



Australian Political
Studies Association

2017 ANNUAL CONFERENCE

**DEMOCRACY AND POPULISM: A NEW AGE
OF EXTREMES?**

CONFERENCE PROGRAM

HOSTED BY



MONASH
University

SUNDAY 24 SEPTEMBER – WEDNESDAY 27 SEPTEMBER
PULLMAN & MERCURE, ALBERT PARK
65 QUEENS ROAD, MELBOURNE, VICTORIA

Wifi network: Pullman Conference Wireless
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LOCAL ORGANISING COMMITTEE

Conference Convenor: Benjamin MacQueen

Conference Assistant: Stephanie Carver

Local Organising Committee:
Katrina Lee-Koo
Narelle Miragliotta
Paul Muldoon
Michael Ure
Ben Wellings

Events Management: Sharon Elliot
Amy Lim
Karina Forster
Rhiannon Dempster



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CONFERENCE OVERVIEW

Welcome to the Australian Political Studies Association (APSA) 2017 annual conference, addressing Democracy and Populism: A New Age of Extremes?

The rise of populist movements has dominated politics, particularly in liberal democracies, in recent years. This has been a process defined by polarised debates, centrifugal political forces, and seemingly intractable confrontations that have challenged dominant understandings of both domestic and international order. Discourse and debate, the exchange of ideas, and acknowledgement of the complexity of governance appear to have been marginalised in favour of parochial sloganeering and seemingly mutually exclusive interests. This raises questions as to whether established understandings of political divides and dynamics are increasingly redundant, creating new tensions in the public realm and the discipline itself.

Rather than seeking to overcome these tensions, it is critical to remember that tension can also drive change. The fluidity and unpredictability of contemporary politics presents as much challenge as it does opportunity. As such, the conference theme seeks to explore whether these tensions open new possibilities for discussion and transformation. It calls for papers that will critically investigate the landscape of these fluid tensions as well as interrogating the tools we use to grapple with this.

This conference features papers from scholars of Political Science, International Relations, Political Theory and Philosophy, Comparative Politics, Public Policy, and other related fields.

The 2017 APSA conference is hosted by Monash University, Melbourne, Australia from the 25th to the 27th of September, 2017 at the Pullman & Mercure Melbourne, Albert Park.

CONFERENCE VENUE INFORMATION

This year APSA will be held at The Pullman & Mercure Melbourne, Albert Park is located at 65 Queens Road Melbourne, Victoria 3004. The venue is centrally located on Queens Road, overlooking the picturesque Albert Park Lake. It is just minutes away from the vibrant Chapel Street for dining, shopping and entertainment, St Kilda entertainment, restaurant and shopping precincts, Melbourne's bustling CBD and the city's best-known attractions.

How to get there? There are many options available to arrive at the venue.

For those wishing to drive, a discounted rate of \$16.00 is available for self-parking (per exit/or per 24 hours whichever occurs first) located underneath the hotel.

Alternatively, tram numbers 3, 5, 6, 16, 64 and 67 all stop at stop 27 which is located on the cnr of St Kilda road and Lorne Street. For those unfamiliar with the tram system a Myki will need to be purchased in order to travel on the tram from 7-Eleven convenience stores and other retail outlets. Consult <https://www.ptv.vic.gov.au/tickets/myki/buy-a-myki/myki-retail-outlets/> for further information.

For participants using the train system select any line to Flinders Street Station and take the trams listed above towards Albert Park. Consult <https://www.ptv.vic.gov.au/stop/view/19854> for further information.

Distance

From St Kilda Road: 50m - 1 minute walk

From Tullamarine Airport: 24km - 30 minutes by car

From Melbourne CBD: 4km - 10 minutes by car or 15 minutes by tram.

Wifi network: Pullman Conference Wireless

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WELCOME ADDRESS, KEYNOTE ADDRESS AND PLENARIES

In 2017 the role of populism in many democratic states has afforded great opportunity and scope for the scholarly community. These concerns and challenges raised by the recent rise in populism are touched on in the keynote address and the plenaries. This year on behalf of APSA Committee, the Department of Politics and International Relations in the School of Social Science at Monash University are pleased to extend a warm welcome to the following keynote speakers.

Welcome Address: Professor Margaret Gardner AO, Vice-Chancellor, Monash University

09:00-09:30, Monday 25 September

Location: Grand 1-2



Professor Gardner is the President and Vice-Chancellor of Monash University, previously serving as Vice-Chancellor of RMIT and Deputy Vice-Chancellor of the University of Queensland as well as serving in senior roles at Deakin University, Griffith University, and the Queensland University of Technology.

Professor Gardner is Chair of Universities Australia and a Director of the Group of Eight Universities. She is also a Director of Infrastructure Victoria and the Australia and New Zealand School of Government (ANZSOG), and was recently made a member of the Prime Minister and Cabinet Inclusion and Diversity Committee.

Professor Gardner is a graduate of the University of Sydney as well as a Fulbright Scholar, studying at the University of California, Berkeley, the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and Cornell University.

Keynote Address: Dr Tim Soutphommasane, Race Discrimination Commissioner

09:30-10:30, Monday 25 September

Location: Grand 1-2



This year the keynote address will be given by Dr Tim Soutphommasane. Dr Tim Soutphommasane has been Race Discrimination Commissioner since August 2013. Prior to joining the Australian Human Rights Commission, Tim was a political philosopher and held posts at The University of Sydney and Monash University. His thinking on multiculturalism, patriotism and national identity has been influential in shaping debates in Australia and Britain.

