of selecting and testing the statement set, followed by a description of how the Q-sorts were administered, and some comments on analysis. The final section introduces the attitude change experiment.

COLLECTING INFORMATION IN Q-METHODOLOGY

The research instrument for revealing attitudes towards the Accord was a Q-sort of 31 cards, each bearing a statement made in relation to the Accord. (The text of the cards is reproduced a few pages hence.) To arrive at the statement set a wide range of statements about the ALP/ACTU Accord were collected. Many were taken from the print media: reports of speeches by union leaders, politicians and business leaders; newspaper editorials and journalists' comments; leaflets; and government publications. Other statements were taken from parliamentary debates, and some from comments made in conversations or on TV or radio. From this concourse of statements the items to be included in the test instrument (the Q-sort) were selected. The choices aimed at balancing positive and negative statements, including some positive evaluations negatively expressed and vice versa, and with several wording styles on each aspect of the topic.

Editing of the statements was kept to a minimum because one of the distinctive features of Q-methodology is its use of natural-language statements in the test instrument. Any idiosyncratic phrasing used in the originals was retained, but some editing was necessary. In several statements part of the text was a contraction of a longer original. In #16 for example:

> Redistributing income to the less-well-off is o.k. to a point, but too much of it takes away incentive

the second part was not original because the source made several digressions between making the initial point accepting redistribution and its qualification. Another type of change is illustrated by #6:

> The Accord says it is based on a shared commitment to facing difficulties in meeting social and economic goals through humane policies based on consensus (p 40). In my opinion consensus is not possible between classes.

Here the first sentence, the quotation from the Accord, was introduced during the process of editing and refining the statement cards. Without it, the second sentence created false trails so I made the addition in order to keep the respondents' attention focussed on an Accord context. On the other hand, when resondents came to #13: 'If we don't pull together, we'll tear this country apart' it was understood in the context of the Accord, or found to be meaningless, but it did not create false trails. #22: 'Australia's recession will continue, Accord or no Accord' was created to balance #21: 'Australia will do allright, Accord or do Accord' because the sentiment that Australia was in recession and the Accord could no nothing about it was expressed in the concourse of statements, but in wordy ways that did not lend themselves to mere cuts. It goes against the philosophy of Q-methodology for the researcher to create statements, but I think that the methodology is sufficiently robust to carry the kind of interference that I have described in this paragraph.

The initial concourse of about 100 statements was narrowed down by several rounds of 'select and test'. The first selection of statements was random, and larger than the final set of 31 statements. Brown suggests that a Q-sort should consist of 30-50 statements. The testing of the card sets consisted of asking a few people to perform the Q-sort, followed by discussion, adjustment of the selection of statements and retrial. The trial runs reveal items which evoke associations with matters other than the topic in question and these are eliminated in successive trial runs. To arrive at the final set of statements itemised below, two major revampings were necessary. The first trial set produced rather disjointed responses; some clauses of the statements evoked responses that were out of context, *ie* they began a train of thought far removed from the Accord. Respondents then felt no continuity with the other

statements. The next set of statements was more focussed. In responses to the second trial set, a single false trail was evident. Several people chose unemployment-related statements for their polar expressions, and used all other statements that referred to employment or unemployment. Discussion revealed that these people thought I was researching (un)employment, and the Accord was virtually forgotten. Whilst employment issues are an important part of the Accord, the research instrument was at fault by permitting this to be treated as its totality. The third selection of cards was used for the Q-sorts that measured attitudes to the Accord, and in that set of 31 cards only four contained the words 'employment' or 'unemployment' (cards 4, 5, 23, & 27). The final set of statements was effective at keeping the respondents' focus broad whilst remaining within the confines of the Accord.

The statements of the final set were typed onto cards, one card for each statement. The cards were placed in a semi-random order, *ie* with some grouping of ideas but no particular sequence of ideas, and with the cards within the group placed randomly. All sets of cards were numbered from 1 to 31 in the same sequence of statements.

The Card Set

The first two cards in every pack were information cards, as follows:

> These cards contain statements people have made about THE ACCORD - the Economic Policy Agreement between ACTU and ALP (Feb 1983), plus some general statements.
>
> ---
>
> THE ACCORD deals with incomes and prices policies (including non-wage incomes) taxation and government expenditure on social wage items (social security, education, health) and supportive policies in related areas such as industrial development and technological change.

The second card gives instructions for the first stage of the task. This information is also given verbally, with amplification, by the interviewer.

> Please sort the cards into 3 piles:
>
> 1. Statements that <u>you</u> agree with
> 2. Statements that <u>you</u> think are definitely wrong
> 3. The rest.

The text of the 31 statement cards is given below. The style of expression varies greatly; something that to one person is a perfectly clear statement will seem to another to be a mere platitude with which one cannot possibly agree or disagree unless more information is given. On the other hand the longer statements seemed too complicated to some people, and were put in the (3) pile without further consideration. Generally speaking, the stylistic variety was sufficient that all respondents could respond comfortably to at least some of the statements.

The Accord was just an electoral ploy.

1

Unions should be working to revolutionise the masses instead of making 'deals' with the Government.

2

The intervention and planning envisaged in the Accord improve the position of labour in relation to capital.

3

Agreements like the Accord are the best protection for the people of Australia as a whole because the social wage aspects ensure that everyone will benefit from economic gains, not just those in secure employment.

4

Agreements like the Accord tend to split the nation into the haves and have nots - they help those with secure employment but do nothing for the rest.

5

The Accord says it is based on a shared commitment to facing difficulties in meeting social and economic goals through humane policies based on consensus (p.4). In my opinion consensus is not possible between classes.

6

The Accord is a backward step because it upholds the capitalist system.

7

The Accord will work to our advantage if we actively canvass and support the agreements reached within it.

8

Each of us has a part to play in making the Accord work for the good of Australia.

9

Workers and their unions can have a real say over the new directions being taken in National Economic Policy.

10

Union reps should try to get their members interested in what the Accord is about.

11

Wages and conditions are not the only things unions should be thinking about; they should also mobilise to achieve alternative policies on employment and development, as set out in the Accord.

12

If we don't pull together, we'll tear this country apart.

13

Centralised wage fixing is the best way to look after weaker sections of the workforce.

14

We're on this earth to do the best we can for ourselves.

15

Redistributing income to the less-well-off is o.k. to a point, but too much of it takes away incentive.

16

Everyone in this country is entitled to good, free, education and medical care, even if they are not paying any tax.

17

To achieve any real social progress in this country we must get away from the present narrow, pointscoring, electioneering that characterises our political system.

18

The ordinary person can't influence Government programs.

19

Well-organized groups, including groups of workers, can influence Government expenditure programs.

20

Australia will do allright, Accord or no Accord.

21

Australia's recession will continue, Accord or no Accord.

22

Full employment is a thing of the past.

23

Bargaining is better than any Accord.

24

The Accord is a 'backdoor' way to draw unions into top level management-of-conflict mechanisms with business leaders and government.

25

Australia is likely to have continuing prosperity if sensible measures like the prices and incomes policy are implemented.

26

Prices and incomes policies can help a great deal in reducing unemployment.

27

Things like the prices and incomes policy usually end up benefitting the 'tall poppies'.

28

If we stick to the terms of the Accord the average Australian will benefit in the long run.

29

The signing of the Accord marks an important new era of economic and social reform for Australia.

30

The Accord gives unions a radically expanded role in Australian society.

31

Selecting Respondents

Two thirds of the sample was derived from persons classed as 'opinion leaders' and one third from the uninvolved mass public. Of the opinion leaders, slightly over half were actively involved with the Accord in some way, the rest were community or ethnic leaders, but not involved with promotion of, or opposition to, the Accord.

Opinion leaders involved with the issue	22	Group 1
Opinion leaders not involved with the issue	18	Group 2
Mass public	20	Group 3
Total sample	60	

FIGURE 8.1 RESPONDENT CATEGORIES.

The rationale behind the selection of opinion leaders for two thirds of the sample rests on the notion of a two-step flow of communication, an hypothesis introduced by Lazarsfeld and associates in the 1940s.[1] It was called the two-step flow of communication hypothesis because information was thought to be typically dispersed throughout the community in two stages. First a small section of the population who, by virtue of position or personality, are opinion leaders in the community become informed about a subject, and thence their version of it spreads to the rest of the community. The hypothesis came to be accepted as a useful model during subsequent years, but modified to the extent that it applies whenever information has some evaluative or affective component, not to absolutely all information flows.[2] People form their beliefs, attitudes and opinions in relation to other people, imitating respected persons and rejecting the views of despised persons. (Those who are opinion leaders to the mass public develop attitudes by reference to others whom they consider noteworthy.) Media messages receive selective attention and are used for reinforcement of attitudes that were initially formed by person-to-person evaluation. The enduring proposition is that a two-step flow applies to evaluative issues, whereas non-emotive information is not mediated. Thus selecting respondents from opinion leaders, broadly defined, is an efficient way of tapping attitudes.

Group 1: Opinion leaders involved with the ALP/ACTU Accord included members of

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[1] The People's Choice, Paul F. Lazarsfeld, Bernard Berelson, Hazel Gaudet, 2nd edition, 1948, N.Y. Columbia University Press.

[2] Lazarsfeld and his Associates were themselves leaders in locating the appropriate sphere of relevance of the concept (Katz & Lazarsfeld 1955, Berelson, Lazarsfeld & McPhee 1954, Katz 1957).

parliament (the Accord is a central element of the government's policy and is frequently referred to by both government and opposition members), union officials (especially from the AMWU and ACTU leadership, who were heavily involved in the formation of the Accord), bureaucrats selected from those involved in the implementation of the Accord, and a few other activists opposed to the Accord.

Group 2: Opinion leaders not involved with the issue were drawn from ethnic community groups and social service organizations of various kinds. It was assumed that in our multicultural society[3] ethnic group leaders are politically significant individuals because of their role in integrating newcomers into Australian society, which includes voting once they become Citizens. The Accord is too complex for many people to want to try to make personal judgments about it and people of a given ethnic background look to the leaders of their respective community groups for guidance if an expression of opinion is required. The Accord was given prominence at the last two elections, perhaps prompting many to seek an opinion from their community leaders in order to assist with their voting decision. Thus, irrespective of whether the ethnic community leader has any detailed knowledge of the Accord or not, his or her attitude towards it is likely to be reflected in many votes. A similar issue/influence relationship, based not on knowledge but on social influence, can be assumed to exist in many social groupings.

Group 3: The mass public, as a category, here simply means anyone who does not fit into either of the above two categories. The only stipulations for inclusion were that the respondents be Australian citizens and, as a matter of practicality, that they could understand English.

The Interview Situation

Respondents were asked to perform a three-stage evaluation of the statements on the small cards in the pack presented to them. The first sorting operation is into three piles according to whether the respondent agrees with the statement (pile 1), disagrees with the statement (pile 2), or feels that the statement does not fit in either of those two piles. This third pile is for cards to which their reaction is 'that's a meaningless statement', 'I don't know', 'I can't understand it', 'that's ambiguous' etc, or which for any other reason they do not wish to have counted as expressing their attitude towards the topic.

---

[3]See ABS 1981 Census of Population and Housing, Small Area Summary Data, item 11 'Birthplace by period of residence in Australia or overseas born persons' and table 204 'Proficiency in English by birthplace'.

The second sorting of the cards is limited to the 'agree' pile. The respondent was asked to re-read the 'agree' pile of cards and rank them for importance in the context of the Accord. Two statements were selected as 'most important', three as slightly less important, and another four as less important.

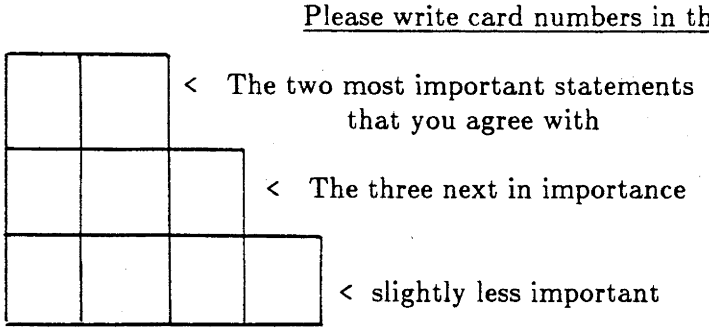

FIGURE 8.2 EXTRACT FROM A Q-SORT RESPONSE SHEET.

In some cases less than the full-grid number of cards (9) were selected. In other cases the respondent agreed with more statements than spaces in the grid. A space was provided below the grid into which these card numbers were written, without ranking.

When the 'agree' cards were finished with, respondents were asked to follow the same evaluation and ranking procedure for the disagree pile of cards, for which a similar grid to that illustrated above was provided. After that, pile three cards, the left-overs, were considered again. In some cases statements from this pile were added to agree or disagree classifications, either to the unranked list or replacing a grid-position statement. Remaining card numbers were noted in a space labelled 'left-over cards'. This record served as a check if there had been an error in the marking of the sheet.

The interviewer completed the form, except in the few postal Q-sorts of the third interview participants in the attitude-change training program. At the personal interviews the sheet was in full view of the respondent. Some respondents liked to look at it and could complete their own response sheets if they wanted to do so. It was simply a less cumbersome operation for me to do it than for the respondents to have to juggle that paper as well as the 31 cards.

The response sheet also provided space for comments. This space was used to record any additional information that might be useful in subsequent analysis. For example,

some of the statements used in the Q-sort were ambiguous, although not necessarily seen as such by all respondents. Statement 23, for example, 'Full employment is a thing of the past' received two distinct interpretations. For some, full employment referred to a 3% level of unemployment, this figure representing 'turnaround time'. For other people 8% unemployment was commensurate with full employment policies in contemporary Australia, and they disagreed with the statement. If respondents wished to use 'Full employment is a thing of the past' amongst their boxed positions but spoke of its ambiguity, their interpretation of what full employment means was recorded in comments. Others did not see it as an ambiguous statement. In such cases, I asked the respondent to explain their viewpoint, and noted this in comments. When the statement was not selected for one of the agree or disagree boxes, further elaboration was not sought. The Comments space was also used for interview notes. Anyone who wanted to talk about the issues raised during the Q-sort was welcome to do so. Many did, and the resultant discussions were very useful.

Commentary

Working with natural-language statements was an interesting experience. It revealed clearly the impact of different world views and how they structure our thinking at an unconscious level. I came to appreciate that more was involved than that people can attach different meanings to the same group of words. Normally, 'same words -- fifferent meaning' is illustrated by a statement in isolation. This was different, having much richer contextuality, so that not only words but the linkages between ideas had different meanings for different people.

Whilst collecting the statements, I felt I knew what nearly all of the statements had meant to their original users, even if expressed in ways that I would not use. By the end of the interviews I was thoroughly aware that other people placed a quite different construction on many of the statements, and these differences could not all be explained, one at a time, in the framework of my 'world-view'. In some interviews I experienced different world-views in a way that was reminiscent of good creative writing, which can take the reader into the mind of a totally different character to one's own. In retrospect I characterise this feeling as 'living literature.' It seems that repeated use of the same statements, seeing them combined in unfamiliar patterns, enables the researcher to transcend the limitations of a personal world view. Through this technique meanings which derive from a world-view different to that of the researcher can be perceived even when they cannot be 'translated' into the researcher's familiar thought patterns. However interesting the personal experience of living literature may be, it is not the prime value of Q-methodology. The important thing about Q-methodology is what it does for the respondent, not what it does for the

researcher. In a well-constructed Q-sort respondents have a malleable means of expression at their disposal. The respondent is not locked into merely expressing the extent of agreement with the researcher's preconcieved notions. He or she can express subjective, complex, political attitudes.

I chose the lower end of Brown's suggested range: 31 statements, and even this was quite an onerous burden on some of my respondents. The challenge of a large set of statements may be stimulating to 'paperwork professionals' such as university students or hospital administrators, but at least half of my respondents were not people habitually engaged in lengthy concentration on words. Even 31 statements was an effort for some and impossible for a few. Three interviews resulted in Q-sorts that were discarded. Some that are included are incomplete, but I used them because I felt that the respondents were making valid judgments until they pushed the rest of the cards aside.

For all respondents, irrespective of level of education, the format of using cards assists ranked evaluation, *ie* it is easier to marshal one's thoughts to think in terms of ranking if there is a physical process to match the mental process. Q-sorts require more mental effort from the respondent than does the marking of typical scale questionnaires. The first stage of a Q-sort is similar, in terms of mental effort, to responding to a typical questionnaire. In the first stage of a Q-sort the respondent reads a statement and makes a choice between three options; agree, disagree, or don't know, which is similar to the kind of choices made when responding to a questionnaire. We can qualify this by saying that when questionnaires offer additional intermediate categories, replying takes up a little more 'brain-space' than the first stage of a Q-sort, and questionnaires are often longer than 31 items; but the extra length does not require using more brain-space; it is simply using 'more of the same'.

In stage two of a Q-sort (there is no stage two in questionnaires) we are dealing with computations of a higher order of magnitude. To rank the 'agree' pile of cards a respondent is involved in mentally juggling 10 to 20 statements, which requires a great deal more brain-space than stage one-type operations. I observed a number of approaches to the task. A few people arranged the statements in a line, considering them one at a time. Each successive statement would be placed in an appropriate position in a hierarchy. In such cases some information was lost when card numbers were entered in the boxed grid as cards placed, say, 6th, 7th, 8th and 9th in the list all become of equivalent value in the third line of the response sheet grid. Other people made sub-piles, signifying equivalent importance with respect to the Accord to cards in each pile (others made sub-piles but without specific reference to the Accord),

specifying which pile represented which line of the grid. If there were too many cards to match the appropriate line, a re-assessment of relative importance was made, and if there were too few the respondent was encouraged to look again at left-over cards. If none were suitable for inclusion in the grid, blank spaces were left.

The preferred procedure, however, was to spread all the cards of the agree (or disagree) pile out together and gradually work the required hierarchic pattern into them. The main variation in approach was that some people left all the cards on the table, re-reading some many times, whereas other people picked up cards to reduce what was left in view. Some picked up the ones they agreed with (*ie* two 'strongest agree' cards were picked up first, then three more, then four more) - in these cases I had to request that the cards be subsequently laid out to check that I had seen or heard the correct sequencing, as I preferred not to interrupt a person's thought flows during their period of concentration by asking for card numbers at the time of selection. Others picked up cards that were least likely to be used in the grid, till only nine cards were left on the table, and then these were adjusted to the required format.

The general point I am making is that the judgmental acts required for Q-sorts involve more brain-capacity than questionnaires. In a Q-sort the respondent selects for importance to him/her as well as for strength of agreement and the physical act of moving the items back and forth is a considerable aid in the task of evaluation and ranking of 31 statements.

The left-over category, pile three, turned out to be unexpectedly interesting. My original decision to give people the option to have as many or as few cards as they wished in each category was made in order to accommodate the very wide range of people that would be participating in the survey. Some had extensive knowledge and involvement with the Accord and others knew virtually nothing about it. Therefore a forced choice of the full card set would have meant, on the one hand, that a person who knew nothing about the Accord had to produce a meaningless array of those statements which require that the respondent knows what the Accord is about. On the other hand, those with detailed knowledge would feel justifiably annoyed at having to find a place for statements they consider to be platitudes. In the event, I was surprised to find that some people put no cards in pile three. I had thought that the category would be used by everyone, if for no other reason than that there were such large stylistic differences in expression that everyone would want to distance him/herself from something. That some did not came as a surprise to me, but, more importantly, this variation of procedure from that set out by Brown inadvertently produced an extra facet of analysis. A subsequent reading of Sherif indicated that, by

having allowed so much freedom of choice, it became possible to gauge latitude of non-commitment, which is a vital category for prediction.

A further point concerning the administration of the Q-sort points to the need to allow a break during an interview. Sorting and ranking 31 statements may not be a big thing for academically trained people, but it was a taxing task for some of my respondents. The majority of people made a genuine effort to get their mind around the statements presented to them and to make a meaningful expression of attitude from them. This experience contrasts with my previous experience of survey questionnaires, when I have felt that many people answered in a perfunctory manner. The well-documented biases of yea-saying, of giving answers that will create a good impression, of order-of-presentation bias, and so forth, can be sensed in survey interview work, but I feel that Q-methodology transcends such things and produces a genuine interaction between the topic and the respondent's mind. I think that a majority of those who took part in this research on attitudes towards the Accord enjoyed the mental stimulation that their participation entailed. I quickly learned to allow, and even encourage, a break. Initially this was because I felt some repondents getting irritable and I initiated conversation to give me time to think about what to do to complete the task. In most cases the respondent initiated a return to the sorting exercise and so I made it a habit to break at least after the respondent completed evaluating and ranking the agree pile of cards, or sooner if necessary.

To conclude this section dealing with how Q-methodology collects information, I would like to emphasize that it is the data collection procedures, not analysis, that are the significant aspects of Q-methodology. The natural-language basis of Q-sorts and the three-stage judgment process make Q-methodology a valuable contribution to attitude measurement. In contrast, the following section on analysis procedures contains nothing original. Similarly, the computer program JINNI is a procedural tool, whose output quality rests upon the quality of the data collection procedures of Q-methodology.

ANALYSIS

A data matrix for correlation was prepared from the response sheets by coding them from one to nine as illustrated below. There were 31 rows in the data matrix, corresponding to the 31 statement cards used in the Q-sorts, and 60 columns corresponding to 60 respondents.[4] Respondent one, for example, placed cards

[4]Repeat interviews with attitude-change program participants were not included for the main analysis.

numbered 31 and 12 in the 'most strongly agree' position, and others as shown below.

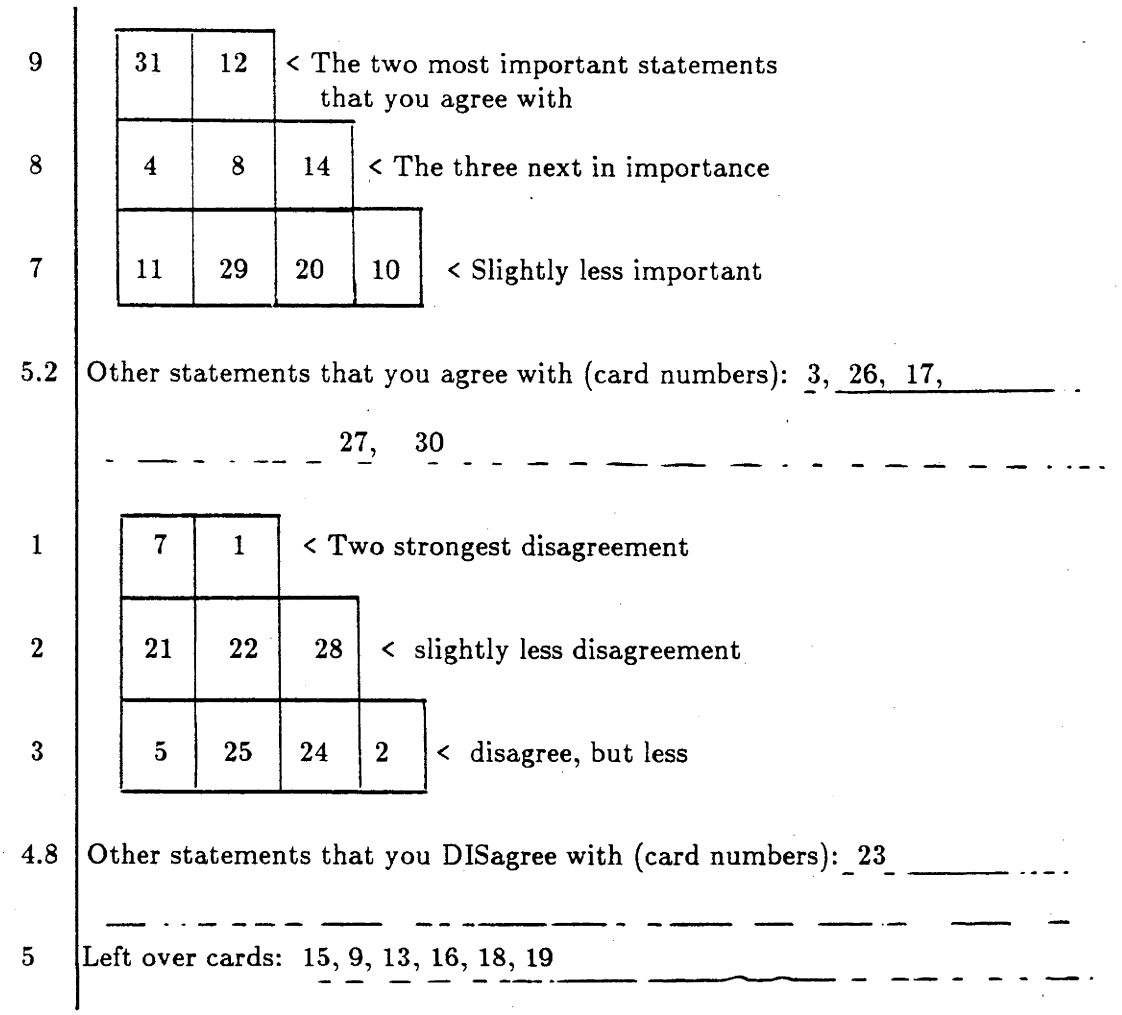

FIGURE 8.3 EXTRACT FROM RESPONSE SHEET OF RESPONDENT NO. 1.

The card numbers entered in the top row were assigned a value of nine, the three in the next row were assigned a value of eight, *etcetera*. In the data matrix column one could read:

Row 1, col 1 = 1.0
Row 2, col 1 = 3.0
Row 3, col 1 = 5.2
Row 4, col 1 = 8.0
Row 5, col 1 = 3.0
.
.
Row 31, col 1 = 9.0

The coding downgrades the importance of statements which received a low level of agreement or disagreement. Instead of ...7, 6, 5, 4, 3... it was decided to use ...7, 5.2, 5, 4.8, 3... which creates a bunching around the 'no-meaning' position (5 = 'zero meaning' in terms of a person's attitude on a topic). The coding can be varied to suit particular research purposes and for this study it was thought best to downgrade the less important statements in case indeterminate positions were bringing in dimensions

of thought not directly related to the Accord. Whilst we can have confidence in the subjective validity of the full rankings given by respondents in Group 1 (those involved with the issue), in other groups unfamiliarity with the issues meant that, for many, the non-specific statements formed the bulk of their attitude, and there were not enough of these to fill the 18 boxes. I felt that truth would be better served, therefore, if the unboxed 'agree' and 'disagree' cards were ranked as being very close to the null value. A separate analysis using values 6 instead of 5.2 and 4 instead of 4.8 can be done for Group 1.

After the matrix of raw data is thus prepared and entered into the computer, choices have to be made concerning preparation of a correlation matrix, extraction of initial factors, and rotation to terminal factors. In one series a matrix of correlation coefficients was obtained using Kendall's tau in SPSS (Nie *et al.* 1975). This computes rank-order correlation coefficients and provided a 60 x 60 matrix which was input to SPSS factor analysis program PA2. Varimax, quartimax and oblique rotation were tried. A number of combinations were then used as input for the JINNI factor score program. Manual rotation of factors is recommended if some Q-sorts are of greater prior theoretical interest than others as manual rotation enables one to maximise variance on one factor only, but manual rotation was not explored during the thesis research. The raw data was also processed through QIT's QUANAL program using Pearson's rho and factors were obtained by the centroid method.[5]

JINNI is the name of a program developed by S.R.Brown and William Campbell to further analyse Q-sort data after factors have been extracted and rotated. It is a Fortran IV computer program which estimates factor scores using Spearman's weighting procedure (Brown 1980:240 ff). Its input is the raw data matrix, a rotated factor matrix, and the statement set. The program weights and selects the arrays of statements that define each factor (attitude). Output from the JINNI program gives a ranked list of the statements with respect to each factor, with weightings, and also indicates the distinguising statements. These are not identical with strongest positive or negative identification. Rather, the distinguishing statements point up what is unique to that factor when some of the strongest statements are also to some extent correlated with other factors.

The JINNI program was put onto the ANU DEC 10. One of the worked examples used by Brown, the Lipset Study, was put through the program and the same outcomes were

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[5]The centroid method results were obtained by courtesy of Dr Chip Karmatz, Queensland Institute of Technology (QIT).

obtained, verifying that the program had been corectly mounted. Then some of my data were used in a further trial run, basically to see if something sensible would emerge, and to compare the outcomes with SPSS factor analysis. The data used for the trial run were whatever was available at the time. SPSS principal Axis method PA1 was used to extract factors, and varimax rotation completed that trial. The SPSS outcomes made sense so far as a principal factor was concerned and other factors could be interpreted sensibly, given the nature of the input group. When those rotated factors were further processed by JINNI, the output gave factors that were more discriminating as to distinct attitudes. These results are not reproduced because the input data were drawn from one group of union officials plus a few other people chosen for ease of access. The trial run was an exploratory exercise to become familiar with the mechanics of operating the program and to check that it was worthwhile to use the Stephenson/Brown methodology and the JINNI program. It was decided to proceed with the method.

A range of attitudes in the form of attitude profiles is then prepared. Attitude profiles are composite descriptions of attitudinal positions which closely approximate the positions of some sections of the community. Attitude profiles are constructed by rewriting the strongest positive and negative statements and the distinguishing statements of each factor into a more readable form, up to half a page per factor (attitude). Thus if we construct six attitude profiles to correspond with what have been determined as six basic positions on a given topic, then everyone should feel that one of the profiles is a fair representation of their viewpoint. Exceptions should be so few that, in relation to national population, they are an insignificant number.

