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The Australian Study of Politics

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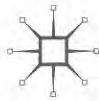
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Foreword

The Australian Study of Politics is the first comprehensive reference book on the discipline of political science in Australia. It charts the evolution of our discipline and its institutional settings; surveys the diversity of its sub-fields; singles out the rise and, sometimes, the fall of particular themes that have strongly characterised political studies in Australia. It also analyses the ways in which our discipline has been both innovative and derivative. While this collection contributes to the growing number of volumes on the history of political science internationally, we have an additional hope for this enterprise. We want it to foster a greater awareness, understanding and appreciation of the discipline in Australia and internationally. Most importantly, we want to inspire those who will be called on to renew the study of political science and take it in new directions – our postgraduate students.

This book chronicles the seminal and distinctive contributions of Australian political studies, but it also casts a critical eye at our disciplinary shortcomings. Indeed, it is important to recognise that our achievements will not vouchsafe the future strength of our discipline. While political science has not torn itself apart in the manner of the 'history wars', it faces particular challenges in Australia which are not solely a function of either university-driven managerialism or the relatively hostile funding environment for tertiary education and scholarly research. Compared with its counterparts in other English-speaking countries, political science in Australia has not been strongly institutionalised. The comparison holds true for other social science disciplines in Australia, such as economics and psychology, which have a much stronger disciplinary footing. Indeed, few would quibble with the claim that the Australian Political Studies Association (APSA) 'has not played a strong role in demarcating the field of inquiry, defining disciplinary coherence, or even gate-keeping professional practice' (Crozier 2001).

With this challenge firmly in mind, APSA has sponsored this book as part of its more recent efforts to foster a stronger sense of disciplinary identity among political scientists in Australia. Indeed, this is in keeping with the purpose of such a professional association which should encompass commitments to promote high-quality teaching and research; defend academic freedom and the importance and legitimacy of scholarly research; recognise outstanding work; promote high standards for professional and ethical conduct; engage with other institutions and the public more widely to represent and promote the interests of the discipline; promote diversity within the discipline; and last, but not least, to foster a deeper understanding of politics and the political process. Some of these things we do well; others we can do better and are striving to do so. We want *The Australian Study of Politics* to play an important role in promoting these goals. But this is a first rather than a last step. Ideally, this account of the origins and development of political science in Australia should be followed by an investigation into the state

of the discipline compared with other social sciences in Australia, coupled with the development of strategies to strengthen and promote our discipline into the future.

This book would not have come into being with the energy and enthusiasm of Rod Rhodes. On behalf of the Australian Political Studies Association, I extend our appreciation and thanks to Rod and to the other essayists who have contributed to this fine collection.

Ann Capling
President, Australian Political Studies Association

Acknowledgements

The Australian Political Studies Association (APSA) sponsored this project and the Editor would like to thank the Executive Committee for their support. Three Presidents – Deborah Brennan, James Walter and Ann Capling – were also unflinching in their support. It was obvious from the start that no one person would have a detailed knowledge of all the relevant disciplines and sub-fields. So, APSA put together a national, multi-disciplinary team of former Presidents of APSA and Fellows of the Academy of Social Sciences of Australia (ASSA). All are acknowledged experts in their respective fields. They advised the Editor on the first selection of topics and commented on the drafts of various chapters. They comprised the editorial board for this volume.

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1 In Search of Australian Political Science

*R. A. W. Rhodes*¹

This book provides the first comprehensive reference work on the history of political studies in Australia. Because the academic study of politics in Australia is largely a post-war phenomenon, the contributors focus on developments since the 1939–45 war, although we also explore the historical roots of each major sub-field. One of our central concerns is the contribution of political science to the study of politics. However, because political studies encompass disciplines other than political science, we also include contributions from historians and philosophers.

There are only two other book-length surveys of the study of Australian politics; Aitkin (1985), and McAllister, Dowrick and Hassan (2003). Neither is comprehensive and the former is now out-of-date. Neither provides an authoritative history. Although there is an increasing number of volumes on the history of the discipline in the USA and the UK,² there is nothing similar on Australia. So, the book not only fills a gap in the Australian literature, it also contributes to a growing area of inquiry in political science internationally.

In Parts 1 and 2, we adopt the conventional approach to national histories of political science. In Part 1, we describe the discipline’s development, covering its growth in Australian universities, the founding figures, and the role of the Australian (until 2007 the Australasian) Political Studies Association (APSA). In Part 2, we focus on the main sub-fields: political theory, political institutions, political behaviour, public policy and administration, comparative government and politics, political economy, and international relations.

This volume also essays something different. It moves beyond the mainstream paradigm, exploring the competing traditions in political studies and the themes or approaches that cut across the usual sub-field organisation of political science and contribute much to the distinctive character of Australian political studies. So, it also explores radical approaches to political science, indigenous politics, feminism and the politics of gender, the politics of the environment, and political psychology. In addition, it allows some distinguished retired members of the profession to look back over their careers and reflect on how the discipline has changed.

To ensure a minimum degree of consistency, the contributors agreed on several preliminary matters. It would seem obvious that a book about the Australian study of politics would focus on Australian scholars. The problem is that several

distinguished Australians such as Hedley Bull and Kenneth Wheare contributed to the discipline while working abroad. We decided to include not only all émigré Australians but also non-Australian residents of the lucky country who contributed while 'down under'. We adopted an equally broad definition of the discipline. W. J. M. Mackenzie (1970, Chapter 2) defines disciplines not by their subject matter, methods or agreed paradigm but as social entities with shared traditions and supported by organisational forms such as departments or faculties in universities. Historically, the inherited traditions of Australian political studies encompass history and philosophy as well as political science, with diversions into cognate disciplines such as psychology, economics and sociology. We do not focus narrowly on the literature on Australian government and politics (cf. Davis and Hughes 1958). We seek to capture the breadth and diversity of subject matter and the varied debates in Australian political studies. We eschew, therefore, any limits stemming from notions of disciplinary purity (cf. Sharman 1985). Finally, we agreed that we were writing broad assessments, not compiling exhaustive bibliographies. We decided not to write just for our academic colleagues at home and abroad, although we do seek to draw the rest of the world's attention to Australian political studies. The aim was to provide an authoritative survey that would be accessible to the prospective honours and postgraduate student. Our aim is to enlighten and instil enthusiasm in them to study in our field and renew its intellectual traditions.

This introductory chapter surveys the post-war traditions in Australian political science. It tells three stories about the development of Australian political science: the humanities heritage; the arrival of modernist-empiricism; and the public intellectual tradition. It describes the diverse and distinctive character of Australian political science and discusses dilemmas and developments in the discipline. It also discusses its strengths and weaknesses and its standing nationally and internationally. The first step is to describe the main traditions in the study of politics in Australia.

The traditions

In Australia, as in Britain, it is possible to tell the story of a discipline that emerged after the Second World War and, under American influence, became autonomous and more professionalised (see Crozier 2001, 11–14). Chapter 2 describes the post-war growth and institutionalisation of political science in Australian universities. Chapter 4 documents the growth of the discipline's professional association – the Australian Political Studies Association (APSA). The survey of the discipline's sub-fields in Part 2 assumes there is a shared empirical domain that we study (on Britain, see Hayward, Barry and Brown 1999). As Adcock, Bevir and Stimson (2007b, 3) argue, this is the conventional form of disciplinary history that describes the development of an autonomous discipline and charts the evolving intellectual agenda.

