References

- Abers, R., 2003, 'Reflections on What Makes Empowered Participatory Governance Happen', in A. Fung and E. Olin Wright (eds), *Deepening Democracy: Institutional Innovations in Empowered Participatory Governance*, Verso, London, pp. 200–8.
- Adams, D. and Wiseman, J., 2003, 'Navigating the Future: The Case of Growing Victoria Together', *Australian Journal of Public Administration*, vol. 63, no. 2, pp. 11–23.
- Almond, G. and Verba, S., 1963, *The Civic Culture: Political Attitudes and Democracy in Five Nations*, Princeton University Press, Princeton.
- Althaus, C., 2008, *Calculating Political Risk*, UNSW Press, Sydney.
- Althaus, C., Bridgman, P. and Davis, G., 2007, *The Australian Policy Handbook*, Allen and Unwin, Sydney.
- Arnstein, S., 1969, 'A Ladder of Citizen Participation', *Journal of American Institute of Planners*, vol. 35, no. 4, pp. 216–24.
- Åström, J. and Grönlund, Å., 2011, 'Online Consultations in Local Government: What Works, When, and Why', in S. Coleman and P. Shane (eds), *Connecting Democracy: Online Consultation and the Flow of Political Communication*, MIT Press, Cambridge, Mass., pp. 75–96.
- Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2006, *Patterns of Internet Access in Australia, 2006*, Dataset: 8146.0.55.001, ABS website, Canberra, accessed 31 August 2009: www.abs.gov.au/AUSSTATS/abs@.nsf/Lookup/8146.0.55.001Main+Features12006?OpenDocument.
- Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2009, *Employee Earnings, Benefits and Trade Union Membership, Australia, Aug 2006*, Dataset: 6310.0, ABS website, Canberra, accessed 31 August 2009: www.abs.gov.au/AUSSTATS/abs@.nsf/Previousproducts/6310.0Main%20Features2Aug%202006?opendocument&tabname=Summary&prodno=6310.0&issue=Aug%202006&num=&view=.
- Australian Council of Trade Unions, 2009, 'About Trade Unions', ACTU website, accessed 31 October 2009: www.actu.asn.au/About/Tradeunions/default.aspx.
- Australian Labor Party, 2007, *ALP National Platform*, ALP website, Canberra,

- accessed 30 September 2009: www.alp.org.au/platform/chapter_11.php#11participation_in_the_democratic_process.
- Australian Survey of Social Attitudes, 2005, *Australian Survey of Social Attitudes, 2005*, Australian Social Science Data Archive, The Australian National University, Canberra, 2006 (ID: 01088-sa), accessed 30 October 2008: <http://aussa.anu.edu.au/>.
- Barber, M., 2007, *Instruction to Deliver: Tony Blair, Public Services and the Challenge of Achieving Targets*, Politico's, London.
- Barber, P., 2000, 'Vic – a lot of talk, but little consensus', *Australian Associated Press*, 30 March.
- Barnes, M., Newman, J., Knops, A. and Sullivan, H., 2003, 'Constituting "The Public" in Public Participation', *Public Administration*, vol. 81, no. 2, pp. 379–99.
- Barnes, M., Newman, J. and Sullivan, H., 2007, *Power, Participation and Political Renewal*, The Policy Press, Bristol.
- Barrientos, A. and Powell, M., 2004, 'The Route Map of the Third Way', in S. Hale, W. Leggett and L. Martell (eds), *The Third Way and Beyond: Criticisms, Futures, Alternatives*, Manchester University Press, Manchester, pp. 9–26.
- Bean, C., 1989, 'Orthodox Political Participation in Australia', *Australian & New Zealand Journal of Sociology*, vol. 25, no. 3, pp. 451–79.
- Bean, C. and Denemark, D., 2007, 'Citizenship, Participation, Efficacy and Trust in Australia', in D. Denemark, G. Meagher, S. Willson, M. Western and T. Phillips (eds), *Australian Social Attitudes 2: Citizenship, Work and Aspirations*, UNSW Press, Sydney, pp. 58–80.
- Beech, M., 2006, *The Political Philosophy of New Labour*, Tauris Academic Studies, London.
- Beetham, D. (ed.), 1994, *Key Principles and Indices for a Democratic Audit*, Sage, London.
- Beetham, D., Byrne, I., Ngan, P. and Weir, S. (eds), 2002, *Democracy under Blair: A Democratic Audit of the United Kingdom*, Politico's Publishing, London.
- Benhabib, S. (ed.), 1996, *Democracy and Difference: Contesting the Boundaries of the Political*, Princeton University Press, Princeton.
- Bentley, T. and Halpern, D., 2003, '21st Century Citizenship', in A. Giddens (ed.), *The Progressive Manifesto: New Ideas for the Centre-Left*, Policy Network, London, pp. 73–96.
- Berman, S., 2006, *The Primacy of Politics: Social Democracy and the Making of Europe's Twentieth Century*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- Berry, F., 1994, 'Innovation in Public Management: The Adoption of Strategic Planning', *Public Administration Review*, vol. 54, no. 4, pp. 322–30.
- Besson, S. and Luis Martí, J. (eds), 2006, *Deliberative Democracy and Its Discontents*, Ashgate Publishing, Aldershot.
- Bevir, M., 2005, *New Labour: A Critique*, Routledge, London.

- Bevir, M., 2010, *Democratic Governance*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, New Jersey.
- Bevir, M. and Rhodes, R.A.W., 2003, *Interpreting British Governance*, Routledge, London.
- Birch, A., 1993, *The Concepts and Theories of Modern Democracy*, Routledge, London.
- Bishop, P. and Davis, G., 2002, 'Mapping Public Participation in Policy Choices', *Australian Journal of Political Science*, vol. 61, no. 1, pp. 14–29.
- Blacher, Y. and Adams, D., 2007, 'Working Together for Stronger Victorian Communities', in S. Parker and N. Gallagher (eds), *The Collaborative State: How Working Together Can Transform Public Services*, Demos, London, pp. 71–86.
- Blackburn, D., 2011, 'Facing the Future? David Owen and Social Democracy in the 1980s and Beyond', *Parliamentary Affairs*, vol. 64, no. 4, pp. 634–51.
- Blair, T., 1998, *The Third Way: New Politics for the New Century*, The Fabian Society, London.
- Blair, T., 2003, 'Speech to the Labour Party Conference', 1 October, Labour Party Annual Conference, Brighton.
- Blond, P., 2010, *Red Tory: How Left and Right Have Broken Britain and How We Can Fix It*, Faber and Faber, London.
- Blunkett, D., 2003, 'Civic Renewal: A New Agenda', 11 June, Paper presented at the CSV Edith Kahn Memorial Lecture, London.
- Brackertz, N., 2006, 'Hard to Reach? Engagement, Governance and Community Consultation in Victorian Local Government', 25–7 September, Paper presented at Governments and Communities in Partnership: From Theory to Practice, Melbourne.
- Bracks, S., Faulkner, J. and Carr, B., 2010, *2010 National Review*, Australian Labor Party, Sydney.
- Bramble, T. and Kuhn, R., 2009, 'Continuity or Discontinuity in the Recent History of the Australian Labor Party?', *Australian Journal of Political Science*, vol. 44, no. 2, pp. 281–94.
- Bramston, T., 2011, *Looking for the Light on the Hill: Modern's Labor's Challenges*, Scribe Publications, Brunswick, Victoria.
- Brett, J., 2003, *Australian Liberals and the Moral Middle Class: From Alfred Deakin to John Howard*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- Brett, J., 2007, *Exit Right: The Unravelling of John Howard*, Black Inc, Melbourne.
- British Council, 2004, 'The Big Conversation', The British Council website, accessed 10 October 2010: www.uksee.et/policymaking/section4.php?link=1%7C31%7C32.
- Bromley, C., Curtice, J. and Seyd, B., 2004, *Is Britain Facing a Crisis of Democracy? A Working Paper*, Centre for Research Into Elections and Social Trends.