ATTITUDE-CHANGE EXPERIMENT

An attitude-change program was also investigated as part of the thesis research. The subjects were a group of 12 National Organizers of the Amalgamated Metals, Foundry, and Shipwrights Union (AMWU). Initially I intended to evaluate whether the AMWU's program, and other educational undertakings concerning the Accord, were effective, and which amongst them were the most effective. The study reported here was to be a pilot study only. Later studies were to have been part of a research design which would have included control groups being tested at the same times as the subject groups. But AMWU did not run any more such courses, nor did any other unions commence any. Union training concerning the Accord was generally limited to sending out some literature about it and devoting a few hours to the Accord in the context of other training programs. The results of empirical research in that situation would most likely have been trivial as I have no reason to think that pamphleteering would change attitudes. Rather, I changed the focus of my empirical research. The

attitude-change part of the study became secondary to the objective of establishing a range of attitudes, which can then be used in a profile methodology approach to measuring attitude change.

It is a proposition of Q-methodology that attitudes on any topic are few in number and each can be revealed by any holder of that attitude, given an appropriate means to do so. Q-sorts provide such a means. Attitude profiles can be compiled from the results of analysis of responses to the Q-sorts. The profile-matching approach to measuring attitude change depends upon first establishing the range of attitudes to a topic. By 'range of attitudes' on a subject we mean the set of various evaluative positions taken on that topic which, between them, encompass the relevant population. In this case the subject matter is the Accord and the relevant population is all adult Australian citizens. Once a range of attitudes to a selected topic is established, change is relatively easy to investigate. Attitudes can be said to have changed as a result of an educational program if respondents' Q-sorts match different profiles before and after the training program.

Twelve National Organizers, the full group attending the AMWU training program with respect to the Accord, participated in testing the attitude profile method at the beginning and at the end of a week-long residential training course dealing with the Accord. The course sought to achieve 'consciousness raising' with respect to the Accord, either changing negative attitudes to the Accord or arousing a greater sense of involvement, although no specific course objectives were stated in writing. The course was held at the Clyde Cameron College at Wodonga, which is the headquarters of the Trade Union Training Authority (TUTA) in Sept 1983. I attended the course, and administered the Q-sorts prior to the commencement of instruction, *ie* on the evening when we all arrived. The course comprised lectures by AMWU education officers of two states, lecture/discussion sessions led by Laurie Carmichael and by Ralph Willis, and included participant-group presentations and discussion. The card sort was administered again at the end of the morning session of the last day of the course. The next Chapter reports results of the main Q-study of attitudes to the Accord and the attitude-change experiment.

CHAPTER NINE

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The substantive issue addressed by the empirical research was the Accord. **The research objective** has been to discover the range of attitudes to the Accord using Q-technique, a methodology not previously applied to the study of political attitudes in Australia, and to evaluate a training program with respect to changing those attitudes. The work was largely exploratory as the current state of knowledge concerning political attitudes does not provide a firm foundation for theoretically meaningful measurement of complex attitudes. **The data base** for the first part - to discover the range of attitudes to the Accord - was compiled from 60 Q-sorts. The data for the second part - to evaluate an attitude-change program - came from twelve participants in an AMWU training program about the Accord. **The tools of analysis** were cluster analysis, multidimensional scaling and, primarily, factor analysis. Interpretation of the factors was facilitated by the use of the JINNI program. The end product of the above procedures is a set of **attitude profiles**[1] purporting to represent the full range of attitudes in the Australian community towards the Accord (see 179-194). When attitude profiles are presented as short paragraphs, written in the first person, they can be used in survey research for the study of attitudes to complex issues.

[1]These profiles are 'ideal attitudes', in the Weberian sense of stereotype. I have called them 'attitude profiles' so as to avoid the emotive connotations of the words 'ideal' and 'stereotype'.

THE SEARCH FOR ATTITUDES TO THE ACCORD

The primary source of information for discovering attitudes to the Accord was the Q-sorting of 31 statements made in the context of the Accord by 60 persons from diverse backgrounds. Semi-structured interviews accompanied the Q-sorting. The interviews were optional in that there was no interview schedule and those persons who preferred to perform the Q-sort without comment did so. But in most cases the Q-sort cards prompted respondents to talk about the issues raised on the cards, either to explain and reinforce their personal understandings, or to discuss the ambiguities they saw in the statement or situation to which it referred. These voluntary interviews provided valuable insight into the ways in which the issues were concieved and, therefore, assisted interpretation of the factors. They also supported the hypothesis that attitudes on any given topic are limited in number, as a few patterns of association and interpretation emerged repeatedly in the comments made by respondents.

Factor analysis was the beginning of the analysis of the data obtained from 60 respondents performing Q-sorts. The factoring was performed on Pearson's product-moment correlation coefficients between individuals. The SPSS program was used to obtain factors on (*i*) all 60 participants and (*ii*) groups 1 and 2 only, encompassing 40 participants (see page 162). The factors produced from these 'people correlations' were examined unrotated, rotated obliquely, and after rotation with orthogonal-factor procedures (varimax and quatrimax). Because the number of attitudes were not known in advance, various numbers of factors, (three, four, six, seven and ten) were examined under different rotations. Factor descriptions were obtained via the JINNI program for a selection of the combinations examined.

Factor interpretation was more difficult than expected. Although the statement array for the first factor was always pro-Accord, other factors were unstable and the characteristic statements associated with the first factor also varied considerably.[2] Sometimes the first factor included approval of strong union involvement; at other times unions were ignored, with the focus of approval being towards the Accord's broad social objectives; and at yet other times the approval implied by Factor One was primarily of the Accord as an economic strategy. Although unambiguously interpretable solutions are rare in factor analysis, multiple runs could have revealed stability in the factors, just as repeated interviewing had supported the hypothesis of

[2]The instability of factors arises from the rule for selecting defining variates: persons whose factor loadings on any rotated factor are more than .3 more than on any other factor are defining variates. All scores meeting this criterion are marked with an X for input to the JINNI program, and these marked factor scores are the only ones taken into account by the JINNI program with respect to that factor. Different factor solutions have different defining variates.

typical attitudes but the factors were not sufficiently stable to justify continuation of this approach alone.

A related issue was that of 'unrecognized' attitudes. Most factor solutions produced good factors (when 'good' means 'interpretable'), but some of these interpretable factors did not have a counterpart in my perceptions of attitude-groups encountered during the Q-sorting interviews. This non-recognition can be attributed to my failure to understand certain viewpoints because they are very different from my own. Indeed, to discover such perspectives, to reveal their content, to identify their characteristics, and to see the ideational alliances of persons who have these attitudes was a large part of the purpose of the study. Non-recognition is not, of itself, a criterion for rejecting solutions. A conflict between subjective and objective selection criteria was apparent. On the one hand, computational procedures are capable of producing nonsense. Their use needs to be balanced by judgment. But on the other hand, judgment can be prejudicial. It needs to have objective referants.[3] Even as I was tempted to reject solutions which did not correspond to my views as to who held well-defined attitudes, I recognized that a composite of related views may be a better source for revealing the structure of some attitudes than strongly-expressed ones. In short, other techniques needed to be applied to the data to supplement the decision process in choosing which, if any, factor solution was revealing the underlying attitudes. Cluster analysis was chosen as the additional procedure.[4]

In present study the data had been collected from a wide cross-section of the community. It was possible that the sample of respondents contained diverse subcultures such that the assumptions of factor analysis concerning common factors as a means of data reduction were untenable. Cluster analysis might suggest subcultural groupings, perhaps as business proprietors, blue collar workers, bureaucrats and the like. A number of hierarchical clustering methods from the CLUSTAN program (Wishart 1975) were used, giving different weights to the intragroup and intergroup similarities. The person-groupings produced under the various clustering techniques used were more consistent than the factors had been. The clusters appeared to be on

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[3]The commonly-used rule of accepting factors with an **eigenvalue greater than 1** was meaningless with the kind of data base that I was using (see Brown 1980:43).

[4]Correlations between statements were also investigated, but produced less convincing output than 'people-factoring' (or the person-groupings of cluster analysis). Stephenson or Brown would say 'Of course -- that is to be expected on theoretical grounds' but I wanted to satisfy my curiosity by looking at factors produced from statement-correlations. The person-centered analysis was clearly superior for the data set in question as the people-factoring revealed coherent, recognizeable, psychologically-valid, atttitude patterns whereas such patterns could not be found when the factor analysis treated the statements as the variables.

the basis of similar attitudes to the Accord, not socio-economic or cultural classifications. Evaluative, attitudinal positions repeatedly emerged as the best basis for interpretation of the groups formed from the cluster analyses. The core groups were similar with several techniques, supporting the idea that genuine structure in the data was being tapped, not an artifact of a technique. A typical dendogram produced using a hierarchical clustering method (in this case Wards' Method) is shown below.

That cluster analysis was tapping stable dimensions in the data was confirmed by the reappearance of certain features in various runs and by using the RELOCATE procedure of CLUSTAN. This is an iterative relocation procedure in which the user can specify the initial classification. Each object is considered in each relocation scan and its similartities with all k clusters are computed and object x is moved from cluster p to cluster q of the similarity between x and q is greater than between x and the parent cluster p. Similarities between all pairs of clusters are computed and those two clusters which are most similar are fused. Relocation between clusters ceases when stable structure is attained, after which groups are hierarchically combined to unity. One initial array was taken from a dendogram at the point where nine groups were indicated. Another initial array also had nine starting groups but only two people per group (chosen on the basis of my judgment as to who was a key person in terms of typifying an attitude, plus one other person). All the remaining respondents were not assigned to any group, leaving it to the program to determine their classifications. The outputs of the two relocation runs produced identical membership of clusters at six groups. From that cycle onwards, groups were amalgamated with no further relocations. This result suggests strongly that there were stable dimensions in the person-groupings that were produced. Cluster analysis served to find the broad parameters of attitude-group identification and, therefore, was a useful exploratory step toward factor interpretation.

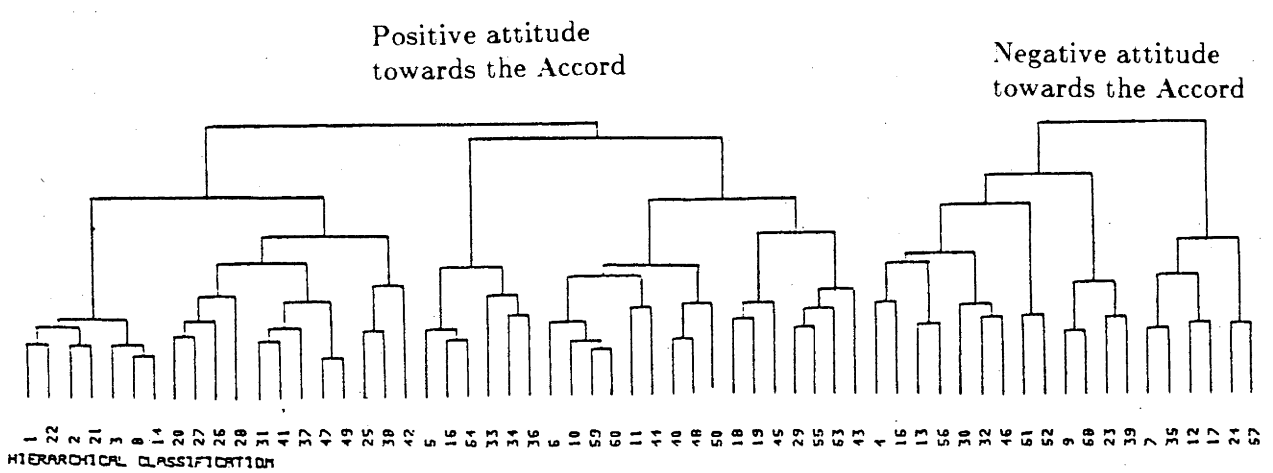


FIGURE 9.1 HIERARCHICAL CLUSTERING OF 60 Q-SORT RESPONDENTS.

Using the above dendogram to describe the clusterings, at the two-group level, the persons comprising the groups suggest that the main divide occurs around pro- and anti-Accord positions. Other hierarchical clusterings produced almost identical distributions of respondents as between the pro/anti divide (and some relocation as between smaller groups). Until these groupings were revealed by clustering I had been reluctant to think of any distinction as simplistic as pro-and anti-Accord to section my data. Five or more attitudes had been expected, but not for them to be grouped as subsets of a pro- and anti- division. Cluster analysis, however, repeatedly suggested that division, and strong groups within those major divisions. The emergence of a clearcut pro/anti divide might be considered a predictable outcome, but such was not the case with factor analysis.

The left-most pro-Accord group is composed of persons who were well-informed and active persons, within which idealists and pragmatists are separated, the next pro-Accord cluster is the white collar group that were subsequently labelled the 'Soft Socialists', and then comes a larger cluster which cand be interptreted as an ambivalent or uninformed cluster but with pro-Accord sentiments predominating. The smaller clusters within the anti-Accord group suggest interpretation based on Eysenck's tough-minded and tender-minded division, with tough-minded including those who take a position of hard-line opposition to the Accord, (and the smaller divisions seem to correspond to those who are well-informed and those who are poorly-informed), and an openminded kind of opposition to the Accord which could be regarded as the tender-minded group.

Kruskal's Nonmetric Multidimensional Scaling was also used in an exploratory way. It was found to be useful in defining and interpreting the factors for the final solution, particularly in suggesting that the single individual defining the reverse of Factor Two should be acknowledged as representative of a distinct attitude profile whereas the single individual defining the reverse of Factor One should not; and that the persons defining Factor Three were an ill-assorted bunch who did not feature strongly on any dimension of multidimensional scaling. This suggested that this factor could be treated as a computational aberration rather than representatives of an undiscovered attitude.

In summary, cluster analysis and multidimensional scaling were introduced as exploratory steps along the way to choosing a factor solution for analysis. The exercises gave me a feeling for the stable structure in my data and helped distinguish structure from computational idiosyncracies. More specifically, cluster analysis provided a criterion for eliminating many interpretable factor solutions, namely to reject solutions in which defining variates violated the groupings of cluster analysis. The factor solution for interpretation used 60 respondents, seven factors and oblique rotation. Of the seven factors, one had no defining variates (.3 or more separation

from all other factors) so only six factors were input to the JINNI program to obtain the descriptive output which is used in the following analysis. (The factor structure matrix is shown on the first page of Appendix C.)

Several of the six factors had negative defining variates as well as positive ones. Such factors can be read as giving rise to two attitude profiles each, but whether to do so or not depends on the specifics of each case (a detailed explanation of the choices made in the present case is given in the NOTE on p.200). The relationship between factors and profiles in the following analysis is as follows:

FACTOR	ACCORD ATTITUDE PROFILE	GENERAL ORIENTATION TO THE ACCORD
Factor 1	Profile No.1	positive
Factor 1 reverse	no interpretation	-
Factor 2	Profile No.2	negative
Factor 2 reverse	Profile No.3	positive
Factor 3	no interpretation	-
Factor 3 reverse	no interpretation	-
Factor 4	no interpretation	-
Factor 4 reverse	Profile No.4	positive
Factor 5	Profile No.5	negative
Factor 6	Profile No.6	negative

FIGURE 9.2 RELATIONSHIP OF FACTORS TO ACCORD ATTITUDE PROFILES

The first two columns show that six attitude profiles are obtained from interpretations of five of the factors; Factor Three does not give rise to an interpretation due to the instability of the defining variates in multidimensional scaling.[5] The third column indicates which profiles are variants of opposition to the Accord, and which ones indicate the different bases for supporting it.

Factors, attitudes and profiles: These three concepts are not coterminous, although they do have some overlap. Factors are the computational output of data-reduction, produced by searching for common elements among numerical scores entered into a computer program. Attitudes are personal evaluative belief systems.

[5]Although only five factors are used, five-factor solutions did not produce statement arrays or person/factor loadings that were as good as the selected six-factor output.

We can infer attitudes from factor analysis of data, that is, by interpretation of factors. Profiles are idealized or stereotyped versions of typical attitude patterns found in the community, also derived from interpretation of factors.

THE SIX ATTITUDES

The attitude profiles were given titles for easier identification, but they should be treated with caution, for the essence of an attitude profile is that it is multidimensional, and therefore cannot be captured in a word or two, except insofar as the title-words themselves resonate with a complex of concepts. The titles are: the Pragmatic Reformer, the New Rightist, the A-political Optimist, the Soft Socialist, the International Perspectivist, and the Revolutionary.

Accord Attitude Profile No.1 : The Pragmatic Reformer
(based on Factor One)

To call Accord Attitude Profile No.1 'The Pragmatic Reformer' was a response to the self-perception of the trade union leadership in Australia. Many of its members feel that contemporary economic and technological trends demand substantial reforms in the administration of the country if the interests of the working people are to be protected, and that the most productive way to proceed at the present time is via the Accord. For such people support for the Accord was a pragmatic decision, not an ideological one. The ideological commitment of the trade union movement's leadership is to the welfare of the people, not to corporatist arrangements with Government.

The statements listed below are those which identify the most important aspects of the Accord, and their relative importance, for persons whose responses correspond to Accord Attitude Profile No.1. There are two lists of statements, taken from the JINNI output reproduced at Appendix C -- one set of statements taken from the positive pole of the factor and the other from the negative pole. Statements that people disagree with are included for interpretation because strong disagreements can be as characteristic of attitudes as points of approval are. The bracketed numbers associated with each statement in the lists that follow are Z-scores,[6] which are strength-of-association measures between each statement and each factor. They range from slightly over +2 to -2. A high Z-score, say 2.264, means that strong agreement with that statement is highly expressive of the attitude associated with that factor. Similarly, a negative score of the same absolute value (-2.264) means that **strong disagreement** with the statement receiving that score is characteristic of the attitude under consideration. In general, statements receiving a score of more than 1 (+ or -)

[6]Fisher's Z transformation formula is given on p.287 of Brown 1980.

identify important dimensions of the attitude which is represented by a particular factor. Any statements with Z-scores below .01 are disregarded for interpretation, and medium scores, say 0.443, mean that there is agreement with the statement, but that the dimension is not an important one in that viewpoint. Only the statements which have scores over 1 (+ or -) are reproduced here. A full listing of the relationship of the 31 statements to Factor One can be seen on p. 249 of Appendix C.

Characteristic positive statements: Profile No.1
(strongest agreement first: * denotes a distinguishing statement)

- * Wages and conditions are not the only things unions should be thinking about; they should also mobilise to achieve alternative policies on employment and development, as set out in the Accord.#12 (1.753)

- The signing of the Accord marks an important new era of economic and social reform for Australia.#30 (1.374)

- Well-organized groups, including groups of workers, can influence Government expenditure programs.#20 (1.291)

- * Agreements like the Accord are the best protection for the people of Australia as a whole because the social wage aspects ensure that everyone will benefit from economic gains, not just those in secure employment.#4 (1.282)

- * Centralised wage fixing is the best way to look after weaker sections of the workforce.#14 (1.212)

- The Accord gives unions a radically expanded role in Australian society.#31 (1.185)

- The Accord will work to our advantage if we actively canvass and support the agreements reached within it.#8 (1.060)

The trade union role in shaping policy and society is featured as the most important aspect of the Accord in this attitude. The secondary theme is that this expanded union role is in the interests of the population in general. These aspects of Profile No.1 are reinforced by the selection of statements that are strongly disagreed with, as below. Such respondents reject political trivialisation or selfish motives, put unions at the center of things, and defend the right of unions to be active in government.

Characteristic disagreements: Profile No.1
(strongest denial first)

- The Accord was just an election gimmick.#1 (-1.773)

- * We're on this earth to do the best we can for ourselves.#15 (-1.693)

- Unions should be working to revolutionise the masses instead of making deals with Government.#2 (-1.300)

- The Accord is a backward step because it upholds the capitalist system.#7 (-1.200)

- * Redistributing income to the less-well-off is *ok* to a point, but too much of it takes away incentive.#16 (-0.995)

An unusually high number of statements, eleven, distinguish this factor from others - distinguish, that is, according to numerical criteria of response-weightings for each statement on each factor. Whether the distinctions correspond to substantive differences or are trivial is a matter of judgment. However, the statements so highlighted by the JINNI program often do point to meaningful differences in attitudes and are particularly useful when two factors are similar. Some of Factor One's distinguishing statements have already appeared in the listings above, marked with an asterisk. At the positive end, #12 is the most interesting because nearly all the attitude profiles show it as an important statement, although differing as to why it is significant. Its presence in this attitude as both an important dimension and a distinguishing statement is consistent with the 'in favour of union involvement in the Accord' tenor of the whole attitude. The high ranking of #12 in other attitudes is a subject that we shall return to in discussion of other factors.

	1	2	3	4	5	6
3	0.941	-0.005	-0.108	-0.246	0.017	-0.636
4	1.282	-1.822	-0.205	0.071	-0.656	-0.657
5	-0.969	0.839	0.362	1.063	0.690	0.886
12	1.753	0.313	-0.415	-2.035	0.986	-0.911
14	1.212	-2.225	0.301	0.142	-0.591	0.131
15	-1.693	-0.049	0.816	1.720	1.027	-0.612
16	-0.995	1.058	1.370	0.030	2.264	0.840
22	-0.739	0.043	-1.760	1.241	1.363	0.586
23	0.070	0.816	1.045	2.157	-0.992	1.342
24	-0.967	1.926	-0.049	0.296	0.017	0.959
25	-0.696	0.799	-1.279	0.227	0.085	0.047

FIGURE 9.3 Z-SCORES OF DISTINGUISHING STATEMENTS FOR FACTOR 1.

Statements #4 and #14 identify the strongest difference between Factor One and Factor Two. Factor Two is an anti-Accord factor with high loadings against these two statements, which are scored positively by Factor One. Similarly, #24 'Bargaining is better than any Accord' also identifies the pro- and anti-Accord orientations of these two factors. Factor one gives this statement a negative score of -0.967 whilst factor two gives it a positive score of 1.926.

Statement #3, 'The intervention and planning envisaged in the Accord improves the position of labour in relation to capital' is a distinguishing statement for Factor One as it is the only one to give it a significant positive rating. Most factors ignore it,

except Factor Six, which is associated with a revolutionary socialist perspective, and gives it a negative rating. In other words, statement #3 only has meaning for persons who think in terms of labour and capital as economic classes. It thereby serves to identify the two factors which identify persons who do think in 'classes of production' terms: the Pragmatic Reformer and the Revolutionary.

On the negative pole of Factor One, the two distinguishing statements are #15 and #16. Factor One gave a very high importance-ranking to denial of 'We're on this earth to do the best we can for ourselves' #15. This denial must be seen in the context of a broad social responsibility which motivates active supporters of the Accord, and as a rejection of individualistic union-ethics. The opportunity to make selfish gains through participation in union affairs is not part of the customary outlook of persons who hold the attitude that we are currently examining.

The remaining distinguishing statements for Factor One are, in my opinion, less instructive about factor differences. #5 'Agreements like the Accord tend to split the nation into the haves and the have nots - they help those with secure employment but do nothing for the rest' is rated negatively, as one would expect, by Profile No.1 and the other pro-Accord profiles. It is rated positively, but not very highly, by the two anti-Accord factors. There is nothing very distinctive here, so far as I can tell. Statements #22 and #25 are scored negatively but were not amongst the list of characteristic statements and are thus not amongst the most important aspects of Accord Attitude Profile No.1.

An important difference between two supportive positions is revealed by #23, 'Full employment is a thing of the past'. This is regarded as irrelevant to the Accord by Profile No.1 but is given top negative weighting by pro-Accord Profile No.4. This can be read as a signal of hard-headed pragmatism in the case of Profile No.1 versus the 'soft socialism' of Profile No.4, a view which will be elaborated in discussion of Factor Four. My text for Profile No.1 runs as follows:

THE PRAGMATIC REFORMER

(Accord Attitude Profile No.1)

The Accord is a good thing for Australia and Australians and evidence of a new era of unionism in Australia. Unions are now in a position to mobilise to achieve alternative policies on employment and development rather than just dealing with wages and working conditions. They have now joined the ranks of well-organized groups which can influence government expenditure programs and are doing so in the best interests of the working people of this country and their families.

The Accord improves the position of labour in relation to capital, but is not detrimental to our economy. The Accord is a sensible measure: it is socially responsible and realistic. But it is necessary that we actively canvass and support the agreements reached within the framework of the Accord in order that the gains are widespread. Centralised wage fixing and the social wage aspects of the Accord are the best way to look after the weaker sections of the workforce, and it is our social responsibility to do so. It is nonsense to suggest that Australian unionism is out for the maximum gains for individual unionists, or that their leadership are seeking to ferment revolution, or to overthrow capitalism. On the contrary, the level of redistribution entailed in the Accord is perfectly consistent with incentive to work, and the capitalist system in general.

These boxed statements are the format in which attitude profiles can be used in sample surveys. The questionnaire booklet would contain a set of profiles (six in this instance), plus provision for a response from persons who have no knowledge of the topic), and be distributed according to random sampling procedures. Respondents would be asked to choose and mark the statement which best reflects their attitude. The significant difference between the suggested procedure and current attitude research lies not in procedures but in the subjective validity of the stimulus items.[7] The small-scale intensive research of Q-methodology would, in the context of survey research, be a preparatory step, but one which can make a big difference to the quality of the results.

Accord Attitude Profile No.2 : The New Rightist
(based on Factor Two)

At the time of writing-up the thesis the phrase 'the New Right' had become common currency, but the New Right phenomenon had not been identified as such when the

[7]To improve their psychological truth even further, this set of Accord Attitude Profiles should be discussed with persons who were defining variates for each attitude, and the phrasing modified if those people feel the profiles would be more expressive by virtue of some such changes. At present they are my summarised version of the attitude, but, by definition, I cannot have full insight into the viewpoint and some errors of perspective may be present.

Q-sorts for this analysis were performed. Nevertheless, the industrial relations perspective that is now associated with the New Right can be seen in this Attitude Profile. It is an anti-Accord viewpoint in which the expansion of the union role is the most important, detrimental, aspect of the Accord.

Characteristic positive statements: Profile No.2
(strongest agreement first: * denotes a distinguishing statement)

- * The Accord gives unions a radically expanded role in Australian society. #31 (2.128)

- * Bargaining is better than any Accord.#24 (1.926)

- * Well-organized groups, including groups of workers, can influence Government expenditure programs.#20 (1.899)

- Redistributing income to the less-well-off is *ok* to a point, but too much of it takes away incentive.#16 (1.058)

The New Rightists give great weight to expansion of the union role by putting #31 in top place, but immediately qualify this with the next statement. The combination says it is a fact that unions have gained more power, but it is a bad thing. The next two statements follow a similar pattern and give a similar message. Unions do influence expenditure, but the redistribution this causes is a bad thing. By comparing this profile with the first one we can see how the meaning of sentences changes in context. Statement #31 is given top place here but was 6th in Profile No.1, *ie* the people who are sympathetic to the expanded union role, the Pragmatic Reformers, gave it a much lower ranking than those opposed to it, the New Rightists. Here, a 'radically expanded' role for the unions is perhaps a case of exaggerating their power and danger of the opposition so as to better justify one's own opposition to the Accord.

Characteristic disagreements: Profile No.2
(strongest denial first: * denotes a distinguishing statement)

- * Centralised wage fixing is the best way to look after weaker sections of the workforce.#14 (-2.225)

- * Agreements like the Accord are the best protection for the people of Australia as a whole because the social wage aspects ensure that everyone will benefit from economic gains, not just those in secure employment.#4 (-1.822)

- * To achieve any real social progress in this country we must get away from the present narrow, pointscoring, electioneering that characterises our political system.#18 (-1.372)

- * The signing of the Accord marks an important new era of economic and social reform for Australia.#30 (-1.044)

The denial end of Profile No.2 expresses a strong dislike of intervention (supported also by agreement with #24) and that the Accord is not the right way to look after weaker sections of the workforce, nor does it benefit the population in general. Centralised wage fixation is seen as distorting the wage structure, with distortions becoming entrenched and protected. Labour market mechanisms are thus prevented from performing the proper allocative function of a market. Satisfaction with pre-Accord styles of Government is expressed by denying statement #18: 'To achieve any real social progress in this country we must get away from the present narrow, pointscoring, electioneering that characterise our political system'. In other words, pre-Accord ways of doing things were fine. This gives Profile No.2 a party-political flavour. Its main theme condemns increased union power as a bad thing for the country, saying it has produced nothing new, merely unleashed existing detrimental forces to surge forward to do greater harm. The second theme is that of opposition to interventionist and redistributive policies.

All bar one of the characteristic statements for this profile are also distinguishing statements (marked *) for this attitude. Such a dual identification reinforces the idea that, in this attitude, the trade unions' expanded power is the most important thing about the Accord, and a bad thing. There is an interesting 'political' quality to this profile in the kind of qualifications that it makes. On the one hand the two top positive statements give strong emphasis to expansion of union power via the Accord. Then, by denying statement #30, *ie* by saying in effect that the Accord is nothing new anyway, they reveal a somewhat cynical 'beat-up' of radical expansion of union power. Statement #21 is also selected by the computer program as distinguishing for this factor, but as its score (-0.076) places it in the 'conceptually not relevant' range, we can ignore it.

THE NEW-RIGHTIST

Accord Attitude Profile No.2

It is a regrettable fact that union power has expanded significantly as a result of the Accord. This is a dangerous development, one which will perpetuate counterproductive rigidities in the labour market through centralised wage fixation. There will be no long-run benefits from having the Accord.

The Australian government was perfectly well able to deliver a good standard of living to Australians before the Accord, and was providing education, medical care and suchlike for those who cannot afford it for themselves, and will do so again. There is nothing fundamentally new in the Accord. We should be realistic about our situation, recognise that full employment is a thing of the past and that too much redistribution removes incentive. We should return to a bargaining basis in industrial relations in the interests of the nation as a whole.

Accord Attitude Profile No.3 : The A-Political Optimist
(based on inverted Factor Two)

The main theme of this attitude is that the Accord, and particularly centralized wage fixing, are a good thing for less advantaged people in our society. A second theme concerns powerlessness, whis comes from agreeing with the statements that say even well-organized groups cannot influence governmental expenditure (#20) and that the Accord has not radically expanded unions' role (#31). In this context, the statement about changing the political system becomes a plea for change away from an existing situation in which we (holders of this attitude) are powerless. The last of the characteristic statements, which says that the Accord has brought in a new era of economic and social reform, reads as a statement of hope, rather than a factual assessment.