Internationally, this interpretation of the history of political science has been put most strongly by Goodin and Klingemann (1996b, 4, 6, 22, 11–13, and 20). They

claim that political science has an overarching intellectual agenda and is increasingly mature and professionalised. They claim 'a "common core" which can be taken to define "minimal professional competence"' and 'an increasing tendency to judge work ... in terms of increasingly higher standards of professional excellence'. Above all, there is a shared intellectual agenda. In essence, political science 'has taken lessons of the hermeneutic critique on board' and there is rapprochement on all fronts (on hermeneutics and the cultural turn see Johnson, Chapter 23 below). They can only mount this argument for a common core by believing there is 'a theoretical framework which can straddle and integrate all these levels of analysis'. That theoretical framework is rational choice analysis and the new institutionalism (and for a similar attempt to construct a shared paradigm, see Katznelson and Milner 2002).

The argument does not apply to British political science. Barry (1999, 450–5) claims there is 'little evidence in Britain for the kind of integrative tendencies that [Goodin and Klingemann] ... have claimed to find'. There is no shared intellectual agenda based on the new institutionalism, no shared methodological toolkit and no band of synthesisers of the discipline. Goodin and Klingemann's argument is 'an idealisation of the situation in the United States'. Barry's conclusion is also valid for Australia. As I will show, there has been no trend to a scientific profession with a shared intellectual agenda. Instead, we find diverging and at times competing traditions.

A tradition is a set of understandings someone receives during socialisation. The relevant beliefs and practices have passed from generation to generation. The traditions embody appropriate conceptual links. The beliefs and practices that each generation pass on display a minimal consistency. At the heart of the notion of tradition lies the idea of agents using their reason to modify the beliefs they inherit. Dilemmas explain how people are able to bring about changes in beliefs, traditions and practices. A dilemma arises for an individual or group when a new idea stands in opposition to existing beliefs or practices and forces a reconsideration of the existing beliefs and associated tradition. Political scientists can explain change in traditions and practices, therefore, by referring to the relevant dilemmas. Traditions change as individuals vary them in response to any number of specific dilemmas. The key characteristics of the Australian discipline stem from the dilemmas posed when its traditions bump into one another, when beliefs collide (for a more detailed account see Bevir and Rhodes 2003, 2006).

Disciplines are contested. There is no given or 'natural' intellectual agenda because disciplines are 'unstable compounds'; they are 'a complex set of practices' and any unity is a function of 'historical accident and institutional convenience' (Collini 2001, 298; see also Adcock et al. 2006; Dryzek and Leonard 1988; and Farr et al. 1995).

Australian political science is a complex compound of traditions. I illustrate the argument by briefly describing the humanities and modernist-empiricist traditions, with the associated public intellectual tradition. I also explore the dilemmas between political studies and political science, and radical critic and servants of power. I make no pretence that these traditions and dilemmas are the sole

ones. My aim is to show there is no dominant tradition, but a diverse, contested arena.

The humanities heritage

The roots of Australian political studies lie largely in the British humanities, notably history and philosophy. It was the dominant tradition both between the wars and up to the 1970s. As both Judith Brett (Chapter 3 below) and Ian Tregenza (Chapter 5) show, it can be characterised as an interpretive empiricism laced with idealism. Looking back, J. D. B. 'Bruce' Miller, Professor of International Relations at the Australian National University (ANU) and 'just about the last God Professor', thought 'the British example was what counted most in the 1950s and 1960s'. He taught 'the sort of curriculum that you'd find in London or Oxford' (Interview with J. D. B. Miller, 5 February 2008). Indeed, the commitment to teaching came before research. This generation taught small classes over three short Oxbridge terms and small numbers of PhD candidates in one-to-one tutorials. There was not much pressure to publish. The majority wrote mainly textbooks, overviews and opinion pieces. Teaching notes and essays were circulated to students but rarely published. The exceptions found their way into the early Mayer readers; an eccentric, eclectic collection of gems and odds-and-sods (see Mayer 1967 and subsequent editions). Such texts were valued, speaking to a general readership and not, narrowly, to first-year undergraduates. This generation is known mainly for such textbooks, not its primary research, fieldwork or surveys.

Dean Jaensch (Chapter 4) observes that Australian political science began as a 'family'. Unfortunately, this cosy metaphor does not convey accurately the state of the discipline. For Sawyer (1950, 323), Australian political science shortly after the Second World War was 'derivative in character', and 'relatively backward'. In a similar vein, Davis and Hughes (1958, 107 and 132) described the previous 40 years of Australian political scholarship as 'wandering in the wilderness'. They argued that 'interest is still almost exclusively centred in the study of Australian political institutions'. Goldsworthy (1990, 27) claimed the first generation of political scientists 'tended to think and teach in a distinctively British-derived mode; literary, human sceptical, analytical of the past rather than speculative of the future, individualistic rather than team-minded'. Even after the advent of modernist-empiricism in the late 1960s and 1970s, Galligan (1984, 85) highlighted the 'pragmatic British tradition of description and analysis'. Aitkin (1985, 9 and 32) also referred to the empirical tradition in Australian political studies and noted the importance of specific institutional links between Australia and the UK; for example, the London School of Economics and Political Science, and the Royal Institute of Public Administration. A significant proportion of Australian political scientists were trained in the UK (see Weller, Chapter 2). Crozier (2001, 16–17) considers these summary, critical assessments misleading because they focus narrowly on 'the pragmatic British tradition of the description and analysis' of political institutions. Nonetheless he accepts that the common beliefs from about the 1940s through to the 1960s were that Australia produced no significant contribution to the study of politics; and if there was any contribution, it was derivative.

The authors of Chapters 2 to 7 do not share these harsh judgements about either then or now. They do not see an exclusive focus on Australian institutions. Both Brett (Chapter 3) and Tregenza (Chapter 5) identify the influence of idealist political thought. Both see John Anderson (Challis Professor of Philosophy, University of Sydney, from 1927 until 1958) as a major political thinker in his own right and founder of a significant Australian school of thought. Walter (Chapter 7) documents the extensive contribution to political biography. These authors offer a different judgement of the humanist, British heritage. Brett (Chapter 3) sees a subject that is socially constituted and historically determined. The ultimate test of knowledge is its capacity to provide 'good hard-headed analyses of political life in particular contexts' (Dryzek and Leonard 1995, 28). A good deal of work is descriptive and historical because, for much in politics, 'the particular is the reality' (Davis 1995, 21). Political life continues to disrupt our settled traditions of thought and the orderly accumulation of knowledge. We respond to these dilemmas, trying to create shards of meaning from the ever-changing beliefs and practices of political actors. Moreover, the tradition evolves. If its roots lie in British interpretive empiricism and idealism, it now draws on the cultural turn of European human sciences and the work of post-structuralists and anti-foundationalists (see Tregenza, Chapter 5, and Johnson, Chapter 23).

The modernist-empiricist tradition

There was no behavioural revolution equivalent to the changes in the USA but gradually, during the 1970s, the American influence grew to rival that of British political studies. There was a call for more attention to methods (see: Sharman 1985, 111; Aitkin 1985, 32). As Zetlin (1998, 194–5) observed, empirical methods gradually became more sophisticated. The Australian Consortium for Social and Political Research Incorporated (ACSPRI) provided a focal point for survey work and quantitative analysis. It was, however, a modest dose of methods that attained nothing like the technical sophistication characteristic of American political science. Indeed Sharman (1985, 111–12) pined for the behavioural revolution and criticised an incoherent discipline as 'a cluster of semi-related individual enterprises'. In place of these clusters he wanted the epistemological and methodological beliefs and practices of the natural sciences that underpin much North American political science. Galligan (1984, 86) offered a more balanced assessment. Australian political science had 'a pluralist, interest group orientation' and 'restrictive boundaries were drawn around the subject'. Political science focused on 'political institutions and processes narrowly conceived'. The 'dominant paradigm' saw a polity of 'diverse elites and powerful groups all freely pursuing their interests in a political market place'. American pluralism was there for all to see.