Tim is the author of four books: *I'm Not Racist But ...* (2015), *The Virtuous Citizen* (2012), *Don't Go Back To Where You Came From* (2012), and *Reclaiming Patriotism* (2009). He was co-editor (with Nick Dyrenfurth) of *All That's Left* (2010).

He has been an opinion columnist with *The Age* and *The Weekend Australian* newspapers, and presented the documentary series *Mongrel Nation* on ABC Radio National (2013). Tim is an adjunct professor at the School of Social Sciences and Psychology, Western Sydney University and chairs the Leadership Council on Cultural Diversity.

Born in France and raised in southwest Sydney, Tim holds a Doctor of Philosophy and Master of Philosophy (with Distinction) from the University of Oxford, and is a first-class honours graduate of The University of Sydney.

Plenary 1 – Constitutionalism & Sovereignty

11:00-12:30, Monday 25 September

Location: Grand 1-2

Chair Dr Paul Muldoon
Participants Professor Duncan Ivison
Associate Professor Sarah Maddison
Professor Mark McMillan
Professor Lester-Irabinna Rigney

Professor Duncan Ivison



Professor Ivison is currently Deputy Vice Chancellor (Research) at the University of Sydney. Prior to this, he was Dean of the Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences (2010-2015) and Head of the School of Philosophical and Historical Inquiry (2007-2009). He continues to teach in the Department of Philosophy. He has also held appointments in the Department of Political Science at the University of Toronto, the Department of Politics at the University of York (UK) and was a Postdoctoral Fellow at the Research School of Social Sciences at the ANU. Professor Ivison did his BA at McGill University in Montreal, where he grew up, and an MSc and PhD at the London School of Economics and Political Science (where he was awarded the Robert Mackenzie Prize for my PhD). He was Laurance S. Rockefeller Visiting Fellow, as well as Visiting Fellow in Ethics and Public Affairs, at the Center for Human Values, Princeton University (2002-3). He was elected a Fellow of the Australian Academy of Humanities in 2009.

Professor Ivison works in three main areas: political philosophy, the history of political thought and moral philosophy. He has published five books: *The Self at Liberty: Political Argument and the Arts of Government* (Cornell University Press, 1997); *Postcolonial Liberalism* (Cambridge UP, 2002), which was awarded the 2004 CB Macpherson Prize by the CPSA for best book in political theory in 2002 and 2003; *Rights* (Acumen and McGill Queens Press, 2008); and edited (with Paul Patton and Will Sanders); *Political Theory and the Rights of Indigenous Peoples* (Cambridge UP, 2000; reprinted 2002); and *The Ashgate Research Companion to Multiculturalism* (Ashgate, 2010).

He is currently working on an ARC funded project on 'political approaches' to human rights, a monograph on the relationship between justice and democracy, as well as a collection of essays on liberal political philosophy and the claims of indigenous peoples.

Associate Professor Sarah Maddison



Associate Professor Sarah Maddison was educated at the University of Sydney and the University of Technology, Sydney. She taught political science at the University of New South Wales from 2004-2014, where she also held roles as Senior Associate Dean (2007-2010) and an Australian Research Council Future Fellow (2011-2014). She joined the University of Melbourne in 2015. She has published widely in the fields of reconciliation and intercultural relations, settler colonialism, Indigenous politics, gender politics, social movements, and democracy, including in journals such as *Political Studies*, *Identities*, *Peacebuilding*, *Social Identities*, *The Australian Journal of Human Rights*, *The Australian Journal of Political Science*, *Social Movement Studies*.

Her book *Black Politics: Inside the complexity of Aboriginal political culture* (2009) was the joint winner of the Henry Mayer Book Prize in 2009, and was also shortlisted for the Australian Human Rights Award for Literature Nonfiction and longlisted for the John Button prize for the best political writing in that same year. Her other recent books include *The Women's Movement in Protest, Institutions and the Internet* (co-edited with Marian Sawer, 2013), *Beyond White Guilt* (2011), *Unsettling the Settler State* (co-edited with Morgan Brigg, 2011), and *Silencing Dissent* (co-edited with Clive Hamilton, 2007). She was a Visiting Scholar at the Institute for the Study of Human Rights at Columbia University in 2014, and has also held visiting appointments at the University of Connecticut, The University of Witwatersrand, and the University of Ulster.

In 2009 she was awarded a Churchill Fellowship to study models of Indigenous representation in the United States and Canada. Sarah's Future Fellowship project was a comparative study of conflict transformation and reconciliation in South Africa, Northern Ireland, Australia and Guatemala. The book detailing the results of this study will be published by Routledge in 2015.

Professor Mark McMillan



Professor Mark McMillan is a Wiradjuri man from Trangie, NSW. He currently serves as the Deputy Vice-Chancellor Indigenous Education and Engagement at RMIT University, and was previously an Associate Professor at the Melbourne Law School. In 2013 Mark was awarded the National NAIDOC Scholar of the Year award.

Mark has received his Bachelor of Laws from The Australian National University, a Graduate Diploma in Legal Practice from The Australian National University, a Master of Laws and a Doctor of Juridical Science from the University of Arizona, a Certificate II in Indigenous Leadership from the Australian Indigenous Leadership Centre and a Graduate Certificate in Wiradjuri Heritage, Language and Culture from Charles Sturt University.

Mark was admitted to the Roll of the Supreme Court of the Australian Capital Territory as a Legal Practitioner in 2001. He is a current board member of the National Congress of Australia's First Peoples and the Trangie Local Aboriginal Land Council.