Characteristic positive statements: Profile No.3
(strongest agreement first:
the 31 statements of Factor Two in Appendix C have to be read from the bottom up for Profile No.3)

- Centralised wage fixing is the best way to look after weaker sections of the workforce.#14 (2.225)

- Agreements like the Accord are the best protection for the people of Australia as a whole because the social wage aspects ensure that everyone will benefit from economic gains, not just those in secure employment.#4 (1.822)

- To achieve any real social progress in this country we must get away from the present narrow, pointscoring, electioneering that characterises our political system.#18 (1.372)

- The signing of the Accord marks an important new era of economic and social reform for Australia.#30 (1.044)

Characteristic disagreements: Profile No.3
(strongest denial first)

- The Accord gives unions a radically expanded role in Australian society.#31 (-2.128)

- Bargaining is better than any Accord.#24 (-1.926)

- Well-organized groups, including groups of workers, can influence Government expenditure programs.#20 (-1.899)

- Redistributing income to the less-well-off is *ok* to a point, but too much of it takes away incentive.#16 (-1.058)

Unlike other profiles, this attitude and the former one, the New Rightist, do not see #30 and #31 as belonging together. These profiles separate out the two sentences as belonging on different but important dimensions, whereas other profiles saw them as being on the same dimension (or that one was irrelevant). The New Rightists sees the unions' greater power via the Accord as an extension of the existing era in industrial relations. The a-political optimist sees the unions not to have gained a radical increase in power at all. Rather that unions have redirected existing power into new ways, such that a 'new era' in industrial relations is upon us.

THE A-POLITICAL OPTIMIST

Accord Attitude Profile No.3

Things are not as bad as some people make out. We have a lot of policies in this country which are for the general good. For example, centralised wage fixing works to the advantage of the weaker sections of the work force, as we know from past experience. I believe that the Accord is the best protection for the people of Australia as a whole because the social wage aspects ensure that everyone will benefit from economic gains, not just those in secure employment.

I like the fact that the Accord is a different way of doing things. It is a move away from the narrow, pointscoring, electioneering that has characterised our political system. I hope that it is the beginning of a new way of dealing with issues. I do not think that the Accord gives unions a radically expanded role in Australian society; they have always had some power. But I do think it is the beginning of a new era if it promotes attention to our long-term problems. For too long unions, and others, have taken selfish, short-term positions in bargaining over industrial, economic and social issues. It is time to give the new way of doing things a fair go. We will all benefit in the long run.

Accord Attitude Profile No.4 : The Soft Socialist
(based on inverted Factor Four)

The 'Soft Socialist' is a person with a deep commitment to help others because he/she perceives, firstly, that we are all part of one society and should behave with compassion to all its members; and, secondly, that things can be done to keep on improving standards.

Characteristic positive statements: Profile No.4
(strongest agreement first;
the 31 statements to Factor Four in Appendix C are to be read from the bottom up for Profile No.4).

- Wages and conditions are not the only things unions should be thinking about; they should also mobilise to achieve alternative policies on employment and development, as set out in the Accord.#12 (2.035)

- Everyone in this country is entitled to good, free, education and medical care, even if they are not paying any tax.#17 (1.973)

- Prices and incomes policies can help a great deal in reducing unemployment.#27 (1.849)

- Well-organized groups, including groups of workers, can influence Government expenditure programs.#20 (1.352)

- The Accord will work to our advantage if we actively canvass and support the agreements reached within it.#8 (1.853)

Characteristic disagreements: Profile No.4
(strongest denial first)

- Full employment is a thing of the past.#23 (-2.157)

- We're on this earth to do the best we can for ourselves.#15 (-1.720)

- The Accord was just an election gimmick.#1 (-1.685)

- Australia's recession will continue, Accord or no Accord.#22 (-1.241)

- It will cause a split into haves and have nots.#5 (-1.063)

The differences between this and other pro-Accord profiles can be seen by comparing the the placement of the characteristic statements for this profile with those of other pro-Accord attitudes.[8] The numbers 4, 3, 2, 1, 0, -1, -2, -3, -4 correspond to response-sheet grid positions, in which the two most important 'agree' statements for a profile are assigned 4, and -4 is assigned to the two statements most strongly disagreed with. The characteristic positive and negative statements for Profile No.4 are listed below, with their corresponding position-values. The columns under profiles 1 and 3 show the comparative rankings of these statements in the other two pro-Accord attitudes.

statement number	attitude profile number 4	1	3
#12	4	4	-1
#17	4	1	-2
#27	3	1	1
#20	3	3	-3
#8	3	2	1
#23	-4	1	-2
#15	-4	-4	0
#1	-3	-4	0
#22	-3	-1	-1
#5	-3	-2	-3

FIGURE 9.4 COMPARATIVE ARRAY FOR THREE PRO-ACCORD ATTITUDE PROFILES.

[8]Such a comparison can be made for all statements and all attitude profiles by looking at the statement array on page 259 of Appendix C.

As can be seen from the above array, Profiles 1 and 4 are the closest pair as they have full agreement on three statements (#12, #20 and #15) and are close on three others (#8, #1 and #5), whereas Profiles 3 and 4 have only one statement-ranking in common (#5) and none close. The similarities between the Pragmatic Reformer (Profile No1) and the Soft Socialist (Profile No.4) are ideological; their differences concern perceptions of what is possible. The Soft Socialist is very caring and generous and gives a 4-ranking to #17: 'Everyone in this country is entitled to good, free, education and medical care, even if they are not paying any tax' whereas the Pragmatic Reformer gives this the lowest level of agreement possible, as if to say 'I agree that would be very nice, if it were possible'. An even greater contrast between the two profiles arises with #23. The Pragmatic Reformer agrees that full employment is a thing of the past, albeit perhaps reluctantly, giving it a placement of 1, but the Soft Socialist makes this the top denial statment, thus saying that the Accord will restore full employment. The difference on the employment dimension probably reflects the life-experiences of the people who hold these attitudes. The Soft Socialist viewpoint seems to rest exclusively with white collar workers. Perhaps they feel that can ensure the reutrn of full employment by increasing the paperwork load on every aspect of our lives.

On the statements where Profiles 1 and 4 are in agreement they do not necessarily mean the same thing by their agreements. For instance, #20, that well-organized groups, including groups of workers, can influence Government expenditure programs, is agreed-to by the Pragmatic Reformer on the basis of direct personal involvement. The Soft Socialist agrees more on the basis that it should be so, (as part of a general agreement with everything in the card-set that labour orthodoxy would suggest is a proper viewpoint.) Hard realities about tradeoffs are ignored; pessimism is out; everything for everyone is endorsed by the 'Soft Socialist'.

Profile No.3 has a very different view as to what are the important dimensions of the Accord. None of its top-ranking statement appear in the above array. Only on #5, denial that the Accord will be divisive, are the Soft Socialist and the A-political Optimist in agreement. Both see #20, the influence of groups, as touching upon an important dimension, but give it an opposite evaluation. In respect of other statements, the other two factors simply do not consider the same issues to be important. Profile No.3 ranks two statements that were given top ranking by Profiles 1 and 4 as insignificant (#12 and #15). #20, that well-organized groups, including groups of workers, can influence Government expenditure programs, is denied by Profile No.3 whereas the other two agree strongly with the statement. Also #1 is irrelevant to the Soft Socialist but an important negative statement for the other 3. Similarly so with #15.

THE SOFT SOCIALIST

Accord Attitude Profile No.4

Defeatist talk about never having full employment again and saying that Australia's recession will continue is not good. We should think and act in unselfish ways, assisting people to the level of their need, and Accord policies can help in many ways towards this objective. We should all work to support the government and unions should get their people behind the Accord too. There is nothing to be gained by always looking on the worst side of things, so I say we should try to make the best of whatever government policies are in place, including the Accord, which is a sincere attempt to tackle our economic problems.

Accord Attitude Profile No.5 : The International Perspectivist

(based on Factor Five)

This has been classed as an anti-Accord position. A case could be made for calling it neutral for persons with this attitude think that the Accord is largely irrelevant. They are 'anti' to the extent that the Accord is viewed as a socialistic policy (and therefore bad), but this is not a hardline antagonism, as holders of this attitude also believe one should support an incumbent government and its policies.

Characteristic positive statements: Profile No.5
(strongest agreement first: * denotes a distinguishing statement)

- * Redistributing income to the less-well-off is *ok* to a point, but too much of it takes away incentive.#16 (2.264)

- If we don't pull together, we'll tear this country apart.#13 (1.703)

- Australia's recession will continue, Accord or no Accord.#22 (1.363)

- The Accord will work to our advantage if we actively canvass and support the agreements reached within it.#8 (1.027)

- We're on this earth to do the best we can for ourselves.#15 (1.027)

Characteristic disagreements: Profile No.5
(strongest denial first)

- * Australia will do allright, Accord or no Accord.#21 (-2.229)

- Everyone in this country is entitled to good, free, education and medical care, even if they are not paying any tax.#17 (-1.556)

- Unions should be working to revolutionise the masses instead of making deals with government.#2 (-1.331)

- Australia is likely to have continuing prosperity if sensible measures like the prices and incomes policy are implemented.#26 (-1.329)

- * Full employment is a thing of the past.#23 (-0.992)

That Australian living standards are not much affected by the Accord is indicated by the placement of #22 (Australia's recession will continue, Accord or no Accord) amongst the characteristic statements of the International Perspectivist, and then heavily underlined by using the companion statement #21 (Australia will do allright, Accord or no Accord) at the top of the denial list.

Holders of Accord Attitude Profile No.5 do not like unions, a sentiment shared with those who correspond with Profile No.2, but adherents of Profile No.2 are distinguished by their deep concern with the union question and their wish to speak out against union involvement in government affairs, as they blame union power as the cause of economic problems. People who subscribe to Profile No.5 are more tolerant, considering unions virtually incidental to the nation's economic problems.

Two of the statemments in the lists of characteristic statement for the International Perspectivist combine to suggest a selfish viewpoint: #16 in which the removal of incentive was seen as the significant part of the statement, and #15 (We're on this earth to do the best we can for ourselves). However, two other statements that are agreed-with soften that stance: #13 'If we don't pull together, we'll tear this country apart' and 'The Accord will work to our advantage if we actively canvass and support the agreements reached within it (#8). These suggest a strong willingness to support an existing order even if one is of the opinion that the wrong things are being done.

The factors upon which Profiles 2 and 5 are based are not correlated (0.0546), neither is there a strong correlation with anti-Accord Factor Six (0.2496), which suggests that quite distinctive bases for opposition to the Accord. This lack of correlation is borne out by an examination of the statement array of Profile No.5 in relation to rankings by the other two anti-Accord positions.

statement number	attitude profile number 5	6	2
#16	4	2	3
#13	4	4	-1
#22	3	1	1
#8	3	-1	-1
#15	3	-1	0
#21	-4	-3	0
#17	-4	-1	2
#2	-3	-2	-2
#26	-3	-2	2
#23	-3	3	2

FIGURE 9.5 COMPARATIVE ARRAY FOR THREE ANTI-ACCORD ATTITUDE PROFILES.

The New Rightists (Profile No.2) gives an irrelevant or low ranking to every statement that the International Perspectivist (Profile No.5) considers important, bar one, #16, as they both think redistribution and incentive are relevant considerations in the context of the Accord. The New Rightists, as noted before, is the most party-political of the various profiles, and party politics is very much a national affair, so it is not surprising that the International Perspectivist selects quite a different set of statements. Profiles 5 and 6 are close on #21 in denying the optimistic statement that Australia will do all right with or without the Accord but they are diametrically opposed on #23, dealing with unemployment.

THE INTERNATIONAL PERSPECTIVIST

Accord Attitude Profile No.5

Australia is subject to international forces to such an extent that the Accord is largely irrelevant to our national welfare. To offer it as a panacea for the nation's economic ills demonstrates a lack of appreciation of the true severity of our situation. The Accord won't affect our future prosperity. Neverthless it is better that unions are engaged in this kind of activity than in causing industrial trouble or fermenting revolution.

The Accord is typical of unnecessary government intervention and creates rigidities which are counterproductive. However, it is part of government policy so we may as well hope that there will be some advantages from sticking to its terms. But I think we would do better with more self-reliance.

Accord Attitude Profile No.6 : The Revolutionary
(based on Factor Six)

Characteristic positive statements: Profile No.6
(strongest agreement first: * denotes a distinguishing statement)

This profile expresses left-wing opposition to the Accord. Solidarity of the working class is invoked by the first statement, and something akin to 'leadership by Communist Party members' can be inferred from the second. Respondents associated with other profiles took #11 to mean that union reps should be encouraging support for the Accord, but in this profile 'getting people interested in what the Accord is about' means exposing it as a sell-out of the working class. The next statement puts a gloomy prospect to the workers with the implication that it is the capitalist system which will ensure that there is never full employment, and the last is a statement of hope that perhaps there is now a chance for unions to act in their class interests.

- If we don't pull together, we'll tear this country apart.#13 (2.097)
- * Union reps should try to get their members interested in what the Accord is about.#11 (1.869)
- Full employment is a thing of the past.#23 (1.342)
- The Accord gives unions a radically expanded role in Australian society. #31 (1.270)
- The ordinary person can't influence government programs.#19 (1.042)

At the denial end of this attitude profile, the Revolutionary leads off with cynicism as to what can be achieved through the Accord and what was intended to be achieved by it. The second theme here is again that of union hegemony, for in denying #9 and #10 the Revolutionary is being dismissive of the influence of the ordinary masses of workers.

Characteristic disagreements: Profile No.6
(strongest denial first: * denotes a distinguishing statement)

- * If we stick to the terms of the Accord the average Australian will benefit in the long run.#29 (-1.894)
- The Accord was just an election gimmick.#1 (-1.523)
- Each of us has a part to play in making the Accord work for the good of Australia.#9 (-1.367)
- Australia will do allright, Accord or no Accord.#21 (-1.256)
- Workers and their unions can have a real say over the new directions being taken in National Economic Policy.#10 (-1.067)

The distinguishing statements for this profile are ones that no other profile included amongst their characteristic expressions. #11, already mentioned in discussion of this profile, received a low level of agreement from all the profiles (except Profile No.3, for

which it was a low-level disagreement), but the Revolutionary, who had a unique interpretation as to what 'get involved' means in 'Union reps should try to get their members interested in what the Accord is about', gives it a 4-ranking. Similarly, #29, the top denial statement for the Revolutionary, gets mild denial positions from the other anti-Accord profiles, is ignored by the Soft Socialist, and receives mild approval from the other two pro-Accord profiles (as they preferred to use other statements incorporating the idea of long-term benefit from the Accord to express this sentiment).

THE REVOLUTIONARY

Accord Attitude Profile No.6

The Accord won't improve conditions for the average Australian. What is really needed is for the workers to come to understand the true nature of the Accord and then stand united, to pull together under the leadership of their class-brethren to overthrow capitalism. Under the present system full employment cannot be attained. If we stick to the Accord the standards of most Australians will decline, even if they improve for a few. There is no way that Australia in general will 'do allright' the way things are going, with or without the Accord.

The Accord was not just an election gimmick. It is a profound way of entrenching the existing system. If we cooperate in making the Accord work, all we are doing is improving the profits of the capitalists.

SUMMARY OF ACCORD ATTITUDE PROFILES

There are three varieties of positive attitude to the Accord and three that evaluate it negatively. The Pragmatic Reformer supports the Accord because it is a vehicle for achieving social progress. The A-political Optimist likes the Accord because it affords continuity and stability in working life, and the Soft Socialist is favourably disposed towards the Accord because it looks after weaker sections of the workforce. Of the negatively-disposed profiles, the New Rightist condemns the Accord as a Labor Government sell-out to the unions. The Revolutionary sees it as a sell-out of the working class to capitalism. The International Perspectivist sees it as misguided and largely irrelevant.

A number of themes structure these attitudes. The role of trade unions in national affairs was, predictably, a major issue in the minds of respondents. Three dimensions of attitude related to unions emerged. One concerned whether the unions had gained greater power in national affairs as a result of the Accord, with some people believing that they had, and others believing that the relative power position of unions had not

changed at all. The second dimension concerned the objectives of unions, with some people believing they should restrict themselves to workplace matters, whilst others thought there was a proper role for the union leadership in national affairs. The third union-related theme was the moral dimension of their participation at a national level (*ie* it was irrelevant for people who did not see the unions as having any involvement in national affairs). Here the evaluative beliefs concerned whether the intentions of the union leaders were, and/or should be, in the national interest, or were, and/or should be, purely in the interests of their membership.

Less predictable was the relative **absence** of an economic focus in the descriptions of attitudes to the Accord. This finding is counter-intuitive in the light of the conventional belief that media output controls public opinion. The media regard the Accord almost exclusively as a prices and incomes policy[9] and the Accord had been a major media topic for a year or more when the bulk of the Q-sorts were performed. Despite media treatment of the Accord as a prices and incomes policy, the statements which refer to this aspect (#26, #27, #28) were used sparingly by Q-sort respondents. Only Factor Five ranks these statements in a way that suggests the prices and incomes policy aspect is an important dimension of the Accord. On the other hand, statements which address change in political activity at a macro level (#18, #30), appear in four attitude profiles (1, 2, 3, 6). Yet these ideas are not part of media fare in relation to the Accord. How did they manage to take precedence over the media favourites in the minds of respondents? For the time being we can merely acknowledge that the importance of the media in shaping attitudes is not fully understood, and say that this study adds one more intrigueing piece of evidence to the puzzle.

Another theme which came through strongly, more in interviews than in the Q-sorts, as they provided relatively little scope for it, was 'support of an existing regime'. Profiles 3 and 5 (the A-political Optimist and the International Perspectivist) contain a conscious commitment to be supportive of the national government, irrespective of the specific policies or particular role incumbents. Within that general framework the A-political Optimist thinks that the Accord can do a lot of good, whereas the International Perspectivist thinks it can't. What interests us here is that either way the Accord should be supported because it is there. Although in other profiles the characteristic statements do not focus on this aspect, a large majority of respondents

[9]Since Accord Mark II the superannuation issue has received considerable attention (although often narrowly defined, focussing on wage costs), but newspaper attention to industry policy in the context of its being an important part of the Accord has not extended beyond Gerard Noonan of the Financial Review.

agreed with #8 and #9, which can be interpreted as 'support regime' type comments, did not give them high importance ranking in their expression of attitude to the Accord. Interview comments, however, showed that 'support the regime irrespective of the incumbents' to be a widely understood concept. This finding supports Easton's division of political support into three objects; the Authorities, the Regime, and the Political Community.

The factor analysis described in this thesis is only one approach to studying the data. Other procedures could be, for example, manual rotation to maximise the scores of particular individuals,[10] or the raw scores of individuals could be analysed along the lines that Stephenson favours, looking for the psychological options of the person. He calls these the complementarities, the alternative attitudes that could be held by an individual if she/he were to change their attitude. Such insights, and more, are able to be recovered from the data because the Q-sort is constructed from natural language. The research instrument does not *structure out* ambiguity, so the data source can reveal more than a researcher's *a priori* concpetions. It can do this because the research instrument is capable of picking up more than was put in to it.

THE AMWU ATTITUDE-CHANGE PROGRAM

The subjects of the attitude change program were members of the AMWU, Australia's largest blue collar union. A group of AMWU National Organisers took part in a week-long residential training program about the Accord, organized by AMWU, at the Clyde Cameron College, Albury-Wodonga in September 1983.[11] The aim of the program was to engender an actively supportive attitude towards the Accord in the persons participating in the program. A few of the participants had been keen to take part in the training program, whilst others considered that they had been 'roped-in'. All twelve participants took part (willingly) in testing the attitude measurement methodology that is the subject of this part of the thesis. Each of these 12 people performed a Q-sort on the Accord at the beginning of the training course, at the end of

[10]The factors of a different factor solution were manually rotated to maximise the score of one person who was appearing in rather strange company. The exercise revealed that the 'group' were all hard-liners, so that one could plot the scores two-dimensionally with the axes labelled hard/soft and left/right. Hard-liners of the political left and hard-liners of the political right have often been noted to have as much, or more, in common with in each other as with those of their own political allegience who have soft approaches to policy choice. This corroborative insight could be recovered from the Q-sort response data even allthough there had been no thought of structuring the instument to measure this. The methodology is very sensitive to what is genuine psychological structure in attitudes.

[11]When work began on this thesis other unions, ACTU, and TUTA were expected to have major training programs with regard to the Accord. None eventuated, although TUTA produced a good explanatory manual about the Accord for use in broad-focus courses.

the week, and some of them again over a year later. The second Q-sort showed the immediate effects of the training program whilst the third Q-sort revealed the longer-term effects.

The sources and mechanisms of attitude change were discussed in Chapter 6, leading us to expect that when attitudes have already been formed they would be difficult to change, but that education could be an effective form of attitude formation. At the operational level, it is immaterial what actually happens during the process of attitude change or attitude formation. We merely need to be able to say whether attitudes have changed as a result of an educational program, and in what way. Having established the six attitudes prevalent in the community, the responses of the program participants can be matched with established groups via the RELOCATE procedure of the CLUSTAN program. An attitude is deemed to have changed if a respondent matches with a different group on a later Q-sort. For two respondents, *A* and *B*, *A* matches with group 1 on both occasions, *B* matches first with group 4 and then with group 6, indicating that *B* has undergone a change of attitude whereas *A* has not.

	Attitude group number					
	1	2	3	4	5	6
Time 1	A			B		
Time 2	A					B

A has not changed attitude: B has changed attitude from group 4 to 6

FIGURE 9.6 EVIDENCE OF ATTITUDE-CHANGE BY PROFILE-MATCHING.

Alternatively, we can examine the response sheets of the participants against a grid which indicates how each statement relates to active support for the Accord. Initial analysis based on visual inspection of the response sheets suggested that three people were anti-Accord at the beginning of the course, and that the same three people were still anti-Accord at the end of the course. Also that two people who were antagonistic towards everything to do with the course at the beginning (they did not want to be there) were more positive at the end of the week. My conclusion is that there was no short-term attitude change from the training program, although inspection of the results of cluster analysis of data supplied by this group of 12 people on two occasions suggests otherwise at first glance.

The results of cluster analysis seem to show that 5 people have undergone attitude change as between the beginning and end of the training program, but these results

cannot be taken at face value because one of the clusters to which they belonged on the first occasion, cluster four, presented rather a strange situation. In the main study cluster four, like all the others, had to have a minimum of two people, but it was the only group to have only two members at the point where the clusters were stable. When the first set of responses from the 12 AMWU people were included, the two people in group 4 moved out of it. When the groups stabilised a number of the 12 were in it. Thus group 4 was essentially different at that stage. When the second set of responses were used, group 4 underwent some changes but ended up with the two original people in it and all of the 12 AMWU people were dispersed amongst other groups. It seems reasonable to conclude that the Clyde Cameron College group people joined cluster 4 as a statistical abberation on the first occasion as the group ended with the same two people as in the main study.

Attitude change tends to come about through experiences that are highly ego-involving. Such experiences have occurred for people involved in the negotiating structures established by the Accord, and for union officials who have found that their relationship with employers changed as a result of 'consciousness-raising' about the Accord. The percentage of the population who fall into these categories is very small. Yet these attitude changes may be highly significant if the majority of people do not have an attitude to the Accord. (This thesis research did not measure the distribution of attitudes.) The exponential growth curve applies in models of the diffusion of ideas. Attitudes to the Accord are in the process of change, but this is a slower process than opinion change and very different to it. Neverthless it would be very interesting to repeat the study upon a change of government or in another two or three years, as that would probably have allowed sufficient time to have elapsed for the diffusion of ideas process to have made its impact on a large percentage of the population.

SUMMARY

The Accord was used in part two to illustrate Q-technique and attitude profile methodology. This approach is based on S.R.Brown's book *Political Subjectivity* which is an adaptation of W.L.Stephenson's Q-methodology for the purposes of political science.[12] Cluster analysis does not figure in their approach, nor do they summarise their analyses into attitude profiles. Cluster analysis was a useful additional stage in the study of the Accord, perhaps because it is a particularly complex issue, and because the data was collected from a non-homogeneous population (respondents were of mixed ethnic, political, occupational, and social backgrounds).

[12]Supplemented by discussions with Professors Brown and Stephenson during October 1986.

Cluster analysis gave the basis for choosing one of a number of interpretable factor solutions.

The writing of profiles provides a transition from the labour-intensive Q-methodology procedures of psychological research to social survey research. Attitudes, as we have defined them, are sets of evaluative beliefs. Their components necessarily require several sentences for expression as several evaluative beliefs are involved in each attitude. When neither single sentences nor positions on a rating scale are able to capture the meaningful dimensions of some attitudes that are of interest to us, then attitude profiles can be constructed and the normal procedures of survey research be followed to determine the distribution of attitudes. The value of the methodology described here is that such further research would be based on psychologically valid and robust data. The surveys would not be measuring something that is largely an artifact of scaling, but would be telling us the distributions and socio-economic correlates of true attitudes.

Input to attitude surveys is not, of course, the only, or even the major, value of research of the kind described here. In my opinion its greatest significance lies in the potential to study the empirical phenomena of attitudes and political culture with a view to dynamic modelling of sociocultural systems. However, the general contention of this thesis is that the approach presented here, based on Q-methodology, provides a better method for assessing and analysing attitudes to politically relevant matters than has hitherto been available in Australia. To develop such a methodology has both practical and academic significance. Although Q-studies are labour-intensive, they are worth the time and effort in political science. Our social function is surely to enlighten and advise on issues encompassed by our discipline. Exploring methodologies for obtaining in-depth understanding of political attitudes is therefore a fundamental concern for our discipline.

Notes

Sometimes a factor gives rise to one attitude profile, sometimes to two. For example, in the case of factor 1 with 11 defining variates only one (respondent 17) was negatively associated with this factor. My interview notes record that R.17 was being somewhat mischevious about the Q-sorting exercise, but was drawn in to serious consideration of the issues as the exercise progressed. The 45 minutes of so of discussion after completion of the Q-sort were more sincere and I felt that had the respondent performed the Q-sort again at the end of that time, a different and more honest array would have been produced. I considered omitting this Q-sort from the analysis but decided against it because I wanted to see how R.17 would perform in the various runs. However, as this person was the only one to identify a viewpoint that was negatively associated with Factor One and the Q-sort was not reliable in my view, a reverse reading of factor 1 was not treated as constituting a separate attitude. There may, however, be cases when a single individual can validly be taken to characterise an attitudinal perspective on a subject. In cluster analysis, R.17 was grouped with inds. 12, then 35 and 7, then 24 and 57, of whom only 24 is a defining variate (on factor three). But R.24 is also a single identifier of direction on a factor which is defined by 4 individuals, three negatively and R.24 as the one positive. Once again my interview data suggests that this person is not a true defining variate. In this case the person found concentration on the issues difficult although making a sincere attempt at the Q-sort. I did not consider the responses to be totally valid. Factor one, therefore, is associated with just one Accord attitude profile. Factor two is given interpretation in both directions, although the negative association is defined by only one individual. In this case I had full confidence in the Q-sort of the individual concerned. Factor three was not interpreted in either direction. The sole positive defining variate (R.24) was disregarded, as outlined above. The three negatively defining variates made a very strange assortment in terms of my interview perceptions, and in cluster analysis they did not become linked until the entire sample of 60 has been reduced to 5 groups. In short, I regard factor three as a computational idiosyncracy. Factor four was straightforward, except that it must be read in reverse as all defining variates are negatively associated with this factor. Factors five and six are also uni-directional.

CHAPTER TEN

CONCLUSIONS AND INTEGRATION

Broad objectives of the thesis

This thesis has looked at the Accord at two, widely separated, levels of analysis. The first was a macro view of how to interpret the Accord in the flow of political process as a whole, and then in relation to societal development. The second was on a completely different scale, being an investigation of individuals' attitudes to the Accord. In order to integrate the approaches, to see the relationship of the attitude study to the Easton model, the research results need to be seen in the light of what I have called the 'purposive goal' of the thesis. This goal gres out of a question which kept reasserting itself during the early work undertaken for this thesis: 'Why was political science not making substantial use of computer simulation?' Having discovered that possible answers could be (*i*) that the most suitable theoretical framework for such a task is currently out of fashion in this country, and (*ii*) that one of the main inputs to such modelling -- attitudes -- could not be properly measured with the traditional research tools, it became the purposive goal of the thesis to find ways to overcome these stumbling-blocks. This goal seemed to be attainable because the required ideas were all available, just waiting to be put together. Computer-aided simulation of political culture is an idea whose time has come.

Part one of the thesis suggests that the systems model is the appropriate basis for the tasks I have in mind, but that it was necessary to link Easton's conceptualization with Miller's living systems hierarchy. Part two explored a methodology for obtaining

attitudinal data of sufficiently high quality (the Stephenson/Brown approach to attitude measurement) for use in the political-culture modelling. The research conclusions of the thesis deal with those two methodological questions. The conclusion to be drawn so far as the purposive goal of the thesis is concerned is that computer-aided simulation studies of politics, including a dynamic model of political culture, is feasible.[1] But such studies lie in the future. Nevertheless, it is that future purpose which binds together the specifics of the work undertaken into a coherent academic endeavour.

THE ACCORD: ORIGINS AND INTERPETATIONS

The thesis dealt with the Accord, and we now draw some conclusions specifically about that document, after briefly summarising what was said about the document itself. At the most literal level the Accord is an agreement between the Australian Labor Party and the Australian Council of Trade Unions, signed in February 1983, concerning economic policy and other work-related matters. The political and industrial wings of the labour movement were discussing the need for an agreement between the trade unions and a Labor government for some four years before the final agreement was signed. The impetus for finalisation came from the impending election (March 1983). The Accord outlines many matters of policy upon which the parties had agreed in principle and which were to be formalized, or debated further, if the ALP won the forthcoming parliamentary election. The ALP was elected on 3rd March 1983 to form the federal government of Australia under the leadership of Bob Hawke, and, as the new government did not repudiate the agreement, the Accord is also government policy.