The pragmatic, empirical roots of the humanities heritage aligned easily with the modernist-empiricist, pluralist beliefs of American political science. Bevir (2001, 470) suggests the label 'modernist empiricism' captures such core beliefs as atomisation, classification and measurement. Thus, institutions such as legislatures, constitutions and civil services are treated as discrete objects that can be compared, measured and classified. Bryce's claim (1920, vol. 1, 19) that 'it is Facts

that are needed: Facts, Facts, Facts' would resonate with many Australian political scientists. Modernist-empiricism has much in common with the positivism underpinning mainstream American political science; both believe in 'comparisons across time and space as a means of uncovering regularities and probabilistic explanations to be tested against neutral evidence' (Bevir 2001, 478).

The main characteristics of Australian political science in the 1970s and 1980s were empirical research on such topics as parties, elections, pressure groups, the bureaucracy, and problem-solving, or what we would now call evidence-based policy-making. There were few 'schools of thought' and those that existed were 'accidental' (Aitkin 1985, 8–9; see also Sharman 1985; Zetling 1998). Chapters 9 to 16 in this collection belong to this tradition. There is little to be gained in paraphrasing the relevant chapters. Ian McAllister's account of elections and electoral behaviour (Chapter 12), Murray Goot's account of political communication and the media (Chapter 13) and Sean Scalmer's survey of the work on pressure groups (Chapter 15) provide many examples of work in this tradition.

Of course, modernist-empiricism exists in opposition to other traditions, notably the British inheritance. Sharman (1985, 112) took up the gauntlet, asking whether political science is 'national and expository, or international and analytical?' His language is loaded – who wants to admit they are not analytical? The influence of the British inheritance versus American theories and methods is more conventionally expressed as 'political studies vs. political science' (Crozier 2001, 11). But – and it is an important but – there has been no ineluctable trend from political studies (the British heritage) to political science (the American influence). Rather, we have a bifurcated, eclectic profession that draws on ideas and methods from both the humanities and the social sciences. The traditions coexist and on occasion contest. But whether political scientists openly disagree or simply work quietly within their preferred tradition, there remains a recurring dilemma at the heart of the Australian discipline where the beliefs and practices of the two contending traditions can always bump into each other. So, if the methods of survey research have been adopted widely in Australia, as in the USA and the UK, the formal analysis of rational choice has not. This dilemma is most evident in the debates about training PhD candidates, where the Oxbridge model of the novitiate scholar sitting at the feet of the God professor contends with the American graduate school model of two years of formal instruction in theory and methods. As the chapters in this book amply demonstrate, there is little evidence that the dilemma will be resolved any time soon.

If the dilemma posed by political studies vs. political science is pervasive, it must not distort our understanding of the Australian contribution to the study of politics. There are also significant challenges to modernist-empiricism from other quarters. For the 1960s and 1970s, Carol Johnson (Chapter 23) notes the critiques from socialist and Marxist forms of radical political science (see also Galligan 1984; Irving 1985). Latterly, the major contributions have been in 'the cultural turn' with its focus on the constructed nature of knowledge claims. In Chapter 26 Chappell and Brennan describe the substantial national and international contribution to feminism by Australian political scientists (see also Sawer 2004). Other chapters

also comment on this feminist contribution for specific sub-fields; for example, Ian Tregenza's account of Carol Pateman's work (Chapter 5) and Marian Simms's account of Louise Overacker's work on political parties (Chapter 14). For proponents of modernist-empiricism, these diverse approaches would be interpreted as evidence of weak professionalism. In contrast, I see them as evidence that a discipline with a bifurcated tradition, rather than a dominant paradigm, provides greater scope for theoretical and methodological pluralism.

Public intellectuals

Australian political studies have a long-standing tradition of civic engagement. As Brett (Chapter 3) shows, the Workers' Education Association not only linked town and gown but also recruited some of the first university teachers and professors; for example, it was Bruce Miller's path into higher education (Interview 5 February 2009). Those who seek out civic engagement are often described as 'public intellectuals'. Here I discuss whether there is a public intellectual tradition in the study of politics. I do not examine the practice of public intellectuals in Australian society or the extent of anti-intellectualism in Australian political history. My question is whether the ideas around civic engagement constitute a distinct tradition and the answer depends on the various understandings of this phrase.

Collini (2006, 46–7) identifies three uses of 'the intellectual' in English. The first 'sociological' sense refers to a socio-professional demographic category of individuals with a primary involvement with ideas or culture. The academy is the obvious example. The second or 'subjective' sense refers to a 'commitment to truth-seeking, rumination, analysis, argument, often pursued as ends in themselves'. Nowadays, some commentators argue we have lost these free spirits of radical thought. The third 'cultural' sense refers to those who 'deploy an acknowledged intellectual position or achievement in addressing a broader, non-specialist public'. Collini concludes that in Britain the term is now widely used in its cultural sense.

There is a public intellectual tradition in Australia, although of course it is not confined to political science (see Head and Walter 1988). For example, the *Sydney Morning Herald* and *The Australian* publish their annual list of public intellectuals. Political science is usually represented and the lists are often headed by Robert Manne, who works in the Politics Department at La Trobe University. Nor is this a new role for political scientists. One of the discipline's founding figures was also a public intellectual. Henry Mayer wrote a fortnightly column, 'Speaking Freely', for *The Australian* from 1968 to 1976 (Murray Goot, personal communication). There is the Australian Public Intellectual Network (see: <http://www.api-network.com>). It publishes its list of 'Top 40' intellectuals, which includes two of our contributors (Stuart Macintyre and Glyn Davis). There are accessible journals encouraging public debate; for example, *Quarterly Essay*, in which one of our contributors (Judith Brett) also publishes.

Despite these several, long-standing contributions, there is a debate on whether public intellectuals are in decline. Head (1988a, 1) believes Australian public intellectuals 'have often been reluctant to adopt a high public profile'. Brett (1991, 521)

asks 'why so few academics are public intellectuals' and argues the institutionalisation of disciplines in bureaucratic universities works against both public engagement and good writing. This debate mirrors a larger debate about the decline and fall of the public intellectual (see Ignatieff 1997; Small 2002).

When public intellectuals opine there are too few public intellectuals in Australia, they are deploying a restricted notion. We need a broader notion of the public intellectual than the radical critic writing elegant essays. It is not a question of whether students of politics engage with the polity and civil society but how they do so. We need to distinguish the several forms of intellectual engagement. The instant we do so, it is clear the commitment of Australian political scientists to civic engagement runs deep and is closely related to the traditions of Australian political science. The 'subjective' notion of the public intellectual as radical critic writing elegant essays grows out of the humanist tradition. The 'cultural' notion of the public intellectual has its roots in the professionalisation and specialisation associated with modernist-empiricism and covers the ubiquitous political commentators on the ABC or SBS, the defence and security expert interviewed on news radio, and contributors to commissions of inquiry.

Whichever notion of public intellectual is used, it seems clear the academy is a ceaseless contributor to public debate. The subjective intellectual may dress in 'radical chic', but the cultural intellectual provides an endless parade of talking heads for the media. How one judges their respective merits and contributions is not the point at issue. Rather, public intellectuals exist within both traditions and whether measured by 'Top 40' lists or league tables of media 'hits', both are alive and well. Both are a prominent feature of Australian political science.

To talk of a bifurcated public intellectual may sound painful but it also draws attention to the dilemmas around speaking truth to power. Both forms of civic engagement can incur costs. The radical critic may have a high local profile but there are costs when international benchmarks are the measure of standing. International refereed journals do not publish essays, and essays for local readership attract few citations in international scholarly journals. The cultural intellectual courts the danger of becoming a servant of power. It is not as crude as telling the government what it wants to hear and legitimating their actions, although that can and does happen. The deeper danger arises if we let the government set the agenda for debate and respond to that rather than identifying our own independent set of intellectual concerns.