His research interests are in the area of human rights and, in particular, the expression and fulfillment of those rights for Indigenous Australians. He is currently working on an ARC grant relating to Indigenous governance and jurisdiction for native nations. He intends on expanding his research outcomes to include the application of 'constitutionalism' for Indigenous Australians, with a particular emphasis on the use of current constitutional law for the protections envisioned for Indigenous people in the constitutional referendum of 1967.

Professor Lester-Irabinna Rigney



Professor Lester-Irabinna Rigney has worked in Aboriginal Education for over 20 years. His previous appointment was the Dean Indigenous Education at the University of Adelaide. Past positions include Director of Wirritu Yarlur Aboriginal Education and the Director of the Yunggoorendi First Nations Centre at Flinders University. He has a Doctorate PhD by Research and is a Professor of Education. In 2011 he won the National Aboriginal scholar of the Year NAIDOC. In the same year he was appointed by the Australian Government Minister for School Education, Early Childhood and Youth, The Hon Peter Garrett to the First Peoples Education Advisory Group that advises on Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander early childhood and school education. In 2011 he was appointed by the same

Minister Australian Ambassador for Aboriginal Education. In 2009 he received an honorary United Nations award from the Australian Chapter for his work on Indigenous Education.

He has been a member of several high profile expert committees including the Australian Institute of Health and Welfare COAG 'Closing the Gap' Scientific Reference Group, the National Aboriginal Reference Group 25 year Indigenous Education Plan and Australian Curriculum and Assessment Reporting Authority, National Languages Curriculum Reference Group. Professor Rigney was the inaugural Co-Chair of Ethics Council for the National Congress of Australia's First Peoples. In 2009 Professor Rigney was co-author of the review of the National Indigenous Education document Australian Directions for the Federal Government.

He has been working across the Pacific on Indigenous Education in New Zealand, Taiwan and Canada. Professor Rigney was a member on the Australian Institute for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies, Research Advisory Committee as expert on education and cultural transmission. His professional standing in education saw him inducted into the Australian College of Educators (ACE) in 1998. He is recognised as a national and international authority in the area of Indigenist Research Methodologies. Interest in his work by National and International universities has seen him uptake several prestigious Visiting scholar invitations including Cambridge University, UK; Fort Hare University, South Africa; and University of British Columbia, Canada.

He has also been chief/co-investigator, led research teams for reports and policies for key benchmarking research/government agencies including: United Nations.



Plenary 2 – Populism & Representative Democracy

10:00-11:00, Tuesday 26 September

Location: Grand 1-2

Chair Dr Zareh Ghazarian
Participants Dr Frank Mols
Professor Simon Tormey
Dr Carolien van Ham

Dr Frank Mols



Frank Mols is a lecturer in Political Science at the University of Queensland. His research interests include the current rise in populist right-wing parties, anti-immigration movements, identity politics, voter attitudes, EU attitudes, governance & public policy, behavioral economics and nudge interventions. His work, which brings together political science and social psychological theorizing, has been published in leading international journals, including the *European Journal of Political Research*, *Political Psychology*, *Public Administration*, *West European Politics*, the *Journal of Common Market Studies*, *Evidence and Policy*, the *Australian Journal of Public Administration*, and the *Journal of Social Issues*.

Professor Simon Tormey



Simon Tormey is currently Head of the School of Social and Political Sciences. Prior to his appointment at Sydney in 2009 he was Professor and Head of the School of Politics and International Relations and founding Director of the Centre for the Study of Social and Global Justice (CSSGJ) at the University of Nottingham UK. He was educated at the University of Wales, Swansea receiving his doctorate in 1991. He was a Research Scholar and Lecturer at the University of Leicester before joining Nottingham in 1990. In 2005 he was awarded a personal chair in Politics and Critical Theory.

Dr Carolien van Ham



Carolien van Ham is a Lecturer in Comparative Politics at the School of Social Sciences at UNSW and an ARC Discovery Early Career Research Award recipient (2015-2017). She is also a research associate at the Varieties of Democracy Institute and senior research fellow at the Electoral Integrity Project, and co-editor of the Routledge book series *Elections, Democracy and Autocracy*. Dr Van Ham received her PhD from the European University Institute in 2012. Prior to coming to UNSW, she worked as a postdoctoral researcher at the University of Twente on a Netherlands Royal Academy of Sciences research project on democratic legitimacy, as a senior research fellow at the Electoral Integrity Project, University of Sydney, and as a research fellow at the Varieties of Democracy Institute, University of Gothenburg.

Her research focuses on democratization and authoritarianism, electoral integrity and fraud, and legitimacy and political representation. Dr. Van Ham has published in the *European Journal of Political Science*, *Government and Opposition*, *Democratization*, *Post-Soviet Affairs*, *West European Politics* and *Electoral Studies*, is co-editor of a forthcoming edited volume on democratic legitimacy in advanced industrial democracies at *Oxford University Press*, and has authored a book on legitimacy in the Netherlands, and book chapters in various edited volumes.

CONFERENCE DINNER

A cocktail event will be held on Tuesday 26th of September from 6pm onwards at the Queens Hall, Level 1, Parliament House - Spring Street, Melbourne VIC 3000

Parliament house is a well-known attraction in Melbourne. Constructed between 1855 and 1929 this architectural feat has served as both the seat of the Parliament of Victoria and as the seat of the Federal Parliament of Australia.

Dinner will take place in the Queens Hall, one of Melbourne's most prestigious function and event venues. This venue is a favourite to host to opening night festivities for many of Melbourne's greatest theatrical productions, international business and Parliamentary events and major business forums for respected political leaders

An optional, free bus service will be available to assist attendees in making their way to the venue. Collection point for this service will be out the front of the Pullman & Mercure at 5.20pm and will return passengers at 9.30pm to the Pullman & Mercure.