The ALP has kept the Accord 'high profile' in domestic policy: it is central to economic policy, industrial relations policy, and industry policy; it is also important in occupational health and safety, and in social welfare matters generally and superannuation in particular. The ALP won a subsequent election, and an update agreement, popularly known as Accord Mark II, was signed, covering a period until the time when a further election is expected - late 1987.

A popular early interpretation of the Accord which has not stood the test of time well was to regard it as an implied contract in which unions exchanged wage restraint and

[1]Easton and Miller have talked together of the possibility and desirability of making a detailed specification of Easton's model as the decider subsystem of society. A suitable opportunity to undertake the work has not presented itself to date, according to Dr Miller (personal communication, Jan 1987).

good behavior for the government's commitment to maintain CPI-indexed centralized wage fixation. The implied sanctions of the contract were that if the unions failed to keep their side of the bargain, they would lose the government's support for CPI-indexed centralized wage fixation and that if the government failed to keep its side of the bargain, there would be strikes and large wage claims, leading to economic chaos in which Labor would lose power. Subsequent events have demonstrated the inadequacy of this interpretation. CPI-indexation has not been maintained, but none of the predicted accompanying events have occured.

Another interpretation was that the Accord was just an election gimmick. In its original form this interpretation meant the Accord was empty rhetoric and the document had the status of an advertising blurb, to be discarded when it had done its job of helping the ALP to win the election. As time passed most people who had taken this view changed their mind, but a few gave the idea a new twist, saying the Accord is still a gimmick, something without real content, a confidence trick on the people of Australia, which continues to be perpetrated in order to maintain electoral support. According to this view the Accord is a trick because the population are lulled into thinking that something constructive is being done to maintain, or regain, Australia's prosperity when in reality the government is making matters worse.

The third interpretation, that the Accord is a prices and incomes policy, is the most widespread, and a statement of fact as well as an interpretation. It becomes an interpretation when non-prices and incomes policy aspects are ignored, and even more so when viewed as a 'wages deal'. The prices and incomes policy debate was discussed as a process of issue formation but it was not the purpose of this thesis to investigate the economic determinants of the Accord. Whilst policies negotiated under the Accord do have widespread economic impact, it is the 'framework' nature of the Accord and the consultations on superannuation, industry policy and the like that have taken place within the framework that account for the durability of the Accord.

The Accord as corporatism is a more 'political science' interpretation than the others. It focuses on industrial relations aspects of the Accord, and it too fails to take account of the 'framework' quality of the Accord document. The logic of a corporatist approach leads us to expect centralized, authoritarian tripartite interest resolution and control. There are signs that each of the tripartite partners (government, business leaders, union leaders) are moving in centralized directions but the trends are ambiguous. **Government** centralization is impeded by entrenched States rights; any intellectual support for moving industrial relations matters to the Federal government is impeded by local power structures. **Business organizations** are fragmenting

rather than consolidating; only time will tell if this is a shakeout prior to a period of unification under one authoritative voice on behalf of business. **The union leadership** is authoritative and unified at present; but Australian unionism is sufficiently democratic for persons not currently in positions of power to capitalize on dissent, so the continuing authority of the present union leadership is by no means guaranteed. Despite weak evidence in its favour, corporatist analysis cannot be proven wrong in the way that the applied contract approach was clearly wrong, and, in time, centralized tripartite interest intermediation in work-related matters may yet become the norm.

Finally, the two macro-interpretations advanced by this thesis are that the Accord is an 'associated output' of the political system on Easton's original model, and that is the core of a new subsystem of the political system in the terms of the living-systems-hierarchy version of the model. These systems interpretations are consistent with contingent evolution and that systemically-viable solutions are being found by the Australian political system.

What Does the Accord Mean in Systems Terms?

In Chapters 3 to 5 we analysed the Accord according to the Easton framework *ie* treating it as an instance of the authoritative allocation of values for society. In so doing, a very different approach was taken to other academic analyses of this important contemporary document, which view the Accord in economic terms or as evidence of corporatism. This thesis viewed the Accord as an 'associated output' of the political system, influencing politically relevant segments of society both to increase specific support for an incumbent set of authorities (*ie* the Hawke Labor Government) and to culturally modify the demands that are put to the political system. Furthermore, the Accord was also taken to be evidence of political system growth by subsystemic differentiation.

The theoretical foundation of the study was David Easton's work, which introduced systems theory into political science. According to Easton, political activity can usefully be viewed as an open, adaptive, self-transforming system which processes demands (inputs) into authoritative allocations of values for society (outputs). Open, adaptive, self-transforming systems utilise whatever is available in their repertoire to ensure their continuance (system persistence). A characteristic problem of political systems in western democracies is demand overload, so it is useful to examine all actions by the system from the viewpoint of their effect on workload. Systems theory leads us to expect that many outputs of the system will be directed at, or be structures in ways that encourage, reduction of inputs to the political system.

We find the issue-formation reduction process in the pre-signing history of the Accord. Issue formation on the Eastonian model is a reduction device whereby a mass of various demands is logrolled, traded, amended etc. to gain wide acceptance and momentum and thus become an issue. An issue is more likely to gain acceptance into an overloaded system than are multiple individual specific demands. The systems analysis of the Accord suggested that 'functional pull' may have arisen from the societal need to articulate the outcomes of macro-economic movements in terms of allocation of work. That the right to work be allocated in socially-acceptable ways is important for social stability, embodying as it does both social and financial values. Given the inability of party-political debate to handle these matters adequately, there was a social need in search of a solution, and the ACTU has been drawn into confronting these questions. The ACTU is now the lynchpin in reformulating work/pay/control concepts into forms that will bring about socially-acceptable redistributions of work, commensurate with economic growth.

The systems analysis of the Accord derives from a definition of political activity as that subsystem of society which is concerned with the authoritative allocation of values for society, placed in the context of living systems theory. Development is growth accompanied by differentiation, and we looked for signs of societal growth, accompanied by periodic differentiation of the governmental function. There is historical evidence for such periodic differentiation, and it is suggested that the Accord can be plausibly explained as evidence of such an additional differentiation. The historical argument runs as follows. In our culture the function of the authoritative allocation of values was once located in one person, in monarchies ordained by God. A differentiation of the political system occurred with to the separation of the powers of church and state. A further differentiation of the political system occured with the emergence of a separate judiciary and executive, each performing policy-making functions. Yet another differentiation of the political system occured as the public service administration became a locus for making authoritative allocations of values for society. It was only recognised as such this century, and it is only comparatively recently that it has been accepted widely that nationally-binding policy is made in the public service bureaucracy.

The logic of the hierarchic systems analysis suggests that a step of comparable importance may be taking place, now, in Australia. equivalent importance is being taken by Australian society. It is likely that work-related matters for which broad social policy is required will continue to be dealt with through mechanisms like the Accord. Work-related matters are potentially socially-divisive in an era of declining labour input to production and increasing machine capability. Their resolution in

Australia is currently via the Accord. The continued social importance of these issues is so great that it cannot be assumed that a workable solution will be abandoned with a change of political party in office federally.

This claim must be viewed from a comparative and a future perspective. The comparisons that I refer to are not other countries but other living systems. The postulate is that certain processes are common at all levels of living systems, and therefore also apply to society. One such is growth by subsystemic differentiation. Increasing overload on the political system can *(i)* slow down the processing (this will eventually lead to breakdown of the society as overload exhibits characteristics of positive feedback), *(ii)* expand by multiplying its components (this also has finite capacity as coordination problems grow exponentially until the progress through the systems slows down no matter how many more facilitating agencies are placed along the track, *(iii)* subsystemic differentiation, whereby the load on the core system is reduced. Only the latter is systemically viable. The first two approaches are doomed to fail in the medium to long-term.

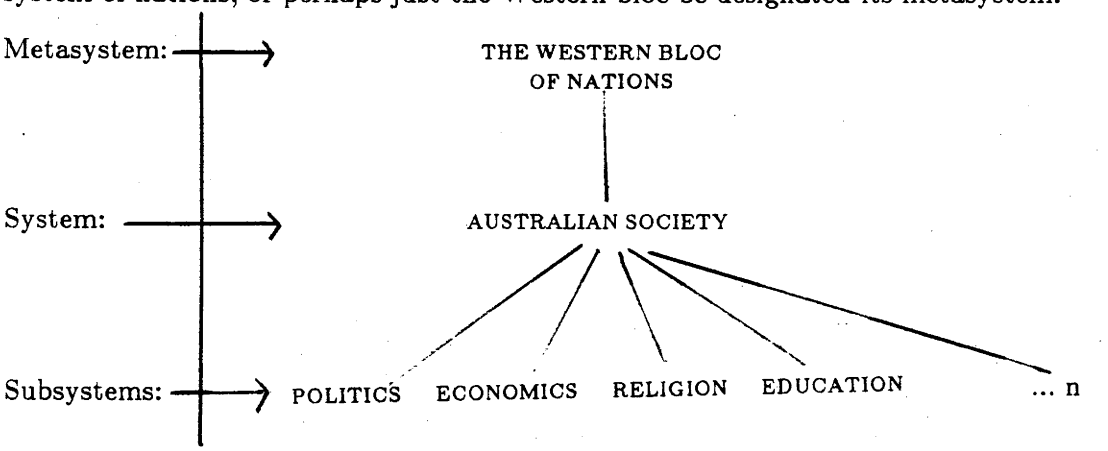
Political systems as living systems need to find satisfactory solutions to their problems. Not optimal, just satisfactory. When a problem is able to be satisfactorily solved by whatever means are historically available in that country, then society is free to proceed to tackle take on some additional problems. This is a neverending process. But when an insoluble bottleneck is encountered, *ie* when some social problems are causing a blockage in the political system, then everything else in that society is stagnating. I does not mean the collapse of that society, for societies are very resiliant, but it puts a brake on social progress.

Limitations of the systems approach to analysis of the Accord

The systems study of the Accord was a broad-brush sketch of two systems-based ways of exploring contemporary political events. To make definitive statements about the emergence of a new subsystem of society is beyond the scope of the present work and a similar comment about practical limitations of thesis work applies to the Eastonian part of the analysis. The limitations are those of time and resources, not intrinsic problems. There is one limitation, however, that has serious theoretical implications. The insights provided by a systems analysis of the Accord are valid only insofar as it is valid to assume an autonomous society. Hierarchic systems analysis pre-supposes an autonomous metasystem. Metasystemic autonomy is a structural characteristic of the three-level framework that we have been using (metasystem, system, subsystems). The metasystem is a given with respect to the system under study. Neither the identity of the metasystem nor its relationship to the system are open to manipulation by the

system under study, and forces operating on the metasystem do not enter the analysis. Society was the nominated metasystem for our analysis.

Yet no society is entirely autonomous. The character and direction of Australian society is shaped, in part, by forces and events which lie outside the control or significant influence of our society. Not least among these forces is the power of large international corporations. 'Transnationals are internationalising the world economy in their own way, for their own purposes. As a consequence, the power of the nation state to control its own economic destiny has been gravely weakened...' (Crough & Wheelwright 1983:15. See also Wheelwright & Buckley 1983, Crough, Wheelwright & Wilshire 1980.) The question then is whether it is reasonable to say that society-as-metasystem is sufficiently autonomous in context for the analysis to be valid. If the autonomy assumption cannot reasonably be made then multi-level analysis is required, for whilst it will always be true that the function of the political system is the authoritative allocation of values for society, if that society is itself significantly constrained in its behavior by the international group to which it belongs (its metasystem), then those constraints have to be reflected in constraints upon the political system. To take international factors into account in the present case would require that the system under study be Australian society and the international system of nations, or perhaps just the Western bloc be designated its metasystem.



To work with this hierarchy we would first have to specify the functional relationship between Australian society and the Western bloc, which question could be the subject matter of several further theses. This thesis did not take account of international forces, assuming society to be autonomous for the analytic hierarchy in question. It sought to examine an internal social imperative, that of the technologically-motivated need to re-assess the distribution of values related to work and life support, and, specifically how the political system is responding to this functional imperative from its metasystem. The sub-systemic differentiation aspects of the analysis are premised on the assumption that it is reasonable to think that in industrial relations matters this country is relatively autonomous.

The Accord is unique to Australia

Although the governments of all Western democracies are suffering various degrees of crisis of government as a result of democratic systems' demand overload, each must solve the common problems in unique ways, consistent with their history. Proliferation of parliamentary committees is one technique for expanding the processing capacity of the political system. Australia has followed Britain in this regard and makes use of this possibility. But we have a unique history in the arbitration of industrial disputes. This historical thread gives our social contract - the Accord - a better chance of survival than the British Social Contract had. The Accord merits international attention and study for it illustrates successful social adaptation at the political level. That is not to say that it can be copied directly. Historically specific combinations of people and events must inevitably be different in any other time and place. It is fitting that the Australian Labor Party should have entered into a distinctive, and remarkably successful, social-contract type arrangement. For the Australian Labor party is, in a way, the most 'experienced' of the world's Labor parties.

As to its future, the ALP/ACTU Accord of 1983 will surely end one day. No specific agreement between a political party and a trade union is likely to continue indefinitely, but the important relocations in the authoritative allocation of values that the Accord has brought about (or which called forth the Accord) can continue. If Australia were a fully-autonomous society I would predict that the Liberal or National party would not gain office federally until they adopted attitudes and structures similar to those underlying the Accord. For to do so is in the interests of a stable society. Whilst they are advocating socially divisive policies in work-related matters, societal selection-for-survival is against them. An Accord-type subsystem of the political system is a workable way of dealing with the changing technology/work balance. But we are not fully autonomous. Therefore international financial pressures and the like may determine the course of events.

Nevertheless, on the theoretical framework that we have been using, the Accord is evidence of systemic adaptation to changing socio-economic circumstances. When we view society as an open, adaptive, self-transforming system, one of its subsystems is the political system, which serves the function of making authoritative allocation of values for society. We can expect that evolutionary adaptations will be made as and when required to enable this essential function to continue. Given that satisfactory

resolution of work-related matters is important to the stability of the country and that these matters are not well handled through the parliamentary system, some changes are to be expected. On theoretical grounds, the Accord can be interpreted as evidence of subsystemic differentiation of the political system. All that can be said at this stage is that at a descriptive level this seems a plausible interpretation. To investigate the proposition by data collection of a kind that would substantiate the assertion (*eg* mapping out the rates of flow of information throughout the political system as a means of identifying subsystemic boundaries) would require far more resources and time than can be invested in a thesis.

The trade union leadership has taken on a national-interest mantle

Trade union participation in government policy-making was envisaged in the Accord and is a reality, although this participation is not without its difficulties.

The trade-union movement, embodied in its peak organization, the ACTU, achieved a radically expanded role through the Accord, as this organization moved from a traditional role of agglomeration of sectional interests towards greater concern with national-interest considerations. The common goals of the union movement, which center around improving conditions for the bulk of working people and their families, need organizations to give the ideals concrete expression. As the actions required to improve the situation of working people have changed, so also the specifics of union ideology are adapting. Recently the ACTU become the standard bearer of ideology in the labour movement. This had not been its historical role, for it started life in quite the opposite fashion. This broader role for the ACTU and the longer time-scales involved inevitably mean that the ACTU can no longer satisfy some outlooks within its constituency. It may be that it cannot respond fully to this national interest role because of historical factors which limit its options. In addition, the intrinsic conflict of officials' positions identified by Mills (with which the thesis began) acts as a limitation on action in support of long-term goals. The power and intentions of multinational organizations are further complicating factors when considering the likely directions and social impacts of the ACTU.

At a more mundane level, the union movement finds it difficult to exercise the full potential opened up by the Accord because unions do not have enough personnel to make an adequate input in all cases where such input would be received. A second practical problem limiting their chances of effective action is the bureaucratic negation of union input on ideological grounds (the main sources being members of the economics profession who are involved with industry policy but who are opposed to any industry policy except non-intervention). Another difficulty for the trade union

leadership is that some senior, and many middle-ranking, officials are ambivalent about involvement in the Accord.

Nevertheless, the social systemic needs may win out over mundane practical constraints. The need for leadership in redefining work relations remains 'a social need in search of a solution'. ACTU provides the rationale for maintaining unity against employer policies whose effect would be to fragment the workforce into tame, highly paid unionists, and the powerless masses.

The Accord is a continuing paradox

Its conceptualization was a balancing act between personal power, ideologies and social needs. It is a good example of contingent evolution. It was a response to a social need, born of a confluence of ideas, through the medium of a small group of individuals who happened to have both power and will at the right historical moment. Its continuation is an ongoing tightrope act. The Accord is critically dependent on the cooperation of a small group of people, and yet it is also an expression of a society's adaptation to changing socio-economic circumstances. It derives its strength from its imprecision. Because it lacks precision and exactness, there is room for negotiation. Ambiguity permits compromise. That it can be interpreted in many ways allows for more hope than would would be the case if it consisted of detailed clauses. And hope keeps negotiation alive. Final decisions may be reached that would have been impossible if the negotiating base did not contain fuzzy areas. The Accord in its literal form of an agreement between the ALP and the ACTU will surely come to an end, but our theoretical perspective suggests that the work-related subsystem of the political system which it currently typifies will continue.

Q-METHODOLOGY STUDY OF THE ACCORD

In part two the Accord was used to illustrate the attitude profile methodology for the study of attitudes to complex political issues. The approach is based on S.R.Brown's book *Political Subjectivity* which is a politically-oriented application of W.L. Stephenson's Q-methodology. It is the contention of this part of the thesis that the Q-methodology approach provides a better method for assessing and analysing attitudes to politically relevant matters than has hitherto been available in Australia.

In the measurement of attitudes most of the work undertaken to date has sought to measure pure, unidimensional concepts by scaling techniques. The objectivisation of concepts, which is the aim of Likert type scales, has proved to be a dead end in our

discipline. Attitudinal research in political science has slowed to a trickle because results have been so disappointing. In retrospect it can be seen that this was due to the lack of an appropriate methodology for eliciting political subjecivity. Also in retrospect we can understand the attractiveness of the methodologies that were used in attitude measurement. The work of Guttman in scaling techniques looked to be so precise, so scientific, that it attracted social scientists with its apparent rigour. Likert scales, based on the Guttman theories, are an attempt to get rid of all messy ambiguity in meaning, and thus appeared to be 'scientific'. Unfortunately, only very narrow concepts could be measured when the thechniques were used properly, thus excluding most attitudes of interest to us.

Q-methodology, on the other hand, thrives on the ambiguity of language. Quite the opposite to scaling methods, in which refining concepts requires that words have the same unambiguous meanings for all respondents, the precise meaning of any particular statement or word is a non-issue in Q-methodology. For it is ambiguity that provides the requisite variety for a research tool of 30 or so sentences to be sufficient to permit the expression of a rich diversity of attitudes to a complex political topic like the Accord. The aim of Q-methdology is to allow common patterns of association of ideas to emerge via the choices made by respondents. Given a suitable concourse of statements on a topic from which to choose, an individual can, through the selection and ranking of statements, reveal his/her personal viewpoint.

The empirical study explored attitudes to the Accord using Q-methodology. Approximately 100 interviews were undertaken, structured around a Q-sort of 31 statement-cards dealing with the Accord. Trial runs involved 16 persons, the main study involved 60 persons, and the attitude change program involved 12 persons performing the Q-sort on three occasions, separated by four days in the case of the first and second Q-sorts and over a year for the last one.

Q-sorts give subjectively-ranked evaluations. A respondent first divides statements into three piles: (1) those which he/she agrees with, (2) those which he/she disagrees with, and (3) the rest, which is a left-overs pile. Then the agree and disagree piles are taken one pile at a time. Statements are considered as a set and ranked ordinally according to their importance in the view of the respondent. This information is coded for computer analysis. Cluster analysis and factor analysis were used to identify common patterns of association in the responses, based on person-correlation. The factors were put through a program (JINNI) that gave a descriptive output to the analysis in terms of statement orderings associated with each factor.

Six attitudes to the Accord were found by interpretation of the factors. These were then expressed as attitude profiles with the following labels:

The Pragmatic Reformer
The New Rightist
The A-Political Optimist
The Soft Socialist
The International Perspectivist
The Revolutionary

These six attitude profiles represent the range of attitudes to the Accord, but there are also many people in the community who have no knowledge about the Accord and thus no attitude to it. The attitude-change experiment supported the view that it is difficult to change attitudes once formed, but not impossible if experiential learning can take place. Persons without attitude will take up one of the six when/if they do develop an interest in the Accord.

RATIONALE FOR THE APPROACH TAKEN

The systems viewpoint suggested by this thesis allows us to see the Accord as a vehicle for bringing about far-reaching changes in Australian politico-economic decisionmaking. Such a view is a far cry from media evaluations and is not how it was perceived during the months after it entered the arena of Australian political discourse nor now. Media attention was and is directed towards the Accord as, predominantly, a wages agreement. This is also the majority view in political discourse, not surprisingly as media interpretations and poltitical rhetoric are mutually self-reinforcing. Four years after the Accord was introduced the profound political changes which are being wrought through this framework are still ignored by the media and political rhetori; the situation is still discussed as they originally defined it. But that does not mean that political science has to accept the media evaluation. On the contrary, it is our duty to resist such self-generating quarter-truths. That is where systems theory and Q-methodology come in. When circumstances demand new institutional forms and new patterns of relations, change may neverthless be frustrated by community attitudes. Governments therefore need to know what community attitudes are and how to change them.

The Accord is a framework for bringing about socio-political change in Australia as well as introducing new politico-economic decisionmaking structures. The media treat the Accord simplistically, as a wages agreement, but if we have a deeper understanding of the significance of the Accord then the range of attitudes towards it need to be known, and from which the potential for reaction can be estimated, and induced change strategies need to be evaluated.

WHY SYSTEMS THEORY?

A question posed in Chapter 1 was whether Australian political science was missing out on something good by not utilising the systems paradigm. Chapters 5 and 10 answer in the affirmative. One important thing to emerge from systemic analysis of the Accord was that the systems approach gives us a future-oriented basis for selecting research topics. Another is that its very broad parameters (historically and comparatively) give us a perspective to set against the immediacy of day-to-day politics. The last important aspect of a systems approach covered concerns its suitability as a framework for modelling the political system.

The general point that can be made from the discussions of the superannuation aspects of the Accord is that a systems approach can provide a selection criterion for choosing which aspects of contemporary activities are worthy of consideration. All significant changes have origins. The question is how soon do we know what is significant and what is transient muddle. The two extremes are, at one end, historical commentaries where events of 50 years ago are 'contemporary' and, at the other end, instant projection where any new development is extrapolated to wierd and wonderful futures. Without denegrating careful use of forecasting, it can still be said that political science relies too heavily on historicism and opinion-based prediction. What is on offer here, through the living systems approach, is theoretically based analysis of contemporary events.

Systems theory is simply the most productive contemporary paradigm for modelling purposes. The systems paradigm is addressed to complexity, in contrast to traditional hypothetico-deductive scientific method which is reductionist. But why should we model political attitudes? One answer, the one that I support, is that to do so will help us to understand and shape the processes of democracy. Political science should be prepared to philosophize as well as applying quantitative techniques to empirical data. Political science subject matter is about deeply-held values in society as well as about the distribution of votes. Economists have too broad an influence on political life given that economists' ventures into philosophising usually reach no further than repeating Keynes' phrase: 'In the long run we are all dead'. In political science we can and should refute the individualistic thinking that is symbolised in that phrase and stimulate awareness of the longer timeframes to which we are heir and of which we are the progenitors. The society which we are currently shaping is the cultural milieu which will shape our grandchildren. Political processes change slowly, but change they do. We want to keep them changing slowly, for revolutionary change is destructive to large sections of the population. But if evolutionary change is necessarily slow, relative to individual careers, all the more reason to study the value-implications of policy

changes, for a short-term policy expedient can become the political structure of the future.

I believe that the subsystemic differentiation of the political system as described in this thesis is less than ideal for our society, but an acceptable compromise in an imperfect world. Ideally, the deeply-disturbing issues about the future of work should be handled by the core of the political system, which in parliamentary democracies is the legislature. But we have not understood the differences between the political system and government adequately for this to have come about. Economic management of the country should not be the overwhelming concern of the Government. Because government is almost obsessed with it, the essential political function, the authoritative allocation of values for society, is being squeezed out of the domain of the traditional structures of government. The elected government and the executive are lopsided with economic problems and economic advice.

A systems approach tells us that economic and political matters are both essential functions of society. It also tells us that they should be understood separately. It is axiomatic that both subsystems interact: they are both subsystems of the same unit; they are essentially and indispensably part of the same thing; but they are also different. The difference which has been highlighted by this thesis is that economics deals with material transactions whereas politics trades in cultural norms and symbols; its currency is beliefs.

Democracies are a regime type in which the overproduction of demands is a characteristic problem for system survival. The welfare era in Western democracies has led to overload problems for political systems, concurrently with becoming economic managers of their countries in the interests of maintaining the growth in welfare. Overload stress interferes with the ability of the system to process demands into authoritative decisions.

Current status of the systems paradigm in political science

The pioneering work which Easton performed in introducing the systems paradigm into political science aroused much enthusiasm. Twenty years ago Easton claimed to have begun the work of realigning the subject matter of political science to a systems framework, but the systems approach is not the dominant paradigm in the discipline today. However, the kind of paradigmatic shift that is envisaged by systems thinkers could easily take a generation or more to become established.

Success for Easton's undertaking will be achieved when a majority of political scientists include systems thinking in their intellectual tool kit. It will not displace, but be additional to the use of historical and descriptive approaches, survey data collection and analysis, and cause-effect reasoning (where this is appropriate). Understanding of social matters requires specific attention to complexity *per se*; when this is realised, the systems paradigm will have revolutionised the discipline. It is asking for nothing less than a recognition that rational causal descriptions of social systems are reductionist. Such a change of outlook is a true paradigmatic shift a la Kuhn, and hardly surprising that it is resisted. The need to change thought patterns which are ingrained is probably the major reason for the delay in acceptance of the systems approach.

A contributory factor in explaining the relative lack of success of systems theory in political science to date could be its premature introduction. Some concepts sat poorly with intuitive understanding (as in the case of boundaries, for example). The contemporary task of making GST relevant to political science is much easier than that undertaken by Easton because system concepts themselves have progressed and many points of confusion have been clarified and refined, making it easier to translate the general concepts into empirical disciplines. I hope that Chapter 4 showed that there are other things of relevance to political science from GST and that perhaps the use of a wider range of concepts will facilitate the resurrection of the systems paradigm in political science.

Yet another contributing factor might have been Easton's style of writing. The behavioral movement dominated the intellectual scene in America during his most productive years and although he saw that the contemporary approach downgraded theoretical thought too much, and said so, Easton was neverthless a committed behavioralist. From his writing one would judge that Easton was not an abstract thinker, that he was more comfortable expressing ideas with discursive writing. This is not a happy coincidence of inclination and need because general system theory is often less abstract than pure mathematics, but it nevertheless often uses abstract concepts. Therefore the interpretation that was brought into political science, via David Easton, never gave fair exposure to systems thinking. People thought that Easton had said all that was relevant to political science. This was a natural enough assumption - after all, Easton was deeply committed to the systems concept and he was a prolific writer. In retrospect it appears that a reading of Easton teaches virtually no systems theory per se but his books permitted political scientists to think they knew all that was relevant.

Whichever way one looks at it Easton did valuable work on which we can build and it was the Eastonian framework that prompted this thesis topic and from which my thinking developed. Approaches to understanding the world change and improve over time. Scientific method, with its emphasis on clear definition, measurability, repeatability, and above all, the establishment of causal chains has been supremely influential in creating the world we live in. But it is now apparent that it is valid only for a limited class of problems that concern us in the social sciences. Given that social progress involves highly complex situations upon which we cannot experiment so as to establish causality beyond reasonable doubt, traditional scientific method is inadequate for our needs because establishing causal links is fundamental to that method. Social scientists cannot give primacy to causal modelling. We must adopt thought patterns which are more appropriate to the needs of the life sciences.

The limitations of deductive science have been transcended by the systems approach which allows us to talk scientifically about life processes. It gives us new ways of conceptualising the world that do not deny complexity or conflict. (See also Atkin 1974.) The systems approach is now the dominant paradigm in many enclaves of science but has not been well absorbed into our discipline. Re-orientation of deeply-ingrained thought patterns takes a long time. In order to adopt the systems paradigm one must be convinced that traditional rational/scientific approaches are limited in their scope and applicability. The social sciences deal with life processes that are of an order of complexity at least as great as that faced by biological science and that discipline found traditional scientific method was inadequate to study life processes. It must surely also be inadequate for us. In saying this I am not picking an argument over the need to simplify things for modelling purposes. Rather, I am suggesting that social phenomena can be modelled if characterised as the resolution of multiple contradictory trends. The simplification required for model construction comes via understanding the characteristic processes of the phenomena and their contingent evolution into structural forms. However complicated things may look, we know that there are ordering principles at work. Complexity only exists in order.

Much additional research of substantive issues could be suggested along lines indicated in this thesis, and there are clearly many theoretical aspects which have been raised which require much more research. The development of systems theory in relation to sociocultural systems is an area that interests me particularly, as does investigating the structure of political attitudes, both as a prelude to modelling political culture for computer-aided simulation. Political science is an action-oriented discipline, in contrast to, say, history. But 'action' does not necessarily mean involvement in party-political affairs. Action-oriented means, rather, that we supply the intellectual end of directed social change and that includes the theoretical work of model-building.

WHY Q-METHODOLOGY?