A pen portrait of the discipline

This brief survey of the main intellectual traditions in Australian political science presents a picture of a bifurcated profession, comprising scholars from the humanities and social sciences, writing for both academic journals and a general Australian readership (Brett, Chapter 3). Indeed, APSA institutionalised the difference; I am a member of the Australian Political Studies Association and I publish in its *Australian Journal of Political Science*. Compared with the USA and the UK, this bifurcated profession is small. For most of the 20th century, it was derivative in its

ideas and methods. Davis and Hughes (1958, 132) comment that Australian political scientists '[i]n their conception of politics and their manner of writing about it ... have generally followed the fashions current overseas'. Fifty years later, a more nuanced picture emerges. The influence of the USA and the UK continues (see, for example, Scalmer, Chapter 15, and Simms, Chapter 14). There is evidence of the European human sciences exercising an influence in some subfields (Tregenza, Chapter 5, and Johnson, Chapter 23). There are pockets of local excellence.

Allied to its small size, the profession has been criticised for weak professionalisation, pluralism, and eclecticism in its methods. Thus, Aitkin (1985, 30–1) expresses concern over the profession's failure to be accepted in Australian universities. This portrait is more accurate for the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s than it is for the 1990s and the 2000s, which have seen both institutional recognition and growing professionalism. Weller (Chapter 2) documents the discipline's acceptance. There is a caveat. The institutionalisation of the discipline is increasingly stymied by the recent faddish preoccupation of university management with reorganising departments, creating large units and setting up interdisciplinary research centres. In 1957, there were 36 political scientists in Australian universities. In 2008, there were 361. APSA also grew, although its membership did not keep pace with the growth in universities. Nonetheless, it offers more services and publishes a journal of growing international standing. In sum, in the post-war period, Australian political science has gradually become institutionalised and professionalised.

The scope of Australian political science is also much broader, as can be seen by comparing earlier surveys of political science with this one. By the late 1950s Davis and Hughes (1958, 132) noted that political science publications were becoming 'more substantial, specialised and professional'. Since then the *Australian Journal of Political Science* has expanded to four issues a year and won a respectable ranking for its citations and impact. There are more political scientists who publish more books and articles based on primary research. If Davis and Hughes (1958, 132) could not identify any area of strength other than Australian political institutions, the contributors to this volume identify national and international strength in several areas. Thus, public administration and public policy (Chapter 16) and executive studies (Chapter 9) are among the stronger sub-fields nationally and surface internationally on occasions. Political theory (Chapter 5) and international relations (Chapter 20) command high international standing. Australian political science now has a significant minority of internationally recognised scholars. Other sub-fields remain derivative with useful studies of no great distinction (see for example Scalmer, Chapter 15, on pressure groups). One sub-field – political psychology (Chapter 28) – was once a shooting star but is no longer to be seen in the night sky. All the authors essay an overall judgement of their sub-field. I will not summarise every chapter. If there is one overall generalisation, it is that most sub-fields surface internationally only intermittently but specialisation has borne fruit with Australia developing several sub-fields and scholars of international excellence.

With specialisation came a plurality of approaches and an eclecticism of methods. The themes of Part 3 amply illustrate this diversity. There is a 'passive pluralism' or 'patterned isolationism' that allows the new sub-fields to sit alongside the

established sub-fields and departments (Collini 2001, 299). So, for example, the study of indigenous politics and of gender thrives outside the political science mainstream. Specialisation translates into cadres. However, before we get carried away with this picture of growth, institutionalisation, specialisation, professionalisation, plurality, and international standing, I must sound a note of caution. Leslie Holmes's assessment of comparative politics (Chapter 18) is widely applicable; Australian political science is not uniformly excellent and the task is to explain the patchiness and late development of many sub-fields.

Explaining Australian political science

Many explanations have been offered for the characteristics of Australian political science described in the previous section. I consider: the small size and geographic dispersal of the discipline; the cultural cringe; the legacy of God professors; dependence on state funding; and local traditions and their recurring dilemmas.

Size and dispersal

It is hard to see why the small size of the Australian profession and its geographic dispersal should have had a decisive or even a major influence on the development of the discipline. All the Scandinavian countries, or if you prefer, The Netherlands, are smaller than Australia, but few would judge them inferior to Australia in standing or productivity. There is an argument that some departments do not reach the critical mass necessary to sustain research specialisation; that, too, is a hard argument to sustain. The Australian National University, Melbourne and Sydney are universities with international reputations but not all have a world-class political science department. Yet regional universities of lesser standing internationally have excellent political science departments. Size might influence the number of specialist sub-fields that can be supported but it does not preclude either specialisation or excellence.

Size rears its head in the argument that the teaching demands on small units drive out the space, or at least the will, for research (Bourke 1988, 66). The demands of the undergraduate curriculum are for generalist subjects that are deemed 'relevant' by students. Both factors work against a research-intensive culture in departments. For some colleagues, these points will resonate but as a general argument it will not do. There is frenetic competition for government funding and most universities have found ways of releasing staff from teaching and creating and funding separate research centres. Whatever the preferred explanation for the way political science developed, size and dispersal are not central to it. To this outsider, the argument based on size is an excuse.

The cultural cringe

According to Brian Head (1988a, 1–2) Australian academics display 'excessive deference', believing that 'Anglo-American internationalism provides a continuing lodestar for standards of excellence'. Crozier (2001, 14) rephrases this argument as 'a lack of self-confidence and belief'. Before the 1990s, commentators saw

Australian political science as derivative, provincial, even backward (see above, pp. 8–9). Both the humanist and the modernist-empiricist traditions have their roots respectively in the two distant metropolises. There is, therefore, some mileage in the argument. The cultural cringe hangs around in the stress on international benchmarking; for example, we are enjoined to publish in the 'best' journals, which means Northern hemisphere journals and the old university presses. At the government's request, APSA prepared a ranking of all political science journals and academic publishers (Rhodes and Hamilton 2007). The overwhelming majority of the A* journals and many A journals were American. But these journals rarely published academics from non-American universities; in effect they are American domestic journals (Sharman and Weller 2009). Their high standing is a function mainly of the size of American political science and their insular reading and citation habits. At the Australian National University, promotion to the most senior professorial level requires ten international (that is non-Australian) referees. At Berkeley, the equivalent promotion also requires 'international referees', but they mean from American universities such as Harvard, Yale, Columbia, Princeton, Stanford and so on.

So, is the cultural cringe still relevant to political science today? The short answer is 'no'. The longer answer is that everyone is influenced by American political science. At least Australia is also influenced by British interpretive empiricism and European human sciences. Also, by the 2000s, there were both established local traditions and distinctive sub-fields. The cultural cringe is yesterday's explanation, although perversely, as the profession matures, the Australian government continues to look to the Northern hemisphere for new policy ideas for the governance of higher education.

God professors

One explanation recurs in several chapters; a few key leaders exercised a disproportionate influence on the development of Australian political science and its sub-fields. Initially, their standing came from holding the only chair in a department. They were the heads of department, controlled the resources, and exercised much influence over people's careers. God professors ruled alone; 'the academic world was monotheistic' (Murray Goot, personal communication). Among the founding figures, it is hard to underestimate the formative influence of Henry Mayer on both the professionalisation of the discipline and on media studies and group theory. But he was not the only one and I provide a few examples. Pre-war, Francis A. Bland was public administration in Australia. Post-war their numbers included Perce Partridge followed by Dick Spann (Sydney), Gordon Greenwood and Colin Hughes (Queensland) and Bruce Miller and Fin Crisp (Australian National University).

As professorial appointments grew and as heads of department were no longer necessarily professors, God professors passed away. But key individuals still exercised disproportionate influence over developments in the study of Australian politics.

