

Democracy, governance and citizenship

National life is influenced by both the wellbeing of individual citizens in terms of tangible factors such as income, wealth, health and education and by less tangible factors such as the quality of our public life, the fairness of our society, the health of democracy and the extent to which citizens of Australia participate actively in their communities or cooperate with one another.

For a long time these latter qualities, although often publicly agreed to be of critical importance, were seldom measured statistically. This was largely because they were harder to define and measure than more tangible aspects of life, where more statistics are gathered, e.g. the value of goods purchased or the rate of infant mortality.

Since 1990, the United Nations has published the Human Development Report, which includes a range of indicators relevant to democracy, governance and human rights. More recently several projects from academics and national and international organisations including the World Bank, Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), and the European Union, have been trying to measure this area of progress.¹

Australia is a democracy. Democratic government has been characterised as having two underlying principles: popular control over public decision making and decision makers (through democratic elections); and equality between citizens in the exercise of that decision making. But the strength and health of our democracy in practice is the product of many factors, such as the effectiveness of political institutions like Parliament, fair elections, an independent judiciary, equal laws and a free press.² Other important factors include the confidence that citizens have in government and public institutions, and the degree to which they participate in civic and community life and understand and uphold their rights and duties as citizens.

While democracy is widely supported, there are many different views about the ways to measure progress in this dimension. There are many possible indicators that relate to governance, democracy and citizenship. We have drawn on a framework developed by the International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (IDEA) to organise and select the indicators that follow (see box opposite).² IDEA is an intergovernmental organisation, that works with both new and long-established democracies, aiming to help to develop and strengthen the institutions and culture of democracy. Australia is a member of IDEA. The IDEA framework has been used to assess the state of democracy in nine countries.

Our ongoing consultations and research as MAP continues to develop have brought to light a wide range of views about what aspects of governance, democracy and citizenship are most important to Australia's progress. We expect that this commentary will continue to develop in future issues of MAP and we welcome readers' views.

The IDEA framework for democracy assessment

The International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (IDEA) was founded in 1995 and is an intergovernmental organisation with 21 member states including Australia, Canada, India, Mexico, Spain and Sweden. IDEA's role is one of supporting sustainable democracy in both new and long-established democracies and they have developed a framework for the assessment of democracy. The IDEA framework is built around 14 key dimensions.²

- ◆ Nationhood and citizenship: Is there public agreement on a common citizenship without discrimination?
- ◆ The rule of law and access to justice: Are state and society consistently subject to the law?
- ◆ Civil and political rights: Are civil and political rights equally guaranteed for all?
- ◆ Economic and social rights: Are economic and social rights equally guaranteed for all?
- ◆ Free and fair elections: Do elections give the people control over governments and their policies?
- ◆ Democratic role of political parties: Does the party system assist the working of democracy?
- ◆ Government effectiveness and accountability: Is government accountable to the people and their representatives?
- ◆ Civilian control of the military and police: Are the military and police forces under civilian control?
- ◆ Minimising corruption: Are public officials free from corruption?
- ◆ The media in a democratic society: Do the media operate in a way that sustains democratic values?
- ◆ Political participation: Is there full citizen participation in public life?
- ◆ Government responsiveness: Is government responsive to the concerns of its citizens?
- ◆ Decentralisation: Are decisions taken at the level of government which is most appropriate for the people affected?
- ◆ International dimensions of democracy: Are the country's external relations conducted in accord with democratic norms, and is it itself free from external subordination?

The material in this commentary draws heavily on the IDEA framework, although it does not, by any means, cover the whole framework.

The discussion that follows needs to be read with some qualification. It is not intended as a comprehensive discussion of all the elements of democracy set out in the IDEA framework (partly because data are not available for some elements, and others are not regarded as significant issues for Australia). It is intended only to illustrate some issues where reasonably good data already exist; it does not imply that these issues have a higher priority than others not discussed.

The material that is included in this commentary covers:

- ◆ nationhood and citizenship
- ◆ political participation
- ◆ civil society and civic participation
- ◆ environmental citizenship
- ◆ women in leadership and decision-making positions
- ◆ Indigenous participation in democracy and governance
- ◆ young people and governance, democracy and citizenship

Nationhood and citizenship

Citizenship is a common bond which brings together the people of Australia. It brings rights and responsibilities. Citizens have additional rights beyond those offered to permanent residents of Australia, including the right to vote, the right to stand for public office, and the right to hold an Australian passport. But they also have additional responsibilities: citizens are, for example, required to enrol on the electoral register and vote in elections, serve on a jury if required, and expected to defend Australia should the need arise.