- Brown, K. and Keast, R., 2003, 'Citizen-Government Engagement: Community Connection through Networked Arrangements', *Asian Journal of Public Administration*, vol. 25, no. 1, pp. 107–32.
- Bunting, M., 2011, 'How Cameron fell out of love with his citizen organisers', *The Guardian*, 14 February, accessed 20 January 2012: www.guardian.co.uk/commentisfree/2011/feb/14/citizens-uk-big-society-coalition.
- Burchell, D., 2002, 'Perpetual Disillusionment?', in D. Burchell and A. Leigh (eds), *The Prince's New Clothes: Why Do Australians Dislike Their Politicians?*, UNSW Press, Sydney, pp. 62–77.
- Burchell, D., 2008, 'Smarty pants summit short on substance', *The Australian*, 28 April.
- Button, J. and Murphy, K., 2007, 'How the British came, saw and helped Rudd', *The Age*, 17 December, accessed 17 December 2007: www.theage.com.au/articles/2007/12/16/1197740090746.html.
- Cabinet Office, 1999a, *Modernising Government: White Paper*, Cabinet Office, London.
- Cabinet Office, 1999b, *People's Panel Newsletter Issue 2: Joined-up Public Services*, Cabinet Office, London.
- Calhoun, C. (ed.), 1992, *Habermas and the Public Sphere*, MIT Press, Cambridge, Mass.
- Callinicos, A., 2001, *Against the Third Way*, Polity Press, Cambridge.
- Cameron, D., 2009, 'The Big Society', *Hugo Young Lecture*, 10 November, London.
- Carson, L., 2001, 'Innovative Consultation Process and the Changing Role of Activism', *Third Sector*, vol. 7, no. 1, pp. 7–22.
- Carson, L., 2007, 'An Inventory of Deliberative Democracy Processes: Early Finding', accessed 15 May 2010: www.activedemocracy.net.
- Catt, H. and Murphy, M., 2003, 'What Voice for the People? Categorising Methods of Public Consultation?', *Australian Journal of Political Science*, vol. 38, no. 3, pp. 407–21.
- Cavalier, R., 2010, *Power Crisis: The Self-Destruction of a State Labor Party*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- Chadwick, A., 2006, *Internet Politics: States, Citizens and New Communication Technologies*, Oxford University Press, Oxford.
- Chadwick, A., 2012, 'Web 2.0: New Challenges for the Study of E-Democracy in an Era of Informational Exuberance', in S. Coleman and P. Shane (eds), *Connecting Democracy: Online Consultation and the Flow of Political Communication*, MIT Press, Cambridge, Mass., pp. 45–73.
- Charnock, D. and Ellis, P., 2003, 'The Structure of the Australian Party System and Its Strategic Consequences', *Australian Journal of Political Science*, vol. 38, no. 3, pp. 423–43.
- Childs, S., 2004, 'A British Gender Gap? Gender and Political Participation', *Political Quarterly*, vol. 75, no. 4, pp. 422–4.
- Clarke, J., 2005, 'New Labour's Citizens: Activated, Empowered, Responsibilized, Abandoned?', *Critical Social Policy*, vol. 25, pp. 447–63.

- Clift, B., 2004, 'New Labour's Second Term and European Democracy', in S. Ludlam and M.J. Smith (eds), *Governing as New Labour: Policy and Politics under Blair*, Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke, pp. 34–51.
- Clift, B., 2007, 'The Ségolène Royal Phenomenon: Political Renewal in France?', *The Political Quarterly*, vol. 78, no. 2, pp. 282–91.
- Colebatch, H. (ed.), 2006, *Beyond the Policy Cycle: The Policy Process in Australia*, Allen and Unwin, Sydney.
- Coleman, S., 1999, 'Can the New Media Invigorate Democracy?', *The Political Quarterly*, vol. 70, no. 1, pp. 16–22.
- Coleman, S., 2004, 'Whose Conversation? Engaging the Public in Authentic Polylogue', *The Political Quarterly*, vol. 75, no. 2, pp. 112–20.
- Commission on Social Justice, 1994, *Social Justice: Strategies for National Renewal: The Report of the Commission on Social Justice*, Vintage/Ebury, London.
- Considine, M., 2005, *Making Public Policy: Institutions, Actors, Strategies*, Polity Press, Cambridge.
- Considine, M. and Kamran, A.A., 2011, 'Legitimacy', in M. Bevir (ed.), *The Sage Handbook of Governance*, Sage Publications, London, pp. 370–84.
- Cook, A., 2011, 'ALP Left hangs tight to reforms as they step up numbers drive', *Crikey Online*, 5 December, accessed 5 December 2011: www.crikey.com.au/2011/12/05/alp-left-hang-tight-to-reforms-as-they-step-up-numbers-drive/.
- Coote, A., 1999, 'The Helmsman and the Cattle Prod', in A. Gamble and T. Wright (eds), *The New Social Democracy*, Blackwell Publishing, Oxford, pp. 117–30.
- Corbett, S. and Walker, A., 2012, 'The Big Society: Back to the Future', *The Political Quarterly*, vol. 83, no. 3, pp. 487–93.
- Costar, B. and Economou, N. (eds), 1999, *The Kennett Revolution: Victorian Politics in the 1990s*, UNSW Press, Sydney.
- Costar, B. and Hayward, D., 2005, 'Steve Bracks: Victoria's "Nice Guy" Who Won against the Odds', in J. Wanna and P. Williams (eds), *Yes Premier, Labor Leadership in Australia's States and Territories*, UNSW Press, Sydney, pp. 89–114.
- Crabb, A., 2005, *Losing It: The inside of the Labor Party in Opposition*, Pan Macmillan, Sydney.
- Cronin, J., 2011, 'Embracing Markets, Bonding with America, Trying to Do Good: The Ironies of New Labour', in J. Cronin, G. Ross and J. Shoch (eds), *What's Left of the Left: Democrats and Social Democrats in Challenging Times*, Duke University Press, Durham, pp. 116–40.
- Crouch, C., 2007, 'New Labour and the Problem of Democracy', in G. Hassan (ed.), *After Blair: Politics after the New Labour Decade*, Lawrence and Wishart, London, pp. 47–59.
- Crouch, C., 2011, *The Strange Non-Death of Neoliberalism*, Polity Press, Cambridge.