Of this second wave of pre-eminent scholars, T. H. (Harry) Rigby shaped Soviet Studies. Alan Davies and the Melbourne School of political psychology were a

distinct and distinctive group for 40 years, although the school exists now, at best, as a diaspora ('t Hart and Walter, Chapter 28). And that is the fate of many specialisations; too many disperse and decline with the passing of their figurehead. So, many sub-fields were dominated by one individual with whom there was little or no critical engagement over either their entire lifetime or over an extended period of their professional lives. The clusters that grew around an outstanding individual dispersed and declined when he or she moved on or died. For example, studies of the politics of the Australian states have declined with the retirement, emigration or death of lead researchers (John Wanna, personal communication). The pattern continues to this day. For example, Parkin and Hardcastle (Chapter 25) describe James Jupp as the pre-eminent figure in the study of immigration and multiculturalism; and Rhodes and Wanna (Chapter 9) accord Patrick Weller the same status in executive studies. God professors and their successors account for several of the diverse and fluctuating specialisations in Australian political science.

State funding

Of course, God professors do not act in a vacuum. Michael Stein (1995, 190) emphasises that 'the most important overall explanatory factor accounting for differences in the pattern of disciplinary legitimisation and institutionalisation is the structure of higher education in the different countries'. There are many possible influences. Of late, political science's legitimacy and identity have been threatened by the managerial fashion for interdisciplinary research and consequent merger of departments into larger faculties, schools or whatever. As Weller (Chapter 2) shows, there has been a tsunami of mergers with criminology, social enquiry, even tourism, as well as the more congenial history, humanities, and international studies. The single most important factors shaping Australian political science, however, are the scarcity of funding, and state funding.

Research requires financial support. Australia does not have a tradition of private sponsorship of social science research or of large foundations. Indeed, the emphasis on teaching rather than research means that for many political scientists the idea that they should undertake funded research is a recent one. Nowadays, most researchers rely on state funding. The social sciences are the poor relations of the natural sciences in funding from the Australian Research Council and funding for large projects is noticeably difficult to secure.

State funding can introduce its own distortions. The state has its priorities; it sets the research agenda. In Australia, that agenda is now explicit. The application form for the Australian Research Council asks every applicant to identify the project's relevance to the government's four national research priorities: an environmentally sustainable Australia; promoting and maintaining good health; frontier technologies for building and transforming Australian industries; and safeguarding Australia. The government targets research funding and influences the direction of research; for example, funding its interest in security studies in Australia's 'backyard'. It also imposes a natural science research epistemology, creating in the opinion of some commentators a 'slave social science' (Donovan 2005).

Local traditions and recurring dilemmas

Living traditions shape people's beliefs and practices but are, in turn, reinvented to deal with new challenges or dilemmas. Australian political science is strong where it has a long-standing engagement with the international political science community (for example, international relations); where it regularly engages with Australian government priorities (for example, public administration); and where it engages in a conversation with the larger community (for example, public intellectuals). As Judith Brett points out, there is public demand for our services in interpreting the history, conflicts and events of our polity and region, with the consequent potential readership for non-disciplinary writing in the press, journals of affairs and trade books (personal communication). I would add that both the 'subjective' and the 'cultural' intellectual are important for the standing of political science nationally (not internationally) but they have different ideas about their target audience, the nature of good research, and its dissemination.

It is not just local traditions that characterise Australian political science. It is also the dilemmas posed by conflicting traditions. Australian political scientists look to the humanist tradition with its mix of British interpretive empiricism and European human sciences. There may be an aversion to American 'scientism', but there is a growing amount of survey-based quantitative work. The political studies versus political science debate has not subsided, as it has in Britain, or been resolved in favour of political science as it has in the USA. It is ever-present, even if political scientists just get on with it in their preferred tradition most of the time. The divide rears its head in the debate about training PhD candidates and in the differing ideas about what constitutes good research. Head (1988a, 33) notes the contending polarities between reflective critique and seeking power and authority; between seeking a wider audience and peer group approval. Such dilemmas give Australian political science its distinctive local colouring, even its confusions.

Conclusions

The development of Australian political science does not fall into neat and tidy periods. The years up to the 1970s were the heyday of the humanities inheritance. The 1970s onwards saw the advent of the American influence and a plurality of approaches. The 2000s saw a more mature profession with a toehold on the international stage. Social science disciplines are often engaged in a perennial search for their 'core', and political science is no exception. The search encourages its protagonists to impose, even invent, coherent intellectual patterns and impose periods. So, the traditions cease to be 'unstable compounds' and turn into a chronological account of Australian political studies with each wave succeeded by a newer, better political science. But a debate about a discipline's core is usually a sign there is no such thing, only contending intellectual influences and traditions. I prefer the metaphor of the veins in a block of marble. Each tradition marbles the block that is present-day political studies. Earlier traditions still have their proponents; for example several members of my editorial board winced at my unthinking use of the epithet, 'political science'. They have a point. Many colleagues write political

biography and political history (see MacIntyre, Chapter 6, and Walter, Chapter 7). They are as much a part of the disciplinary family as those colleagues who aspire to the professional and scientific standing of American political science. Quickly I learnt to use the more cumbersome but less contentious 'political science and political studies'.

The humanist heritage persists in several ways. Many Australian political scientists continue to be trained in the UK, with relatively few trained in the USA (see Weller, Chapter 2). So, the link with the British heritage remains, although it broadens to marry British interpretive empiricism with European human sciences. The American influence persists in survey work, electoral studies and the persistent call for better methods of training for PhD candidates. This call is reinforced by the need to be competitive in the international PhD market. One person's aversion to quantitative analysis is another person's transferable skills for the job market.

To offer the portrait of a state-dependent, bifurcated profession could cast a shadow of despondency. That is not my aim. There are areas of excellence in which we can take pride and promote. We can confront such weaknesses as the formal training of postgraduates. We do not have to accept the dominance of American beliefs and practices about what is best in political science. We can take the lead in developing suitable benchmarks to measure our national and international standing. We can resist the natural science model of journal publication by devising measures of excellence for book publications; citations are not the only measure. Protecting Australian political science presupposes, however, that we know what we are protecting. This book is part of the process of building a self-aware profession, confident with its local traditions.

We are careless not only with our own traditions but in our present-day understanding of the state of the discipline. For example, at the workshop to discuss the draft chapters, there was much concern over the Australian contribution to the study of comparative politics because it was seen as insignificant. In fact, once we moved beyond the American model of cross-national quantitative studies, it became clear there were many contributions, with pockets of international excellence. We need to record, decentre and debate our traditions so we can hand them down to future generations, and explain ourselves to the wider world. We need to be aware about the ways in which these traditions shape our thinking about the history of the discipline, about PhD training, about the strengths and weaknesses of the discipline, and about its development. Those colleagues who search for a disciplinary core, for a shared intellectual agenda, are arguing from within a particular historical development narrative. In effect, they mean Australian political science ought to be more like American political science. Those colleagues who argue for a conversation with an Australian audience and for critical engagement with local issues do so largely from within the humanities traditions. They mean Australian political studies should be more like British interpretive empiricism and, increasingly, the European human sciences. There are larger intellectual communities with which we engage not only to guard against an inbred parochialism but to learn from their different, even challenging, intellectual agenda. The challenge is to foster regional distinctiveness and to engage internationally. For bodies such

as APSA, this mission translates into developing international benchmarks that do not treat American political science as the only relevant yardstick of performance. The world wide web killed geographic isolation and intellectual solipsism is no longer an option.

