Still the Exception? Australian Employment Relations in Comparative Perspective

Nick Wailes

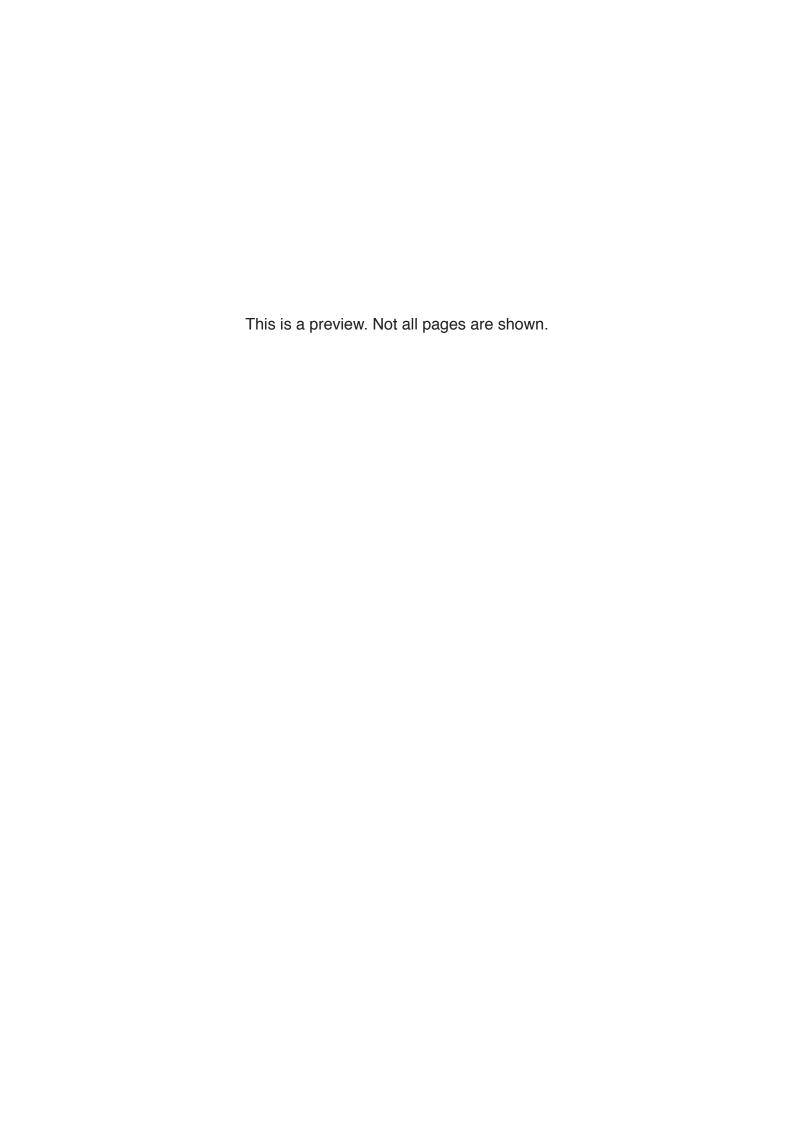
Introduction

During his long and distinguished career, Russell Lansbury has made a number of important contributions to the study of Australian and international employment relations. Arguably one of his most important contributions has been to make the distinctive and complex features of Australian employment relations more understandable to an international audience. In doing so, he has countered the often-implicit tendency of industrial relations scholars to treat Australia as an exception. I argue that by rejecting exceptionalism and seeking to make Australian employment relations more amenable to international comparison, Lansbury and the generation of scholars that followed his example have contributed to our understanding of how Australia compares. Now, more than 40 years since Russell's first article on Australian industrial relations appeared in the International Labour Review, and in the wake of more than three decades of significant change in how the relationships between employers and employees are governed in Australia, its seems an appropriate time to assess how Australian employment relations ought to be compared with those in other countries.

This chapter is organised in three sections. The first briefly sketches what I call the *exceptionalist* view of Australian industrial relations and discusses the implications of this exceptionalism. The second section provides a short commentary on Lansbury's contribution to the international understanding of Australian employment relations and comparative analysis more generally. The final section illustrates some examples of contemporary approaches to the comparison of Australia's employment relations.

The exceptionalist view and its consequences

As is well known, in the late 19th and early 20th century, Australia developed a distinctive and complex form of labour market regulation known



Conclusion

While I have not done the painstaking number crunching to verify it, my suspicion is that relative to its size, and with the possible exception of Sweden (another of Russell's favourite subjects), Australia is the most over-represented country in comparative employment relations scholarship. Australian data figure strongly in multi-country comparative studies, and international journals regularly publish articles that draw exclusively or mainly on Australian evidence. In my view this comparative interest has less to do with the exceptional nature of the Australian case than with the attempts by scholars such as Russell Lansbury to present the Australian case in a fashion that makes it more amenable to comparison.

Shafer (1999: 446) pointed out that by treating your country as an exception you are effectively arguing that 'understanding other nations will not help in understanding it; understanding it will only mislead in understanding them'. While earlier analysis of union activity and the role of the state in Australia led scholars to adopt an exceptionalist view of Australian industrial relations, the two recent articles that I discussed in the previous section illustrate that Australian scholars working in these areas not only benefit from drawing on international and comparative experience, they can also use distinctive features of the Australian case to contribute to greater international understanding of key issues in employment relations.