- Crowley, K. and Coffey, B., 2007, 'New Governance, Green Planning and Sustainability: *Tasmania Together* and *Growing Victoria Together*', *Australian Journal of Public Administration*, vol. 66, no. 1, pp. 23–37.
- Cunningham, J., 1999, 'Do People's Panels Represent the People?', Paper presented at the Public Management and Policy Association Lecture, 17 March, London.
- Cuperus, R., Duffek, K. and Kandel, J. (eds), 2001, *Multiple Third Ways: European Social Democracy Facing the Twin Revolution of Globalisation and the Knowledge Society*, Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, Amsterdam/Berlin/Vienna.
- Curtin, J., 2006, 'Joan Kirner: The First Feminist', in P. Stragio and B. Costar (eds), *The Victorian Premiers 1856–2006*, Federation Press, Sydney, pp. 351–62.
- Dalton, R., 1999, 'Political Support in Advanced Industrial Democracies', in P. Norris (ed.), *Critical Citizens: Global Support for Democratic Governance*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, pp. 57–77.
- Dalton, R., 2002, *Public Opinion and Political Parties in Advanced Industrialised Nations*, Chatham House, London.
- Davidson, K., 2000, 'How Jeff Kennett still rules by default', *The Age*, 30 March, p. 17.
- Davies, L., 2001, *Through the Looking Glass: A Dissenter inside New Labour*, Verso, London.
- Davis, G., 2008, 'One Big Conversation: The Australia 2020 Summit', *Australian Journal of Public Administration*, vol. 67, no. 4, pp. 379–89.
- Davis, G. and Weller, P., 2001, *Are You Being Served? State, Citizens, Governance*, Allen and Unwin, Sydney.
- Davis, R., 2011, *Tangled up in Blue: Blue Labour and the Struggle for Labour's Soul*, Ruskin Publishing, London.
- Department of Health, 2006, *South Australia's Strategic Plan – Analysis of Questions*, Government of South Australia, Adelaide.
- Department of Planning and Community Development, 2009, 'Indicators of Community Strength', Government of Victoria, Melbourne, accessed 10 October 2010: www.dvc.vic.gov.au/web14/dvc/dvcmain.nsf/allDocs/RWP0C64850047640DE5CA257045007FA734?OpenDocument.
- Department of Premier and Cabinet, 2000, *Annual Report 1999–2000*, Government of Victoria, Melbourne.
- Department of Premier and Cabinet, 2001, *Growing Victoria Together: Innovative State, Caring Communities*, Government of Victoria, Melbourne.
- Department of Premier and Cabinet, 2005, *A Vision for Victoria to 2010 and Beyond*, Government of Victoria, Melbourne.
- Department of Premier and Cabinet, 2008, *Growing Victoria Together Progress Report 2007–2008*, Government of Victoria, Melbourne.
- Department of Premier and Cabinet, 2009, *Growing Victoria Together: History*, Government of Victoria, Melbourne.

- Department of Prime Minister and Cabinet, 2008a, *Australia 2020 Summit: Final Report*, Commonwealth Government of Australia, Canberra.
- Department of Prime Minister and Cabinet, 2008b, *Australia 2020 Summit: Initial Summit Report*, Commonwealth Government of Australia, Canberra.
- Department of Prime Minister and Cabinet, 2009, *Responding to the Australia 2020 Summit*, Commonwealth Government of Australia, Canberra.
- Department of Victorian Communities, 2004, *Indicators of Community Strength in Victoria 2004*, Government of Victoria, Melbourne.
- Dolowitz, D. and Marsh, D., 2000, 'Learning from Abroad: The Role of Policy Transfer in Contemporary Policy Making', *Governance*, vol. 13, no. 1, pp. 5–23.
- Driver, S. and Martell, L., 1998, *New Labour: Politics after Thatcherism*, Polity Press, Cambridge.
- Driver, S. and Martell, L., 2001, 'Left, Right and the Third Way', in A Giddens (ed.), *The Global Third Way Debate*, Polity Press, Cambridge, pp. 36–49.
- Driver, S. and Martell, L., 2002, *Blair's Britain*, Polity Press, Cambridge.
- Driver, S. and Martell, L., 2006, *New Labour*, 2nd edn, Polity Press, Cambridge.
- Dryzek, J., 1996, *Democracy in Capitalist Times: Ideals, Limits, and Struggles*, Oxford University Press, Oxford.
- Dryzek, J., 2000, *Deliberative Democracy and Beyond: Liberals, Critics, Contestations*, Oxford University Press, Oxford.
- Economou, N., 2000, 'Political Chronicles: Victoria – January to June 2000', *Australian Journal of Politics and History*, vol. 46, no. 4, pp. 569–75.
- Economou, N., 2001, 'Political Chronicles: Victoria – January to June 2001', *Australian Journal of Politics and History*, vol. 47, no. 4, pp. 545–51.
- Edwards, J., 2011, 'Freedom, Free Institutions and the Big Society', *The Political Quarterly*, vol. 82, supplement 1, pp. 98–108.
- Edwards, M., 2004, *Civil Society*, Polity Press, Cambridge.
- Electoral Commission, 2005, *Election 2005: Turnout. How Many, Who and Why?*, Electoral Commission, London.
- Elster, J. (ed.), 1998, *Deliberative Democracy*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- Enroth, H., 2011, 'Policy Network Theory', in M. Bevir (ed.), *The Sage Handbook of Governance*, Sage Publications, London, pp. 19–34.
- Etzioni, A., 1993, *The Spirit of Community: Rights, Responsibilities, and the Communitarian Agenda*, Crown Publishers, New York.
- Evaluation Associates, 2000, *The People's Panel – First Year Evaluation*, Evaluation Associates, London.
- Fairclough, N., 2000, *New Labour, New Language?*, Routledge, London.
- Farrell, D.M. and McAllister, I., 2006, *The Australian Electoral System: Origins, Variations, and Consequences*, UNSW Press, Sydney.
- Fawcett, P., Manwaring R. and Marsh, D., 2011, 'Network Governance and the 2020 Summit', *Australian Journal of Political Science*, vol. 46, no. 4, pp. 651–68.