Notes

1. For a recently arrived émigré Brit to edit a book on Australian political science might seem presumptuous. I think it is an advantage because, as an outsider, I bring not only a fresh pair of eyes but I also have no old scores to settle, no position to defend. But I could not have done it without the encouragement and support of my Australian colleagues. I owe a great debt of gratitude to all the contributors to this volume. Much of what I know about the development of Australian political science comes from reading their work. I am also grateful to them for allowing me to raid their draft chapters for an understanding of the distinctive characteristics of Australian political science. I owe a special debt of gratitude to the following: Judith Brett (La Trobe) for advice on public intellectuals; Leslie Holmes (Melbourne) for advice on the development of Australian political science; Murray Goot (Macquarie) and Patrick Weller (Griffith) for advice on God professors; and Murray Goot and John Wanna (ANU) for advice on both the decline in the study of state politics and the standing of textbooks. None is responsible for the views expressed here but all made a valuable and valued contribution. I am also grateful to Mark Bevir (Berkeley) and Jenny Fleming (UTas) for their advice and comments.
2. See, for example, Adcock et al. (2006a), Farr et al. (1988), Finifter (1983, 1993), Goodin and Klingemann (1996a), Hayward et al. (1999), and Katznelson and Milner (2002). There are even comparative volumes; see, for example, Easton, Gunnell and Graziano (1991) and Easton, Gunnell and Stein (1995). Finally, there is the magisterial *Oxford Handbook of Political Science* under the general editorship of Robert Goodin.

a profound awareness of the way in which events beyond Australia's shores will affect this country. Australians tend to write about contemporary world events, or historical episodes they see as illuminating current events, with an explicit or implicit concern with how such events will affect Australia. Always, it seems, Australian writers are intensely aware of their country's size, location and relative privilege. The second influence is *structural*, an intense attention to the broad patterns of world politics and a conviction that sudden changes in these broad patterns could impact on Australia. From this influence arises a first-principles approach to understanding the basic structural realities affecting Australia's international location and role. The third influence is *political*, reflecting the culture of pragmatism that pervades Australian politics and policy, a preference for useable results rather than elegant theoretical frameworks.

Perhaps it was these tendencies among Australian writers on foreign and security policy that prompted Kubáľková and Cruickshank to write about international relations' 'parochialism' (Kubáľková and Cruickshank 1987). Certainly there are Australian writers who have made an impact beyond Australia, on a range of usually security-related topics: for example, Bull on arms control, Ball on intelligence, Bell on power politics. The international appeal of these authors was probably enhanced by the strongly pragmatic, no-nonsense way in which they approached their analyses. With the possible exception of writing on middle powers, however, it is hard to find a body of Australian writing on a common theme that has become internationally prominent. This is not due to the lack of quality of Australia scholarship; rather it is likely due to the progressive 'de-Americanisation of IR' and the slow separation of global international relations writing into distinct national or regional communities that take less and less interest in each other (Waever 1998, 726). This may change. World politics will see a decisive shift away from Western dominance over the next two decades. Australia, a Western country in Asia, will experience this shift from the front row. Australia's interpretations of the rise of Asia's great powers, and its distinctive tradition of writing on mediating cultural difference in world politics, may well become more compelling reading beyond Australia's shores in the years to come.

Note

1. My thanks to Jo Gilbert for her research on this project, and for comments and reactions to initial versions of this chapter to Richard Devetak and the members of the APSA workshop on the Australian Study of Politics in the Twentieth Century, Canberra, April 2008, and to attendees of the Panel on Realist Traditions at the OCIS Conference, Brisbane, June 2008.

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International Political Economy

John Ravenhill¹

International Political Economy (IPE) is a relatively new sub-field of international relations; it emerged in the 1970s in response to the new turbulence in international economic relations brought about by the devaluation of the dollar in 1971, and the oil-price-rise-induced stagflation of the mid-1970s (Cohen 2008; Ravenhill 2008c). The timing was not propitious as far as Australian universities were concerned. By the time that IPE was gaining a foothold in the academy worldwide, those in Australia were experiencing significant financial distress, a consequence of the Dawkins reforms of the mid-1980s. In an environment where most departments were facing hiring freezes if not actually declining in size, few opportunities arose for diversifying into the new sub-field. For much of the 1990s, only a handful of IPE specialists worked in Australian universities.

Even today, when a growth in the number of academics teaching international relations has occurred, relatively few scholars work on IPE in comparison with other sub-fields of IR such as security or normative theory (see Chapter 20 in this volume). And within the Australian IPE community, the array of interests reflects what, internationally, has become a very broad field of study. Contemporary research being conducted within Australia on IPE ranges from the political economy of everyday life, to the political economy of the environment, to feminist perspectives on development, to the more 'conventional' subject matter of the field associated with global and regional trade and finance regimes (for a survey of contemporary work in IPE in Australia see Sharman 2009).

To focus on the Australian study of the international political economy of the Asia-Pacific region, the mandate I was given for this chapter, is to cover only a part of the contemporary work on IPE in Australia, and to significantly shrink the pool of individual scholars whose work will be discussed. Nonetheless, it is in this limited sub-sub-field that Australian work has been concentrated. Whereas Australian contributions to many of the broad theoretical debates within IPE and to some of the subject's core areas, such as finance, have been marginal (a notable recent exception is the work of the now Europe-based Len Seabrooke – see especially Seabrooke 2006), they have played a leading role in developing the literature on the international political economy of the Asia-Pacific region.

Definitional questions immediately arise when attempting to produce a survey of Australian contributions to the study of IPE in the Asia-Pacific. What do we understand by 'IPE'? One of the principal themes in the emergence of IPE as a field was the increasing blurring between the domestic and the international that was occurring in an era of interdependence, later relabelled globalisation. For instance, one of the major areas of enquiry that has preoccupied students of IPE, especially scholars in the United States, has been the identification of the domestic sources of foreign economic policies, investigating the sources of policy preferences and how policy-making outcomes are shaped by domestic institutional configurations. The subject matter has an 'international' focus in that the dependent variable is foreign economic policies but, for some, this work is as much a contribution to the study of (in this instance) US politics or of comparative political economy as it is an exemplar of work within the field of IPE.

Despite both a blurring of conceptual boundaries and the capacity of some scholars to contribute on both sides of the notional 'fence', those who work in the field have little difficulty in assigning a study to the category of comparative political economy or that of international political economy. For instance, one of the most widely cited books by an Australian political scientist in any of the discipline's sub-fields, Linda Weiss's *The Myth of the Powerless State* (1998), would be regarded by all political economists as a work of comparative rather than international political economy – and thus although some of its cases are from East Asia, it is a work that belongs in a discussion of comparative politics rather than IPE.

This chapter examines contributions by Australians that lie within the field of international rather than Australian or comparative political economy. To avoid significant overlap with other chapters in this volume, I do not examine the domestic sources of policies but rather focus on Australia's international economic relations with the countries of the Asia-Pacific region and on Asia-Pacific regional economic institutions.

Most scholars of IPE share the view that the field is defined by its subject matter rather than by the application of any particular theoretical approach or methodologies (Frieden and Martin 2003; Ravenhill 2008b). There are no specific theories of IPE as such – debates on theory within the sub-field of IPE mirror those within the broader international relations field discussed in Chapter 20 of this volume. In the study of IPE in the USA in particular in the period since the early 1990s, theoretical approaches drawn from other areas of political science and from economics have played a prominent role, particularly the application of rational choice approaches. To date, such approaches have had little influence on Australian contributors to the field.

Defining IPE in terms of its subject matter acknowledges that contributions to the field may come from authors who would not classify themselves as 'international political economists' – the key factor is the content of the work rather than how scholars label themselves. This distinction is important in the Australian context because many of the early contributions – in the era before the economics profession became preoccupied with math modelling, and the IR profession discovered international economic relations – to what might reasonably be labelled IPE came

not from political scientists but from economists.² Before the 1980s, the term 'political economy' in Australia was largely synonymous with the work, primarily in an economic rationalist tradition, of the self-styled 'political economy' group then housed in the Economics Department at University of Sydney. By the mid-1970s, however, mirroring developments in the IR professions in the UK and the USA, political scientists in Australia began publishing on issues of international political economy, with a particular focus on relations between industrialised and less developed economies (the New International Economic Order [NIEO] debate, stimulated by the Harries Report on Australia and the Third World) and on resources issues, in response both to the resources diplomacy of the Whitlam era and the oil-price shocks.³

The growth of IPE as a sub-field of IR coincided with Australia's increasing economic and political engagement with East Asia. It was not surprising that Australian-based scholars turned their attention to this vibrant region, its growing economic interdependence, emerging architecture of regional collaboration, and the relationship that Australia was establishing with it. It has been through their scholarship on these issues that Australian scholars have made their principal contribution to IPE over the last two decades. They have typically taken theoretical approaches that have been developed elsewhere (most frequently within a broadly liberal institutionalist approach), applied them to the developments in the Asia-Pacific region, and arrived at conclusions that in some instances suggested the need for some modest tweaking of the approaches.