Q-methodology is an approach to collecting attitudinal information in a computer-manipulable form. Attitudinal information is of vital importance to governments in democracies. Such governments rely on cultural legitimation rather than force to maintain support. On the one hand the political system seeks to build diffuse support for the existing regime, for widespread attachment to established ways of doing things is a buffer against antagonisms aroused by specific outcomes. But on the other hand this same diffuse support for regime norms makes change difficult. When circumstances change so as to require new institutional forms, democratic governments need to know whether community attitudes will frustrate reform initiatives and, if so, how to change either the attitudes or the direction of the reforms so as to be implementable. The major significance of the Stephenson/Brown approach to the measurement of attitudes is the use of natural language in the selection of statements from which respondents shape their personal viewpoint. The researcher does **not remove the ambiguity of language** when preparing a Q-sort. The presence of ambiguity can account for the strength of the methodology, for it means that the research tool has 'requisite variety'.[2] The respondent is in control of the representation of his/her attitude to the extent that he/she can make the statements mean things that they do not mean to the researcher. This characteristic accompaniment of using natural-language statements provides an increase of variety of many orders of magnitude over choosing one's position along a predetermined continuum. The result is a very rich data source.

A final point concerns opinion polls, survey research and Q-methodology. These are not mutually exclusive categories of investigation but the differences are significant and not always immediately apparent. Survey research is most widely associated with the sample survey. Sample surveys provide a basis upon which to make statements concerning the distribution of certain characteristics (items, attitudes, or whatever) within a population. When samples are used rather than the whole population under consideration, reliability of results rests largely upon sampling methods being statistically valid, adequate sample size, and upon the choice of tests appropriate to the sampling procedures. Findings in the sample are then generalized to the population and, assuming correct procedures, the reliability of such generalizations is very high. Such generalizations concern the distribution of the measured items but say nothing as

[2]The term 'requisite variety' is now standard systems terminology but was originally associated with Ross Ashby. It refers to a situation in which enough response options are available to absorb and act on information concerning all relevant states in the matter in question *ie* that a control point embodies at least the amount of variety that is required to be effective.

to the truth or otherwise of the propositions implicit in the measuring instrument. Opinion polls demonstrate one use of sample surveys in political science. Q-methodology, on the other hand, says nothing about distribution. It is used to answer the question 'What are the various attitudes to a topic?, not 'How are they distributed in the community'? Q-methodology needs relatively few respondents. About 40 respondents, selected from widely different strata of society, are sufficient for the same attitudinal factors to reappear in a few typical combinations. A few politically-important issues may be covered by two attitudes (abortion, for example, was demonstrated by Brown to be such a case (Hensley, Baugh & Brown 1986)), but three to seven viewpoints are more likely.

Attitude profiles are not a replacement for opinion polls. They are labour-intensive to generate and therefore more costly per respondent, and for many matters of political interest, opinion polls are satisfactory, quick, indicators. But for matters of widespread social impact the relatively trivial evaluations which are elicited by polls are a weak foundation upon which to base policy decisions. Attitude profiles obtained by Q-methodology give more information. Q-methodogy is concerned with pattern recognition rather than scalar vectors and is therefore capable of encapsulating some of the complexity of attitudes as they exist in the real world of political phenomena, whereas scale measurement of attitudes requires so much narrowing down and refinement of concepts that **what can be measured** is often no longer interesting. Political science should be deeply involved in attitude research. Attitudinal information is important for the study of democratic governments because such governments rely on cultural legitimation to maintain support. Monitoring support for government policies is one reason for studying attitudes. Another is to apprehend the will of the people, and another is to evaluate possible avenues for change in society. Success or failure in these undertakings depends on the quality of attitudinal information available.

To conclude on a more general note, in our discipline, as elsewhere, the bulk of research flows to where there is methodology. Issues and subjects for which suitable methodologies are not available receive little attention, and there is much in political science that remains a mystery for this reason. On the other hand, quantitative analysis of election results and the linking of these results to socio-economic data receives much attention because data and techniques are available. The research imbalance is regrettable. There is much to be done in other areas of equivalent importance and conceptual constructs can be borrowed from other disciplines to assist us to expand our understanding in the area that has been of particular interest in this thesis: namely, attitudes; and the potential for computer-aided simulation of political culture.

My research conclusions concerning the Accord as a substantive issue are also steps toward the attainment of a broader objective, whose achievement may well span a decade: namely, to build and operationalise models for computer-aided simulation of political processes. My purposive goal was to find the means to make possible computer-aided simulation of political culture, and thus, in addition to the specific conclusions itemised above, I also draw the more general conclusions that *(i)* Easton's systems model is a suitable foundation upon which to build dynamic models of the political system, and (*ii*) data to operationalize a model of cultural aspects of the political system can be obtained through the Stephenson/Brown approach to attitude measurement. This measurement methodology has only recently been introduced to political science. If the attitudinal research were performed by persons who have also been exposed to the systems paradigm, then computer simulation of political culture would soon be with us, an inevitable by-product of theoretical advances in conceptualizing complexity in psychology and in society.

Given that western-style democracies operate by consent of the governed, the formation, maintenance, and change of political attitudes is of central concern to the governments of such countries. The quality of intellectual output is inevitably linked to the quality of the theories and models we use, and if political scientists are to redress the balance in policy influence as between themselves and economists, difficult theoretical and empirical questions must be faced. The present work makes a contribution towards the development of political modelling based on attitudinal data.

Appendix A

STATEMENT OF ACCORD BY THE AUSTRALIAN LABOR PARTY AND THE AUSTRALIAN COUNCIL OF TRADE UNIONS REGARDING ECONOMIC POLICY

(1) INTRODUCTION — WHY INCOMES AND PRICES POLICIES ARE NECESSARY

The parties to this Accord have discussed over a lengthy period of time the destructive nature of the current economic crisis and how it may best be resolved.

These discussions have led to agreement that for reasons set out below, such a resolution is not possible unless a radical new policy approach is adopted.

The parties have also agreed that no new policy approach, however radical and innovative will be capable of meeting, in the short-term, the parties' prime objective of full employment. Overseas and domestic factors continue to produce the sobering conclusion that while an alternative policy approach would enable a sustained recovery to occur and would reduce the plight of the unemployed no rapid solutions are to be found for a return to full employment. Continued application of policies such as set out in this document would enable attainment of currently unattainable objectives.

It is agreed that the fundamental feature of the prolonged and worsening economic crisis both here and overseas is that, for the first time in our history, we are experiencing simultaneously high levels of unemployment and inflation. This occurrence was not foreseen by economists and has caused great difficulty and uncertainty for Governments in all countries in determining an appropriate economic policy.

That difficulty is exemplified by the fact that, with inflation being high when unemployment is high, sustained economic recovery sufficient to restore and maintain a situation even remotely resembling full employment is not possible whilst reliance is placed solely on conventional economic weapons of fiscal, monetary and exchange rate policy, however varied and applied.

This is because economic recovery will soon lead to increased inflation, thus forcing the Government to adopt contractionary anti-inflation policies which will truncate the recovery and prevent any restoration of full, or even near-full employment.

The nation is thus caught in an unemployment trap, which if past trends continue, will grow worse as inflation tends to increase to even higher levels at any given level of unemployment.

It is agreed that this situation is one of paramount concern given the prime importance placed by both parties on the objective of full employment.

The continuance of widespread unemployment is abhorrent, and economic policies which rely on unemployment to control inflation are completely rejected.

In this regard, it is clear that the severity of unemployment and the recession has been considerably accentuated by the adoption of conservative economic theories, both in Australia and overseas, to resolve the economic dilemma.

Many countries, including Australia, adopted monetarist policies, on the assumption that they

would gradually bring inflation down to low levels, thus breaking inflationary expectations, and enabling a non-inflationary expansion of the economy to then occur.

In practice, monetarism proved disastrous, leading universally to spiralling unemployment and interest rates, low or negative economic growth, stagnant or declining living standards and continuing high inflation. In countries where the inflation and interest rates have recently begun to fall the cost has been further rises in unemployment and fall in growth and confidence, thus reflecting characteristics of a depressed economy. The Fraser Government's adoption of monetarism has, despite the offsetting influence on economic activity of the resources development in recent years produced similar results in Australia — we enter 1983 with official predictions of negative growth, double digit unemployment, double digit inflation and no sign of recovery on the basis of the continuation of current policies.

Nevertheless, not all OECD countries took the monetarist path. It is extremely significant that the countries which have managed to fare better in this time of economic adversity, particularly by keeping unemployment to relatively low levels, have been notably those countries which have eschewed monetarism and have instead placed substantial importance on developing prices and incomes policies by consultation.

It is with this experience in mind that both organisations have seen fit to try to develop a mutually agreed policy on prices and incomes in Australia for implementation by a Labor Government. Such a policy offers by far the best prospect of enabling Australia to experience prolonged higher rates of economic and employment growth, and accompanying growth in living standards, without incurring the circumscribing penalty of higher inflation, by providing for resolution of conflicting income claims at lower levels of inflation than would otherwise be the case. With inflation control being achieved in this way, budgetary and monetary policies may be responsibly set to promote economic and employment growth, thus enabling unemployment to be reduced and living standards to rise.

The parties do not accept the conservative charge that Prices and Incomes Policies will not work, since there are examples of their varying success. It also ignores that we can and have learned from experience in other countries where their operation was less successful and we can build upon that experience.

The longer term advantages of a Prices and Incomes Accord must be distinguished from the short sighted political expediency which the Fraser Government has sought to impose in the form of a wages freeze. If the freeze was fully implemented it would drastically reduce the purchasing power of wages, thereby greatly reducing the living standards of the vast majority of the population, yet no such sacrifice is being required of non-wage income earners. Furthermore, Government taxes and charges continue to rise and employers are free to increase their prices.

Such one-sided inequitable wages policies are completely repudiated by the parties to this statement as manifestly unfair; they promote industrial confrontation and they provide no effective resolution of the fundamental economic problem of achieving low unemployment and low inflation.

In contrast to the Fraser Government's assertion that a wage freeze will make more funds available for employment, the reality is that a reduction in demand, through severely reduced real incomes for most of the population, is bound to accentuate economic recession and increase unemployment. Additionally, when the freeze is over the original problem of achieving non-inflationary growth remains, and indeed, is made more difficult of achievement by the inequitable distribution of income resulting from the freeze.

The process of de facto incomes policies placing the major economic burden on low and middle income earners also takes place through Government taxation and expenditure policies. In both respects the Fraser Government's policies have considerably increased the inequity of that distribution.

In regard to both primary income distribution and secondary redistributive policies therefore the present Government has amply demonstrated that it does have a clear Incomes Policy and that it is a completely one-sided approach designed to achieve a considerably less equitable distribution of income, regardless of the industrial or economic consequences.

While a properly formulated and instituted Prices and Incomes Accord will overcome all the disadvantages of the simple notion of a wages freeze, the parties to this Accord appreciate that the policies embodied in this document do not pretend to be a panacea for all the current economic problems.

It is also recognised that for policies based on Incomes and Prices to work, within a framework of policy measures directed at alleviating unemployment and redistributing income and wealth to the less well-off, that a greater understanding of the complexity of the economy by key participants — Governments, employers, and unions will be required for the policy approach to realise its full potential.

The parties to this Accord are aware of the difficulties which abound in finding solutions which meet the social and economic goals to which both are committed. We state this difficulty not by way of apology but to indicate the understanding we share of the difficult task ahead, and the consequential importance of the shared commitment to facing those difficulties through humane policies based on consensus.

(2) THE NATURE OF PRICES-INCOMES POLICIES

The attainment of the objectives set out in this document demands a policy approach which involves the implementation of direct processes to ensure a reconciliation of conflicting income claims at lower levels of unemployment than currently prevail. To achieve this it is essential to develop policies applying to prices and all incomes. The parties have reached agreement that the objective of such an approach should be to protect the living standards of Australians including wage and salary earners and non-income earning groups. Over time those standards should be increased to reflect the distribution of improved output as measured by national productivity. Additionally agreement has been reached on the objective of effecting an equitable distribution of real disposable income. It is recognised that maintenance of, or improvement in, living standards may be secured through processes other than by simple money wage increases.

Both parties acknowledge the importance attached to the goal of maintaining and gradually improving the living standards of all Australians. The achievement of this goal via an incomes and prices policy approach will require a supression of sectional priorities and demands given economic realities and the priority placed by both parties on simultaneously reducing unemployment and the inflation rate.

This document sets out the details of policies which will be implemented when a Labor Government is in office.

In concluding that such policies are required the parties are naturally aware that all Governments have at least de facto policies in respect of incomes. Those policies often amount, as in the case of the LNCP Government, to placing the major economic burden of such policies on wage and salary earners, the unemployed and social welfare recipients.

Government taxation and expenditure policies also markedly affect the distribution of real disposable incomes. Traditionally LNCP Government's policies have considerably increased the inequity of that distribution.

Current and past policies of the Fraser Government are completely repudiated by the parties to this statement as manifestly unfair; they promote industrial confrontation and they provide no effective resolution of the fundamental economic problem of achieving low unemployment with low inflation.

In contrast to this approach, it is agreed that policies must be adopted which are comprehensive and equitable and based on co-operation, not confrontation. Accordingly, the policies detailed in this document have the following characteristics:

- They are agreed between the parties rather than imposed by the Government;
- They are comprehensive in that they cover prices, wages, non-wage incomes, taxation and the "social wage", that is, expenditure by Governments that affect the living standards of the people by direct income transfers or provision of services;
- They are concerned with the equitable redistribution of income as well as basic economic objectives.

Such policies provide the best chance of overcoming the appalling economic situation into which reactionary conservative economic policies have led the nation.

(3) ELEMENTS OF POLICIES FOR PRICES AND INCOMES

Both organisations agree that such policies must remain flexible to some degree but that there are various fundamental features of effective prices and incomes policies that are essential to its acceptance and continued viability.

These features are:

- The policies should aim to ensure that living standards of wage and salary earners and non-income earning sectors of the population requiring protection are maintained and through time increased with movements in national productivity.
- Government policy should be applied to prices and all income groups, rather than, as has often been the case, to wages alone.
- The policies should be designed to bring about an equitable and clearly discernible redistribution of income.
- There must be continuous consultation and co-operation between the parties involved.
- Government policy at all levels should be accommodating and supportive.

(4) AGREED POLICY DETAILS

PRICES

- A pricing authority will be established which will be given legislative criteria by which it must assess the validity or otherwise of price rises sought by corporations and the public authorities within its jurisdiction. It is considered unnecessary to attempt to regulate prices of all corporations if the large corporations, which are generally the price-setters in their industry, are subject to public surveillance.
- The legislative criteria will be designed to ensure that enterprises do not earn profits beyond levels necessary for the maintenance and the expansion of the enterprise, that real wages of employees are protected, and that unnecessary cost increases are not reflected in higher prices. In this regard the amount by which wages may increase beyond that warranted by increases in prices and national productivity will not normally be allowable as the basis of a price rise.
- The pricing authority will operate in a less legalistic manner than the former PJT so that cost to the corporations concerned, and the time involved in processing price rise applications, will be less than those which previously applied.
- The Trade Practices Legislation will be strengthened to promote more effective competition and to reduce the possibility of excessive prices through stronger regulation of mergers,

more effective outlawing of abuses of market power, tougher prosecutions against price agreements and additional protection for consumers against unfair practices.

WAGES AND WORKING CONDITIONS

The principles of wage fixation should be such as to provide wage justice to employees whilst seeking to ensure that wage increases do not give added impetus to inflation or unemployment. The maintenance of real wages is agreed to be a key objective. It is recognised that in a period of economic crisis as now applying that this will be an objective over time.

Accordingly it is agreed:

- A centralised system of wage fixation is desirable for both equity and industrial relations reasons and will be advocated by both parties.
- To protect the purchasing power of wages and salaries the adoption of a system of full cost of living adjustments will be strongly supported in tripartite consultations and before industrial tribunals.

  Where over-award payments exist the Government will support the maintenance of those levels in real terms to ensure consistency between paid rates and amounts paid under minimum rates awards.
- Wage and salary earners may share in increased national productivity through either increased real incomes or reduced hours of work, or an appropriate combination of both.
- In formulating claims for improved wages and conditions at the national level the unions will have regard to Government economic policy and will consult with the Government on the amount of such claims.
- Both parties recognise that if the essential conditions of the centralised systems are met that there shall be no extra claims except where special and extraordinary circumstances exist. The no extra claims provision will apply to both award and over-award payments.
- Bargaining based upon achieving increased productivity via changes in work practices or procedures as a means of reducing hours at negligible cost increases, will continue to be supported, provided the standards created are not in excess of community or emerging standards, and, if possible, involve the standardisation of hours within the enterprise or industry.

NON-WAGE INCOMES

Non-wage incomes include dividends, capital gains, rent, interest, directors' fees and incomes of unincorporated enterprises (doctors, lawyers, shopkeepers, self-employed builders and tradesmen, etc.).

In the absence of comprehensive prices and incomes powers there will be no federal power to directly control most of these incomes but a substantial array of indirect measures is available, the use of which could considerably influence the level of these incomes and ensure that they receive consistent treatment with other workers. These mechanisms should ensure that incomes of these groups in general do not move out of line with movements in wages and salaries.

Some such indirect measures are:

- The establishment of an effective prices authority will substantially influence the overall pricing structure of all companies and other enterprises in the same field of business.
- The effective application of the existing capital gains tax to catch speculators and tax avoiders will directly reduce the after-tax incomes of such people, and by providing some disincentive to speculative activity, will restrict the growth of such incomes pre-tax.
- The Companies Act and other appropriate legislation will be amended to prescribe that condi-

tions of appointment of company directors, including fees and other remuneration benefits, are disclosed in companies' annual reports, are subject to shareholder approval, and are taken into account by the pricing authority, along with senior managerial remuneration and benefit, when considering company applications for price rises.

- Proclamation of division 4 of the Financial Corporations Act would considerably extend the power of the Federal Government to regulate interest rates by bringing non-bank financial corporations into the sphere of interest rate regulation which currently applies only to banks. These regulatory powers would be used to prevent excessive profitability by such institutions. Interest rates would also be subjected to downward influences by the Labor Government's rejection of the tight money policies which are the hallmark of the Fraser Government's monetarist strategy.
- The establishment of a health insurance scheme incorporating measures to remove the ability of doctors to exploit patients through overservicing, use of unduly costly procedures and non-adherence to scheduled fees.
- Seeking the co-operation of State Governments. The States have unlimited constitutional power to control prices (except where they are controlled by the Federal Government), and their assistance will be sought in regulating prices charged by important sections of the non-corporate area.

If such indirect measures are proved to be inadequate and if there is agreement with the trade union movement, such constitutional changes which are necessary to effect a balanced and universal system of restraint on non-wage incomes will be sought.

TAXATION AND GOVERNMENT EXPENDITURE

- On taking office the Government will substantially restructure the income tax scale to ease the tax burden on low and middle income earners.
- In the context of a fully operational prices and incomes policy, the Government, in conjunction with the trade union movement, will annually review the tax scale so that the tax burden will not rise automatically with inflation. It is agreed that in the context of concerted Government action in respect of job creation less than full tax indexation may apply.
- The Government will adopt tough new measures to smash the tax avoidance industry, including:
  - — use of retrospective legislation against blatant tax avoidance schemes;
  - — provision of adequate resources to the taxation office and insistence on their rigorous application against tax avoidance and evasion;
  - — application of full penalties by the tax office against serious breaches of the tax law through tax avoidance or evasion;
  - — amendment of provisions regarding tax avoidance by transnational corporations through transfer pricing by substantially increasing penalties for such activity and establishing a code of conduct for TNC's operating in Australia, including a requirement to make available to the Tax Office all relevant information in relation to their pricing policies;
  - — closing off other avoidance schemes which have been either tolerated by the Fraser Government or ineffectively legislated against;
  - — deregistration of tax agents promoting tax avoidance schemes;
  - — the effective application of the existing capital gains tax to speculators and tax avoiders.
- Taxation of companies will be reformed to ensure that companies pay their fair share of tax on income earned in Australia and overseas by such measures as eliminating corporate tax

loopholes, abolishing the investment allowance as an across-the-board concession, and introducing a resource rent tax on the super profits of mining companies.

- The Government will endeavour to reduce the relative incidence of indirect taxation because of its regressive and inflationary nature.
- In the event that economic or social circumstances at some future date necessitate, in the view of the Government, a general rise in taxation, the Government will discuss this matter with the unions before seeking to give effect to it.
- It is agreed that redistribution of resources via improvements in community or welfare services may be financed, where appropriate, through the imposition of specific levies.
- The Government will aim to eliminate poverty by ensuring wage justice for low wage earners, reducing tax on low income earners, raising social security benefits and making other improvements to the social wage.
- Urgently required improvements in the social wage will be achieved through expanded Government expenditure on essential services and the social infrastructure as indicated in Labor Party policy. It is acknowledged that the extent to which such expenditure will be able to be increased will depend considerably on the Government's success in achieving a non-inflationary expansion of the economy, which in turn will be substantially influenced by the extent to which this prices and incomes policy is successfully implemented.

SUPPORTIVE POLICIES

The parties recognise that the development and implementation of a successful prices and incomes policy requires supportive policies in other areas of mutual interest. Both parties have devleoped policies in these areas. Although each party is not wedded to every particular policy prescription of the other, agreement has been reached with respect to the thrust of those policies and with respect to the priorities for implementation.

A number of policy areas have been the subject of consultation resulting in agreement as set out below. These areas are:

(a) Industrial Relations Legislation

(b) Industrial Development and Technological Change

(c) Immigration

(d) Social Security

(e) Occupational Health and Safety

(f) Education

(g) Health

(h) Australian Government Employment.

(a) Industrial Relations Policy

OBJECTIVE

The ALP and the ACTU agree that the objective of policy on industrial relations should be to improve industrial relations in Australia to the benefit of workers, employers and the public in general.

To realise this objective in the short-term it is agreed that a newly elected ALP Government should undertake a number of specific measures as a matter of priority.

SPECIFIC MEASURES

The ALP and the ACTU agree on the following priority areas:

- The Government will endeavour to create a better industrial relations climate by itself adopting and encouraging other employers to adopt a rational and less confrontationist approach to industrial relations. The Government will encourage the settlement of disputes between employers and unions by conciliation and without recourse to legislative or common law penal sanctions.
- The Government will establish, in consultation with the ACTU and employers, an Inquiry into the Conciliation and Arbitration Act and Regulations to conduct a total review of federal industrial legislation to improve that legislation. Within the review, priority consideration should be given to reform the laws relating to the internal affairs of unions to ensure the continued effective, efficient and democratic operation of unions.
- The Government will support the establishment of rights for employees, through their unions, to be notified and consulted by employers about the proposed introduction of technological change. The Government will also support the establishment of fair redundancy protection for workers including a requirement on employers to consult with unions in redundancy situations.
- The restrictive laws inhibiting the amalgamation of unions should be reformed.
- The Industrial Relations Bureau should be abolished and an independent Arbitration Inspectorate re-established.
- The Government will, in co-operation with the unions representing its own employees, take steps to bring about a better industrial relations environment in the public sector. As a first step, an ALP Government will confer with the union movement on a program for action guided by ALP and ACTU policies on Australian Government employment matters.
- The Government will consult fully with employers, and the trade union movement through the ACTU, before the introduction of new industrial legislation.

(b) Industry Development Policy and Technological Change

At a time of high and growing unemployment, an industry development policy is absolutely essential if the basic problems confronting Australian industry are to be faced. It is accepted by both the ACTU and the ALP that Australian industries are undergoing continuous change, due to a number of domestic and international factors. The process of change is extremely difficult in both economic and social terms. This difficulty is compounded by the inappropriateness of general economic management policies and the ad hocery and uncertainty of specific policies. The integration of industry devlopement into the prices and incomes approach to economic management is seen as an integral factor in maximising the viability over time of the prices and incomes policies. This is particularly highlighted by the priority accorded to full employment and hence the link between the demands of a changing industry structure and the most appropriate means by which we can work towards achieving the objective of full employment.

The ACTU and ALP have agreed on the importance of implementing a comprehensive industry development policy which reflects a number of key characteristics including those summarised below:

- the paramount objective of economic policy is the attainment of full employment. Industry development policy should be integrated with macro-economic policy to achieve this goal;
- it is agreed that the current economic situation and future trends demonstrate the hopelessness of policies which seek to attain full employment by use of market forces alone. Interventionist policies which are closely monitored and comprehensive in nature are necessary to bring about the growth which is required on a sustained basis if unemployment is to fall on a continuous path;

- fundamental to the interventionist policies required is a planning mechanism. This process will embrace consultative mechanisms of a widespread nature which will play a co-ordinated and ongoing role in assisting the success of the transition of the economy into a planned framework;
- both parties are committed to a diversified manufacturing sector (both regionally and industrially) as a means of achieving basic economic objectives. This will minimise the adverse effects of fluctuations in the values and volumes of our mineral, energy and rural production;
- industry policy must be based on an understanding of the need to develop a viable manufacturing sector which will generate greater links with other sectors of industry;
- emphasis of industry policy must be to integrate all sectors both private and public. Policies must address themselves to areas for growth potential not simply to sustaining declining or weakened industries;
- an important thrust of industry policy will be to concentrate increased manufacturing activity on the "producer goods" manufacturing area which includes not only "capital goods" but also "intermediate goods" used in the production of a wide range of goods;
- consultation is a key factor in bringing about change in industry. This consultation will be extended to industry, company and workplace level;
- there is no economic sense in reducing protection levels in the midst of high unemployment;
- in assessing our international competitiveness increased attention will be placed on a range of issues including:
  - — improved transport policy;
  - — improved administration of export market development;
  - — joint ventures;
  - — increased attention to orderly marketing schemes;
- recognition of the difficulties involved in generating sufficient production to absorb all unemployment and labour force entrants. Improvements must be made to our capital base;
- there is a need for the regulation of and increasing availability of finance necessary for investment purposes;
- employment training and retraining policies are part of essential labour resource planning which in turn will be integrated into the national economic planning processes;
- as distinct from the chaotic *ad hoc* and very damaging reliance upon pure market forces adopted by the Fraser Government for Industry policy, the ALP and the trade unions will work to have long-term objectives established with clear priorities, specific targets and flexible adjustments for change;
- it is agreed that adequate co-ordination of the ministries covering economic planning, industry and trade will occur, so as to effectively pursue those objectives, priorities, targets and adjustments.

Arising out of this statement agreement has been reached on a more detailed understanding of key issues which are reflected in the ACTU's Economic Policy and in a range of ALP policies including "Industry Policy", "Employment Policy", "Foreign Investment", "Sport and Recreation", "Small Business" and "Tourism".

Below we refer to basic priorities of industry policy for 1983, recognising the detailed elements of policy are consistent with the thrust of policy.

Planning Processes

Both the ALP and the ACTU support as a priority the institution of a planning structure which

will determine the way in which the national economy will generate growth on a sustained basis. A fundamental feature of this planning process is the need for:

- a national economic planning mechanism in which the prices and incomes structure has a defined role;
- industry level sectoral councils will be fully integrated into the national economic planning structure with a reformed Australian Manufacturing Council;
- appropriate tripartite consultation at specific industry levels will be introduced and developed over time;
- corporate consultation on a tripartite basis will supplement the other machinery to ensure total consistency in the planning process;
- the planning mechanisms will reflect the priority decided upon through widespread consultation.

Protection

The ACTU and the ALP recognises that Australian industry is subject to change and that the pace of that change may accelerate in the future. Consistent with the shared understanding that change must occur if growth is to ensue, it is agreed that industry policy must be applied in a manner which will facilitate change while minimising the hardship associated with such change.

Reflecting this view the parties agree:

- that neither current economic conditions, expected future trends, nor balance of payments constraints justify reduction in protection in the foreseeable future;
- that changes to protection in the future will be determined within the planning mechanisms in which unions and business will play key roles;
- where protection is reviewed increased emphasis must be placed on the need for business to account for or justify the distribution of the gains resulting from the maintenance of, or an increase in the levels of protection. In particular employment targets must be specified;
- the growing incidence of sophisticated, non-visible non-tariff barriers used by our trade competitors and the benefits which flow from such non-visible methods are noted;
- as a matter of priority the Temporary Assistance Authority's procedures and dumping investigations will be streamlined so that swift action can be taken by Government to offset the adverse effects of temporary losses of competitiveness.

Adjusting to change

The parties concur on the necessity for change to occur in Australian industry if growth is to be maximised in the longer term. The adjustment to change and the attainment of the objective of full employment will be more easily attainable if policies facilitating change are integrated with general economic policies via the planning mechanism.

Of particular relevance in the short term are the following initiatives:

- the alarming state of the labour market means that the generation of jobs and the provision of funds for employment is of fundamental importance;
- economic policy will assist industry development via the generation of jobs by both direct and indirect channels. To this end:
  - — industry sectors such as housing will be provided with funds to stimulate output;
  - — job-creation programs which are equitably administered will be introduced;
  - — access to finance for industry will be improved by increasing the availability of funds in Government industry finance institutions.

- the activities and role of the IAC will be reviewed. This will include the need for the IAC to ensure that the social effects of unemployment are included in all terms of reference.
- a comprehensive policy on training and retraining will be introduced as part of a social safety net essential to reduce the negative effects of change.
- the adjustment process and the planning mechanism will be assisted by the revelation of full and comprehensive information by transnational companies. The virtual unfettered actions of transnational companies will be regulated via a range of initiatives including:
  — evaluation of guidelines of the Foreign Investment Review Board;
  — the adoption of an international code of conduct for transnational corporations similar to those adopted by the ILO and OECD;
  — job protection and consultation procedures as outlined in this agreement on Industrial Relations legislation;
  — elimination of the substantial tax incentives now available to Australian industries to relocate in low tax countries;
  — a complete crackdown on transfer pricing by:
    ★ full utilisation of double taxation agreements to ensure that adequate information is available to the Tax Office;
    ★ increased resources to enable the tax office to adequately deal with this problem;
    ★ substantially increased penalites for engaging in tax avoidance through transfer pricing.