- Fawcett, P. and Rhodes, R.A.W., 2007, 'Central Government', in A. Seldon (ed.), *Blair's Britain 1997–2007*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, pp. 79–103.
- Fielding, S., 2003, *The Labour Party: Continuity and Change in the Making of 'New Labour'*, Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke.
- Fishkin, J., 2002, *Deliberative Polling: Toward a Better Informed Democracy*, Center for Deliberative Democracy, Stanford University, Stanford.
- Fishkin, J. and Laslett, P. (eds), 2003, *Debating Deliberative Democracy*, Blackwell Publishing, Oxford.
- Fitzpatrick, T., 2003, *After the New Social Democracy: Social Welfare for the Twenty-First Century*, Manchester University Press, Manchester.
- Flinders, M., 2004, 'New Labour and the Constitution', in S. Ludlam and M.J. Smith (eds), *Governing as New Labour: Policy and Politics under Blair*, Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke, pp. 126–43.
- Franklin, J., 2000, 'What's Wrong with New Labour Politics?', *Feminist Review*, vol. 66, no. 1, pp. 138–42.
- Fung, A. and Olin Wright, E., 2003, 'Thinking About Empowered Participatory Governance', in A. Fung and E. Olin Wright (eds), *Deepening Democracy: Institutional Innovations in Empowered Participatory Governance*, Verso, London, pp. 3–44.
- Gallop, G., 2001, 'Is There a Third Way?', in P. Nursey-Bray and C. Lee Bacchi (eds), *Left Directions: Is There a Third Way?*, UWA Press, Perth, pp. 32–41.
- Gallop, G., 2007, 'Strategic Planning: Is It the New Model?', *Public Administration Today*, January–March, pp. 28–33.
- Gamble, A., 2003a, 'Remaking the Constitution', in P. Dunleavy, A. Gamble, R. Heffernan and G. Peele (eds), *Developments in British Politics 7*, Palgrave MacMillan, Basingstoke, pp. 18–38.
- Gamble, A., 2003b, 'Why Social Democrats Need to Rethink the State', in M. Browne and P. Diamond (eds), *Rethinking Social Democracy*, Policy Network, London, pp. 95–104.
- Gamble, A. and Wright, T. (eds), 1999, *The New Social Democracy*, Blackwell Publishers, Oxford.
- Giddens, A., 1994, *Beyond Left and Right: The Future of Radical Politics*, Polity Press, Cambridge.
- Giddens, A., 1998, *The Third Way: The Renewal of Social Democracy*, Polity Press, Cambridge.
- Giddens, A., 2000, *The Third Way and Its Critics*, Blackwell, Oxford.
- Giddens, A. (ed.), 2001, *The Global Third Way Debate*, Polity Press, Cambridge.
- Giddens, A., 2002, *Where Now for New Labour?*, Polity Press, Cambridge.
- Giddens, A. (ed.), 2003, *The Progressive Manifesto: New Ideas for the Centre-Left*, Policy Network, London.
- Giddens, A. and Diamond, P. (eds), 2005, *The New Egalitarianism*, Polity Press, Cambridge.
- Ginsborg, P., 2005, *The Politics of Everyday Life*, Melbourne University Press, Melbourne.

- Goot, M., 2002, 'Distrustful, Disenchanted and Disengaged? Public Opinion on Politics, Politicians and the Parties: An Historical Perspective', in D. Burchell and A. Leigh (eds), *The Prince's New Clothes: Why Do Australians Dislike Their Politicians?*, UNSW Press, Sydney, pp. 9–46.
- Government of South Australia, 2007, *South Australia's Strategic Plan*, Government of South Australia, Adelaide.
- Gray, J., 1996, 'After Social Democracy: Politics, Capitalism and the Common Life', Demos, London.
- Gregory, J., 2002, *The People's Panel – a Second Evaluation*, Office for National Statistics, London.
- Habermas, J., 1974, 'The Public Sphere: An Encyclopedia Article', *New German Critique*, vol. 3, Autumn, pp. 49–55.
- Habermas, J., 1989, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere*, translated by T. Burger, MIT Press, Cambridge, Mass.
- Hale, S., Leggett, W. and Martell, L. (eds), 2004, *The Third Way and Beyond: Criticisms, Futures, Alternatives*, Manchester University Press, Manchester.
- Halter, M., 2002, 'Theory and Method in the Comparative Study of Values: Critique and Alternative to Inglehart', *European Sociological Review*, vol. 18, no. 2, pp. 139–58.
- Hamilton, C., 2006, 'What's Left? The Death of Social Democracy', *Quarterly Essay*, no. 21, pp. 1–65.
- Hartz-Karp, J., 2005, 'A Case Study in Deliberative Democracy: Dialogue with the City', *Journal of Public Deliberation*, vol. 1, no. 1, article 6.
- Hattersley, R., 2003, 'Labour's exercise in listening is bogus – but to be welcomed', *The Guardian*, 1 December, accessed 25 January 2010: www.theguardian.com/politics/2003/dec/01/society.publicservices1.
- Hauss, C. and Rayside, D., 1978, 'The Development of New Parties in Western Democracies since 1945', in L. Maisel and J. Cooper (eds), *Political Parties: Development and Decay*, Sage, London, pp. 31–54.
- Hay, C., 1999, *The Political Economy of New Labour: Labouring under False Pretences*, Manchester University Press, Manchester.
- Hay, C., 2007, *Why We Hate Politics*, Polity Press, Cambridge.
- Head, B., 2007, 'Community Engagement: Participation on Whose Terms?', *Australian Journal of Political Science*, vol. 42, no. 3, pp. 441–51.
- Heffernan, R., 2003, 'Political Parties and the Party System', in P. Dunleavy, A. Gamble, R. Heffernan and G. Peele (eds), *Developments in British Politics* 7, Palgrave MacMillan, Basingstoke, pp. 119–39.
- Held, D., 1987, *Models of Democracy*, Polity Press, Cambridge.
- Held, D., 1996, *Models of Democracy*, 2nd edn, Stanford University Press, Stanford.
- Held, D., 2006, *Models of Democracy*, 3rd edn, Polity Press, Cambridge.
- Henneberg, S. and O'Shaughnessy, N.J., 2002, *The Idea of Political Marketing*, Greenwood Publishing Group, UK.
- Hindess, B., 1997, 'Democracy and Disenchantment', *Australian Journal of Political Science* vol. 32, no. 1, pp. 79–93.

- Hirst, P., 2000, 'Democracy and Governance', in J. Pierre (ed.), *Debating Governance: Authority, Steering and Democracy*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, pp. 13–35.
- Hollingshead, I., 2006, 'Whatever happened to ... the Big Conversation?', *The Guardian Online*, 18 February, accessed 31 October 2009: www.guardian.co.uk/politics/2006/feb/18/labour.uk.
- Hug, S., 2000, 'Studying the Electoral Success of New Political Parties: A Methodological Note', *Party Politics*, vol. 6, no. 2, pp. 187–97.
- Hughes, C. and Wintour, P., 1990, *Labour Rebuilt: The New Model Party*, Fourth Estate, London.
- Inglehart, R., 1977, *The Silent Revolution: Changing Values and Political Styles in Advanced Industrial Society*, Princeton University Press, Princeton.
- Inglehart, R., 1990, *Culture Shift in Advanced Industrial Society*, Princeton University Press, Princeton.
- International Association for Public Participation, 2004, *Spectrum of Public Engagement – Factsheet*, International Association for Public Participation, Denver, Colorado.
- Jaensch, D., Brent, P. and Bowden, B., 2004, *Australian Political Parties in the Spotlight*, Democratic Audit of Australia, Australian National University, Canberra.
- Jessop, B., 2011, 'Metagovernance', in M. Bevir (ed.), *The Sage Handbook of Governance*, Sage Publications, London, pp. 106–22.
- Johnson, C., 1989, *The Labor Legacy: Curtin, Chifley, Whitlam, Hawke*, Allen & Unwin, Sydney.
- Johnson, C., 2008, 'Kevin Rudd and the Labor Tradition: Economy, Technology and Social Diversity', Paper presented at the Australian Political Studies Association Conference, Brisbane.
- Johnson, C., 2011, 'Gillard, Rudd and the Labor Tradition', *Australian Journal of Politics and History*, vol. 57, no. 4, pp. 562–79.
- Johnson, C. and Tonkiss, F., 2002, 'The Third Influence: The Blair Government and Australian Labor', *Policy and Politics*, vol. 30, no. 1, pp. 5–18.
- Keane, J., 2009, *The Life and Death of Democracy*, Simon and Schuster, London.
- Kelly, P., 2003, 'Ideas and Policy Agendas in Contemporary Politics', in P. Dunleavy, A. Gamble, R. Heffernan and G. Peele (eds), *Developments in British Politics 7*, Palgrave MacMillan, Basingstoke, pp. 242–60.
- Kelly, P., 2011, 'Red or Orange: The Big Society in the New Conservatism', *The Political Quarterly*, vol. 81, supplement 1, pp. 22–34.
- Kerley, B. and Starr, G., 2000, 'Public Consultation – Adding Value or Impeding Policy?', *Agenda*, vol. 7, no. 2, pp. 185–92.
- Kettle, M., 2009, 'What ever happened to Gordon's Goats?', *The Guardian*, 8 July.
- Kisby, B., 2010, 'The Big Society: Power to the People?', *The Political Quarterly*, vol. 81, no. 4, pp. 484–91.
- Kjaer, A., 2004, *Governance*, Polity Press, Cambridge.