References

- Baccarro L (2003) What is alive and what is dead in the theory of corporatism. *British Journal of Industrial Relations* 41(4): 683-706.
- Bamber G and Lansbury RD (1987) *International and Comparative Employment Relations:* A Study of Developed Market Economies. Sydney and London: Allen and Unwin and Sage.
- Barry M (1995) Employer Associations: Assessing Plowman's reactivity thesis. *Journal of Industrial Relations* 37(4): 543-561.
- Briggs C (2001) Australian exceptionalism: The role of trade unions in the emergence of enterprise bargaining. *Journal of Industrial Relations* 43(1): 27-43.
- Carter B and Cooper R (2002) The organising model and the management of change: A comparative study of unions in Australia and Britain. *Relations Industrielles* 57(4): 712-742.
- Cooper R (2002) 'To organise wherever the necessity exists': The activities of the organising committee of the Labor Council of NSW, 1900-10. *Labour History* 83: 43-64.
- Cooper R and Ellem B (2008) The neoliberal state, trade unions and collective bargaining in Australia. *British Journal of Industrial Relations* 46(3): 532-554.
- Crouch C and Pizzorno A (Eds) (1978) *The Resurgence of Class Conflict In Western Europe*. 2 Vols. London: Routledge Kegan Paul.
- Dabscheck B (1980) The Australian system of industrial relations: An analytical model. *Journal of Industrial Relations* 22(2): 223-252.

- Dabscheck B (1994) A general theory of (Australian) industrial relations. *Journal of Industrial Relations* 36(1): 3-17.
- De Tocqueville A (1835/1945) *Democracy in America*. 2 Vols. New York: Vintage Books. Fredrickson G (1995) From exceptionalism to variability: Recent developments in cross-national comparative history. *Journal of American History* 82(2): 587-604.
- Gahan P (1996) Did arbitration make for dependent unionisms? Evidence from historical case studies. *Journal of Industrial Relations* 38(4): 648-698.
- Gardener M and Ronfeldt P (1996) The arbitral model: What remains? In: Fells R, Tood T (Eds) *Current Research in Industrial Relations: Proceedings of the 10th AIRAANZ Conference.*
- Hay C (2010) Chronicles of a death foretold: The winter of discontent and construction of the crisis of British Keynesianism. *Parliamentary Affairs* 63/3: 446-470.
- Howard WA (1977) Australian trade unions in the context of union theory. *Journal of Industrial Relations* 19(3): 255-273.
- Johnson CH (1995) French Exceptionalism. Labor History 36: 95-100.
- Kitay J and Lansbury RD (1997) Changing Employment Relations in Australia. Melbourne: Oxford University Press.
- Kochan T, Lansbury RD and Macduffie JP (Eds) (1997) *After Lean Production: Evolving Employment Practices in the World Auto Industry*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Lansbury RD (1978) The return to arbitration: Recent trends in dispute settlement and wages policy in Australia. *International Labour Review* 117(5): 611-624.
- Lansbury RD and Marchington M (1994) Joint consultation and industrial relations: Experience from Australia and overseas. *Asia Pacific Journal of Human Resources* 31(3): 62-82.
- Lispet SM (1997) American Exceptionalism: A Double-Edged Sword. New York: Norton. Macintyre S and Mitchell R (Eds) (1989) Foundations of Arbitration: The Origins and Effects of State Compulsory Arbitration, 1890-1914. Melbourne: Oxford University Press.
- Michelson G and Westcott M (2001) Heading into orbit? Braham Dabscheck and industrial relations theory. *Journal of Industrial Relations* 43(3): 308-329.
- O'Brien J (1994) McKinsey, Hilmer and the BCA: The new management model of labour reform. *Journal of Industrial Relations* 36(4): 468-490.
- Peetz D and Pocock B (2009) An analysis of workplace representatives, union power and democracy in Australia. *British Journal of Industrial Relations* 47(4): 623-652.
- Plowman D (1978) Employer Associations: Challenges and responses. *Journal of Industrial Relations* 20(3): 237-263.
- Plowman D (1988a) Employer Associations and bargaining structures: An Australian Perspective. *British Journal of Industrial Relations* 26(3): 371-396.
- Plowman D (1988b) Employer Associations and industrial reactivity. *Labour and Industry* 1: 287-305.
- Poole M, Lansbury RD and Wailes N (2001) A comparative analysis of developments in industrial democracy. *Industrial Relations: A Journal of Economy and Society* 40(3): 490-525.
- Scherer P (1982) State syndicalism? Some thoughts on the nature of the Australian industrial relations system. *ANU Centre for Economic Policy Research Discussion Paper No* 53.
- Shafer B (1999) American Exceptionalism. *Annual Review of Political Science* 2: 445-463. Sheldon P (1998) Compulsory arbitration and union recovery: Maritime-related unions 1900-1912. *Journal of Industrial Relations* 40(3): 422-440.
- Smith C and Meiskins P (1995) System, society and dominance effects in cross national organisational analysis. *Work, Employment and Society* 9: 241-268.

WORK AND EMPLOYMENT RELATIONS

- Sombart W (1906/1976) Why is There No Socialism in the United States? London: MacMillan.
- Tsutsui W (1998) Manufacturing Ideology: Scientific Management in Twentieth-Century Japan. New Jersey: Princeton University Press.
- Zolberg A (1986) How many Exceptionalisms? In: Katznelson I and Zolberg A (Eds) Working-Class Formation: Nineteenth-Century Patterns in Western Europe and the United States. New Jersey: Princeton University Press, pp 397-456.