With some exceptions, only Australian citizens can vote in elections,³ and so the proportion of long-term residents who are citizens is one measure of support for democratic decision making in Australia (although people become citizens for many reasons, not necessarily to vote in elections).

In 2002, around 95% of the people living in Australia were citizens. The number of people taking out Australian citizenship each year between 1991 and 2001 ranged between 115,700 (in 1992) and 86,300 (in 2002), but these numbers are

influenced by the number of non-citizens in Australia on long-term visas who are not eligible to apply for citizenship.⁴

When considering progress it is more informative to consider the changing proportion of overseas born Australian residents who have lived here for at least two years (those generally eligible for citizenship) that are citizens. In 1991, about 65% of long term overseas-born residents were Australian citizens. This had risen to just below 73% by 1996 and by 2001 almost three quarters of overseas-born residents who had lived in Australia for at least two years were Australian citizens. However, changes in this indicator may be affected by changes in the number of long-term residents who are eligible for citizenship.

Political participation

Political theory recognises three powers of government: the legislative power to make laws; the executive power to carry out and enforce laws; and the judicial power to interpret laws and to judge whether they apply in individual cases.⁵ Powers are separated to prevent oppressive government by ensuring three bodies – the Legislature, the Executive, and the Judiciary – act as checks and balances on each other.

Also, as in all democracies, regular elections are held to give society control over governments and the policies they make. Elections make government accountable to the electorate through offering the opportunity to vote in an alternative government.

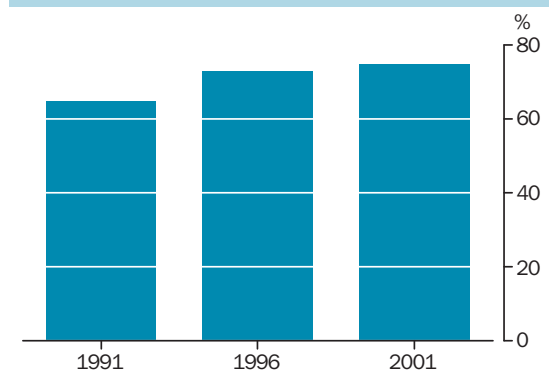
Participation in elections is important to the functioning of a democracy. And statistics on voter turnout, or the extent to which those entitled to vote do so, are often used to shed light on how representative governments are of the electorate.

It has been argued that a healthy democracy needs citizens who care, are willing to take part, and are capable of helping to shape the common agenda of a society.^{2,6,7} And so participation – whether through the institutions of civil society, political parties, or the act of voting – is seen as important to a stable democracy. That said, while there may be a widespread belief that participation in political life is good for the workings of democracy, there is less agreement on what constitutes a ‘good’ or ‘democratic’ level of turnout. Low turnout might represent a weak democratic system or the alienation of the electorate from the electoral process.⁸ Alternatively it might represent widespread contentment among voters.

In June 2005, the Australian Electoral Commission (AEC) estimated that around 95% of eligible Australians were enrolled to vote. There were, however, differences in the proportions enrolled among different age groups and the AEC estimates that 81% of eligible 18–25 year olds were enrolled.⁹

Voter turnout has not dropped below 94% after the general election in 1955 (when it was about 88%).¹⁰ But in Australia, where enrolment and voting in state and federal elections and local

Proportion of overseas born residents(a) who were citizens – 1991 to 2001



(a) Residents who had lived in Australia for two years or more. Source: Data available on request, Australian Census of Population and Housing, cat. no. 2015.0

Voter turnout and informal votes cast, federal elections – 1972 to 2004

Federal election	Voter turnout %	Informal votes %
1972	95.4	2.2
1974	95.4	1.9
1975	95.4	1.9
1977	95.0	2.5
1980	94.4	2.4
1983	94.6	2.1
1984	94.2	6.8
1987	93.8	4.9
1990	95.3	3.2
1993	95.8	3.0
1996	95.8	3.2
1998	95.2	3.8
2001	94.9	4.8
2004	94.3	5.2

Source: Data compiled by IDEA international¹⁰ and Australian Electoral Commission 2005, *Behind the scenes, AEC 2004 Federal Election Report*.¹¹

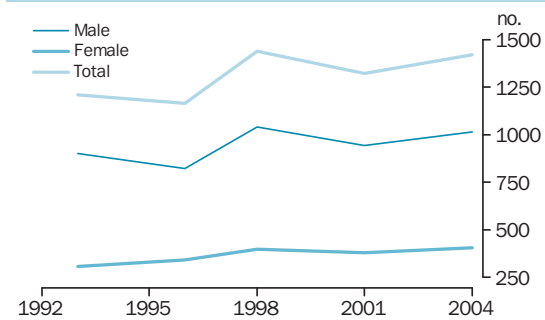
government elections in some states is compulsory and enforced, it is perhaps more informative to consider the proportion of informal votes cast.