- Klingeman, H.D., 1999, 'Mapping Political Support in the 1990s: A Global Analysis', in P. Norris (ed.), *Critical Citizens – Global Support for Democratic Governance*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, pp. 31–56.
- Labour Party, 1989, *Meet the Challenge, Make the Change*, Labour Party, London.
- Labour Party, 1997, *New Labour: Because Britain Deserves Better – 1997 General Election Manifesto*, Labour Party, London.
- Labour Party, 2003, *A Future Fair for All*, Labour Party, London.
- Labour Party, 2004, *Britain is Working*, Labour Party, London.
- Labour Party, 2008, *Making Policy*, Labour Party, London.
- Latham, M., 1998, *Civilising Global Capital: New Thinking for Australian Labor*, Allen and Unwin, Sydney.
- Latham, M., 2001, 'The Third Way: An Outline', in A. Giddens (ed.), *The Global Third Way Debate*, Polity Press, Cambridge, pp. 25–35.
- Latham, M., 2006, *The Latham Diaries*, Melbourne University Press, Carlton, Victoria.
- Leigh, A., 2002, 'Explaining Distrust: Popular Attitudes to Politicians in Australia and the US', in D. Burchell and A. Leigh (eds), *The Prince's New Clothes: Why Do Australians Dislike Their Politicians?*, UNSW Press, Sydney, pp. 47–61.
- Leigh, A., 2010, *Disconnected*, New South, Sydney.
- Lilleker, D.G. and Lees-Marshment, J., 2005, *Political Marketing: A Comparative Perspective*, Manchester University Press, Manchester.
- Ling, T., 2002, 'Delivering Joined-up Government in the UK: Dimensions, Issues and Problems', *Public Administration*, vol. 80, no. 4, pp. 615–42.
- Lowndes, V., Pratchett, L. and Stoker, G., 2001, 'Trends in Public Participation: Part 2 – Citizens' Perspectives', *Public Administration*, vol. 79, no. 2, pp. 445–55.
- Ludlam, S., 2004, 'Introduction: Second Term New Labour', in S. Ludlam and M.J. Smith (eds), *Governing as New Labour: Policy and Politics under Blair*, Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke, pp. 1–15.
- Ludlam, S. and Smith M.J. (eds), 2004, *Governing as New Labour: Policy and Politics under Blair*, Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke.
- Lukes, S., 1999, 'The Last Word on the Third Way', *The Review*, Social Market Foundation, London.
- McAllister, I., 1992, *Political Behaviour*, Longman Cheshire, Melbourne.
- McAllister, I., 1997, 'Political Behaviour', in J. Summers, A. Parkin and D. Woodward (eds), *Government Politics Power & Policy in Australia*, Longman Cheshire, Melbourne, pp. 240–68.
- McCann, J., 2012, *Community Cabinets in Australia – Background Note*, Department of Parliamentary Services, Canberra.
- McHugh, J., 2002, 'Public services given thumbs down by the People's Panel', *Public Finance*, August 9–22.
- Macintyre, C., 2006, 'State of South Australia: Trends and Issues 2006 Update: Politics Update', in J. Spoehr (ed.), *State of South Australia*,

- Australian Institute for Social Research & Don Dunstan Fdn, Adelaide, pp. 137–42.
- McKnight, D., 2005, *Beyond Left and Right: New Politics and the Culture Wars*, Allen & Unwin, Sydney.
- McLaverty, P., 2011, 'Participation', in M. Bevir (ed.), *The Sage Handbook of Governance*, Sage Publications, London, pp. 402–18.
- MacPherson, C.B., 1973, *Democratic Theory: Essays in Retrieval*, Clarendon Press, Oxford.
- Maddison, S. and Denniss, R., 2009, *An Introduction to Australian Public Policy*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- Maddox, G., 1989, *The Hawke Government and Labor Tradition*, Penguin, Ringwood, Victoria.
- Maddox, G., 1991, 'Australian Labor and the Socialist Tradition', *Australian Journal of Political Science*, vol. 26, no. 2, pp. 181–96.
- Mair, P., 2002, 'Populist Democracy vs. Party Democracy', in Y. Mény and Y. Surel (eds), *Democracies and the Populist Challenge*, Palgrave, Basingstoke, pp. 81–98.
- Mair, P. and van Biezen, I., 2001, 'Party Membership in Twenty European Democracies, 1980–2000', *Party Politics*, vol. 7, no. 1, pp. 5–21.
- Maloney, W., 2006, 'Political Participation Beyond the Political Arena', in P. Dunleavy, R. Heffernan, R. Cowley and C. Hay (eds), *Developments in British Politics* 8, Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke, pp. 98–116.
- Manne, R., 2008a, 'Comment', *The Monthly*, May.
- Manne, R., 2008b, 'What Is Rudd's Agenda?', *The Monthly*, November, pp. 22–32.
- Manning, H., 2002, 'South Australia – Political Chronicle (January–June 2002)', *Australian Journal of Politics and History*, vol. 48, no. 4.
- Manning, H., 2004, 'South Australia – Political Chronicle (July–December 2003)', *Australian Journal of Politics and History*, vol. 50, no. 2.
- Manning, H., 2005, 'Mike Rann: A Fortunate "King of Spin"', in J. Wanna and P. Williams (eds), *Yes, Premier: Labor Leadership in Australia's States and Territories*, UNSW Press, Sydney, pp. 197–224.
- Marquand, D., 1998, 'The Blair Paradox', *Prospect*, May, pp. 19–24.
- Marquand, D., 1999, 'Premature Obsequies: Social Democracy Comes in from the Cold', in A. Gamble and T. Wright (eds), *The New Social Democracy*, Blackwell Publishers, Oxford, pp. 10–18.
- Marsh, D., Lewis, C. and Fawcett, P., 2010, 'Citizen-Centre Policy Making under Rudd: Network Governance in the Shadow of Hierarchy?', in C. Aulich and M. Evans (eds), *The Rudd Government: Australian Commonwealth Administration 2007–2010*, ANU E Press, Canberra, pp. 143–60.
- Marsh, I., 1995, *Beyond the Two Party System: Political Representation, Economic Competitiveness, and Australian Politics*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- Marsh, I., 2005, 'Neo-Liberalism and the Decline of Democratic Governance in Australia', *Political Studies*, vol. 53, no. 1, pp. 22–42.