Although the number of Australian scholars involved in the study of the international political economy of the Asia-Pacific region has always been small, their output has been substantial. Relatively few single or co-authored books have been published, however; so journal articles and chapters in edited books constitute the vast majority of their work. Australian authors have figured prominently in the principal international journals devoted to the study of the Asia-Pacific region: *Pacific Affairs*, *Pacific Review*, *International Relations of the Asia-Pacific*, and, to a lesser extent, *Asian Survey*. Indeed, it would be reasonable to argue that the Australian contribution to the study of the international political economy of the region has been disproportionate to the small number of scholars involved. Little of their work has found its way into what are usually regarded as the most prestigious of the IPE journals – *International Organization* and *Review of International Political Economy* – in part because of the regional focus of the research. Another reason, however, at least in regard to *International Organization* and other US journals, is that most Australian authors have not utilised the rational-choice methodologies that have figured prominently in IPE research and publication in US universities in the past 15 years.

Conceptualising Australia's role in the region

Exactly how Australia can and should fit into the Asia-Pacific region has been a major preoccupation of Australian writing on IPE over the past 30 years. The

development economist Heinz Arndt (1965) offered an early conceptualisation, arguing that Australia was a 'midway' economy whose economic structure generated interests that overlapped considerably with those of its less-developed neighbours. By the mid-1970s, however, with the rise of the NIEO debate, and the emergence of a less interventionist line in key Australian economic ministries, especially the Treasury, Australia no longer identified with Third World commodity producers. Nonetheless, the commonalities between the structural problems faced by Australia and those confronting developing economies featured in some of the early Australian IPE work: building on the dependency theory approach that was popular at the time, Australia was portrayed largely as a passive actor in an emerging international division of labour that disadvantaged commodity exporters (Higgott 1987a, 1987b).

Middle power diplomacy

The activist diplomacy of the Hawke-Keating-Evans years brought a reassessment of the capacity of Australia to shape the environment in which foreign economic policies were conducted. The central informing concept was to conceive of Australia as a middle power, a status that proponents saw as offering Canberra an opportunity to 'punch above its weight' in international affairs by, among other things, promoting reform in regional and global trade regimes. One of the earliest statements came from a book co-authored by the then foreign minister, Gareth Evans (Evans and Grant 1991). The concept was elaborated by Richard Higgott in a co-authored project with two academics from Canada (Cooper, Higgott and Nossal 1990/1993), where the idea of 'middle power' diplomacy had first been developed. Ravenhill (1998c) provides an evaluation of the usefulness of the concept in the Australian context. A specific focus of the project by Higgott and his collaborators was Australian sponsorship of the Cairns Group of agricultural exporting countries, which linked Australia with, among others, its Southeast Asian neighbours Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines and Thailand (Higgott and Cooper 1990; Higgott 1989b). Gallagher (1988) had been the first to examine Australia's activist diplomacy through the Group. Kenyon and Lee (2006) provide the definitive history of the group from an Australian perspective.

Identity issues (and thus a soft constructivist approach) also came into the discussion of Australia's engagement with the region. Taking off from Huntington's (1993) argument that Australia was a country torn between its heritage of Western civilisation and the imperative of economic engagement with Asia, Higgott and Nossal (1997) suggest that Australia might best be viewed as a 'liminal' state whose sense of identity constrains deeper enmeshment with countries of the region. Wesley (1997) looks at the other side of the equation: how the policies of certain Asian countries were excluding Australia from the region. Beeson and Yoshimatsu (2007) see Australia as having the same status as Japan as 'odd men out' in the region.

This literature has also engaged, albeit loosely, with another dimension of constructivist theorising through its examination of the role of epistemic communities

in promoting closer regional economic integration. Of particular note here is a series of articles in the *Pacific Review* on policy networks in the Asia-Pacific region – especially Harris (1994), Leaver (1995), Higgott (1994), and an Australian contribution on the significance of these networks in Indonesia (MacIntyre 1995). In a similar vein, Matthews and Ravenhill (1996) analyse how the ideas about the reasons behind East Asia's rapid economic growth held by those Australian economists deeply involved in promoting inter-governmental collaboration in the region shaped their approach to the design of regional institutions.

Regional economic institutions

The origins of regional economic institutions, their effectiveness, and Australia's relations with them have been the focus of a substantial part of Australian writings on the IPE of the region over the past two decades. Woods (1993), a revised ANU PhD thesis by a Canadian who returned to his native country after completing the study, provides the most comprehensive discussion of the historical evolution of cooperation among Asia-Pacific states; Harris (1991, 1995) looks at the lessons for regional cooperation to be drawn from more contemporary developments, and the relationship between cooperation in economic and security fields. Camilleri (2003) includes extensive discussion on regional economic cooperation in his exhaustive study of Asia-Pacific regionalism; Pitty (2003) provides an historical account, drawing heavily on official documents.⁴

Of the various regional institutions established in the past 20 years, the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) grouping has received by far the most attention from Australian students of IPE. Ravenhill (2001b) provides a book-length treatment, pointing to the weaknesses of APEC from the perspective of the liberal institutionalist literature on international regimes. Other contributions that evaluate APEC's record from Australian authors include Beeson (1995b, 1996a); Beeson and Jayasuriya (1998); Cotton (1990); Higgott (1995); Higgott, Cooper and Bonnor (1990); Higgott and Stubbs (1995); MacIntyre (1997); and Ravenhill (1998b, 1999, 2000, 2002, 2007). For the most part, Australian political scientists, drawing on the theoretical literature on international cooperation, have been far more sceptical than their economist counterparts of the potential contribution that APEC can make to economic collaboration around the region. The failure of the efforts to accelerate trade liberalisation through a binding program of sectoral concessions, a crucial episode in APEC's evolution, is the subject of a detailed study by Wesley (2001b). The same author also discusses APEC in the context of the ineffectiveness of regional institutions' responses to the financial crises (Wesley 1999).

Australia's relations with ASEAN at one point received substantial attention – part of extensive work done by Australian scholars on ASEAN itself – but interest in both dimensions has atrophied in recent years. Frank Frost (1982), a long-time student of ASEAN based at the Parliamentary Library, contributed a chapter on the early years of Australia's relationship with ASEAN to a 1982 collection edited by the former Australian diplomat, Alison Broinowski. A follow-up volume on ASEAN a decade

later was also edited by Broinowski (1990). A special issue of the *Pacific Review* to commemorate ASEAN's 30th anniversary included an article on Australian–ASEAN relations by Ravenhill (1998a); the same author reviewed progress in ASEAN's economic integration for another special issue of *Pacific Review* that marked ASEAN's 40th anniversary (Ravenhill 2008a). Beeson (2002a) surveys the case for institutional change in ASEAN in the wake of the financial crises. As with the work on APEC, writings by Australian academics on ASEAN have generally been sceptical of the institution's effectiveness (far more so than those of their counterparts in Southeast Asia), particularly in its efforts to promote regional integration.