In most countries an ‘invalid vote’ is used to describe a vote where the ballot paper was completed incorrectly and so not included in the final count. In Australia the term ‘informal vote’ is used to describe this. An informal vote may be cast for several reasons. These include the complexity of the electoral system, confusion between state and federal voting systems and the deliberate casting of an informal vote as a form of protest or expression of disillusionment under a system of compulsory voting.¹²

The proportion of all votes cast in federal elections that were informal remained at about 2% during the 1970s and early 1980s. In 1984, a new method of voting for the Senate was introduced, which appeared to cause confusion among voters and led to a rise in the proportion of informal votes to 6.8%. It has since declined but still remains at levels above those seen at the beginning of the period. In the 2004 federal parliamentary election, just over 5% of the vote was informal.

Voting in local government elections is not compulsory in some states and it is interesting to note the differences in voter turnout rates in such elections. In New South Wales and Queensland, for example, where voting is compulsory, turnout rates were more than 85% in 2004 elections. But in other states, where voting in the local government elections is not compulsory, turnout rates were much lower. For example, only about 58% of enrolled people voted in Tasmania’s 2002 local election and only 38% did so in Western Australia’s May 2001 local election.¹³ There is concern from

Federal parliamentary election candidates – 1993 to 2004



Source: Australian Electoral Commission, *Behind the scenes, AEC Federal Election Reports 1996, 1998, 2001 and 2004*.¹¹

some parts of the community about the relatively low voter turnout at local government elections. For example, increasing the voter turnout at local government elections is one of the targets embodied in South Australia’s Strategic Plan.¹⁴

Standing for public office is one form of political participation. The number of candidates who stand for public office can be considered an indicator both of public interest and motivation in standing for election, as well as commitment from political parties in selecting and supporting candidates to stand in elections. It is not possible however, to gauge the diversity or quality of candidates from information on the number of candidates.

Between 1993 and 2004, the number of candidates standing for election at Australian federal elections increased. Over 1,400 candidates stood for election (1,091 for the House of Representatives and 330 for the Senate) at the 2004 federal parliamentary election, compared with 1,200 in 1993. During this period the number of seats in the House of Representatives increased by three from 147 to 150 accounting for some of this change.¹¹

There has also been an increase in the number of political parties supporting candidates in these elections. In 2004, 51 political parties fielded candidates, compared with 35 in 1993.¹¹

Civil society and civic participation

Some people suggest that active citizen engagement is important for better government. Researchers and commentators, such as Robert Putnam have argued that civic engagement is associated with better government in two ways: citizens in civic communities expect better government, and (in part through their own efforts) get it, and the performance of representative government is improved by the social infrastructure of civic communities and by the democratic values of both officials and citizens.^{7,15}

Civil society has been defined as ‘the non-government and not for profit groups and organisations that have a presence in public life,

expressing the interests of their members and others in society'.¹⁶

Civic participation can be considered as a mechanism by which citizens' concerns, needs and values can be incorporated into government decision making. The overall goal is for better decisions, supported by the public and fostering the increased wellbeing of the population.¹⁷

Civic participation describes activities reflecting interest and engagement with governance and democracy. Civic participation involves both collective and individual activities, including the membership of civic organisations, such as political parties and trade unions, serving on committees of clubs, voluntary organisations and associations, contacting members of parliament, participating in demonstrations and rallies, and attending community consultations. These activities often extend the social networks of those participating, and can help people develop important skills for participating in democracy and governance.¹⁸

More recent forms of civic participation include support for global or local advocacy groups or campaigns, email networks, or one day activities such as 'Clean Up Australia' events (680,000 people signed up for Clean Up Australia day in 2005).¹⁹

Information about civic participation will be collected by the ABS as part of the 2006 General Social Survey. Information will be collected on active involvement in civic groups and organisations such as political parties, trade unions and professional organisations, human rights groups, and community councils.