Alternatively, there are numerous carparks around East Melbourne. Paramount Car Park at 163 Exhibition St Melbourne VIC 3000 is approximately a five-minute walk to the venue.

1. Walk right on Exhibition St towards Bourke St.
2. Turn left onto Bourke St.
3. Continue on Bourke St to the Parliament House across the road.

Rates and additional information can be found at <http://www.paramountcarpark.com.au/car-parking-near-state-parliament-house.php>

SOCIAL MEDIA

Make the most of your conference, and get the word out about the great research on display at this year's event by using the conference hashtag #APSA2017.

You can also follow all the work going on in Politics and International Relations at Monash by following:

- @MonashPolsIR (official Monash Politics and International Relations Twitter account)
- @Monash_Arts (Official Monash Faculty of Arts Twitter account)
- @GpsMonash (Official Monash Gender, Peace and Security Twitter account)

SPECIAL EVENTS

APSA President Address – Professor Jenny Lewis

Political Science and Research Collaboration: A Difficult Relationship?

17:00-18:00, Monday 25 September

Location: Grand 1-2

Welcome Drinks

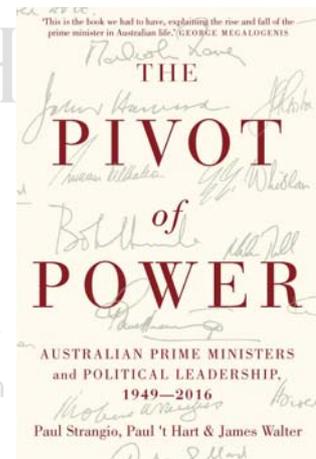
18:00-19:00, Monday 25 September

Book Launch

Paul Strangio, Paul 't Hart & James Walter *Pivot to Power: Australian Prime Ministers and Political Leadership, 1949-2016*

The prime ministership remains the main prize in Australian politics, but it is a precarious one. Leadership turnover in recent years has seen more prime ministers rise and fall than at any time since the decade after federation. What explains this volatility?

After decades of strong national leadership, the office has rarely seemed quite so confounding as it does for its contemporary holders. *The Pivot of Power* explains how this has come about. And its rich account of prime-ministerial fortune since the mid-twentieth century yields historical lessons for overcoming the current malaise.



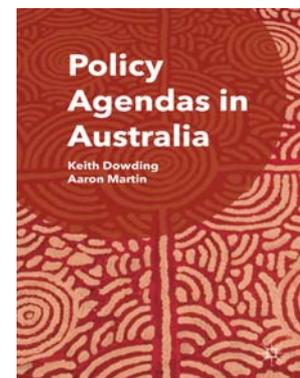
14:00-15:30, Tuesday 26 September (in conjunction with Panel 41)

Location: Grand 1-2

Book Launch

Keith Dowding and Aaron Martin *Policy Agendas in Australia*

This book contributes to and expands on the major international Comparative Policy Agendas Project. It sets the project in context, and provides a comprehensive assessment of the changing policy agenda in Australia over a forty-year period, using a unique systematic dataset of governor-general speeches, legislation and parliamentary questions, and then mapping these on to media coverage and what the public believes (according to poll evidence) government should be concentrating upon. The book answers some important questions in political science: what are the most important legislative priorities for government over time? Does the government follow talk with action? Does government attend to the issues the public identifies as most important? And how does media attention follow the policy agenda? The authors deploy their unique dataset to provide a new and exciting perspective on the nature of Australian public policy and the Comparative Policy Agendas Project more broadly.



16:00-17:30, Tuesday 26 September

Location: Lake 2

Early Career Researcher Panel: The Tricks to Publications

Early Career Researchers are invited to attend panel of journals editors from the Australian Journal of Public Administration, Australian Journal of Politics & History, Australian Journal of Political Science and Wiley, to discuss tips and tricks for getting articles published.

Wednesday 09:30-11:00

Location: Albert

Sir Samuel Griffith 'State of the Federation' Series



Griffith UNIVERSITY

What role for states in the age of disruption?

*Sir Samuel Griffith
'State of the Federation' series*

Wednesday 27 September 2017
Element Theatre, Pullman and Mercure
Melbourne

At a time when our governments are being asked to do more with less, and arguments around uniformity and diversity continue unabated, it is timely to ask the question: what role for states?

Invitation and program

The fifth event in the annual Sir Samuel Griffith series, the symposium will this year be held in conjunction with the **Australian Political Studies Association Annual Conference** in Melbourne.

Griffith University's Centre for Governance and Public Policy will bring together academics, public officials and community stakeholders to discuss how sub-national governments can lead the policy agenda into the future.

Time	
10.00 am	Australian Constitutional Survey results released
10.30 am	Roundtable on state policy leadership and best practice in intergovernmental relations—featuring Professor Ken Smith of the Australia and New Zealand School of Government (ANZSOG) along with John Dinan, senior academics and practitioners
12.30 pm	Launch of <i>A People's Federation</i> presented by John Dinan, editor of <i>Publius: The Journal of Federalism</i> . Published by Federation Press, this volume examines key areas such as health, education, local government, intergovernmental relations and federal financial relations
1.00 pm	Lunch
2.00–4.00 pm	Open academic session on current global debates around the role of sub-national governments

More information

We look forward to welcoming intergovernmental relations (IGR) practitioners to attend this free event. RSVPs are required for catering purposes.

Dr Tracey Arklay
Centre for Governance and Public Policy
samuelgriffith2017@griffith.edu.au

For more information about the Australian Political Studies Association Conference, visit auspsa.org.au.