One reason for the general decline in interest in ASEAN is because the grouping itself has not been the principal focus for East Asian regionalism in the years since the financial crises of 1997–8. Rather, attention has turned on the one hand to institutions founded to construct a broader East Asian regionalism that integrates ASEAN with its large Northeast Asian neighbours (ASEAN Plus Three – China, Japan and Korea) or this grouping together with India, Australia and New Zealand (the East Asia Summit), and on the other to the proliferation of bilateral trade agreements in the region.

The processes that have led to the emergence of these East Asia-wide regional institutions have been explored by Bisley (2007) and Beeson (2003a). Beeson's (2002b) edited volume provides discussion of the broader context in which a post-crisis reconfiguration of the regional architecture has taken place. Ravenhill (2009) suggests that the weaknesses of broader East Asian regionalism can be traced to problems of institutional design, especially the reliance on ASEAN-style non-binding commitments.

From multilateralism to discriminatory trade

The move to preferential trade in the Asia-Pacific region has generated a much larger literature from Australian academics, not least because of the controversy surrounding Australia's own decision to negotiate bilateral discriminatory agreements. Ravenhill (2003) provides an overview of the motivations for the move to bilateralism across the region, and in subsequent works, a preliminary analysis of their effects (Ravenhill 2006a, 2008d). The literature on Australia's own involvement in preferential trade agreements (PTAs) dates back to the early 1980s, when Canberra was first approached by Washington with an offer to negotiate a bilateral preferential agreement. The economist Richard Snape was responsible for several reports commissioned by the government which, while primarily concerned with the economics of an agreement with the USA, also had substantial political economy content, particularly in the warnings they contained of the danger to Australian interests should it enter bilateral negotiations with a much stronger partner (for instance, Snape 1986, 1989). Bisley (2004) analyses why Australia chose to abandon its long-standing commitment to multilateral and non-discriminatory approaches in favour of PTAs. Capling (2008a) looks at how PTAs fit into the trade policy options available to the incoming Rudd Labor government.

Australia's PTA with the United States has attracted by far the most attention including two books. Capling (2005) places the agreement in the context of recent Australian trade policies that she details in a masterful history (Capling 2001), arguing that it undermines several of the principles that Australian negotiators had fought for over the previous three decades of Australian engagement with the WTO. Weiss, Thurbon and Mathews (2004) provide a critical review of the various chapters of the agreement. Its provisions on intellectual property, especially in relation to pharmaceuticals and their treatment under Australia's Pharmaceutical Benefits Scheme, have received substantial critical scrutiny, often from multi-disciplinary teams (for example, Faunce et al. 2005; Harvey et al. 2004). Leaver and DeBats (2001) and Garnaut (2002) also provided critical assessments of the type of agreement that could be expected from the negotiations that were under way when their articles were written.

Australia's other bilateral trade agreements have received relatively little attention – not surprisingly in that those concluded to date have been with countries that are relatively small economic partners. Negotiations with Australia's two largest trading partners, China and Japan, were still under way at the time of writing. Capling (2008b) argues that the decision to negotiate with Japan was driven primarily by geopolitical and strategic considerations rather than economic motivations, with the risk that Australia's economic interests and the economic architecture of the region more generally will be damaged. The focus of Mulgan's (2008) analysis is primarily on the effects of an Australia–Japan FTA on the prospects for liberalising the agricultural sector in Japan, but her conclusion – that the chances of reform are slim – has implications for the gains that Australia might expect to achieve from the agreement.

Bilateral economic relations with countries in the Asia-Pacific region outside of the context of PTAs have received little attention. Again, the United States has been an exception; several overviews have been published that all echo former Foreign Minister Bill Hayden's lament that in international economic relations Washington had treated Australia as an ally but not a friend (Higgott 1989a; Leaver 1998; Ravenhill 2001a). The broader US economic role in the Asia-Pacific region was addressed by Bisley (2006) and Ravenhill (2006b).

The political economy of agricultural trade with Japan was examined in several early contributions by Aurelia George Mulgan (George 1983, 1984). Rix (1986) provided another early contribution to the study of the relationship with Japan, a book that traces the history from the end of the Second World War to the signing of the Commerce Treaty of 1957 that normalised commercial relations between the two countries. In a series of articles, Beeson (1995a, 1996b, 1997) examined more recent developments, primarily from the perspective of the ineffectiveness of Australia's approach to bilateral bargaining (see also Barratt 1992).

Australia's economic relations with other parts of the region have received attention in the five-yearly surveys of Australia's foreign relations in the Australian Institute of International Affairs' *Australia in World Affairs* series (Cotton and Ravenhill 1997, 2001, 2007) but only as a relatively small part of a general review of bilateral relations.

Other regional interactions

The economic crisis that afflicted most of East Asia in 1997–8 attracted substantial interest from Australian academics. A couple of edited collections resulted from collaboration between Australian universities and foreign partners (Noble and Ravenhill 2000; Robison et al. 2000); these ranged across topics, from treatments of the domestic political economies of the crisis economies to the future of the regional and global financial architectures. Michael Wesley (2001c) examined Australia's response to the crisis. The same author also looked at the action taken by existing regional institutions in response to the crisis (Wesley 1999), a topic also covered by several of the contributions to Beeson (2002b). Mark Beeson (2000, 2003b) also wrote extensively on the response of the international financial institutions to the crisis (see also Leaver 2000). MacIntyre, Pempel and Ravenhill (2008) look back on the crisis a decade afterwards, examining how much long-term effect it had on the region's political economy.

Finally, a number of authors engaged with the growing literature on the emergence of production networks and the regionalisation of production in East Asia. Bernard and Ravenhill (1995), one of the most frequently cited articles on the political economy of the region, was an early contribution looking at the growth of Japanese investment in Southeast Asia in the period of the G7 Plaza Accord, and its implications for theories of foreign investment. Mathews and Cho (2000) examined the interaction between state action and production networks in the emergence of the semiconductor industry in East Asia.

Few Australian writers from an IPE perspective have paid attention to the South Pacific. The exception is Jason Sharman (2006), who included the South Pacific region in his work on offshore finance and tax havens.

Conclusion

As the number of references cited in this chapter indicates, Australian-based scholars have been prolific contributors to the recent literature on the international political economy of the Asia-Pacific region as well as on Australia's relations with the region. Indeed, with only a couple of exceptions, such as the University of California's Vinod Aggarwal and Miles Kahler, and McMaster University's Richard Stubbs, one can reasonably claim without being guilty of excessive parochialism that Australian scholarship has dominated the field.

As noted earlier in this chapter, it is not that Australian contributions have provided any dramatic theoretical breakthroughs – at their best, they have applied constructs developed in other contexts, with a modest tweaking of arguments arising from their application to the specifics of the Asia-Pacific region. Rather, it is through their in-depth analysis of regional institutions – especially APEC and, more recently, preferential trade agreements – that Australian scholarship has dominated the field. A cursory examination of citations would point to how other scholars have perceived these publications as the key contributions in their field.

Whether IPE scholars in Australia will continue to play a dominant role in the study of the Asia-Pacific region in the future is questionable. A substantial growth over the past decade in the capacity and quality of IPE scholarship in universities in East Asia has taken place. Moreover, the interests of the new generation of IPE scholars in Australia who have taken up posts in the past decade, as reflected by the contributions to Molloy and Reavill (2006), are far more diverse. And in this subject area in recent years, the balance in the movement of scholars (especially those in mid-career) between Australian and UK universities has strongly favoured the latter.

Notes

1. I am grateful to James Cotton for suggestions on early contributions to the IPE of Australia's relations with the Asia-Pacific region.
2. For an early survey of Australia's economic relations with the region see the chapter by John G. Crawford in Clunies Ross (1935).
3. For further discussion of the emergence of IPE as a sub-field of IR in Australia see Ravenhill (1991).
4. Three volumes of documents on Australian trade policies also contain significant commentary on Australia's economic relations with the region: Copland and Janes (1937), Crawford (1968) and Snape, Luttrell and Gropp (1998).