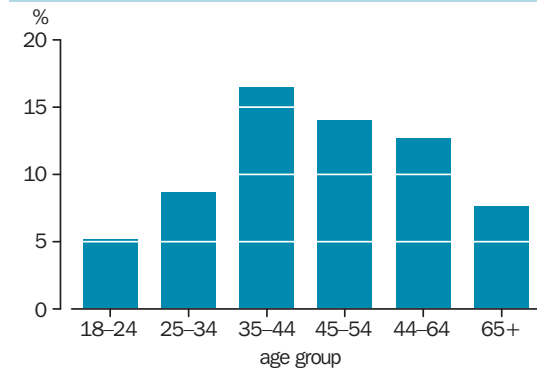
Information will also be collected on participation in individual or collective civic activities such as contacting a member of parliament, attending protests and demonstrations, signing a petition, writing a letter to the editor of a newspaper, and participating in a community consultation.

Engaging in leadership roles in groups and organisations such as being an office holder or committee member is an aspect of civic participation. In 2000, in the ABS Voluntary Work Survey, 11% of adults reported volunteering for management work, to sit on committees or manage a service or program (the sorts of voluntary work often most closely linked to civic participation). This was about the same level as in 1995.²⁰

In 2000, people in the 35–44 year age group reported the highest rates of such voluntary work at over 16% (this age group also reported the highest rate for all voluntary work, see the commentary *Family, community and social cohesion* for more information). The higher volunteering rates among this group were associated with the higher rates of volunteering among people with children younger than 15. This largely reflects parental involvement in child development related activities.

People with higher levels of educational qualifications, such as a bachelor degree or higher

Volunteering rates for management, committee, and coordination work (a) – 2000



a) People aged 18 or older.

Source: Voluntary Work, Australia 2000 cat. no. 4441.0.²⁰

(18%), were most likely to volunteer for this sort of work, as were people in management (21%) and professional (20%) occupations. These tended to be the same groups of people most highly represented among volunteers in general, all with volunteering rates of over 40%.²⁰

Some civic participation activities involve engaging with government. For example, the federal parliament (both the House of Representatives and the Senate) conducts inquiries into specified matters of public or policy interest. The inquiry process involves a parliamentary committee taking submissions, hearing witnesses, sifting evidence, discussing matters in detail and formulating reasoned conclusions. Public input is important to inquiries. Inquiries provide a public forum for the presentation of the various views of individual citizens and interest groups.²¹ Royal Commissions are another type of inquiry where the input of members of the public and relevant organisations is important.

Federal and state governments conduct public consultations on policy and program proposals. These consultations provide a further opportunity for members of the public and interest groups to make their views known and input into policy development.

Some differences within Australia

Women in leadership and decision-making positions

Increasing women's participation in leadership and decision-making roles in business, government and the wider community is a focus of policy for Australian state and territory governments and the Commonwealth government.^{14,22}

One of the principles underpinning democratic government is that parliament should represent and express the will of the people. It is not clear how best to judge how effectively this occurs. An aspect of particular interest to the United Nations when agreeing on the Millennium Development

Environmental citizenship

There is interest in the role of citizenship in achieving sustainable development. Some people argue that stronger commitment to the responsibilities of citizenship may help to enhance environmental care. Environmental citizenship is reflected in the things that citizens can do when motivated by social understanding, rather than purely by financial incentives.²³ Some examples of environmental citizenship include donation of time and money to protect the environment, the purchase and use of environmentally friendly products, participating in recycling, and the use of water and energy conservation measures.

Many Australians take a range of actions out of interest and concern about the environment. Over half (57%) of Australians (aged 18 years and over) were concerned about environmental problems in 2004 according to an ABS survey on environmental issues. Over 1 million Australians (7%) took action by formally registering an environmental concern in 2004, compared to 10% in 1992. People most commonly signed a petition (36% of those who expressed a concern) or wrote a letter (30%), while attending a demonstration for an environmental cause was relatively rare (4%).²⁴

Some Australians choose to donate money or time to help protect the environment. In 2004, almost 3 million Australians, or one in five, chose to help to protect the environment in this way.²⁴

Australians also make choices about household management which reflect their concern about the environment. Information collected in 2003 in the ABS survey on environmental issues showed that almost all Australian households engaged in some form of recycling (95%) or reuse of waste (83%).²⁵ Nine out of ten households in 2004 used at least one type of environmentally friendly product, with recycled paper products and products with refillable containers the most commonly used.²⁴ In late 2005 181,000 (or around 2% of) households and 6,500 commercial users belonged to a green power scheme, whereby consumers opt to pay for electricity that is generated from clean, renewable energy sources (such as solar, wind power, new hydro on existing dams, biomass, wave energy and landfill gas).²⁶

Australians are also concerned about the conservation of water resources. As a response to drought conditions and consequent water use restrictions, close to a half (46%) of all Australian households used measures to conserve water in 2004. Using full loads when washing dishes or clothing, and taking shorter showers were the most popular measures.²⁴

Goals was the representation of women in parliament.²⁷

The proportion of federal government parliamentary candidates who are women is an indicator of women's political participation. It is also an indicator of the support for female candidates from political parties. At the 2004 federal parliamentary election, 29% of candidates were women, compared with 25% in 1993.¹¹ The proportion of female candidates at federal parliamentary elections is reflected in the proportion of women elected to the parliament.