(c) Migration

The ALP and ACTU are in total agreement on the objectives of migration policy and upon the priorities that should be reflected in the implementation of policy upon the ALP assuming office.

Objectives —

The following general policy guidelines are endorsed by the ACTU and the ALP.

- Policies relating to population and immigration are of fundamental importance to the development and growth of Australian society.
- The future well-being of this country depends on the acceptance of the cultural, social and economic implications of a multi-cultural Australia.
- The need for a careful assessment of the numbers of people coming to Australia in order to balance the economic, social and humanitarian factors.
- Immigration is not a substitute for labour resource planning and employment policies.

Agreement on Priorities

It is agreed that the need to balance current economic environment and the state of the labour market and social factors means that the priority action required to reflect this balance are:

- that family reunion and refugee intake are of the highest priority in determining migration criteria;
- undertaking a review immediately upon becoming Government of the skilled labour intake, the Employment Nomination Scheme and the Working Holiday Visa Scheme.

(d) Social Security

OBJECTIVE

The ALP and ACTU agree that social security expenditures comprise a vital component of the

social wage, one which now or in the future is likely to affect the living standards of all trade unionists. The objectives of social security policy are to:

- maintain real standards, and improve them to the maximum feasible extent;
- extend provisions to redress gaps and anomalies in coverage;
- to foster social equity by striving to improve the relative position of the most disadvantaged; and
- redress anomalies in the availability of occupational welfare such as superannuation benefits.

SPECIFIC MEASURES

The ALP and the ACTU agree on the following priority areas:

- a major effect to restore the position of unemployment beneficiaries, who have been savagely discriminated against by the Fraser Government's policy of punishing its victims;
- extension and development of the automatic indexation provisions, to encompass payments not now subject to indexation and to speed up the flow through from movements in the Consumer Price Index;
- restoration of the relative value of pensions and benefits in line with movements in community incomes, with the specific objective of restoring the basic rate of 25% of average male earners;
- urgent action to restore the position of low income working families, through improvements in child care, extension of family income supplement to more realistic income levels and addition of a rent subsidy; and
- rationalisation of existing health and welfare services, particularly for the aged, as well as development of new institutional models attuned to regional needs.

FURTHER POLICY DEVELOPMENT

The ALP and ACTU recognise the inherent limits to improvements in the existing welfare system, and the need to develop new alternatives less subject to the vagaries of the annual budget process and conservative cost-cutting. An immediate priority will be consideration of the possible role for a national superannuation scheme; more fundamental change may need to involve the creation of a specific fund into which workers could contribute for their own personal and family security.

(e) Occupational Health and Safety

OBJECTIVE

The ACTU and ALP are in agreement that there should be improvements in the quality of the working environment in Australia, and that employers and unions should be directly involved in setting standards to guide such improvements. The two parties are in complete agreement as to how these improvements may be achieved. ACTU and ALP policy on occupational health and safety is predicated on the principles that the work environment needs to be adapted and designed to suit the needs of people working in it; that employers have a basic responsibility to provide a healthy, safe and stress-free work environment; that workers have a right to know what hazards they are exposed to; and that peak councils of unions and employers at a national level, and unions and union-appointed workers' health and safety representatives meeting with management in health and safety committees at local level, have the right to set standards of health and safety in the workplace.

SPECIFIC FACTORS

The basic means by which these principles are to be realised are:

- Involvement of employers and unions in setting health and safety standards at the national level,

through the establishment of a tripartite National Occupational Health and Safety Commission (NOHSC) responsible to the Minister for Employment and Industrial Relations;

- Enforcement of standards and regulations at national level within the Territories and in the sphere of Commonwealth Government employment, through the establishment of a National Health and Safety Office (NOHSO) to implement the decisions of the Commission;
- Involvement of workers and unions in monitoring and control of hazards at workplace level through the appointment of workers' health and safety delegates;
- Licensing of new chemicals at national level, according to principles and criteria to be developed by the Tripartite Commission, through the establishment of an Environmental Contaminants Authority (ECA) responsible to the Minister for Environment;
- Provision of hazard information, commissioning of research, and training of health and safety professionals, through the establishment of a National Institute of Environmental and Occupational Health (NIEOH) responsible to the Minister of Health.

The new bodies to be established will be Federal in character, and direct State involvement in their operation is seen as being essential to their success.

The two parties agree that priority should be given by an incoming Labor Government to establishing a framework through which unions and union-appointed health and safety representatives in places of Commonwealth Government employment may be involved in jointly monitoring and controlling workplace hazards with management. This framework will include the setting up of joint union-management health and safety committees in places of Commonwealth Government employment, in which workers' health and safety representatives will have the rights:

- to inspect the workplace at any reasonable time;
- to receive health and safety information from the employer and the Office;
- to represent workers in safety disputes or internal inquiries after accidents;
- to accompany inspectors on inspections of the workplace and receive a copy of any report that they may make;
- to prevent a continuation of work under unsafe or unhealthy conditions pending the arbitration of an Inspector;
- to be consulted on all changes in the workplace which affect health and safety;
- to initiate prosecutions in respect of breaches of regulations where the Office fails to act;
- for the workers' health and safety representatives to paid time off to carry out their duties, and to participate in relevant training programs provided by their union and/or TUTA or other appropriate courses approved by the union; and
- to require that management establish a health and safety committee.

(f) Education

OBJECTIVE

The ALP and the ACTU agree that the Price and Incomes Accord should embrace the area of educational opportunities. The agreed objective in this area is that educational opportunities and the real level of funding will be maintained and where feasible expanded.

SPECIFIC FACTORS

Reflecting this objective, the ALP and the ACTU note the ALP Program contained in the Education Plan announced in November 1982, and agrees to a number of specific commitments which are consistent with the policies of both organisations.

These specific factors are:

Fiscal priorities

- increasing retention rates at school level
- initiation of a new program to assist non-achieving students in primary schools
- remedying deficiencies in capital (buildings) equipment and recurrent funding levels
- raising participation rates in tertiary education
- developing programs to cope with technological change
- raising Australia's educational research effort
- maintaining the primary obligation of Governments to provide and maintain Government schools systems of the highest standard open to all children
- funding non-Government schools on a "needs" basis
- equal opportunity in all areas of education and training, with particular emphasis on:

  the provision of vocational training and retraining for young people and older workers who are disadvantaged in the labour market

  the establishment of an adult migrant education service on a permanent basis

  an early report and recommendations to be sought from the TAFE Council on policy and its implementation concerning equal opportunity for women, rural people and Aboriginals

  developing a youth policy which includes a commitment to work or training or education for all Australian youth.

Non-fiscal priorities agreed upon include:

- maintenance of independent advisory bodies for schools and tertiary education
- funding to be triennially based and retrospectively cost supplemented
- opposition to the payment of tuition fees in Government established institutions.

Future policy development

- The parties agree that an ALP Government should continue to develop policy in areas such as: Youth Policy; Migrant and Multi-cultural Education; Aboriginal Education; The level of TAFE Funding; A restructured Schools Commission; the issue of accountability for the use of funds where public funds are involved.
- Consistent with the thrust of the Prices and Incomes Accord it is agreed that ongoing discussions will be held by the parties on the implementation of Labor's three-year education program.

(g) Health

OBJECTIVE

The ALP and the ACTU are in agreement on the need for a simple, universal and equitably funded national health scheme. The two parties are in complete agreement as to how these improvements may be achieved.

SPECIFIC FACTORS

The major elements of this program will be:

1. Health Insurance Program

- A single public insurance fund to provide all medical cover and cover for basic public hospital accommodation and public hospital service coverage.
- Access to public hospitals without means test.
- Access to community health services without means test.
- Free pharmaceuticals for the unemployed.
- Concessional pharmaceuticals for those with chronic illnesses requiring regular medicine.
- Such a program to be funded by:
  - — an equitable levy of 1% on taxable income, with exemptions for pensioners on health benefit cards, the unemployed and low income earners; and
  - — a more equitable and efficient arrangement of the subsidies already in the system.
- Provision for those who wish to take additional cover for private treatment in a public hospital or accommodation in a private hospital, or who wish to take out ancillary health covers, to do so through the private health insurance funds.

The ALP and the ACTU recognise that such a policy will significantly reduce the cost of health cover for the great bulk of wage earners; and will contribute to the anti-inflationary policies of a Labor Government by reducing the CPI by two percentage points.

2. Expansion of Community Health Centres
   - Provision of a guranteed minimum proportion of the Block Health Grants to States for Community Health, to allow the development of integrated health services, health promotion programs and contraceptive services and advice. These services will be allocated to areas of greatest need; and
   - An immediate addition of $20 million to restore Community Health funding to the real level of funding in 1975.

3. Care of the Aged Program
   - Phase in a community Care Program with annual budget increments of $35 million, to more than double in three years the Commonwealth contribution to supporting the elderly at home. This funding to be used for provision of home nursing, para medical services such as chiropody and physiotherapy, home help, home aids, home maintenance and delivered meals.
   - Develop aged care facilities in Community Health Centres through a $10 million specific purpose grant, in addition to funds already allocated for Community Health. This funding to be used in part to develop dental and optometrical services for the aged.
   - Encourage the growth of the hostel sector as a greater proportion of the residential provision for the aged.
   - Encourage appropriate specialisation in the nursing home sector including separate nursing homes for major ethnic communities; and
   - Foster required regional services, in particular nursing homes, such as rehabilitation services and provision of respite beds.

(h) Australian Government Employment

In relation to its own employees, an ALP Government will give priority to the restoration of good industrial relations in consultation with the ACTU and representatives of the industrial organisa-

tions concerned. To this end, as a first step an early meeting will be held to determine a program of action for implementation based on ALP and ACTU policy.

Matters in relation to which a commitment to take action in accord with policy is understood include:

- A legislative program to restore rights to arbitration and protections withdrawn by the Fraser Government;
- Action to ensure staffing levels and resources are allocated rationally and are sufficient to meet workloads;
- Action to ensure appropriate workplace and union consultation on matters affecting employees.

The Australian Government employment sector will not be a pacesetter in establishing wage rates and cost-related conditions beyond conditions comparable in other public sector employment and in the private sector. However, the Government will ensure comparability of such conditions with the relevant State public sectors and the private sector fully consulting the industrial organisations concerned for their advice and guidance.

MECHANICS OF IMPLEMENTATION

There shall be a continuous consultation between the Government and the trade union movement in respect of these prices and incomes policies.

Specifically, the Government will:

- As part of its policy to establish detailed economic planning establish an Economic Planning Advisory Council on which the trade unions and employers will be represented. This body will advise the Government on planning procedures, prospective economic developments, and appropriate policies to achieve the Government's objective. Union membership of this Council will ensure a constant two-way flow of opinions and information, as well as providing awareness to both parties of the views of other key groups in the community.
- Establish a representative tripartite body which will have responsibility for advising on the Prices and Incomes Policy and for monitoring and discussing problems associated with the implementation of the policy and shall work in conjunction with the Economic Planning Advisory Council.
- Improve the current information base. The parties believe that relevant economic and industrial relations information should be accurate, up to date and available. Companies and public enterprises will be encouraged to make available to their employees and the relevant unions substantial details of their financial position, their assessment of future profitability and their investment and employment plans. The Government for its part will give a higher priority to the collection and publication of relevant statistical data and will seek to ensure that it is both reliable and current.

CONCLUSION

The totality of the task before the parties has been spelt out in detail in the first section of this document. Understanding the perspective in which the role of policies based on prices and incomes are placed, it nevertheless remains the strong view of the parties that both the unemployment rate and the inflation rate can be attacked by this new approach. While the pace of economic and social reform will be gradual, it will also be demonstrable in its continual application that over time economic and social aims can be and will be realised.

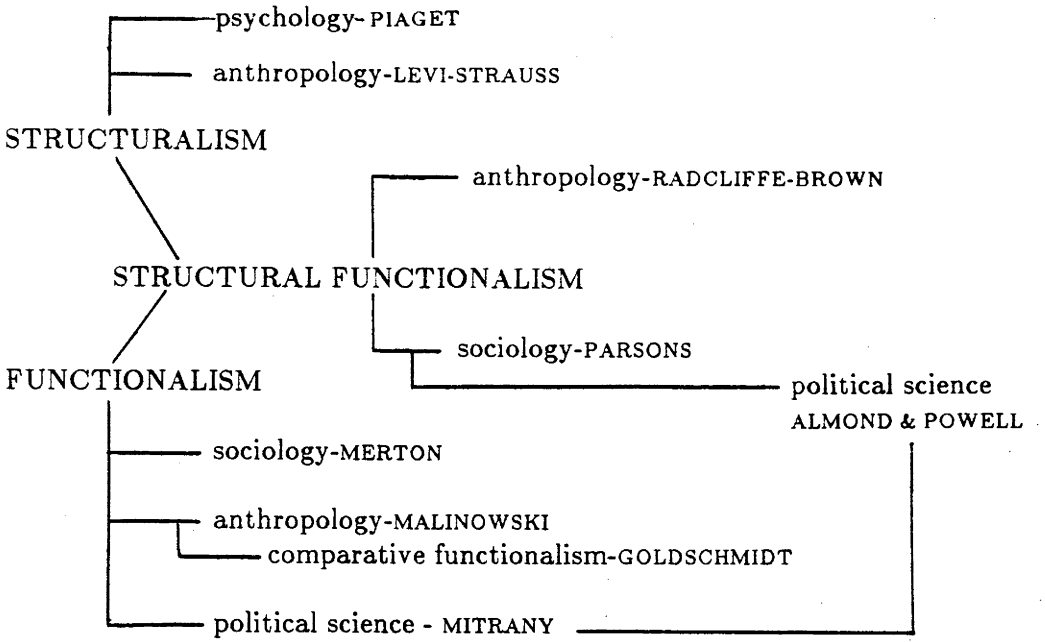
Appendix B

FUNCTIONALISM AND THE CONCEPT OF FUNCTION

Functionalism is discussed because in the systems analysis approach used in this thesis, based on the work of David Easton, all societies are said to have a subsystem which functions to provide an authoritative allocation of values. The concept of function is therefore a central assumption of the present work, and yet functionalism has been severely criticised. In addition, functionalism is the closest that many political scientists have come to general systems theory (GST) and discredit of functionalism may flow over to a disregard for GST for these people. It has been said that the 'intense and often vitriolic' critiques of functionalism in the 1950s and 1960s 'caused a sharp drop in the use of functional methods and theoretical concepts in both sociology and anthropology' (Turner & Maryanski 1979:108. See also the functionalism debate in *The American Sociological Review* Vols 23-25). Political Science was less committed to functionalism than sociologists so declining use of the concept was less evident, but the general flavour of a discredited theoretical approach can still be felt. It is necessary, therefore to distinguish the errors of functionalism from the concept of function used in this thesis.

Some functional theorists

Functionalism and its variants have been used in several social science disciplines. For the most part, functional analysis has been applied either to people as individuals (looking at their biological and psychological needs) or to society (as a means of studying its requirements as an entity). The following sketch provides an orientation to, and the name of a prominent scholar associated with, variants of a functional approach:



Structuralism in psychology is primarily associated with Piaget in his work on the development of fixed patterns of operation (structures) in the minds of children. In cultural anthropology structuralism is primarily associated with Claude Levi-Strauss who claims to discover universal elements in human nature, saying that basic characteristics of mind itself determine the possible varieties of social structure.

Functionalism in sociology: In Merton's famous statement, social actions reveal manifest functions, which are the objective consequences for the wider system, and latent functions, which are consequences that are unintended or not recognized (Social Theory and Social Structure, 1949:Ch.1). Merton's approach is in the behavioralist tradition. The concept of functionalism is a diagnostic tool which permits us to say '*It* does *this*' and make lists of several 'its' that do each 'this'. The contents of the resultant 'this' list are deemed to be the functions performed by the system under study.

Functionalism in anthropology: To Malinowski, functionalism concerns inate, biologically determined needs of individuals whose satisfactions are seen as setting the limits to cultural or social organizational variability (Abrahamson:26). His intellectual fight was against evolutionary theory and trait-diffusion analysis, faught with vehement commitment and colourful ways of expressing his ideas, to the extent that Davis says 'He was so extreme and careless in his statements that the critics of functionalism found him a convenient standard-bearer for that point of view. Whenever they needed a quotation to illustrate one of the fallacies of functionalism, they could usually find one in Malinowski's writings' (Davis 1959:769*fn*).

Goldschmidt's comparative functionalism points out that the patterns to be found in

institutional forms adopted by societies are best explained by looking at the similarities and differences in problems faced by societies and expressing these problems in functional terms. Whether our interest is in individuals or societies, it is more economical and illuminating to focus on the problem faced, rather than trying to discover some laws relating directly to the objective situation and the objective solution. For the number and variety of specific situations and of possible institutional arrangements is far larger than the number of functionally-expressed problems relating situation and solution.

Functionalism in political science: Mitrany's work presents a version of functionalism direct, as it were, into political science, in contrast to the majority of such influences which have come via sociology. His *The Functional Theory of Politics*, which is a set of essays and ideas developed in the 1930s and 1940s, uses a version of a functional approach in relation to international problems. Its specific objective is to counteract the then-predominant constitutional approach to the study of international problems, an approach which Mitrany felt was inadequate (Mitrany 1975). However, the ideas expressed by Mitrany are rather personal and do not constitute a coherent and separate strand of influential theorising about functionalism.

Structural functionalism is primarily associated with Radcliffe-Brown in anthropology and Parsons in sociology and thence to political science. Structural functionalism aims to set out the related role sets which constitute the structure which performs the function by which the system operates.

In Parsons' formulation the social system is distinguished from the cultural, personality, and biological systems and an abstract and transhistorical delineation of the major structural units of the social system is given which places heavy emphasis upon the normative relationships between these units (Mitchell 1979:87). Parsons developed his structural-functional perspective in a series of papers written between 1945 and 1948 and discussed it again in *The Social System* (1951:19-22) considering it to be explicitly 'a provisional method of theory building' and warned several times against achieving premature closure in sociological theory (Johnson 1975:19). Johnson also notes that Parsons no longer uses the term structural-functional although remaining a functionalist, saying that structure and function are on different levels of abstraction. Function is the more abstract term and refers to the conditions that must be met in order for systems of various types to operate effectively. Structure is a lower-level term that refers to particular patterned processes in particular systems (Parsons 1970:849).

Parsons aimed for a fully comprehensive theory of society but for Radcliffe-Brown, working in anthropology, functionalism was a working hypothesis which 'does not require the dogmatic assertion that everything in the life of every community has a function. It only requires the assumption that it may have one' (Radcliffe-Brown, quoted by Abrahamson 1978:42).

Functional analysis classifies social phenomena according to the purposes they serve or appear to serve, being called necessary conditions of existence, prerequisites, or essential functions. In most cases the writers have simply postulated them as necessities for system survival but in Parsons' scheme functional imperatives are used for analysis of the conditions of system stability and effectiveness, not merely system existence and survival.

Just what are the functional requirements for society is not a settled matter, with various lists on offer:

- According to Talcott Parsons the social system has four functional imperatives (1) Adaptation - the system must adapt itself to an environment (2) Goal attainment - the system must achieve collective goals (3) Pattern maintenance - the system must maintain control of tensions in the system (4) Integration - the system must integrate the diverse action of members of society. Each of these can be expanded individually, but also three of them can be considered subservient to pattern maintenance. Such is the perspective of autopoiesis.

- The opposite pole of the continuum is represented by James Grier Miller who specifies 19 essential functions for every kind of living system, including society. He ascribes sub-system status to the performance of each function. Thus every living system has (1) a reproducer subsystem (2) a boundary subsystem (3) an ingestor subsystem (4) a distributor sybsystem (5) an input transducer subsystem (6) and internal transducer subsystem (7) a channel and net subsystem (8) a converter subsystem (9) a producer subsystem (10) a subsystem for matter-energy storage (11) a decoder subsystem (12) an associator subsystem (13) a memory subsystem (14) a decider subsystem (15) an extruder subsystem (16) a motor subsystem (17) a supporter subsystem (18) an encoder subsystem and (19) a subsystem of output transducers. (See Miller 1979 for an analysis of what constitutes each of these in society.)

- Other schemata are given by anthropologists Levi-Strauss, Malinowski, Goldschmidt, Radcliffe-Brown and others; by sociologists Merton and Levy.

- Political scientists Almond and Powell nominate six political functional imperatives: (1) Interest articulation - the manner in which demands are formed (2) Interest aggregation - combining demands into courses of proposed action (3) Rule making - authoritative rule formation (4) Rule application - how the laws are interpreted, applied and enforced (5) Rule ajudication - applying rules to individual cases (6) communication -

> communication of the above activities within the political subsystem and from the political to other subsystems. These six are internal to the political system. Factors external to the political system, emanating from other subsystems operate as constraints and there are some system maintenance functions which Almond and Powell say occur outside of the political subsystem, specifically childhood and adult socialisation into the prevailing political culture and recruitment to political roles.

The question of what are functions of various social systems is not controversial in the usual sense of the word. People defend their preferred classification as being the most useful, without needing to strike down alternatives. They are all working hypotheses and if one of them proves to be as useful as calculus was for Newton, 200 years before the logical proofs of calculus were fully worked out, we shall be fortunate indeed. The diversity of functional requirements of society on offer at the present time does mean, however, that criticism of functionalism tends to be variant-specific.

A recent attempt to preserve the benefits of functionalism whilst avoiding its problems has led Kenneth Bailey to propose that we discard 'essential prerequisites for system survival' as the reference-concept for functional analysis. Instead, he suggests 'level of living and its macro-correlates' as the appropriate concept. He points out that mere survival of the system is just one value, or level, of existence. Mere survival is the lower limit in a range of levels of living.

Functionalists were really interested in higher levels of living, according to Bailey, and got into trouble because they did not have an adequate vocabulary for the task. He suggests that we should speak in terms of the the macro-variables which are correlated (either positively or inversely) with the level of living are: (1) population size (2) amount of space (area) within societal boundaries (3) the type of technology (4) the particular organization of work (degree of division of labor) and (5) the information level. (See Bailey 1982 for description of their functional relationships.)

Criticisms of functionalism

Attacks on functionalism have been frequent and extensive but 'much of the criticism has been directed at a straw man, an exaggerated version of functionalism that nobody advocated in the first place' (Abrahamson:37, drawn from William J. Goode, *Explorations in Social Theory*, Ch. 3, 'The empty castle'). However, a number of influential criticisms have been made of functionalism and structural functionalism and deserve to be examined.

The circularity criticism: tautology

It has been argued that in functionalism the causes of an activity are the end states

produced, and, hence, a consequence explains a cause, which is unacceptable (this view is taken by, for example, Dowse & Hughes 1972:76, and Turner and Maryanski 1979:123). One of the earliest and most influential criticisms along this line was that of Carl G. Hempel who drew attention to tautological arguments by some anthropologists in applying functional arguments (Hempel 1959:271).

Tautology criticisms often rest on confusing causal and functional relationships. Apparently some critics don't appreciate that there is any difference between causal relations and functional relations, notwithstanding that Durkheim, the man credited with introducing the functionalist method to contemporary thought, specifically talks of function as a distinct conceptual category from cause.

> *When, then, the explanation of a social phenomenon is undertaken, we must seek separately the efficient cause which produces it and the function it fulfils.* [That sentence is in italics in the original. Durkheim then goes on to distinguish outcomes from functions.]

"We use the word 'function' in preference to 'end' or 'purpose' precisely because social phenomena do not generally exist for the useful results they produce." (Durkheim 1966:95).

A functional relationship and a causal relationship are not the same thing. They are not two names for the same relationship. They both refer to patterned covariance, but the subset 'causal relations' identifies one-way, temporal, direct relations, conditions which are inapplicable to many relations that are of interest in human studies. Quite different causal chains may bring into being the two variables that are functionally related.

Durkheim's distinctions are observed in much functionalist writing but some critics persist in assuming that a causal relationship is meant when an author is speaking of functions. Having made that unwarranted assumption they then say that explanantion must be formulated free of reference to its outcomes. Since functional explanations do rely on reference to outcomes they must be invalid, according to such critics. This blind spot in political scientists and other social scientists is a barrier to the further development of functionalist and GST thought in the discipline.

Disregard of conflict

Functionalism has been criticised for assuming that entire systems are highly integrated and that they are seeking homeostasis, to the exclusion of the conflict and upheaval found in real life. Whilst it is not true that all functionalist approaches

disregard conflict it is nevertheless true that Parsons, who is often taken as the archytypal functionalist, does have a bias towards stability-seeking aspects. He focussed on value consensus and tended to regard conflict as pathological. Radcliffe-Brown, on the other hand, viewed divergent interests as built into the structure of society, as, for example in extended kinship groupings, and viewed pattered relationships as mechanisms for stabilizing the strife that ensued (Abrahamson 1978:41). It is quite consistent with functional theory that social interaction and structures themselves generate strains and conflicts as well as requiring their resolution. Lewis Coser wrote a book called *The Functions of Social Conflict* (Coser 1956) which has been reprinted a number of times, so this is not an obscure notion.

A related criticism, directed at usage rather than something inherent in the theory itself, concerns 'survivals'. These are aspects of the past which are still part of social structure but are not not serving any useful purpose for the society (somewhat analogous to the appendix in the human body). Gouldner says functionalists did not fully allow for survivals whereas if they had vigorously pursued possible instances of them it would have generated more interest in conflict (Gouldner 1960). This point has been well taken by those who use functionalist approaches today.

In summary of the criticism that functionalism disregards conflict, functionalism is not conceptually unable to analyze social change or social conflict, but exponents of functionalism have not, in general, used it to analyze conflict.

Functionalism is a-historical

Functionalism has also been criticised because it alledgedly does not, and cannot, portray the historical events leading to the present profile of a social system (Turner & Maryanski 1979:109).

For anthropologists the fact that functionalism has the ability to give an account of 'society as found' was precisely its value; anthropological researchers were often confronted with peoples who had no written historical records and oral history was in myth form. Functionalism provides a means for interpreting observed behavior by comparing how the society under study deals with basic human needs and environmental problems compared to other societies (*eg* Goldschmidt 1966). The lack of an historical perspective does not invalidate this approach.

The anthropological approach identified with Malinowski, however, assumes that 'social selection' has left each society with its unique and stable culture pattern.

'Explanations of why a part should exist in a comtemporary system involved the use of a 'social selection' mechanism: a part exists, in all probability, because it meets a system requisite or a need of individuals and hence had, and now has, selective advantage over other parts for the survival of individuals and the systemic whole' (Turner & Maryanski 1979:110). This might be a reasonable assumption in primitive societies but is rightly objectionable when dealing with advanced societies, and is fundamentally in error if claiming to be total explanation.

To accuse functionalism of a stringent disregard for historical information is a 'straw man' criticism anyway. It is doubtful that anyone would claim today that everything in a society is essential to its survival and functionalism offered a way of interpreting existing societies in the absence of historical information, but in no way denies the value of historical information when available. In the words of Radcliffe-Brown:

> There is not, and cannot be, any conflict between the functional hypothesis and the view that any culture, any social system, is the end-result of a unique series of historical accidents. The process of development of the race-horse from its five-toed ancestor was a unique series of historical accidents. This does not conflict with the view of the physiologist that the horse of today and all the antecedent forms conform or conformed to physiological laws, *ie* to the necessary conditions of organic existence. Paleaontology and physiology are not in conflict. One 'explanation' of the race-horse is to be found in its history - how it came to be just what it is and where it is. Another and entirely independent 'explanation' is to show how the horse is a special exemplification of physiological laws. Similarly one 'explanation' of a social system will be its history, where we know it - the detailed account of how it came to be what it is and where it is. Another 'explanation' of the same system is obtained by showing (as the funcionalist attempts to do) that it is a special exemplification of laws of social physiology or social functioning. The two kinds of explanation do not conflict, but supplement one another (Radcliffe-Brown 1935).

In summary, functionalism has often been used as an a-historical method of analysis, and used that way with intent. It does not deny the validity or usefulness of an historical approach.

Functionalism is politically and ideologically conservative

Dahrendorf and Lockwood wrote oft-quoted criticisms which take the view that the focus on order, stability and equilibrium makes functionalism conservative and implicitly legitimizes the existing order. They took no note of Merton's earlier assertion that because functionalism critically evaluates institutions according to current consequences it can exert radical influences by theoretical attacks upon traditional institutions (Merton 1957:40/41). Subsequent criticism has been unable to point out any inherent reason for functionalism to be conservative, but has suggested

that a radical version of functionalism is rather akin to Marxists approaches, and indeed Cohen is a Marxists who is using a functionalist framework (Cohen 1978)

It is true that some exponents of functional theories are politically and ideologically conservative and utilise the functional framework so as to support their positions but such bias is not intrinsic to the approach: the bias is to be found in the uses to which it has been put, not in functional theory itself. Parsons' *The Social System* has been the favourite '*bete-noir*' for this criticism. A conservative he clearly is, but even Parsons is not guilty of all that he is accused of (see Johnson 1975 to set the record straight). It is 'straw man' criticism to limit attacks to his early theoretical work, which was largely taken up with stability mechanisms. Even in this early writing Parsons states that consensus, stability and integration are only part of social reality. His scheme of analysis is capable of dealing with change, disruption, development etc but Parsons states that he will concentrate on the stability side of things. We surely cannot demand that authors cover every aspect of social reality in correct proportions in every work. The academic norm is to acknowledge the overall picture and then state which aspects will be the focus. One can therefore only assume that critics chose to ignore certain conventions of reading in order to support their personal perspectives concerning change and disorder, stability and value concensus.