POSTGRADUATE DAY

Workshop timetable

Sunday 24 September
Element Theatre, Pullman Albert Park
65 Queens Rd, Albert Park

Time	Session	Speaker
9:45-10:00am	Introduction	Sophie Yates APSA Postgraduate Representative
10:00-11:00am	What do PhD examiners look for?	Dr Margaret Kiley ANU
11:00am-11:20am	Morning tea	
11:20am-12:20pm	Mixed methods or mixed-up methods?	Jonathan O'Donnell The Research Whisperer, RMIT Prof Jenny Lewis University of Melbourne
12:20-1:20pm	Presentation skills	Dr David Smith University of Sydney
1:20-2:10pm	Lunch Election of new APSA Postgraduate Representative	
2:10-3:10pm	Into to interactive teaching	Prof Michael Mintrom ANZSOG
3:10-4:15pm	Beyond universities: jobs in the government, NGO and private sectors	Dr Kathy Landvogt Good Shepherd Aus/NZ Tanya Smith Nous Group Monica Pfeffer ANZSOG
4:15pm	Drinks at the Pullman Bar	

RESEARCH GROUP AND COMMITTEE MEETINGS

APSA Executive Meeting

14:00-18:00, Sunday 24 September

Location: Melbourne

Political Organisations and Participation Group Meeting

12:30-13:30, Monday 25 September

Location: Victoria

Women's Caucus

12:30-13:30, Monday 25 September

Location: Melbourne

Standing Committee on International Relations Meeting

12:30-13:30, Monday 25 September

Location: Lake 1

Heads of Disciplines' Meeting

08:00-09:00, Tuesday 26 September

Location: Grand 3

APSA Annual General Meeting

09:00-10:00, Tuesday 26 September

Location: Grand 1-2

Quantitative Methods Research Group Meeting

13:00-14:00, Tuesday 26 September

Location: Victoria

Environmental Politics and Policy Research Group Meeting

13:00-14:00, Tuesday 26 September

Location: Element

Political Theory Research Group Meeting

13:00-14:00, Tuesday 26 September

Location: Melbourne

Policy Studies Research Group Meeting

13:00-14:00, Wednesday 27 September

Location: Albert

PROGRAM

DAY 1 – MONDAY 25 SEPTEMBER

CONFERENCE WELCOME, 09:00-09:30

Professor Margaret Gardner AO, President and Vice-Chancellor, Monash University

Location – Grand 1-2

KEYNOTE ADDRESS, 09:30-10:30

Dr Tim Soutphommasane, Race Discrimination Commissioner

Location – Grand 1-2

MORNING TEA, 10:30-11:00

PLENARY – CONSTITUTIONALISM & SOVEREIGNTY, 11:00-12:30

Location – Grand 1-2

Chair Paul Muldoon

Participants Duncan Ivison

Sarah Maddison

Mark McMillan

Lester-Irabinna Rigney

PARALLEL SESSION #1 – 11:00-12:30

Panel 1 – Parties, Populism & Elites

Location – Element

Chair – Glenn Kefford

A new norm in Australian politics? The who, how, and why of Cross-Party Collaboration 2005-2016

Adele Lausberg

Populism Outside Parties

Liam Weeks

Trump contagion? An examination of Australian political elites' use of 'fake news' and other 'post-truth' terminologies in popular discourse

Andrew Gibbons, Katherine Farhall & Andrea Carson

Understanding State Labour Governments

Rob Manwaring & Geoffrey Robinson

LUNCH, 12:30-13:30

Political Organisations and Participation Standing Group Meeting, 12:30-13:30

Location - Victoria

Women's Caucus, 12:30-13:30

Location - Melbourne

Standing Committee on International Relations Meeting, 12:30-13:30

Location – Lake 1

Panel 2 – Local Government

Location – Grand 1-2

Chair – Andy Asquith

Structural Reform of Local Government in Perth and Sydney: What Went Wrong?

Graham Sansom

Enhancing local democracy: Comparing the cases of Auckland, NZ and Kirklees, UK

Andy Asquith & Andy Mycock

It's my Party – I'll lie if I want to: Political Party (in)action in local government elections in Auckland NZ

Karen Webster & Andy Asquith

From Town Clerk to Contract Manager: How has the CEO role changed since the mid 20thC and what impact does it have on the quality of local government in Australia today?

John Martin

Panel 3 – Campaigns, Parties & the Public Service

Location – Grand 3

Chair – TBC

Exploring the professional backgrounds of Australian ministerial staff

Maria Maley

Re-thinking the modern Australian party system: fragmentation, polarisation, and divided party government

Josh Holloway

Boxing on: The persistent usage of television news for political information during election campaigns in three English-speaking parliamentary democracies (Australia, the UK, and New Zealand), and how their campaign coverage compares

Mark Boyd

Panel 4 – Health of Democracies & Turnout in Autocracies

Location – Grand 4

Chair – Carolien van Ham & Ferran Martinez i Coma

Democratic Consolidation

Roberto Foa & Yascha Mounik

Economic Performance and Satisfaction with Democracy

Andrew James Klassen

Turnout in Autocracies

Ferran Martinez i Coma & Lee Morgenbesser

Panel 5 – The European Union & the Anglosphere

Location – Grand 5

Chair – TBC

Explaining the extension of citizenship rights in the context of direct democracy: a fuzzy set QCA of European Union related referendums