The proportion of federal government members of parliament and senators who are women has risen over the past 20 years. On 1 January 1986, one in

twenty (5%) of members of the House of Representatives were women, as were close to one in five (18%) of senators. By the beginning of 2006, one in four (25%) of members of the House of Representatives were women, and a little over one in three (35%) senators were women.

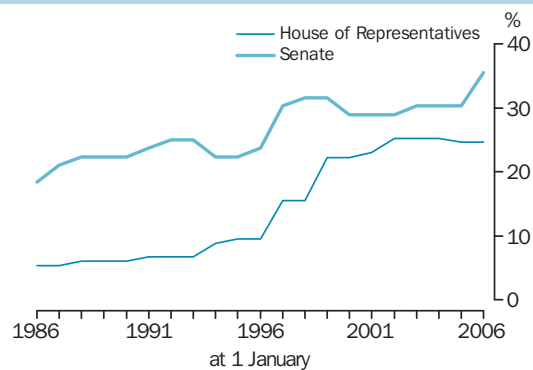
In the current federal government ministry (as at end of January 2006) there are eight female ministers and parliamentary secretaries (representing 20% of ministers and parliamentary secretaries) of whom three are Cabinet members. Currently around 30% of shadow ministerial positions are held by women.²⁸ This is generally consistent with the overall level of representation of women in the federal parliament.

Corporate leadership is an important aspect of governance in Australian society. This is because the business sector not only drives our economy, but also influences policy, and has the opportunity to provide leadership and support in the community. Gender diversity in corporate leadership and access and support for women to take up business leadership roles are indicative of the progress of women in one area of leadership and governance.

The Commonwealth Equal Opportunity for Women in the Workplace Agency (EOWA) collects information on women in executive management and board director positions, by conducting a census of Australia's top 200 companies listed on the Australian Stock Exchange (ASX200). In 2004, 10% (174) of executive managers of ASX200 companies were women, compared with 8% (113) in 2002. In line with this increase, more companies listed as part of the ASX200 are now employing women executive managers. In 2004, 58% (101) of ASX200 companies employed at least one female executive manager, compared with 47% (72) in 2002.²⁹

However, the progress evident in the increasing proportion of executive managers of ASX200 companies who are women has not been replicated for female board directors. The proportion of board directors in ASX200 companies who are women remained unchanged

Proportion of federal parliamentarians that are women



Source: Parliament of Australia, 2006.²⁸

Proportion of executive managers and board members of ASX 200 companies(a) who are women



a) The ASX 200 is an index that tracks the top 200 companies listed on the Australian Stock Exchange. The top 200 companies are based on their market capitalisation. Market capitalisation is the number of shares on issue multiplied by the current share price.

For the purposes of the Australian Census of Women in Leadership, trusts and investment entities with a small number of employees, and companies based overseas with few employees in Australia have been excluded. The census included 152 companies in 2002 and 174 companies in 2004.

Source: Commonwealth Equal Opportunity for Women in the Workplace Agency, Australian Census of Women in leadership, 2002 and 2004.²⁹

between 2002 (96) and 2004 (112) at 9%. 47% (82) ASX200 companies did not have any female board directors in 2004.

Women are represented in a range of other leadership and decision-making positions across Australian society. For example, in 2005 around one in five (21%) of Australia’s ambassadors and heads of diplomatic missions were women. In 2005, in the Commonwealth Public Service women comprised almost one in three of senior executives (32%). Women also made up close to one third (32%) of members on Commonwealth government public sector boards and committees. In 2005, Indigenous women comprised just over a third (36%) of members of the National Indigenous Council, an Indigenous advisory body to the Commonwealth government.³⁰

Indigenous participation in democracy and governance

All Indigenous Australians have been entitled to vote in federal elections from 1962. However, complete enfranchisement of Indigenous Australians did not occur until 1965, when Queensland granted Indigenous people the right to vote in state elections. Queensland was the last state to grant this right.³¹