Conclusion

As a general social science movement functionalism served a useful purpose, and then become redundant. Initially it served a useful purpose in counteracting a certain kind of evolutionalry theory, namely that evolution of living organisms and societies was along a fixed path; that the chain of developmental stages was inevitable, leaving merely the timing in question. Functionalism and structural functionalist approaches pointed up the inadequacy of such claims by showing that many different structures exist to perform the same function and that all societies would not look the same when they were fully developed (whatever that might mean). Having suceeded in correcting the excesses of some evolutionists, proponents of functionalism developed some faults and excesses of their own and were subjected to scrutiny and attack. Now a new reconcilliation with evolutionary ideas is possible in contingent evolution, but that lies outside the scope of the present work. We are primarily concerned with function as the concept that identifies the relationship between a system and its subsystems.

Appendix C

JINNI OUTPUT ACCORD Q-SORTS BY 60 PERSONS;OBLIQUE ROTATION;6 FACTORS

MATRIX OF FACTOR LOADINGS
(X = PURELY DEFINING VARIATE)

IND1	0.80601X	-0.16278	0.22983	-0.30817	0.15039	-0.16037
IND2	0.62799	-0.01135	-0.15701	-0.64398X	0.07952	-0.09341
IND3	0.78873X	-0.22012	-0.09957	-0.02161	0.05157	-0.27899
IND4	-0.01785	0.32433	-0.11003	0.00905	0.10699	0.63145X
IND5	0.34237	-0.30950	-0.05840	-0.69601X	-0.32264	-0.24394
IND6	0.52449	-0.19784	-0.60811X	-0.25802	-0.13567	-0.14870
IND7	-0.01210	-0.07977	0.05157	0.03494	0.80129X	0.24266
IND8	0.75450X	-0.19730	-0.00096	-0.39407	-0.07503	-0.15146
IND9	-0.02638	0.81200X	-0.11157	-0.11348	-0.00467	0.25122
IND10	0.59129	-0.11158	-0.41423	-0.27647	0.05228	-0.04183
IND11	0.35602	0.25351	-0.03676	-0.70006X	-0.05225	-0.19123
IND12	-0.06622	0.45226	-0.24597	0.17167	0.59305	0.16110
IND13	0.20484	0.46446	-0.27290	0.25794	0.38111	0.44448
IND14	0.78054X	-0.34437	0.15176	-0.34085	-0.08460	-0.20230
IND15	-0.24276	0.47921	-0.28247	0.17106	0.20527	0.15516
IND16	0.07778	-0.31468	-0.15348	-0.72982X	0.03557	0.20853
IND17	-0.44916X	0.49134	-0.08931	0.14853	0.57094	0.33527
IND18	0.70455X	0.08696	0.10983	-0.15635	-0.07354	-0.02793
IND19	0.58957X	-0.13932	-0.07846	-0.17170	-0.24949	-0.00257
IND20	0.63881	-0.43140	0.09582	-0.40318	0.12232	-0.25432
IND21	0.66677X	-0.11460	-0.13639	-0.32795	0.19822	-0.21266
IND22	0.64702X	-0.39522	-0.15672	-0.38039	-0.13766	-0.06636
IND23	0.19769	0.59940X	-0.23358	0.07898	-0.07016	0.18775
IND24	-0.04410	0.03756	0.44451X	-0.24656	0.26532	-0.08497
IND25	0.65335	-0.04151	0.37471	0.02214	0.50020	0.04206
IND26	0.38201	-0.36844	0.15149	-0.12302	-0.06236	-0.29070
IND27	0.48933	-0.48640	0.25573	-0.37133	0.01149	-0.10412
IND28	0.16717	-0.54434X	0.25848	0.03731	-0.07765	-0.21101
IND29	0.63860	0.09277	-0.17428	-0.13576	0.04903	0.25647
IND30	-0.09822	0.09418	-0.13372	0.03374	0.01458	0.52485
IND31	0.51897	-0.11001	0.21837	-0.17951	-0.15116	0.06749
IND32	-0.03878	0.09409	-0.05342	-0.18337	0.07657	0.37369
IND33	0.01828	-0.16922	0.38791	-0.61004	0.06700	-0.28813
IND34	0.14985	-0.20174	0.41225	-0.37227	-0.20787	0.13346
IND35	0.14543	-0.05145	0.11262	-0.00938	0.68727X	0.04575
IND36	0.18680	0.03846	0.47728	-0.45515	0.16493	0.15150
IND37	0.61562	0.12750	0.19629	-0.25360	0.11690	-0.06278
IND38	0.61577	-0.27182	0.16529	-0.31875	0.23757	-0.01479
IND39	0.55628	0.49865	0.00220	-0.01356	0.29562	0.10781
IND40	0.27181	0.10261	-0.04259	-0.33638	0.30829	-0.08337
IND41	0.49077	-0.34464	0.30636	-0.12922	-0.12478	-0.21325
IND42	0.23849	-0.31597	0.21456	0.36150	0.33278	-0.25396
IND43	0.12916	-0.27298	-0.19803	-0.12179	0.04934	0.53835
IND44	0.39426	-0.06942	-0.10790	-0.21685	0.12309	-0.26168
IND45	0.36000	-0.16840	0.01939	-0.19456	-0.38345	0.04808
IND46	-0.30299	0.17127	0.02762	0.05968	0.24525	0.53329
IND47	0.65211	-0.13898	0.10477	-0.19273	0.00333	0.03372
IND48	0.30227	-0.09756	-0.24433	-0.27031	-0.08395	-0.06844
IND49	0.51161	-0.16067	0.14204	-0.12430	0.00091	-0.01701
IND50	0.18489	0.06446	-0.48035	-0.47970	0.14520	0.17702
IND51	-0.08404	0.11749	-0.61986X	-0.05572	-0.02051	0.33902
IND52	-0.18937	0.25561	-0.73737X	-0.05083	-0.15387	0.09764
IND53	0.50590	-0.47775	-0.20908	-0.24644	-0.07658	0.16748
IND54	0.53473	-0.15058	0.00310	-0.71412X	-0.11729	0.03911
IND55	0.42883	-0.11092	-0.17651	-0.49603	0.24629	0.19123
IND56	0.09224	0.13940	0.15702	0.09788	0.22602	0.69613X
IND57	-0.02796	0.23846	0.29040	-0.12331	0.67896X	-0.02175
IND58	0.05357	0.72100X	0.31790	0.09322	0.33951	-0.02606
IND59	0.62901X	0.05262	-0.26469	-0.41098	-0.16247	-0.46183
IND60	0.75722X	0.08234	-0.32225	-0.18888	-0.12897	-0.12556

Z-TRANSFORMATION OF FACTOR MATRIX

	FACTORS					
VARIABLE	1	2	3	4	5	6
1	1.0986	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000
2	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	-0.7582	0.0000	0.0000
3	1.0714	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000
4	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.7414
5	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	-0.8673	0.0000	0.0000
6	0.0000	0.0000	-0.7089	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000
7	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	1.0986	0.0000
8	0.9730	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000
9	0.0000	1.1270	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000
10	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000
11	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	-0.8673	0.0000	0.0000
12	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000
13	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000
14	1.0454	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000
15	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000
16	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	-0.9287	0.0000	0.0000
17	-0.4847	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000
18	0.8673	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000
19	0.6777	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000
20	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000
21	0.8107	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000
22	0.7753	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000
23	0.0000	0.6931	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000
24	0.0000	0.0000	0.4722	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000
25	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000
26	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000
27	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000
28	0.0000	-0.6042	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000
29	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000
30	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000
31	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000
32	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000
33	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000
34	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000
35	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.8480	0.0000
36	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000
37	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000
38	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000
39	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000
40	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000
41	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000
42	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000
43	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000
44	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000
45	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000
46	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000
47	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000
48	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000
49	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000
50	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000
51	0.0000	0.0000	-0.7250	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000
52	0.0000	0.0000	-0.9505	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000
53	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000
54	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	-0.8872	0.0000	0.0000
55	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000
56	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.8673
57	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.8291	0.0000
58	0.0000	0.8872	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000
59	0.7414	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000
60	0.9962	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000

MATRIX OF FACTOR WEIGHTS
(NON-DEFINING VARIATES = 0.0)

	FACTORS					
VARIABLE	1	2	3	4	5	6
1	2.2222	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000
2	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	-1.0840	0.0000	0.0000
3	2.1016	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000
4	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	1.0446
5	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	-1.3725	0.0000	0.0000
6	0.0000	0.0000	-0.9715	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000
7	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	2.2222	0.0000
8	1.7143	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000
9	0.0000	2.3553	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000
10	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000
11	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	-1.3725	0.0000	0.0000
12	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000
13	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000
14	1.9918	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000
15	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000
16	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	-1.5628	0.0000	0.0000
17	-0.5643	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000
18	1.3725	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000
19	0.9050	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000
20	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000
21	1.2158	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000
22	1.1255	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000
23	0.0000	0.9375	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000
24	0.0000	0.0000	0.5456	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000
25	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000
26	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000
27	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000
28	0.0000	-0.7623	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000
29	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000
30	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000
31	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000
32	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000
33	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000
34	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000
35	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	1.3170	0.0000
36	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000
37	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000
38	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000
39	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000
40	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000
41	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000
42	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000
43	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000
44	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000
45	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000
46	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000
47	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000
48	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000
49	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000
50	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000
51	0.0000	0.0000	-1.0071	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000
52	0.0000	0.0000	-1.6357	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000
53	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000
54	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	-1.4317	0.0000	0.0000
55	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000
56	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	1.3725
57	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	1.2649	0.0000
58	0.0000	1.4317	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000
59	1.0446	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000
60	1.7992	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000

NORMALIZED FACTOR SCORES AND RANK ORDERINGS

STATEMENT NO.	FACTOR 1	FACTOR 2	FACTOR 3	FACTOR 4	FACTOR 5	FACTOR 6
1	−1.773 31	−0.195 17	−0.049 17	1.685 3	0.693 7	−1.523 30
2	−1.300 29	−0.788 26	−0.300 22	0.784 6	−1.331 29	−0.865 24
3	0.941 8	−0.005 14	−0.108 20	−0.246 21	0.017 17	−0.636 21
4	1.282 4	−1.822 30	−0.205 21	0.071 14	−0.656 23	−0.657 22
5	−0.969 26	0.839 5	0.362 14	1.063 5	0.690 11	0.886 7
6	−0.454 18	−0.461 22	−1.862 30	0.078 13	−0.726 24	0.503 11
7	1.200 28	−0.613 24	−1.437 28	0.464 9	−0.050 20	0.443 12
8	1.060 7	−0.285 20	0.448 12	−1.153 27	1.027 5	−0.468 19
9	0.068 15	−0.943 27	0.676 9	−0.013 17	0.690 11	−1.367 29
10	0.744 11	0.350 10	0.396 13	−0.361 22	0.085 14	−1.067 27
11	0.850 9	0.248 12	−0.108 20	−0.451 23	0.690 11	1.869 2
12	1.753 1	0.313 11	−0.415 23	−2.035 31	0.986 6	−0.911 25
13	−0.620 20	−0.264 19	1.769 1	−0.018 19	1.703 2	2.097 1
14	1.212 5	−2.225 31	0.301 15	0.142 12	−0.591 21	0.131 13
15	−1.693 30	−0.049 15	0.816 6	1.720 2	1.027 5	−0.612 20
16	−0.995 27	1.058 4	1.370 3	0.030 16	2.264 1	0.840 8
17	0.741 12	0.823 6	−2.315 31	−1.973 30	−1.556 30	0.093 14
18	0.020 16	−1.372 29	−0.502 24	−0.626 26	0.690 11	0.033 16
19	−0.831 23	−0.301 21	1.600 2	−0.487 24	0.017 18	1.042 5
20	1.291 3	1.899 3	−1.274 26	−1.352 28	0.085 14	0.731 9
21	−0.853 24	−0.076 16	0.699 8	0.702 7	−2.229 31	−1.256 28
22	−0.739 22	0.043 13	−1.760 29	1.241 4	1.363 3	0.586 10
23	0.070 14	0.816 7	1.045 4	2.157 1	−0.992 27	1.342 3
24	−0.967 25	1.926 2	−0.049 17	0.296 10	0.017 17	0.959 6
25	−0.696 21	0.799 8	−1.279 27	0.227 11	0.085 14	0.047 15
26	−0.050 17	0.733 9	0.788 7	−0.577 25	−1.329 28	−0.696 23
27	0.241 13	−0.263 18	0.584 10	−1.849 29	−0.992 27	−0.924 26
28	−0.501 19	−0.509 23	−0.510 25	−0.160 20	−0.992 27	0.002 18
29	0.808 10	−0.759 25	0.524 11	0.037 15	−0.050 20	−1.894 31
30	1.374 2	−1.044 28	0.900 5	−0.017 18	0.017 17	0.002 18
31	1.185 6	2.128 1	−0.108 20	0.620 8	−0.656 23	1.270 4

CORRELATIONS BETWEEN FACTORS

	1	2	3	4	5	6
1	1.0000	−0.0677	−0.0723	−0.5869	−0.1167	−0.0600
2	−0.0677	1.0000	−0.1045	−0.0201	0.0546	0.3806
3	−0.0723	−0.1045	1.0000	0.1778	0.2075	−0.0007
4	−0.5869	−0.0201	0.1778	1.0000	0.0576	0.1007
5	−0.1167	0.0546	0.2075	0.0576	1.0000	0.2496
6	−0.0600	0.3806	−0.0007	0.1007	0.2496	1.0000

DESCENDING ARRAY OF Z-SCORES AND ITEM DESCRIPTIONS FOR **FACTOR ONE**

12	Objectives of unions are not only wages:alt policies	1.753
30	Important new era in industrial relations	1.374
20	Groups can influence govt expenditure	1.291
4	Social wage aspects of the Accord benefit everyone	1.282
14	Centralised wage fixing objective	1.212
31	Accord provides a radically expanded role for unions	1.185
8	Commitment to work in support of the Accord	1.060
3	Intervention improves the position of labour	0.941
11	Union reps should try to involve members	0.850
29	There will be a long run benefit from the Accord	0.808
10	Say in new direction of economic policy	0.744
17	Free education and medical care for everyone	0.741
27	Prices and Incomes policies reduce unemployment	0.241
23	Full employment is a thing of the past	0.070
9	Each person has a part to play	0.068
18	We must get away from narrow electioneering	0.020
26	Prosperity more likely if P & I policies stay	-0.050
6	Consensus is not possible between classes	-0.454
28	Prices and Incomes policies benefit the tall poppies	-0.501
13	If we don't pull together, we'll tear this country apt	-0.620
25	The Accord is part of business+govt mechanisms	-0.696
22	Recession will continue, with or without the Accord	-0.739
19	The ordinary person can't influence govt	-0.831
21	Australia will do allright with or without Accord	-0.853
24	Bargaining is better than any Accord	-0.967
5	It will cause a split into haves and have nots	-0.969
16	Too much redistribution removes incentive	-0.995
7	The Accord is a backward step; it upholds capitalism	-1.200
2	Revolutionise, not make deals with government	-1.300
15	Life's purpose is to do the best for ourselves	-1.693
1	The Accord was just an election gimmick	-1.773

DESCENDING ARRAY OF Z-SCORES AND ITEM DESCRIPTIONS FOR **FACTOR TWO**

31	Accord provides a radically expanded role for unions	2.128
24	Bargaining is better than any Accord	1.926
20	Groups can influence govt expenditure	1.899
16	Too much redistribution removes incentive	1.058
5	It will cause a split into haves and have nots	0.839
17	Free education and medical care for everyone	0.823
23	Full employment is a thing of the past	0.816
25	The Accord is part of business+govt mechanisms	0.799
26	Prosperity more likely if P & I policies stay	0.733
10	Say in new direction of economic policy	0.350
12	Objectives of unions are not only wages:alt policies	0.313
11	Union reps should try to involve members	0.248
22	Recession will continue, with or without the Accord	0.043
3	Intervention improves the position of labour	-0.005
15	Life's purpose is to do the best for ourselves	-0.049
21	Australia will do allright with or without Accord	-0.076
1	The Accord was just an election gimmick	-0.195
27	Prices and Incomes policies reduce unemployment	-0.263
13	If we don't pull together, we'll tear this country apt	-0.264
8	Commitment to work in support of the Accord	-0.285
19	The ordinary person can't influence govt	-0.301
6	Consensus is not possible between classes	-0.461
28	Prices and Incomes policies benefit the tall poppies	-0.509
7	The Accord is a backward step; it upholds capitalism	-0.613
29	There will be a long run benefit from the Accord	-0.759
2	Revolutionise, not make deals with government	-0.788
9	Each person has a part to play	-0.943
30	Important new era in industrial relations	-1.044
18	We must get away from narrow electioneering	-1.372
4	Social wage aspects of the Accord benefit everyone	-1.822
14	Centralised wage fixing objective	-2.225

DESCENDING ARRAY OF Z-SCORES AND ITEM DESCRIPTIONS FOR **FACTOR THREE**

13	If we don't pull together, we'll tear this country apt	1.769
19	The ordinary person can't influence govt	1.600
16	Too much redistribution removes incentive	1.370
23	Full employment is a thing of the past	1.045
30	Important new era in industrial relations	0.900
15	Life's purpose is to do the best for ourselves	0.816
26	Prosperity more likely if P & I policies stay	0.788
21	Australia will do allright with or without Accord	0.699
9	Each person has a part to play	0.676
27	Prices and Incomes policies reduce unemployment	0.584
29	There will be a long run benefit from the Accord	0.524
8	Commitment to work in support of the Accord	0.448
10	Say in new direction of economic policy	0.396
5	It will cause a split into haves and have nots	0.362
14	Centralised wage fixing objective	0.301
24	Bargaining is better than any Accord	-0.049
1	The Accord was just an election gimmick	-0.049
3	Intervention improves the position of labour	-0.108
11	Union reps should try to involve members	-0.108
31	Accord provides a radically expanded role for unions	-0.108
4	Social wage aspects of the Accord benefit everyone	-0.205
2	Revolutionise, not make deals with government	-0.300
12	Objectives of unions are not only wages:alt policies	-0.415
18	We must get away from narrow electioneering	-0.502
28	Prices and Incomes policies benefit the tall poppies	-0.510
20	Groups can influence govt expenditure	-1.274
25	The Accord is part of business+govt mechanisms	-1.279
7	The Accord is a backward step; it upholds capitalism	-1.437
22	Recession will continue, with or without the Accord	-1.760
6	Consensus is not possible between classes	-1.862
17	Free education and medical care for everyone	-2.315

DESCENDING ARRAY OF Z-SCORES AND ITEM DESCRIPTIONS FOR **FACTOR FOUR**

23	Full employment is a thing of the past	2.157
15	Life's purpose is to do the best for ourselves	1.720
1	The Accord was just an election gimmick	1.685
22	Recession will continue, with or without the Accord	1.241
5	It will cause a split into haves and have nots	1.063
2	Revolutionise, not make deals with government	0.784
21	Australia will do allright with or without Accord	0.702
31	Accord provides a radically expanded role for unions	0.620
7	The Accord is a backward step; it upholds capitalism	0.464
24	Bargaining is better than any Accord	0.296
25	The Accord is part of business+govt mechanisms	0.227
14	Centralised wage fixing objective	0.142
6	Consensus is not possible between classes	0.078
4	Social wage aspects of the Accord benefit everyone	0.071
29	There will be a long run benefit from the Accord	0.037
16	Too much redistribution removes incentive	0.030
9	Each person has a part to play	-0.013
30	Important new era in industrial relations	-0.017
13	If we don't pull together, we'll tear this country apt	-0.018
28	Prices and Incomes policies benefit the tall poppies	-0.160
3	Intervention improves the position of labour	-0.246
10	Say in new direction of economic policy	-0.361
11	Union reps should try to involve members	-0.451
19	The ordinary person can't influence govt	-0.487
26	Prosperity more likely if P & I policies stay	-0.577
18	We must get away from narrow electioneering	-0.626
8	Commitment to work in support of the Accord	-1.153
20	Groups can influence govt expenditure	-1.352
27	Prices and Incomes policies reduce unemployment	-1.849
17	Free education and medical care for everyone	-1.973
12	Objectives of unions are not only wages:alt policies	-2.035

[1]Factor 3 has been removed from balance of the Appendix as it was not used for interpretation in the main body of the text.

DESCENDING ARRAY OF Z-SCORES AND ITEM DESCRIPTIONS FOR **FACTOR FIVE**

16	Too much redistribution removes incentive	2.264
13	If we don't pull together, we'll tear this country apt	1.703
22	Recession will continue, with or without the Accord	1.363
8	Commitment to work in support of the Accord	1.027
15	Life's purpose is to do the best for ourselves	1.027
12	Objectives of unions are not only wages:alt policies	0.986
1	The Accord was just an election gimmick	0.693
9	Each person has a part to play	0.690
11	Union reps should try to involve members	0.690
5	It will cause a split into haves and have nots	0.690
18	We must get away from narrow electioneering	0.690
10	Say in new direction of economic policy	0.085
20	Groups can influence govt expenditure	0.085
25	The Accord is part of business+govt mechanisms	0.085
3	Intervention improves the position of labour	0.017
24	Bargaining is better than any Accord	0.017
30	Important new era in industrial relations	0.017
19	The ordinary person can't influence govt	0.017
7	The Accord is a backward step; it upholds capitalism	-0.050
29	There will be a long run benefit from the Accord	-0.050
14	Centralised wage fixing objective	-0.591
4	Social wage aspects of the Accord benefit everyone	-0.656
31	Accord provides a radically expanded role for unions	-0.656
6	Concensus is not possible between classes	-0.726
27	Prices and Incomes policies reduce unemployment	-0.992
28	Prices and Incomes policies benefit the tall poppies	-0.992
23	Full employment is a thing of the past	-0.992
26	Prosperity more likely if P & I policies stay	-1.329
2	Revolutionise, not make deals with government	-1.331
17	Free education and medical care for everyone	-1.556
21	Australia will do allright with or without Accord	-2.229

DESCENDING ARRAY OF Z-SCORES AND ITEM DESCRIPTIONS FOR **FACTOR SIX**

13	If we don't pull together, we'll tear this country apt	2.097
11	Union reps should try to involve members	1.869
23	Full employment is a thing of the past	1.342
31	Accord provides a radically expanded role for unions	1.270
19	The ordinary person can't influence govt	1.042
24	Bargaining is better than any Accord	0.959
5	It will cause a split into haves and have nots	0.886
16	Too much redistribution removes incentive	0.840
20	Groups can influence govt expenditure	0.731
22	Recession will continue, with or without the Accord	0.586
6	Consensus is not possible between classes	0.503
7	The Accord is a backward step; it upholds capitalism	0.443
14	Centralised wage fixing objective	0.131
17	Free education and medical care for everyone	0.093
25	The Accord is part of business+govt mechanisms	0.047
18	We must get away from narrow electioneering	0.033
28	Prices and Incomes policies benefit the tall poppies	0.002
30	Important new era in industrial relations	0.002
8	Commitment to work in support of the Accord	-0.468
15	Life's purpose is to do the best for ourselves	-0.612
3	Intervention improves the position of labour	-0.636
4	Social wage aspects of the Accord benefit everyone	-0.657
26	Prosperity more likely if P & I policies stay	-0.696
2	Revolutionise, not make deals with government	-0.865
12	Objectives of unions are not only wages:alt policies	-0.911
27	Prices and Incomes policies reduce unemployment	-0.924
10	Say in new direction of economic policy	-1.067
21	Australia will do allright with or without Accord	-1.256
9	Each person has a part to play	-1.367
1	The Accord was just an election gimmick	-1.523
29	There will be a long run benefit from the Accord	-1.894

DIFFERENCES BETWEEN **FACTORS 1 AND 2**

(Some statements are abbreviated)

		1	2	DIFF.
14	Centralised wage fixing is the best way to look after weaker sections of the workforce.	1.212	-2.225	3.437
4	Social wage aspects of the Accord benefit everyone.	1.282	-1.822	3.104
30	The signing of the Accord marks an important new era of economic and social reform for Australia.	1.374	-1.044	2.417
29	There will be a long run benefit from the Accord.	0.808	-0.759	1.567
12	Wages and conditions are not the only things unions should be thinking about; they should also mobilise to achieve alternative policies on employment and development, as set out in the Accord.	1.753	0.313	1.440
18	To achieve social progress we must get way from the present narrow, pointscoring, electioneering.	0.020	-1.372	1.392
8	The Accord will work to our advantage if we canvass and support agreements reached within it.	1.060	-0.285	1.345
9	Each of us has a part to play in making the Accord work for the good of Australia.	0.068	-0.943	1.011
3	The Intervention and planning envisaged in the Accord improve the position of labour in relation to capital.	0.941	-0.005	0.948
11	Union reps should try to get their members interested in what the Accord is about.	0.850	0.248	0.602
27	Prices and incomes policies reduce unemployment.	0.241	-0.263	0.504
10	Workers and their unions can have a real say over new directions being taken in Nat. Econ. policy.	0.744	0.350	0.394
28	Prices and incomes policies benefit 'tall poppies'.	-0.501	-0.509	0.008
6	Consensus is not possible between classes.	-0.454	-0.461	0.007
17	Free education and medical care for everyone.	0.741	0.823	-0.082
13	If we don't pull together, we'll tear this country apart.	-0.620	-0.264	-0.356
2	Unions should be working to revolutionise the masses instead of making 'deals with the Government.	-1.300	-0.788	-0.512
19	The ordinary person can't influence Government programmes.	-0.831	-0.301	-0.530
7	The Accord is a backward step because it upholds the capitalist system.	-1.200	-0.613	-0.587
20	Well-organized groups, including groups of workers, can influence Government expenditure programmes.	1.291	1.899	-0.608
23	Full employment is a thing of the past.	0.070	0.816	-0.746
21	Australia will do allright, Accord or no Accord.	-0.853	-0.076	-0.777
22	Australia's recession will continue, Accord or no Accord.	-0.739	0.043	-0.782
26	Prosperity more likely if sensible measures like the prices & incomes policy are implemented.	-0.050	0.733	-0.783
31	The Accord gives unions a radically expanded role in Australian society.	1.185	2.128	-0.942
25	The Accord draws unions into management-of-conflict mechanisms with business leaders and government.	-0.696	0.799	-1.495
1	The Accord was just an election gimmick.	-1.773	-0.195	-1.578
15	We're on this earth to do the best we can for ourselves.	-1.693	-0.049	-1.644
5	Accord will cause a split into haves and have-nots, helping those with secure employment but doing nothing for the rest.	-0.969	0.839	-1.808
16	Too much redistribution removes incentive.	-0.995	1.058	-2.053
24	Bargaining is better than any Accord.	-0.967	1.926	-2.892

DIFFERENCES BETWEEN FACTORS 1 AND 4

(Some statements are abbreviated)

		1	4	DIFF.
12	Wages and conditions are not the only things unions should be thinking about; they should also mobilise to achieve alternative policies on employment and development, as set out in the Accord.	1.753	-2.035	3.789
17	Free education and medical care for everyone.	0.741	-1.973	2.714
20	Well-organized groups, including groups of workers, can influence Government expenditure programmes.	1.291	-1.352	2.643
8	The Accord will work to our advantage if we canvass and support agreements reached within it.	1.060	-1.153	2.213
27	Prices and incomes policies reduce unemployment.	0.241	-1.849	2.090
30	The signing of the Accord marks an important new era of economic and social reform for Australia.	1.374	-0.017	1.390
11	Union reps should try to get their members interested in what the Accord is about.	0.850	-0.451	1.301
4	Social wage aspects of the Accord benefit everyone.	1.282	0.071	1.211
3	The Intervention and planning envisaged in the Accord improve the position of labour in relation to capital.	0.941	-0.246	1.187
10	Workers and their unions can have a real say over new directions being taken in Nat. Econ. policy.	0.744	-0.361	1.105
14	Centralised wage fixing is the best way to look after weaker sections of the workforce.	1.212	0.142	1.070
29	There will be a long run benefit from the Accord.	0.808	0.037	0.771
18	To achieve social progress we must get way from the present narrow, pointscoring, electioneering.	0.020	-0.626	0.646
31	The Accord gives unions a radically expanded role in Australian society.	1.185	0.620	0.566
26	Prosperity more likely if sensible measures like the prices & incomes policy are implemented.	-0.050	-0.577	0.526
9	Each of us has a part to play in making the Accord work for the good of Australia.	0.068	-0.013	0.081
28	Prices and incomes policies benefit 'tall poppies'.	-0.501	-0.160	-0.340
19	The ordinary person can't influence Government programmes.	-0.831	-0.487	-0.344
6	Consensus is not possible between classes.	-0.454	0.078	-0.532
13	If we don't pull together, we'll tear this country apart.	-0.620	-0.018	-0.602
25	The Accord draws unions into management-of-conflict mechanisms with business leaders and government.	-0.696	0.227	-0.923
16	Too much redistribution removes incentive.	-0.995	0.030	-1.025
24	Bargaining is better than any Accord.	-0.967	0.296	-1.263
21	Australia will do allright with or without Accord	-0.853	0.702	-1.555
7	The Accord is a backward step because it upholds the capitalist system.	-1.200	0.464	-1.664
22	Australia's recession will continue, Accord or no Accord.	-0.739	1.241	-1.980
5	Accord will cause a split into haves and have-nots, helping those with secure employment but doing nothing for the rest.	-0.969	1.063	-2.032
2	Unions should be working to revolutionise the masses instead of making 'deals' with the Government.	-1.300	0.784	-2.085
23	Full employment is a thing of the past.	0.070	2.157	-2.086
15	We're on this earth to do the best we can for ourselves.	-1.693	1.720	-3.413
1	The Accord was just an election gimmick.	-1.773	1.685	-3.459

DIFFERENCES BETWEEN **FACTORS 1 AND 5**

(Some statements are abbreviated)