- Marsh, I. and Miller, R., 2012, *Democratic Decline and Democratic Renewal: Political Change in Britain, Australia and New Zealand*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- Mayo, E., 1996, *The Human Problems of an Industrial Civilization*, Viking Press, New York.
- Mendes, P., 2000, 'Mark Latham, the Third Way, and the Australian Welfare State', *Melbourne Journal of Politics*, vol. 27, pp. 85–103.
- Merkel, W., 2001, 'The Third Ways of Social Democracy', in R. Cuperus, K. Duffek and J. Kandel (eds), *Multiple Third Ways: European Social Democracy Facing the Twin Revolution of Globalisation and the Knowledge Society*, Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, Amsterdam/Berlin/Vienna, pp. 27–62.
- Merkel, W., Petring, A., Henkes, C. and Egle, C., 2008, *Social Democracy in Power: The Capacity to Reform*, Routledge, London and New York.
- Meyer, T., 2001, 'Modern Social Democracy: Common Ground and Disputed Issues', in R. Cuperus, K. Duffek and J. Kandel (eds), *Multiple Third Ways: European Social Democracy Facing the Twin Revolution of Globalisation and the Knowledge Society*, Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, Amsterdam/Berlin/Vienna, pp. 187–98.
- Miliband, D., 2001, 'Speech on the European Left', *New Statesman*, 8 March, accessed 10 October 2011: www.newstatesman.com/uk-politics/2011/03/centre-parties-social.
- Ministry of Justice, 2008, *Governance of Britain: One Year On*, Ministry of Justice, London.
- Miragliotta, N., 2010, 'Minor Parties and Independents', in D. Woodward, A. Parkin and J. Summers (eds), *Government, Politics, Power and Policy in Australia*, Pearson, Frenchs Forest, NSW, pp. 257–71.
- MORI, 1998, *Technical Report on the People's Panel Main Stage*, Cabinet Office, London.
- MORI, 1999, *The Views of People Aged 50+ Towards Public Services*, Cabinet Office, London.
- MORI, 2000, *Attitudes to Public Services in Deprived Areas – Final Report*, Cabinet Office, London.
- MORI, 2002, *Monitoring Satisfaction: Trends from 1998–2002*, The Prime Minister's Office for Public Reform, Cabinet Office, London.
- Moschonas, G., 2002, *In the Name of Social Democracy: The Great Transformation, 1945 to the Present*, Verso, London.
- Mossberger, K., 2009, 'Toward Digital Citizenship: Addressing Inequality in the Information Age', in A. Chadwick and P. Howard (eds), *The Routledge Handbook of Internet Politics*, Routledge, Abingdon, pp. 173–85.
- Mouffe, C., 2000, *The Democratic Paradox*, Verso, London.
- Mulgan, G., 2006, *Good and Bad Power: The Ideals and Betrayals of Government*, Allen Lane, London.
- Mullen, J., 2006, 'John Major's Citizens Charter – Fifteen Years Later', in R. Espiet Kiely and T. Whitton (eds), *Citoyens ou consommateurs?: Les*

- mutations rhétoriques et politiques au Royaume-Uni*, Presses Universitaires Blaise-Pascal, Clermont-Ferrand, pp. 33–51.
- Munro-Clark, M. (ed.), 1992, *Citizen Participation in Government*, Hale & Iremonger, Sydney.
- Nethercote, J., 2008, '2020 Summit snubs over-75s and Queenslanders', *Crikey Online*, 1 April 2008, accessed 31 October 2009: www.crikey.com.au/2008/04/01/2020-summit-snubs-over-75s-and-queenslanders/.
- Newman, J., 2001, *Modernising Governance: New Labour, Policy and Society*, Sage Publications, London.
- Newman, J., 2005, 'Participative Governance and the Remaking of the Public Sphere', in J. Newman (ed.), *Remaking Governance: Peoples, Politics and the Public Sphere*, The Policy Press, Bristol, pp. 119–38.
- Newman, J. and Clarke, J., 2009, *Public, Politics and Power: Remaking the Public in Public Services*, Sage Publications, London.
- Norman, J., 2010, *The Big Society: The Anatomy of the New Politics*, University of Buckingham Press, Buckingham.
- Norris, P. (ed.), 1999, *Critical Citizens: Global Support for Democratic Government*, Oxford University Press, Oxford.
- Norris, P., 2001, 'New Labour and Public Opinion: The Third Way as Centrism?', in S. White (ed.), *New Labour: The Progressive Future*, Palgrave, Oxford, pp. 32–44.
- Norris, P., Lovenduski, J. and Campbell, R., 2004, *Gender and Political Participation*, Electoral Commission, London.
- Norton, P., 2007, 'The Constitution', in A. Seldon (ed.), *Blair's Britain 1997–2007*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, pp. 104–22.
- Nye, J., 1997, 'In Government We Don't Trust', *Foreign Policy*, vol. 108, Fall, pp. 99–111.
- O'Neil, A., 2003, 'South Australia – Political Chronicle (July to December 2002)', *Australian Journal of Politics and History*, vol. 49, no. 2.
- O'Reilly, D., 2007, *The New Progressive Dilemma: Australia and Tony Blair's Legacy*, Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke.
- Osborne, D. and Gaebler, T., 1992, *Reinventing Government: How the Entrepreneurial Spirit Is Transforming the Public Sector*, Plume Books, New York.
- Owen, D., 1981, *Face the Future*, Cape, London.
- Page, B., 2007, *Public Sector Delivery – What Does the British Experience Teach Us?*, Presentation to South Australian Public Service Conference, June, Adelaide.
- Papacharissi, Z., 2009, 'The Virtual Sphere 2.0: The Internet, the Public Sphere, and Beyond', in A. Chadwick and P. Howard (eds), *Routledge Handbook of Internet Politics*, Routledge, Abingdon, pp. 230–45.
- Papadakis, E., 2001, 'Social Movements and Citizens in Action', in G. Davis and P. Weller (eds), *Are You Being Served? State, Citizens and Governance*, Allen and Unwin, Sydney, pp. 36–57.