As a result of the 1967 Referendum, the Australian Constitution was amended to enable the federal government to assume legislative responsibility for Indigenous peoples in the states (as it does for the rest of the population) and to include Aboriginal peoples in estimates of the Australian population. The Referendum is regarded as a ‘turning point’ that brought many benefits, both symbolic and real, to Aboriginal peoples and was a major

milestone in Indigenous peoples’ relationship with the Australian nation-state, alongside the right to vote which had been established a few years earlier.³²

The first Indigenous parliamentary representative was Neville Bonner AO (1922–1999) who was elected to federal parliament in 1971. Since then there have been a number of Indigenous parliamentarians in both federal and state parliaments.³¹

In June 2005, there were two Indigenous members of parliament in the federal parliament, one each in the House of Representatives and the Senate. There were eight Indigenous Australians who were members of state and territory parliaments and legislative assemblies. Six of these were women. In June 2005, there were five Indigenous members of the Northern Territory Legislative Assembly, resulting in one fifth of the Legislative Assembly electorates being represented by Indigenous Australians. There was one Indigenous member in each of the parliaments of New South Wales, Tasmania and Western Australia.³⁰

In 1989, the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Commission (ATSIC) was created as Australia’s nationally representative organisation of the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples. ATSIC advised governments on Indigenous issues, advocated for Indigenous people at the local, regional, national and international levels and monitored how other government agencies provide services to their Indigenous clients. ATSIC was directed by a Board of Commissioners elected from amongst the membership of Regional Councils in each of the ATSIC zones, who were in turn elected by Indigenous people across Australia.³³

A major change to Indigenous governance and representation came with the recent abolition of ATSIC in March 2005. ATSIC regional councils were dissolved at the end of the June 2005.³³ ATSIC’s functions were transferred to a mainstream Commonwealth government agency, the Department of Family and Community Services and Indigenous Affairs. A new body, the National Indigenous Council, was appointed by the Commonwealth government as a key advisory body on Indigenous affairs.³⁴

In almost all areas of Indigenous affairs, Indigenous leadership has been identified as a priority. There are a range of Indigenous leadership programs presently operating throughout Australia, all at varying stages of development, emphasis, and geographic reach and location.³⁶ Some of the organisations involved in leadership development include: the Australian Indigenous Leadership Centre; the Lingjara Foundation; Elders’ leadership and cultural guidance programs; and the National Indigenous Youth Movement of Australia.

Young people and governance, democracy and citizenship

There is interest in the degree to which young people participate in democracy, governance and citizenship. Some research suggests that young people are less engaged with political and civic activity than those in older age groups, and that this may be indicative of a lower level of interest and commitment to civic participation and the responsibilities of citizenship.^{37,38}

In Australian schools over recent years there has been a recognition of the importance of civics and citizenship as an integral part of the school curriculum. Between 1997 and 2004, the Commonwealth government's *Discovering Democracy* program ran in Australian primary and secondary schools.³⁹ The program recognised that to be able to participate as active citizens throughout their lives students need a thorough knowledge and understanding of Australia's political heritage, democratic processes and system of government, and judicial system.

Young people in Australia are less likely to be enrolled to vote than older groups. The AEC estimates that in March 2005, 81% of eligible young Australians (18–25 year olds) were enrolled to vote, compared with 96% of all eligible Australians.⁹ It has been estimated that there were approximately 300,000 young Australians aged 18–25 who do not vote in elections because they are not registered.³⁸

A national survey of schools run in 2004 which surveyed 4,600 senior secondary school students at 154 schools (the Youth Electoral Study conducted in conjunction with the Australian Electoral Commission)⁴⁰ found that the intention of students to enrol on the Commonwealth Electoral Roll and to vote in federal elections was not universal. Of students aged under 17 around half intended to enrol to vote when they turned 17, while less than a third of students aged 17 had registered to vote. While, young people can enrol to vote at the age of 17 years, they are able to vote in elections only once they have reached 18 years of age. Almost nine out of ten students surveyed reported an intention to vote in federal elections after they reach the age of 18 years. However, when asked if they would vote in federal elections if it were not compulsory, only one out of two students said that they would.

While the intention to vote in federal elections was relatively high, half of students felt that they lacked sufficient knowledge to understand the issues, or the political parties, to make a decision about voting. Nevertheless, most students (81%) considered voting to be important.³⁸

Many senior secondary school students participate in political and civic activities. Over half (55%) of students surveyed in 2004 had signed a petition, 21% had collected signatures for a petition, and 15% had taken part in rallies or demonstrations. Students differentiate between the various social

movements and causes they would support by taking part in a demonstration.³⁸

The 2004 survey found that students who participated in political and civic activities such as signing petitions, attending demonstrations, contacting politicians, contacting the media, doing voluntary work, or being involved in a civic organisation such as Rotary were more likely to report an intention to vote in federal elections (if voting was not compulsory), than those students who had not participated in political and civic activities.³⁸

Links to other dimensions of progress

People's participation in democracy, governance and citizenship is related to social capital. Further discussion of social capital and related concepts such as voluntary work can be found in the *Family, community and social cohesion* commentary. The growth in the use of the Internet has helped people to access information and register opinions with government and so the use of 'e-government' also sheds light on people's engagement with government. This is discussed in the commentary *Communication*.