		1	2	DIFF.
17	Free education and medical care for everyone	0.741	−1.556	2.297
4	Social wage aspects of the Accord benefit everyone	1.282	−0.656	1.938
31	Accord provides a radically expanded role for unions	1.185	−0.656	1.841
14	Centralised wage fixing objective	1.212	−0.591	1.803
21	Australia will do allright with or without Accord	−0.853	−2.229	1.377
30	Important new era in industrial relations	1.374	0.017	1.356
26	Prosperity more likely if P & I policies stay	−0.050	−1.329	1.278
27	Prices and Incomes policies reduce unemployment	0.241	−0.992	1.233
20	Groups can influence govt expenditure	1.291	0.085	1.207
23	Full employment is a thing of the past	0.070	−0.992	1.062
3	Intervention improves the position of labour	0.941	0.017	0.923
29	There will be a long run benefit from the Accord	0.808	−0.050	0.858
12	Objectives of unions are not only wages:alt policies	1.753	0.986	0.768
10	Say in new direction of economic policy	0.744	0.085	0.659
28	Prices and Incomes policies benefit the tall poppies	−0.501	−0.992	0.492
6	Concensus is not possible between classes	−0.454	−0.726	0.271
11	Union reps should try to involve members	0.850	0.690	0.160
8	Commitment to work in support of the Accord	1.060	1.027	0.033
2	Revolutionise, not make deals with government	−1.300	−1.331	0.031
9	Each person has a part to play	0.068	0.690	−0.622
18	We must get away from narrow electioneering	0.020	0.690	−0.670
25	The Accord is part of business+govt mechanisms	−0.696	0.085	−0.780
19	The ordinary person can't influence govt	−0.831	0.017	−0.849
24	Bargaining is better than any Accord	−0.967	0.017	−0.984
7	The Accord is a backward step; it upholds capitalism	−1.200	−0.050	−1.150
5	It will cause a split into haves and have nots	−0.969	0.690	−1.659
22	Recession will continue, with or without the Accord	−0.739	1.363	−2.103
13	If we don't pull together, we'll tear this country apt	−0.620	1.703	−2.322
1	The Accord was just an election gimmick	−1.773	0.693	−2.467
15	Life's purpose is to do the best for ourselves	−1.693	1.027	−2.720
16	Too much redistribution removes incentive	−0.995	2.264	−3.259

DIFFERENCES BETWEEN **FACTORS 1 AND 6**

(Some statements are abbreviated)

		1	6	DIFF.
29	There will be a long run benefit from the Accord.	0.808	−1.894	2.702
12	Wages and conditions are not the only things unions should be thinking about; they should also mobilise to achieve alternative policies on employment and development, as set out in the Accord.	1.753	−0.911	2.664
4	Social wage aspects of the Accord benefit everyone.	1.282	−0.657	1.939
10	Workers and their unions can have a real say over new directions being taken in Nat. Econ. policy.	0.744	−1.067	1.811
3	The Intervention and planning envisaged in the Accord improve the position of labour in relation to capital.	0.941	−0.636	1.577
8	The Accord will work to our advantage if we canvass and support agreements reached within it.	1.060	−0.468	1.528
9	Each of us has a part to play in making the Accord work for the good of Australia.	0.068	−1.367	1.435
30	The signing of the Accord marks an important new era of economic and social reform for Australia.	1.374	0.002	1.372
27	Prices and incomes policies reduce unemployment.	0.241	−0.924	1.165
14	Centralised wage fixing is the best way to look after weaker sections of the workforce.	1.212	0.131	1.081
17	Free education and medical care for everyone.	0.741	0.093	0.648
26	Prosperity more likely if sensible measures like the prices & incomes policy are implemented.	−0.050	−0.696	0.646
20	Well−organized groups, including groups of workers, can influence Government expenditure programmes.	1.291	0.731	0.560
21	Australia will do allright, Accord or no Accord.	−0.853	−1.256	0.403
18	To achieve social progress we must get way from the present narrow, pointscoring, electioneering.	0.020	0.033	−0.013
31	The Accord gives unions a radically expanded role in Australian society.	1.185	1.270	−0.085
1	The Accord was just an election gimmick.	−1.773	−1.523	−0.250
2	Unions should be working to revolutionise the masses instead of making 'deals' with the Government.	−1.300	−0.865	−0.435
28	Prices and incomes policies benefit 'tall poppies'.	−0.501	0.002	−0.502
25	The Accord draws unions into management−of−conflict mechanisms with business leaders and government.	−0.696	0.047	−0.743
6	Consensus is not possible between classes.	−0.454	0.503	−0.957
11	Union reps should try to get their members interested in what the Accord is about.	0.850	1.869	−1.019
15	We're on this earth to do the best we can for ourselves.	−0.693	−0.612	−1.082
23	Full employment is a thing of the past.	0.070	1.342	−1.271
22	Australia's recession will continue, Accord or no Accord.	−0.739	0.586	−1.326
7	The Accord is a backward step because it upholds the capitalist system.	−1.200	0.443	−1.644
16	Too much redistribution removes incentive.	−0.995	0.840	−1.835
5	Accord will cause a split into haves and have−nots, helping those with secure employment but doing nothing for the rest.	−0.969	0.886	−1.855
19	The ordinary person can't influence Government programmes.	−0.831	1.042	−1.874
24	Bargaining is better than any Accord.	−0.967	0.959	−1.926
13	If we don't pull together, we'll tear this country apart.	−0.620	2.097	−2.717

DIFFERENCES BETWEEN **FACTORS 2 AND 4**

		2	4	DIFF.
20	Groups can influence govt expenditure	1.899	-1.352	3.251
17	Free education and medical care for everyone	0.823	-1.973	2.796
12	Objectives of unions are not only wages:alt policies	0.313	-2.035	2.348
24	Bargaining is better than any Accord	1.926	0.296	1.630
27	Prices and Incomes policies reduce unemployment	-0.263	-1.849	1.587
31	Accord provides a radically expanded role for unions	2.128	0.620	1.508
26	Prosperity more likely if P & I policies stay	0.733	-0.577	1.310
16	Too much redistribution removes incentive	1.058	0.030	1.029
8	Commitment to work in support of the Accord	-0.285	-1.153	0.868
10	Say in new direction of economic policy	0.350	-0.361	0.711
11	Union reps should try to involve members	0.248	-0.451	0.699
25	The Accord is part of business+govt mechanisms	0.799	0.227	0.572
3	Intervention improves the position of labour	-0.005	-0.246	0.241
19	The ordinary person can't influence govt	-0.301	-0.487	0.186
5	It will cause a split into haves and have nots	0.839	1.063	-0.225
13	If we don't pull together, we'll tear this country apt	-0.264	-0.018	-0.246
28	Prices and Incomes policies benefit the tall poppies	-0.509	-0.160	-0.348
6	Consensus is not possible between classes	-0.461	0.078	-0.539
18	We must get away from narrow electioneering	-1.372	-0.626	-0.746
21	Australia will do allright with or without Accord	-0.076	0.702	-0.778
29	There will be a long run benefit from the Accord	-0.759	0.037	-0.796
9	Each person has a part to play	-0.943	-0.013	-0.930
30	Important new era in industrial relations	-1.044	-0.017	-1.027
7	The Accord is a backward step; it upholds capitalism	-0.613	0.464	-1.077
22	Recession will continue, with or without the Accord	0.043	1.241	-1.199
23	Full employment is a thing of the past	0.816	2.157	-1.340
2	Revolutionise, not make deals with government	-0.788	0.784	-1.573
15	Life's purpose is to do the best for ourselves	-0.049	1.720	-1.769
1	The Accord was just an election gimmick	-0.195	1.685	-1.881
4	Social wage aspects of the Accord benefit everyone	-1.822	0.071	-1.893
14	Centralised wage fixing objective	-2.225	0.142	-2.367

DIFFERENCES BETWEEN **FACTORS 2 AND 5**

		2	5	DIFF.
31	Accord provides a radically expanded role for unions	2.128	-0.656	2.783
17	Free education and medical care for everyone	0.823	-1.556	2.379
21	Australia will do allright with or without Accord	-0.076	-2.229	2.154
26	Prosperity more likely if P & I policies stay	0.733	-1.329	2.061
24	Bargaining is better than any Accord	1.926	0.017	1.908
20	Groups can influence govt expenditure	1.899	0.085	1.814
23	Full employment is a thing of the past	0.816	-0.992	1.808
27	Prices and Incomes policies reduce unemployment	-0.263	-0.992	0.729
25	The Accord is part of business+govt mechanisms	0.799	0.085	0.714
2	Revolutionise, not make deals with government	-0.788	-1.331	0.543
28	Prices and Incomes policies benefit the tall poppies	-0.509	-0.992	0.483
10	Say in new direction of economic policy	0.350	0.085	0.265
6	Concensus is not possible between classes	-0.461	-0.726	0.264
5	It will cause a split into haves and have nots	0.839	0.690	0.148
3	Intervention improves the position of labour	-0.005	0.017	-0.023
19	The ordinary person can't influence govt	-0.301	0.017	-0.318
11	Union reps should try to involve members	0.248	0.690	-0.442
7	The Accord is a backward step; it upholds capitalism	-0.613	-0.050	-0.563
12	Objectives of unions are not only wages:alt policies	0.313	0.986	-0.673
29	There will be a long run benefit from the Accord	-0.759	-0.050	-0.709
1	The Accord was just an election gimmick	-0.195	0.693	-0.889
30	Important new era in industrial relations	-1.044	0.017	-1.061
15	Life's purpose is to do the best for ourselves	-0.049	1.027	-1.076
4	Social wage aspects of the Accord benefit everyone	-1.822	-0.656	-1.167
16	Too much redistribution removes incentive	1.058	2.264	-1.206
8	Commitment to work in support of the Accord	-0.285	1.027	-1.312
22	Recession will continue, with or without the Accord	0.043	1.363	-1.321
9	Each person has a part to play	-0.943	0.690	-1.633
14	Centralised wage fixing objective	-2.225	-0.591	-1.634
13	If we don't pull together, we'll tear this country apt	-0.264	1.703	-1.967
18	We must get away from narrow electioneering	-1.372	0.690	-2.063

DIFFERENCES BETWEEN **FACTORS 2 AND 6**

		2	6	DIFF.
26	Prosperity more likely if P & I policies stay	0.733	-0.696	1.429
10	Say in new direction of economic policy	0.350	-1.067	1.417
1	The Accord was just an election gimmick	-0.195	-1.523	1.328
12	Objectives of unions are not only wages:alt policies	0.313	-0.911	1.224
21	Australia will do allright with or without Accord	-0.076	-1.256	1.180
20	Groups can influence govt expenditure	1.899	0.731	1.168
29	There will be a long run benefit from the Accord	-0.759	-1.894	1.135
24	Bargaining is better than any Accord	1.926	0.959	0.967
31	Accord provides a radically expanded role for unions	2.128	1.270	0.858
25	The Accord is part of business+govt mechanisms	0.799	0.047	0.752
17	Free education and medical care for everyone	0.823	0.093	0.730
27	Prices and Incomes policies reduce unemployment	-0.263	-0.924	0.661
3	Intervention improves the position of labour	-0.005	-0.636	0.631
15	Life's purpose is to do the best for ourselves	-0.049	-0.612	0.562
9	Each person has a part to play	-0.943	-1.367	0.424
16	Too much redistribution removes incentive	1.058	0.840	0.218
8	Commitment to work in support of the Accord	-0.285	-0.468	0.183
2	Revolutionise, not make deals with government	-0.788	-0.865	0.077
5	It will cause a split into haves and have nots	0.839	0.886	-0.047
28	Prices and Incomes policies benefit the tall poppies	-0.509	0.002	-0.511
23	Full employment is a thing of the past	0.816	1.342	-0.526
22	Recession will continue, with or without the Accord	0.043	0.586	-0.544
6	Concensus is not possible between classes	-0.461	0.503	-0.964
30	Important new era in industrial relations	-1.044	0.002	-1.045
7	The Accord is a backward step; it upholds capitalism	-0.613	0.443	-1.056
4	Social wage aspects of the Accord benefit everyone	-1.822	-0.657	-1.165
19	The ordinary person can't influence govt	-0.301	1.042	-1.343
18	We must get away from narrow electioneering	-1.372	0.033	-1.405
11	Union reps should try to involve members	0.248	1.869	-1.621
14	Centralised wage fixing objective	-2.225	0.131	-2.355
13	If we don't pull together, we'll tear this country apt	-0.264	2.09	-2.361

DIFFERENCES BETWEEN **FACTORS 4 AND 5**

		4	5	DIFF.
23	Full employment is a thing of the past	2.157	-0.992	3.149
21	Australia will do allright with or without Accord	0.702	-2.229	2.931
2	Revolutionise, not make deals with government	0.784	-1.331	2.116
31	Accord provides a radically expanded role for unions	0.620	-0.656	1.275
1	The Accord was just an election gimmick	1.685	0.693	0.992
28	Prices and Incomes policies benefit the tall poppies	-0.160	-0.992	0.832
6	Concensus is not possible between classes	0.078	-0.726	0.804
26	Prosperity more likely if P & I policies stay	-0.577	-1.329	0.752
14	Centralised wage fixing objective	0.142	-0.591	0.733
4	Social wage aspects of the Accord benefit everyone	0.071	-0.656	0.726
15	Life's purpose is to do the best for ourselves	1.720	1.027	0.693
7	The Accord is a backward step; it upholds capitalism	0.464	-0.050	0.514
5	It will cause a split into haves and have nots	1.063	0.690	0.373
24	Bargaining is better than any Accord	0.296	0.017	0.279
25	The Accord is part of business+govt mechanisms	0.227	0.085	0.143
29	There will be a long run benefit from the Accord	0.037	-0.050	0.087
30	Important new era in industrial relations	-0.017	0.017	-0.034
22	Recession will continue, with or without the Accord	1.241	1.363	-0.122
3	Intervention improves the position of labour	-0.246	0.017	-0.264
17	Free education and medical care for everyone	-1.973	-1.556	-0.417
10	Say in new direction of economic policy	-0.361	0.085	-0.446
19	The ordinary person can't influence govt	-0.487	0.017	-0.505
9	Each person has a part to play	-0.013	0.690	-0.703
27	Prices and Incomes policies reduce unemployment	-1.849	-0.992	-0.857
11	Union reps should try to involve members	-0.451	0.690	-1.141
18	We must get away from narrow electioneering	-0.626	0.690	-1.316
20	Groups can influence govt expenditure	-1.352	0.085	-1.437
13	If we don't pull together, we'll tear this country apt	-0.018	1.703	-1.720
8	Commitment to work in support of the Accord	-1.153	1.027	-2.180
16	Too much redistribution removes incentive	0.030	2.264	-2.235
12	Objectives of unions are not only wages:alt policies	-2.035	0.986	-3.021

DIFFERENCES BETWEEN **FACTORS 4 AND 6**

		4	6	DIFF.
1	The Accord was just an election gimmick	1.685	-1.523	3.209
15	Life's purpose is to do the best for ourselves	1.720	-0.612	2.332
21	Australia will do allright with or without Accord	0.702	-1.256	1.958
29	There will be a long run benefit from the Accord	0.037	-1.894	1.932
2	Revolutionise, not make deals with government	0.784	-0.865	1.650
9	Each person has a part to play	-0.013	-1.367	1.354
23	Full employment is a thing of the past	2.157	1.342	0.815
4	Social wage aspects of the Accord benefit everyone	0.071	-0.657	0.728
10	Say in new direction of economic policy	-0.361	-1.067	0.706
22	Recession will continue, with or without the Accord	1.241	0.586	0.655
3	Intervention improves the position of labour	-0.246	-0.636	0.390
25	The Accord is part of business+govt mechanisms	0.227	0.047	0.180
5	It will cause a split into haves and have nots	1.063	0.886	0.177
26	Prosperity more likely if P & I policies stay	-0.577	-0.696	0.119
7	The Accord is a backward step; it upholds capitalism	0.464	0.443	0.021
14	Centralised wage fixing objective	0.142	0.131	0.011
30	Important new era in industrial relations	-0.017	0.002	-0.018
28	Prices and Incomes policies benefit the tall poppies	-0.160	0.002	-0.162
6	Concensus is not possible between classes	0.078	0.503	-0.425
31	Accord provides a radically expanded role for unions	0.620	1.270	-0.650
18	We must get away from narrow electioneering	-0.626	0.033	-0.659
24	Bargaining is better than any Accord	0.296	0.959	-0.663
8	Commitment to work in support of the Accord	-1.153	-0.468	-0.684
16	Too much redistribution removes incentive	0.030	0.840	-0.811
27	Prices and Incomes policies reduce unemployment	-1.849	-0.924	-0.925
12	Objectives of unions are not only wages:alt policies	-2.035	-0.911	-1.124
19	The ordinary person can't influence govt	-0.487	1.042	-1.530
17	Free education and medical care for everyone	-1.973	0.093	-2.066
20	Groups can influence govt expenditure	-1.352	0.731	-2.083
13	If we don't pull together, we'll tear this country apt	-0.018	2.097	-2.115
11	Union reps should try to involve members	-0.451	1.869	-2.320

DIFFERENCES BETWEEN **FACTORS 5 AND 6**

		5	6	DIFF.
1	The Accord was just an election gimmick	0.693	-1.523	2.216
9	Each person has a part to play	0.690	-1.367	2.057
12	Objectives of unions are not only wages:alt policies	0.986	-0.911	1.897
29	There will be a long run benefit from the Accord	-0.050	-1.894	1.844
15	Life's purpose is to do the best for ourselves	1.027	-0.612	1.639
8	Commitment to work in support of the Accord	1.027	-0.468	1.495
16	Too much redistribution removes incentive	2.264	0.840	1.424
10	Say in new direction of economic policy	0.085	-1.067	1.152
22	Recession will continue, with or without the Accord	1.363	0.586	0.777
18	We must get away from narrow electioneering	0.690	0.033	0.657
3	Intervention improves the position of labour	0.017	-0.636	0.654
25	The Accord is part of business+govt mechanisms	0.085	0.047	0.037
30	Important new era in industrial relations	0.017	0.002	0.016
4	Social wage aspects of the Accord benefit everyone	-0.656	-0.657	0.002
27	Prices and Incomes policies reduce unemployment	-0.992	-0.924	-0.068
5	It will cause a split into haves and have nots	0.690	0.886	-0.196
13	If we don't pull together, we'll tear this country apt	1.703	2.097	-0.394
2	Revolutionise, not make deals with government	-1.331	-0.865	-0.466
7	The Accord is a backward step; it upholds capitalism	-0.050	0.443	-0.493
26	Prosperity more likely if P & I policies stay	-1.329	-0.696	-0.632
20	Groups can influence govt expenditure	0.085	0.731	-0.646
14	Centralised wage fixing objective	-0.591	0.131	-0.722
24	Bargaining is better than any Accord	0.017	0.959	-0.941
21	Australia will do allright with or without Accord	-2.229	-1.256	-0.973
28	Prices and Incomes policies benefit the tall poppies	-0.992	0.002	-0.994
19	The ordinary person can't influence govt	0.017	1.042	-1.025
11	Union reps should try to involve members	0.690	1.869	-1.179
6	Concensus is not possible between classes	-0.726	0.503	-1.229
17	Free education and medical care for everyone	-1.556	0.093	-1.649
31	Accord provides a radically expanded role for unions	-0.656	1.270	-1.926
23	Full employment is a thing of the past	-0.992	1.342	-2.334

NO.	STATEMENT	FACTORS 1	2	3	4	5	6
1	The Accord was just an election gimmick	-4	0	0	3	2	-4
2	Revolutionise, not make deals with government	-3	-2	-1	2	-3	-2
3	Intervention improves the position of labour	2	1	-1	-1	0	-1
4	Social wage aspects of the Accord benefit everyone	3	-4	-1	1	-2	-1
5	It will ccuse a split into haves and have nots	-2	3	1	3	1	2
6	Concensus is not possible between classes	-1	-1	-4	1	-2	1
7	The Accord is a backward step; it upholds capitalism	-3	-2	-3	2	-1	1
8	Commitment to work in support of the Accord	2	-1	1	-3	3	-1
9	Each person has a part to play	0	-3	2	0	1	-3
10	Say in new direction of economic policy	1	1	1	-1	1	-3
11	Union reps should try to involve members	2	1	-1	-2	1	4
12	Objectives of unions are not only wages:alt policies	4	1	-2	-4	2	-2
13	If we don't pull together, we'll tear this country apt	-1	-1	4	-1	4	4
14	Centralised wage fixing objective	3	-4	0	1	-1	1
15	Life's purpose is to do the best for ourselves	-4	0	2	4	3	-1
16	Too much redistribution removes incentive	-3	3	3	0	4	2
17	Free education and medical care for everyone	1	2	-4	-4	-4	1
18	We must get away from narrow electioneering	0	-3	-2	-2	1	0
19	The ordinary person can't influence govt	-2	-1	4	-2	-1	3
20	Groups can influence govt expenditure	3	3	-2	-3	1	2
21	Australia will do allright with or without Accord	-2	0	2	2	-4	-3
22	Recession will continue, with or without the Accord	-1	1	-3	3	3	1
23	Full employment is a thing of the past	1	2	3	4	-3	3
24	Bargaining is better than any Accord	-2	4	0	1	0	2
25	The Accord is part of business+govt mechanisms	-1	2	-3	1	1	0
26	Prosperity more likely if P & I policies stay	0	2	2	-2	-3	-2
27	Prices and Incomes policies reduce unemployment	1	-1	1	-3	-3	-2
28	Prices and Incomes policies benefit the tall poppies	-1	-2	-2	-1	-3	-1
29	There will be a long run benefit from the Accord	1	-2	1	0	-1	-4
30	Important new era in industrial relations	4	-3	3	-1	0	-1
31	Accord provides a radically expanded role for unions	2	4	-1	2	-2	3

VARIANCE = 5.161 ST. DEV. =, 2.272

Statement array as used for interpretation:

- Factor 3 has been replaced with the appropriate array for profile three, i.e. reverse of Factor 2

- Profile 4 has entries for the reverse reading of Factor 4

STATEMENT	PROFILE NUMBERS 1	2	3	4	5	6
1	-4	0	0	-3	2	-4
2	-3	-2	2	-2	-3	-2
3	2	1	-1	1	0	-1
4	3	-4	4	-1	-2	-1
5	-2	3	-3	-3	1	2
6	-1	-1	1	-1	-2	1
7	-3	-2	2	-2	-1	1
8	2	-1	1	3	3	-1
9	0	-3	3	0	1	-3
10	1	1	-1	1	1	-3
11	2	1	-1	2	1	4
12	4	1	-1	4	2	-2
13	-1	-1	1	1	4	4
14	3	-4	4	-1	-1	1
15	-4	0	0	-4	3	-1
16	-3	3	-3	0	4	2
17	1	2	-2	4	-4	1
18	0	-3	3	2	1	0
19	-2	-1	1	2	-1	3
20	3	3	-3	3	1	2
21	-2	0	0	-2	-4	-3
22	-1	1	-1	-3	3	1
23	1	2	-2	-4	-3	3
24	-2	4	-4	-1	0	2
25	-1	2	-2	-1	1	0
26	0	2	-2	2	-3	-2
27	1	-1	1	3	-3	-2
28	-1	-2	2	1	-3	-1
29	1	-2	2	0	-1	-4
30	4	-3	3	1	0	-1
31	2	4	-4	-2	-2	3

FACTOR CHARACTERSTICS

	FACTORS					
	1	2	3	4	5	6
NO. OF DEFINING VARIABLES	11	4	4	5	3	2
AVE. LOADING OR AVE. REL. COEF	0.800	0.800	0.800	0.800	0.800	0.800
COMPOSITE RELABILITY	0.978	0.941	0.941	0.952	0.923	0.889
S.E. OF FACTOR SCORES	0.149	0.243	0.243	0.218	0.277	0.333

STANDARD ERRORS FOR DIFFERENCE IN (NORMALIZED) FACTOR SCORES BETWEEN FACTORS
(DIAGONAL ENTRIES ARE S.E. WITHIN FACTORS)

FACTORS	1	2	3	4	5	6
1	0.149	0.285	0.285	0.264	0.315	0.365
2	0.285	0.243	0.343	0.326	0.368	0.412
3	0.285	0.343	0.243	0.326	0.368	0.412
4	0.264	0.326	0.326	0.218	0.353	0.398
5	0.315	0.368	0.368	0.353	0.277	0.434
6	0.365	0.412	0.412	0.398	0.434	0.333

DISTINGUISHING STATEMENTS AT THE 0.05 LEVEL
(*ALSO DISTINGUISHING AT 0.01 LEVEL)
NORMALIZED FACTOR SCORES - FACTOR 1

NO.	STATEMENT	1	2	3	4	5	6
3*	Intervention improves the position of labour	0.941	-0.005	-0.108	-0.246	0.017	-0.636
4*	Social wage aspects of the Accord benefit everyone	1.282	-1.822	-0.205	0.071	-0.656	-0.657
5*	It will cause a split into haves and have nots	-0.969	0.839	0.362	1.063	0.690	0.886
12	Objectives of unions are not only wages:alt policies	1.753	0.313	-0.415	-2.035	0.986	-0.911
14*	Centralised wage fixing objective	1.212	-2.225	0.301	0.142	-0.591	0.131
15*	Life's purpose is to do the best for ourselves	-1.693	-0.049	0.816	1.720	1.027	-0.612
16*	Too much redistribution removes incentive	-0.995	1.058	1.370	0.030	2.264	0.840
22*	Recession will continue, with or without The Accord	-0.739	0.043	-1.760	1.241	1.363	0.586
23*	Full employment is a thing of the past	0.070	0.816	1.045	2.157	-0.992	1.342
24*	Bargaining is better than any Accord	-0.967	1.926	-0.049	0.296	0.017	0.959
25	The Accord is part of business+govt mechanisms	-0.696	0.799	-1.279	0.227	0.085	0.047

DISTINGUISHING STATEMENTS AT THE 0.05 LEVEL
(*ALSO DISTINGUISHING AT 0.01 LEVEL)
NORMALIZED FACTOR SCORES - FACTOR 2

NO.	STATEMENT	1	2	3	4	5	6
4*	Social wage aspects of the Accord benefit everyone	1.282	-1.822	-0.205	0.071	-0.656	-0.657
14*	Centralised wage fixing objective	1.212	-2.225	0.301	0.142	-0.591	0.131
18	We must get away from narrow electioneering	0.020	-1.372	-0.502	-0.626	0.690	0.033
20	Groups can influence govt expenditure	1.291	1.899	-1.274	-1.352	0.085	0.731
21	Australia will do allright with or without Accord	-0.853	-0.076	0.699	0.702	-2.229	-1.256
24	Bargaining is better than any Accord	-0.967	1.926	-0.049	0.296	0.017	0.959
30	Important new era in industrial relations	1.374	-1.044	0.900	-0.017	0.017	0.002
31	Accord provides a radically expanded role for unions	1.185	2.128	-0.108	0.620	-0.656	1.270

DISTINGUISHING STATEMENTS AT THE 0.05 LEVEL
(*ALSO DISTINGUISHING AT 0.01 LEVEL)
NORMALIZED FACTOR SCORES - FACTOR 3

NO.	STATEMENT	1	2	3	4	5	6
6*	Concensus is not possible between classes	-0.454	-0.461	-1.862	0.078	-0.726	0.503
22*	Recession will continue, with or without The Accord	-0.739	0.043	-1.760	1.241	1.363	0.586
25	The Accord is part of business+govt mechanisms	-0.696	0.799	-1.279	0.227	0.085	0.047

DISTINGUISHING STATEMENTS AT THE 0.05 LEVEL
(*ALSO DISTINGUISHING AT 0.01 LEVEL)
NORMALIZED FACTOR SCORES - FACTOR 4

NO.	STATEMENT	1	2	3	4	5	6
1*	The Accord was just an election gimmick	-1.773	-0.195	-0.049	1.685	0.693	-1.523
2*	Revolutionise, not make deals with government	-1.300	-0.788	-0.300	0.784	-1.331	-0.865
12*	Objectives of unions are not only wages:alt policies	1.753	0.313	-0.415	-2.035	0.986	-0.911
15	Life's purpose is to do the best for ourselves	-1.693	-0.049	0.816	1.720	1.027	-0.612
16	Too much redistribution removes incentive	-0.995	1.058	1.370	0.030	2.264	0.840
23	Full employment is a thing of the past	0.070	0.816	1.045	2.157	-0.992	1.342
27	Prices and Incomes policies reduce unemployment	0.241	-0.263	0.584	-1.849	-0.992	-0.924

DISTINGUISHING STATEMENTS AT THE 0.05 LEVEL
(*ALSO DISTINGUISHING AT 0.01 LEVEL)
NORMALIZED FACTOR SCORES - FACTOR 5

NO.	STATEMENT	1	2	3	4	5	6
1	The Accord was just an election gimmick	-1.773	-0.195	-0.049	1.685	0.693	-1.523
16	Too much redistribution removes incentive	-0.995	1.058	1.370	0.030	2.264	0.840
21	Australia will do allright with or without Accord	-0.853	-0.076	0.699	0.702	-2.229	-1.256
23*	Full employment is a thing of the past	0.070	0.816	1.045	2.157	-0.992	1.342

DISTINGUISHING STATEMENTS AT THE 0.05 LEVEL
(*ALSO DISTINGUISHING AT 0.01 LEVEL)
NORMALIZED FACTOR SCORES - FACTOR 6

NO.	STATEMENT	1	2	3	4	5	6
11*	Union reps should try to involve members	0.850	0.248	-0.108	-0.451	0.690	1.869
29*	There will be a long run benefit from the Accord	0.808	-0.759	0.524	0.037	-0.050	-1.894

CONSENSUS STATEMENTS (NOT SIGNIFICANTLY DIFFERENT BETWEEN FACTORS AT 0.01 LEVEL)
NORMALIZED FACTOR SCORES

NO.	STATEMENT	1	2	3	4	5	6
28	Prices and Incomes policies benefit the tall poppies	-0.501	-0.509	-0.510	-0.160	-0.992	0.002

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