Francesco Veri

Brexit, Euroscepticism and the Anglosphere

Ben Wellings

Decision-making and networks in the Council of the European Union after Brexit

Narison Huhe, Daniel Naurin, & Robert Thomson

Panel 6 – Democratic Theory

Location – Grand 6

Chair – TBC

Contemporary Shi'a theories of justice and Western liberal democracy: a comparative political theory approach

Nicolas Pirsoul

Expressive Deliberation

Jensen Sass

Democracy and Human Rights - Ideas between Universality and Relativism

Peter Alsen

Liberal Proceduralism in Normative Democratic Theory: Some Problems and an Alternative

Quinlan Bowman

Panel 7 – International Organisations

Location – Park

Chair – TBC

International Organization Accountability and Representation: Lessons from Public Administration

Kim Moloney

The Politics of Intelligence Sharing in the IOR: a Multi-Pronged Approach to Multi-level Communication

Daniel Baldino & Jamal Barnes

International organisations, autonomy, and the first permanent secretariats in the 19th century

Ellen Ravndal

Panel 8 – New Developments in Understanding & Combating Corruption

Location – Albert

Chair – Rodney Smith

Defining and Measuring Corruption in Australia and Beyond: Improving the Use of Citizen Experience and Perceptions

AJ Brown

Accountability Relationships: What Role for Anti-Corruption Agencies?

Samueal Ankamah

Why Anti-Corruption Isomorphism Fails in Developing Countries: An Analysis of the National Integrity Strategy (NI-Strategy) of Bangladesh

Nurul Huda Sakib

Better Outcomes for Public Sector Whistleblowers: How Important are Organisational Policies and Practices? Preliminary Evidence from Australia

Rodney Smith

Panel 9 – Gender, Political Participation & Leadership

Location – Victoria

Chair – TBC

Public Support for Increasing Women and Māori MPs in New Zealand

Hilde Coffe & Catherine Bolzendahl

Children and gender in Victoria's Royal Commission into Family Violence

Sophie Yates

Mapping the gendered descriptive representation of non-party candidates: a case-study of Ireland

Fiona Buckley & Francesca Gains

Sex, Gender and Promotion in Executive Office: Cabinet Careers in the World of Westminster

Jennifer Curtin, Matthew Kerby & Keith Dowding

Panel 10 – Cases and Empirical Evidence of Populism

Location – Element

Chair – Glenn Kefford

Pauline Hanson's One Nation: Rise of the 'White Queen' or Death by Dysfunction (Again)?

Glenn Kefford

The New International Populist Radical Right in Europe

Duncan McDonnell & Annika Werner

The International Political Economy of Populism

Paul D. Kenny, Dongwook Kin & Charles Miller

No guts, no glory: How framing the collective past paves the way for anti-immigrant sentiments

Frank Mols & Jolanda Jetten

Panel 11 – US Foreign Policy

Location – Melbourne

Chair – TBC

How American Allies React: Elite Sentiment and Foreign Policy Shifts in the Aftermath of US Presidential Elections (2000-2016)

Gorana Grgic & Shaun Ratcliff

Politics, Time, Space, and Attitudes toward US–Mexico Border Security

Timothy Gravelle
Sino-American contest: an appropriate dataset
George Boone

Panel 12 – Risk, Think Tanks & Global Governance

Location – Lake 1

Chair – TBC

'An idea whose time has come'?: Think tanks and India-Australia relations

Alexander Davis & Stuti Bhatnagar

Think Tank Diplomacy

Melissa Conley Tyler, Rhea Matthews & Emma Brockhurst

Transparency, Trust, and Epistemic Authority in Global Governance

Daniel McCarthy

Panel 13 – Environmental Policy & Reform 1

Location – Lake 2

Chair – TBC

Identifying More Other Factors that Promote the Sustainability of Hybrids: Testing the Hybrid Ideal with Social Enterprises in Hong Kong

Shiufai Wong

Planet vs Nation: Climate Science, Identity, Affect and Desire in the U.S.

Benjamin Glasson

Panel 14 – Policy Reform

Location – Lake 3

Chair – TBC

It is time for a rethink: public sector engagement in the era of governance

Robyn Hollander, Tracey Arklay & Elizabeth van Acker

A functional-ideational approach to welfare state reform

Adam Hannah

It is time for a rethink public sector engagement in the era of governance

Robyn Hollander

Panel 15 – Feminist Politics: Moving Beyond the Individual

Location – Lake 4

Chair – Meagan Tyler

Feminist Politics: Moving Beyond the Individual

Meagan Tyler

Representations of Pop Feminism

Kate Farhall

Digesting Femininities: The politics of women and food

Natalie Jovanovski

Moving Violations of the Feminist Street: Forms of public pornographication

Helen Pringle

AFTERNOON TEA, 15:00-15:30

PARALLEL SESSION #3 - 15:30-17:00

Panel 16 – Policy Making 1

Location – Grand 1-2

Chair – TBC

The decline in policy capacity: trends causes and remedies

Meredith Edwards, Brian Head, Anne Tiernan & James Walter

Has Policy-Related Consulting been Captured by the Big Commercial Consulting Firms?