Endnotes

- 1 See, for example, Berger-Schmitt, R. and Noll, H. 2000, *Conceptual Frameworks and Structure of a European System of Social Indicators*, EuReporting Working Paper No. 9, Centre for Social Research and Methodology, Mannheim; Salvaris, M., Burke, T., Pidgeon, J. and Kelman, S. 2000, *Measuring Victoria's Progress, A System of Social Benchmarks and Indicators for Victoria*, Institute of Social Research, Swinburne University of Technology, Hawthorn, Victoria; Beetham D. (Ed) *Defining and Measuring Democracy*, Sage, London; and Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance 2002, *State of Democracy: Trends from Pilot Countries* <http://www.idea.int/ideas_work/14political_state.htm> last viewed 29 January 2002; Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) 2004, *Open Government: Fostering Dialogue with Civil Society*, OECD, Paris; Kaufmann, D., Kraay, A. and Mastruzzi, M. 2005, *Measuring Governance Using Cross-Country Perceptions Data*, The World Bank, Washington, D.C.; United Nations 2005, *Human Development Report 2005: International cooperation at a crossroads: aid, trade and security in an unequal world*, United Nations Development Program, New York.
- 2 International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (IDEA), *Democracy Assessment: The Basics of the International IDEA Assessment Framework*, <http://www.idea.int/publications/sod/upload/demo_ass_inlay_eng_L.pdf> last viewed 17 March 2006.
- 3 British subjects, resident in Australia, who were on a Commonwealth electoral roll as at 25 January 1984 can also vote in Australian elections.
- 4 Department of Immigration and Multicultural and Indigenous Affairs 2004, *Key Facts in Immigration*, <[#9](http://www.immi.gov.au/facts/02key_1.htm)>, last viewed 26 April 2006.
- 5 House of representatives 2002, *The Australian System of Government*, Infosheet no. 20, Parliament of Australia, Canberra.
- 6 Lawrence, C. 2003, *Ideas to save our withering democracy*, speech delivered at public lecture at the University of Western Australia, August 7th 2003. <<http://www.smh.com.au/articles/2003/08/07/1060145791873.html>> Last viewed 17 March 2006.