- Parkin, A., 2003, 'South Australia – Political Chronicle (January–June 2003)', *Australian Journal of Politics and History*, vol. 49, no. 4.
- Parkin, A., 2005, 'South Australia – Political Chronicle (July–December 2004)', *Australian Journal of Politics and History*, vol. 51, no. 2.
- Parkin, A. and Marshall, V., 1994, 'Frustrated, Reconciled, or Divided? The Australian Labor Party and Federalism', *Australian Journal of Political Science*, vol. 29, no. 1, pp. 18–39.
- Parkin, A. and Patience, A. (eds), 1981, *The Dunstan Decade: Social Democracy at the State Level*, Longman Cheshire, Melbourne.
- Parry, G., Moyser, G. and Day, N., 1992, *Political Participation and Democracy in Britain*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- Passey, A. and Lyons, M., 2005, 'Voluntary Associations and Political Participation', in S. Wilson, G. Meagher, R. Gibson, D. Denemark and M. Western (eds), *Australian Social Attitudes: The First Report*, UNSW Press, Sydney, pp. 62–81.
- Pateman, C., 1970, *Participation and Democratic Theory*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- Pattie, C., Seyd, B. and Whiteley, P., 2003a, 'Civic Attitudes and Engagement in Modern Britain', *Parliamentary Affairs*, vol. 56, no. 4, pp. 616–33.
- Pattie, C., Seyd, B. and Whiteley, P., 2003b, 'Citizenship and Civic Engagement: Attitudes and Behaviour in Britain', *Political Studies*, vol. 51, pp. 443–68.
- Pattie, C., Seyd, B. and Whiteley, P., 2004, *Citizenship in Britain: Values, Participation and Democracy*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- Peele, G., 2003, 'Politics in England and Wales', in P. Dunleavy, A. Gamble, R. Heffernan and G. Peele (eds), *Developments in British Politics 7*, Palgrave MacMillan, Basingstoke, pp. 203–21.
- Petts, J. and Leach, B., 2000, *Evaluating Methods for Public Participation: Literature Review – R&D Technical Report E135*, Environment Agency, London.
- Pierre, J., 2000, 'Introduction – Understanding Governance', in J. Pierre (ed.), *Debating Governance: Authority, Steering and Democracy*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, pp. 1–12.
- Pierson, C., 2001, *Hard Choices: Social Democracy in the 21st Century*, Polity Press, Cambridge.
- Pierson, C. and Castles, F., 2002, 'Australian Antecedents of the Third Way', *Political Studies*, vol. 50, no. 1, pp. 683–702.
- Pollock, A., 2004, *NHS Plc*, Verso, London.
- Power Inquiry, 2006, *The Report of Power: An Independent Inquiry into Britain's Democracy*, The Joseph Rowntree Foundation, York.
- Pratchett, L., 1999, 'New Fashions in Public Participation: Towards Greater Democracy?', *Parliamentary Affairs*, vol. 52, no. 4, pp. 616–34.
- Przeworski, A. and Teune H., 1970, *The Logic of Comparative Social Inquiry*, John Wiley and Sons, New York.
- Public Administration Committee, 1999, *Public Administration – Minutes of Evidence*, 7 December, House of Commons, London, accessed 20 January

- 2010: www.publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm199900/cmselect/cmpubadm/79/9120701.htm.
- Public Administration Select Committee, 2011, *The Big Society – Seventeenth Report of Session 2010–2012 Vol 1*, House of Commons, London.
- Reddel, T. and Woolcock, G., 2004, 'From Consultation to Participatory Governance? A Critical Review of Citizen Engagement Strategies in Queensland', *Australian Journal of Political Administration*, vol. 63, no. 3, pp. 75–87.
- Rhodes, R.A.W., 1994, 'The Hollowing out of the State', *The Political Quarterly*, vol. 65, no.2, pp. 138–51.
- Rhodes, R.A.W., 1996, 'The New Governance: Governing without Government', *Political Studies*, vol. 44, pp. 652–67.
- Rhodes, R.A.W., 2000, 'Governance and Public Administration', in J. Pierre (ed.), *Debating Governance: Authority, Steering and Democracy*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, pp. 54–90.
- Richards, D. and Smith, M.J. (eds), 2004, 'The "Hybrid State": Labour's Response to the Challenge of Governance', in S. Ludlam and M.J. Smith (eds), *Governing as New Labour: Policy and Politics under Blair*, Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke, pp. 106–25.
- Richardson, H., 2002, *Democratic Autonomy: Public Reasoning About the Ends of Policy*, Oxford University Press, Oxford.
- Rudd, K., 2008a, 'Hard Heads, Soft Hearts: A Future Reform Agenda for the New Australian Government', Paper presented at the Progressive Governance Conference, 4 April, London.
- Rudd, K., 2008b, 'Opening Remarks to Australia 2020 Summit', Australia 2020 Summit, 28 April.
- Rudd, K., 2009, 'The global financial crisis', *The Monthly*, February.
- Rutherford, J., 2010, 'Labour's Good Society', *Soundings*, vol. 46, pp. 6–17.
- SA Health, 2010, *South Australian Strategic Plan: Selected Targets Survey Results 2010*, Government of South Australia, Adelaide.
- Salvaris, M., Burke, T., Pidgeon, J. and Kelman, S., 2000, *Social Benchmarks and Indicators for Victoria*, Institute for Social Research, Swinburne University of Technology, Melbourne.
- Sandercock, L., 1978, 'Citizen Participation: The New Conservatism', in P. Troy (ed.), *Federal Power in Australia's Cities*, Hale and Iremonger, Sydney, pp. 117–32.
- Sanders, D., Clarke, H., Stewart, M. and Whiteley, P., 2005, *The 2005 General Election in Great Britain: Report for the Electoral Commission*, Electoral Commission, London.
- SASP Audit Committee, 2006, *South Australia's Strategic Plan: Progress Report 2006*, Government of South Australia, Adelaide.
- SASP Update Team, 2006a, *Have Your Say It's Your State: SASP – Final Community Engagement Report*, Government of South Australia, Adelaide.
- SASP Update Team, 2006b, *Have Your Say It's Your State: SASP – Preliminary Community Engagement Report*, South Australian Government, Adelaide.

- Sassoon, D., 1997, *One Hundred Years of Socialism: The West European Left in the Twentieth Century*, Fontana Press, London.
- Sawer, M. and Zappalà, G. (eds), 2001, *Speaking for the People: Representation in Australian Politics*, Melbourne University Press, Melbourne.
- Sawer, M., Abjorensen, N. and Larkin, P., 2009, *Australia: The State of Democracy*, The Federation Press, Sydney.
- Schumpeter, J., 1952, *Capitalism, Socialism and Democracy*, 4th edn, Allen and Unwin, London.
- Schuppert, F., 2003, 'The Ensuring State', in A. Giddens (ed.), *The Progressive Manifesto: New Ideas for the Centre-Left*, Policy Network, London, pp. 54–72.
- Scott, A., 2000, *Running on Empty: 'Modernising' the British and Australian Labour Parties*, Pluto Press, London.
- Segall, S., 2005, 'Political Participation as an Engine of Social Solidarity: A Sceptical View', *Political Studies*, vol. 53, no. 2, pp. 362–78.
- Seyd, P. and Whiteley, P., 2002, *New Labour's Grassroots: The Transformation of the Labour Party Membership*, Palgrave MacMillan, Basingstoke.
- Shaw, E., 2004, 'The Control Freaks? New Labour and the Party', in S. Ludlam and M.J. Smith (eds), *Governing as New Labour: Policy and Politics under Blair*, Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke, pp. 70–87.
- Shaw, E., 2007, *Losing Labour's Soul? New Labour and the Blair Government 1997–2007*, Routledge, London.
- Sheil, C., 2000, 'Problems and Possibilities with Third Ways: Some Historical Reflections', *Southern Review*, vol. 303, no. 2, pp. 165–77.
- Singleton, G., 1990, *The Accord and the Australian Labour Movement*, Melbourne University Press, Melbourne.
- Skidmore, P., 2006, 'Disengaged Democracy', *Prospect*, December, pp. 28–31.
- Skocpol, T., 2003, *Diminished Democracy: From Membership to Management in American Civic Life*, University of Oklahoma Press, Norman.
- Smith, G., 2005, *Beyond the Ballot Box: 57 Democratic Innovations from Around the World*, The Power Inquiry, Joseph Rowntree Foundation, London.
- Smith, R., 2001, *Australian Political Culture*, Pearson Education Australia, Sydney.
- Smyth, P., Reddel, T. and Jones, A., 2005, 'Associational Governance in Queensland', in P. Smyth, T. Reddel and A. Jones (eds), *Community and Local Governance in Australia*, UNSW Press, Sydney, pp. 37–56.
- Staples, J., 2007, 'NGOs Out in the Cold: Howard Government Policy towards NGOs', *University of New South Wales Faculty of Law Research Series*, Working Paper 8, accessed 8 January 2013: <http://law.bepress.com/unswwps-flrps/art8>.
- Starr, G., Rogers, N. and Hirte, C., 2007, *Indicators of Community Strength*, Government of South Australia, Adelaide.
- Steketee, M., 2009, 'Labor adopts some big plans, mostly its own', *The Australian*, 23 April, p. 6.