Michael Howard

Political Science and 'Engagement and Impact': prospects and pitfalls

Marian Simms

Panel 17 – Indigenous Affairs & Political Power in Australia

Location – Grand 3

Chair – TBC

Narratives of policy failure and reinvention in Australian Indigenous Affairs: Consequences for Indigenous education

Melissa Lovell

A History of Stolen Wages in Victoria

Andrew Gunstone

Questions Without Notice in the Australian Senate and House of Representatives: Deliberation in the two Chambers Compared

James Frost & John Uhr

Panel 18 – Populism & Trump

Location – Grand 4

Chair – TBC

Trump: The Culmination of 'New Right' Conservatism and Reactionary Populism in the United States

John Pilbrow

Why Trump Won: The rightwing populist v-curve and (anti)-corruption

Robert Lamontagne

Trump's Base: the rise of the "alt-lite" in American politics

George Rennie

Panel 19 – Indian Politics

Location – Grand 5

Chair – TBC

Delhi on the Periphery: Indian states as international political spaces

Alexander Davis

A Populist Modi government in India – Evolving role of Indian Think Tanks

Stuti Bhatnagar

State Violence against the anti nuclear movements in India: Narratives from Koodankulam in Tamil Nadu and Jaitapur in Maharashtra

Ajmal Khan A.T.

Panel 20 – Democratic Transitions 1

Location – Grand 6

Chair – TBC

Democratic Capitalization, Local Actors, and Political Patronage Networks

Muhammad Uhaib As'ad

Engaging and winning over an international audience: new Kurdish narratives in a troubled Middle East

William Gourlay

'Truth and Politics' in Research Strategies: Illustrations from Studies on Democratization in Africa

Christopher Appiah-Thompson

Panel 21 – The Methods of Self-Determination Movements

Location – Park

Chair – Ryan Griffiths

Towards a strategic framework for self-determination struggles: the case of West Papua

Jason MacLeod

Participation of Women in Self-Determination Movements

Keshab Giri

Self-Determination through Sport: The Internal and External Dimensions of Abkhazia's 2016 World Football Cup

Kieran Pender

Action in Deferral: Making sovereign futures for Western Sahara's state-in-exile

Randi Irwin

Panel 22 – Free Trade, Fair Trade, Aid and Development

Location – Albert

Chair – TBC

Aid and Development Effectiveness in the Pacific: Donors, NGOs, and post-Busan "Partnership"

Kim Moloney

Why Australia Is Defying Fair Trade

Lachlan McKenzie & Evgeny Postnikov

Political Economy of FTA Negotiations: How Are Participants and Agenda Decided?

Shintaro Hamanaka

The Growth of the Nonprofit Sector and Government Funding in South Korea

Chang Bum Ju

Panel 23 – Theoretical Approaches to Populism

Location – Element

Chair – Glenn Kefford

Populism and One Proposed Solution: Epistemic Democracy

Lisa Hill

On Populists and Demagogues

Haig Patapan

Populism Against Neoliberalism: Is it Time to Write an Obituary for Liberal Democracy?

Henrik Bang & Michael Jensen

Populism – Democracy's Pharmakon?

Simon Tormey

Panel 24 – Welfare Policy

Location – Melbourne

Chair – TBC

Better welfare-to-work contracting-out practices? Evidence from Job Services Australia (2009-2015)

Phuc Nguyen, Mark Considine & Siobhan O'Sullivan

Digital Preparedness in the Era of Online Social Services: an Australian case study

Siobhan O'Sullivan & Chris Walker

The Three Worlds of Welfare Capabilities: Distributional inequalities and welfare policy regimes

Jeremiah Brown & Adam Hannah

Panel 25 – Understanding Foreign & Strategic Policy

Location – Lake 1

Chair – TBC

Towards a simplified theoretical framework for middle powers

Gabriele Abbodanza

MIKTA as a case study in Australian multilateralism

Melissa Conley Tyler & Evan Keeble

Japan's Alternative Initiative to Soft Power

Tets Kimura

Temporal-Strategy: Restoring the role of time in strategy

Andrew Carr

Panel 26 – Policy Making 2

Location – Lake 3

Chair – TBC

Under pressure: multicultural integration policy frameworks in a polarised world

Adam Ridley

Policies for ordinary Australians: Values and interpretation of good governance

Heba Batainah

Constitutional qualifications

Helen Pringle

APSA PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS, 17:00-18:00

Location – Grand 1-2

WELCOME DRINKS, 18:00-19:00



Australian Political
Studies Association



Routledge
Taylor & Francis Group

DAY 2 – TUESDAY 26 SEPTEMBER

HEADS OF DISCIPLINES' MEETING, 08:00-09:00

Location – Grand 3

APSA AGM, 09:00-10:00

Location – Grand 1-2

PLENARY – POPULISM AND REPRESENTATIVE DEMOCRACY, 10:00-11:00

Location – Grand 1-2

Chair Zareh Ghazarian

Participants Frank Mols
Carolien van Ham
Simon Tormey

MORNING TEA, 11:00-11:30

PARALLEL SESSION #4 – 11:30-13:00

Panel 27 – Institutions & Institutionalism

Location – Grand 1-2

Chair – Carsten Daugbjerg

Rethinking Critical Juncture Analysis - Institutional Change and Liberalization in Chinese Banking and Finance

Stephen Bell

Institutional Amnesia in Government

Alastair Stark

The institutionalisation of change: cycles of destruction and reinvention in Indigenous policy

Elizabeth Strakosch

Historical Institutionalism and Norms as Institutions

Katharine Gelber

Panel 28 – Education, Citizenship & Participation

Location – Grand 3

Chair – TBC

Education, Equality, and Maximising Individual Potential

Kirsty Macfarlane

Pass or Fail? The Heresthetic of Education Funding Reform

Glenn Fahey, Joseph Drew & Bligh Grant

Back to the future? Reconsidering Indigenous self-determination, policy engagement, representation and the Australian Public Service

Diana Perche

Contemporary citizenship in Australia through the lens of school education policy