- 7 Putnam, R.D. 2000, *Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community*, Simon and Schuster: New York.
- 8 International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (IDEA), *Voter turnout from 1945*, <http://www.idea.int/publications/vt/upload/VT_screent_2002.pdf> last viewed 29 April 2006.
- 9 Australian Electoral Commission (AEC) 2005, *Annual Report 2004–05*, AEC, Canberra.
- 10 International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (IDEA), *Voter turnout* <<http://www.idea.int/vt/index.cfm>> last viewed 29 April 2006.
- 11 Australian Electoral Commission (AEC) 2005, *Behind the scenes, AEC Federal Election Report 2004*, AEC, Canberra.
- 12 Australian Electoral Commission (AEC) 2003, *Informal Votes Survey, House of Representative 2001 Election*, AEC, Canberra. <http://www.aec.gov.au/_content/How/research/papers/paper1/res_rep_01.pdf> Last viewed 29 April 2006
- 13 Data were supplied from the Tasmanian Electoral Commission; and, for Western Australia, were published by the Western Australian Electoral Commission (WAEC) 2001, *Local government Report: 2001 Postal Elections*, WAEC, Perth.
- 14 Government of South Australia 2004, *South Australia's Strategic Plan: Creating Opportunity, Moving Forward Together*, South Australian Government, Adelaide.
- 15 Putnam, R.D. 1993, *Making Democracy Work, Civic Traditions in Modern Italy*. Princeton University Press, Princeton, New Jersey.
- 16 World Bank 2006, Civil Society <<http://web.worldbank.org/WBSITE/EXTERNAL/TOPICS/CSO/0,,contentMDK:20101499~menuPK:244752~pagePK:220503~piPK:220476~theSitePK:228717,0.html>> last viewed 1st May 2006.
- 17 World Bank 2002, Draft module on *Civic Participation in National Governance*. <<http://info.worldbank.org/etools/docs/library/208545/CivicParticipationAnnex.pdf>> last viewed 29 April 2006.
- 18 Australian Bureau of Statistics 2004, *Measuring Social Capital: An Australian Framework and Indicators*, cat. no. 1378.0, ABS, Canberra.
- 19 Clean Up Australia 2005, <<http://www.cleanup.com.au/main.asp?RequestType=MediaReleaseIn&SubRequestType=Detail&MediaReleaseID=233>>, last viewed 10 February 2006
- 20 Australian Bureau of Statistics 2001, *Voluntary Work Australia 2000*, cat. no. 4441.0, ABS, Canberra.
- 21 Parliament of Australia, *Committees*. <<http://www.aph.gov.au/committee/index.htm>> Last viewed 28 April 2006.
- 22 Minister's Conference on the Status of Women (MINCO) 2005, *MINCO Leadership Report*. <[http://www.women.vic.gov.au/web12/rwpgslib.nsf/Graphic+Files/Leadership-minco-report/\\$file/Leadership-minco-report.doc](http://www.women.vic.gov.au/web12/rwpgslib.nsf/Graphic+Files/Leadership-minco-report/$file/Leadership-minco-report.doc)> Last viewed 29 April 2006.
- 23 Sen, A. 2005, *Why should we preserve the spotted owl?*, in *London Review of Books*, (26) 3, London.
- 24 Australian Bureau of Statistics 2004, *Environmental issues: People's views and practices*, cat.no.4602.0, ABS, Canberra
- 25 Australian Bureau of Statistics 2003, *Environmental issues: People's views and practices*, cat.no.4602.0, ABS, Canberra.
- 26 DEUS, 2005. National Green Power Accreditation program: Quarterly Status Report, 1 July – 30 September, 2005, < <http://www.greenpower.com.au/images/dl/2005Q3Reportfinal.pdf>> Last viewed 03 November 2005.
- 27 United Nations 2005, The Millenium Development Goals Report 2005, United Nations, New York <<http://unstats.un.org/unsd/mi/pdf/MDG%20Book.pdf>> Last viewed 29 April 2006.
- 28 Parliament of Australia 2005, 'Women in Parliament' in *The Handbook of the Forty-First Parliament*, Parliament of Australia, Canberra.
- 29 Commonwealth Equal Opportunity for Women in the Workplace Agency (EOWA) 2002 and 2004, *Australian Census of Women in leadership*, EOWA, Sydney.
- 30 Minister's Conference on the Status of Women (MINCO) 2005, *Measuring women's involvement in leadership and decision making*, South Australian Office for Women, Adelaide.
- 31 Australian Electoral Commission (AEC), *Electoral Milestones: Timeline for Indigenous Australians*. <http://www.aec.gov.au/_content/When/history/ab_timeline.htm> Last viewed 10 March 2006.
- 32 Bennett, S. 2004, *The 1967 Aborigines Referendum, in Year Book , Australia 2004*, Australian Bureau of Statistics, Canberra.
- 33 Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Commission 2001, *ATSIC Corporate Plan 2001 – 2004*, ATSIC, Canberra.
- 34 Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission (HREOC) 2005, *Face the Facts: Questions and Answers about Indigenous people, migrants and refugees*, HREOC, Sydney. <http://www.hreoc.gov.au/racial_discrimination/face_facts/pdf/ftf.pdf> Last viewed 29 April 2006.
- 35 See <<http://www.atsia.gov.au/NIC/default.aspx>> Last viewed 10 March 2006.
- 36 Victorian Health Promotion Foundation (VicHealth) 2005, *Building Indigenous Leadership: Promoting the emotional and spiritual wellbeing of Koori communities through the Koori Communities Leadership Program*, VicHealth, Melbourne.
- 37 The Electoral Commission 2001, *Election 2001: The Official Results*, The Electoral Commission, London, U.K.
- 38 Saha, L., Print, M. And Edwards, K. 2005, *Youth Electoral Study: Report 2: Youth, political engagement and voting*, AEC, Canberra.
- 39 Commonwealth Department of Education, Science and Training, *Civics and Citizenship Education* <<http://www.civicsandcitizenship.edu.au/cce/default.asp?id=8985>> Last viewed 10 March 2006.
- 40 Saha, L., Print, M. And Edwards, K. 2005, *Youth Electoral Study: Report 1: Enrolment and voting*, AEC, Canberra. The Youth Electoral Study (YES) is an academic study conducted in conjunction with the Australian Electoral Commission. The study aims to determine why many young people do not register on the electoral roll, and more broadly to investigate the level of engagement young people have with political and civic activities.