- Stewart, J., 2009, *The Dilemmas of Engagement: The Role of Consultation in Governance*, ANU E Press, Canberra.
- Stoker, G., 2006, *Why Politics Matters: Making Democracy Work*, Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke.
- Stone, C.J., 2000, 'An Interview with Tony Benn', Labournet website, 7 November, accessed 9 August 2006: www.labournet.net/other/0011/benn.html.
- Sunstein, C., 2003, 'The Law of Group Polarization', in J. Fishkin and P. Laslett (eds), *Debating Deliberative Democracy*, Blackwell Publishing, Oxford, pp. 80–101.
- Tam, H., 1998, *Communitarianism: A New Agenda for Politics and Citizenship*, Palgrave MacMillan, Basingstoke.
- Tawney, R.H., 1938, *Equality*, 3rd edn, Allen and Unwin, London.
- Tonn, M.B., 2005, 'Taking Conversation, Dialogue, and Therapy Public', *Rhetoric & Public Affairs*, vol. 8, no. 3, pp. 405–30.
- Toynbee, P. and Walker, D., 2005, *Better or Worse? Has Labour Delivered?*, Bloomsbury Press, London.
- Tranter, B. and Western, M., 2003, 'Postmaterial Values and Age: The Case of Australia', *Australian Journal of Political Science*, vol. 38, no. 2, pp. 239–57.
- Verba, S., Nie, N. and Kim, J., 1978, *Participation and Political Equality: A Seven Nation Comparison*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- Verba, S., Scholzman, K. and Brady, H., 1995, *Voice and Equality: Civic Voluntarism in American Politics*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass.
- Vinson, T., 2004, *Community Adversity and Resilience*, Jesuit Social Services, Melbourne.
- Walzer, M., 1970, 'A Day in the Life of a Socialist Citizen', *Obligations: Essays on Disobedience, War and Citizenship*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass., pp. 229–37.
- Walzer, M., 1991, 'The Idea of Civil Society: A Path to Social Reconstruction', *Dissent*, Spring, pp. 293–304.
- Wanna, J. and Williams, P. (eds), 2005, *Yes, Premier: Labor Leadership in Australia's States and Territories*, UNSW Press, Sydney.
- Ward, S., Gibson, R. and Lusoli, W., 2003, 'Online Participation and Mobilisation in Britain; Hype, Hope and Reality', *Parliamentary Affairs*, vol. 56, no. 4, pp. 652–68.
- Weale, A., 2007, *Democracy*, Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke.
- Weatherill, J., 2011, *Speech to South Australian Press Club Lunch*, 28 October, Adelaide.
- Weaver, M., 2010, 'Labour party sees record surge in membership', *The Guardian*, 13 May, accessed 17 June 2010: www.guardian.co.uk/politics/2010/may/13/labour-party-record-surge-membership.
- Weber, M., 1967, 'Politics as a Vocation', in H. Gerth and C. Wright Mills (eds), *From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology*, Routledge, London, pp. 77–128.

- Whelan, J., 2012, *Big Society and Australia: How the UK Government is Dismantling the State and What it Means for Australia*, Centre for Policy Development, Melbourne.
- White, S., 1998, 'Interpreting the "Third Way": Not One Road, but Many', *Renewal*, vol. 6, no. 2, pp. 17–30.
- White, S., 1999, '"Right and Responsibilities": A Social Democratic Perspective', in A. Gamble and T. Wright (eds), *The New Social Democracy*, Blackwell Publishers, Oxford, pp. 166–81.
- White, S. (ed.), 2001, *New Labour: The Progressive Future?* Palgrave, London.
- Whiteley, P., 2011, 'Is the Party Over? The Decline of Party Activism and Membership Across the Democratic World', *Party Politics*, vol. 17, no. 1, pp. 21–44.
- Wilks-Heeg, S., Blick, A. and Crone, S., 2012, *How Democratic is the UK? The 2012 Audit*, Democratic Audit, Liverpool, accessed 6 January 2012: <http://democracy-uk-2012.democraticaudit.com/how-democratic-is-the-uk-the-2012-audit>.
- Williams, G., 2001, 'Distrust of Representative Government – Australian Experiments in Direct Democracy', in M. Sawer and G. Zappalà (eds), *Speaking for the People: Representation in Australian Politics*, Melbourne University Press, Melbourne, pp. 80–102.
- Williams, M., 2004, 'Discursive Democracy and New Labour: Five Ways in Which Decision-Makers Manage Citizen Agendas in Public Participation Initiatives', *Sociological Research Online*, vol. 9, no. 3.
- Wilson, L., 2009, 'Social Inclusion', in J. Spoehr (ed.), *State of South Australia: From Crisis to Prosperity?*, Wakefield Press, Adelaide, pp. 344–54.
- Wiseman, J., 2004, 'Broadening and Deepening Democracy: Learning from Recent Experiments in Citizen and Community Engagement', in G. Patemore (ed.), *The Vocal Citizen*, Arena Printing and Publishing, Melbourne, pp. 54–69.
- Yeatman, A. (ed.), 1998, *Activism and Policy Process*, Allen and Unwin, Sydney.
- Young, I.M., 2000, *Inclusion and Democracy*, Oxford University Press, Oxford.
- Young, I.M., 2003, 'Activist Challenges to Deliberative Democracy', in J. Fishkin and P. Laslett (eds), *Debating Deliberative Democracy*, Blackwell Publishing, Oxford, pp. 102–20.
- Young, M., 1958, *The Rise of the Meritocracy, 1870–2033: An Essay on Education and Equality*, Thames & Hudson, London.
- Zittel, D. and Fuchs, T. (eds), 2007, *Participatory Democracy and Political Participation: Can Participatory Engineering Bring the Citizen Back In?*, Routledge, Abingdon.