Sarah Warner

Panel 29 – The Australian Greens and Parliamentary Stability

Location – Grand 4

Chair – TBC

The extent of the revolving door in Australian politics

George Rennie

Stability of Green Political Party Identification among young Australians

Bruce Tranter & Jonathan Smith

The Australian Greens: Realignment re-examined in Australia

Todd Farrell

Panel 30 – Election Pledges and Government Policies

Location – Grand 5

Chair – Robert Thomson

Do Parties Keep their Election Promises? A Pilot Study of the 43rd Australian Parliament (2010-2013)

Andrea Carson, Andrew Gibbons & Aaron Martin

Ministerial effects on the fulfilment of election pledges

Patrick Dumont, Robert Thomson, Matthew Kerby, Eoin O'Malley & Rory Costello

A Comparative Study of Citizens' Evaluations of Campaign Pledge Fulfilment in Six Countries

François Petry, Robert Thomson, Elin Naurin, Anna Belchior, Heinz Brandenburg, Dominic Duval, Justin Leinaweaver & Henrik Oscarsson

Panel 31 – Activism, Participation and Narrative

Location – Grand 6

Chair – TBC

Legitimacy in Digital Activism? Public perception, authenticity, and efficacy

Max Halupka

Rethinking "political" engagement: What recent research tells us about young people and politics

Clark Tipene

Heroes and Villains in the Human Trafficking Narrative

Erin O'Brien

Panel 32 – Environmental Policy & Reform 2

Location – Park

Chair – TBC

The Climate State: Global warming and the future of the welfare state

Peter Christoff

Resilience and Environmental Security in the Anthropocene

Peter Ferguson & David Walker

Panel 33 – Political Violence, Civil Resistance & Peace Processes

Location – Albert

Chair – TBC

“With neither God nor the Devil”: The Origins and Evolution of Self-Defense Forces in Central Peru

Steven Zech

Action in Deferral: Making sovereign futures for Western Sahara's state-in-exile

Randi Irwin

Engaging insurgency: the Impact of the 2016 Colombian Peace Agreement on FARC's Political Participation

Alexandra Phelan

Panel 34 – Gender, Peace & Security

Location – Victoria

Chair – TBC

A ‘Window of opportunity’? Women's political participation in post-conflict Iraq

Yasmin Chilmerran

Barriers to women's participation in Nepal and the implementation of gender provisions of peace agreements

Sarah Hewitt

The Women, Peace and Security Agenda in Asia-Pacific: From Global to Local and from Local to Global

Barbara Trojanowska

Panel 35 – Movements, Parties & Elections

Location – Element

Chair – Glenn Kefford

A network analysis of tax justice movements in Australia and the UK

Michael Vaughn

What are the implications of changing forms of voting in Australia?

Martin Drum & Stephen Mills

The role of myth in sustaining political parties

Narelle Miragliotta

Populism and Connectivism: A Comparison of Mediated Communication Logics

Michael Jensen

Panel 36 – Political Islam & Political Violence

Location – Melbourne

Chair – TBC

Hamas, Jihad and Islamic Resistance in Palestine

Tristan Dunning

The Women of Boko Haram: Implementation and Operationalization

James Paterson

Untangling Islamism and Terrorism

Tarek Chamkhi

Panel 37 – Public Policy in a Comparative Perspective

Location – Lake 1

Chair – TBC

Corbyn, British Labour and Policy Change

Rob Manwaring & Evan Smith

Policy implications of domestic resource mobilization for structural transformation in Africa: a New Structural Economics perspective

Emma Blomkamp

Prying open the black box: methodological challenges of researching policy practice

Kris Hartley & Justin Yifu Lin

Panel 38 – Populism in a Comparative Perspective

Location – Lake 2

Chair – TBC

Religion, post-secularism, and right-wing populism in the Netherlands

Nicholas Morieson

Constitutional Restrictions on Populism in Politics

Svetlana Tyulkina

Populism in Greece: A Permanent State of Affairs?

Georgios Nikolaidis

Militant Democracy and Populist Authoritarianism

Graham Maddox

Panel 39 – Critical Perspectives on Terrorism & Counterterrorism

Location – Lake 3

Chair – TBC

Violent extremism an effort to achieve legitimacy

Farah Naz

The Tortured Torturers: The Dangers of Using Torture in International Society

Jamal Barnes

"The War on Terror": Why It is All Your Fault

David Colin Sadler

Panel 40 – Authoritarianism & Transparency

Location – Lake 4

Chair – TBC

Rule of Law or Law of the Ruler? How 2017 Turkish Constitutional Referendum Challenges the Notion of Public Accountability in Turkey

Fatima Yer

A Politics of Science? An assessment of the Data Access and Research Transparency Initiative

Enzo Lenine Lima

Legitimacy without Democracy: The Growing Strength of Authoritarian Reliance in China

Laura Bunting

LUNCH, 13:00-14:00

Quantitative Methods Working Group Meeting, 13:00-14:00

Location - Victoria

Environmental Politics & Policy Group Meeting, 13:00-14:00

Location – Element

Political Theory Research Group Meeting, 13:00-14:00

Location - Melbourne

PARALLEL SESSION #5 – 14:00-15:30

Panel 41 – Prime-Ministerial Leadership in a Time of Political Flux: Lessons for the Present from the Past

Location – Grand 1-2

Chair – Judith Brett

Roundtable Discussion

Judith Brett, Paul Strangio & James Walter

Australian Political
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Panel 42 – Policy Making 3

Location – Grand 3

Chair – TBC

Institutional design and the integrity of private food safety standards in Australia

Carsten Daugbjerg

Reputational Accountability and the Inspector-General of Intelligence and Security

Richard Bolto & Amanda Smullen

Conceptual and theoretical foundations of the steady-state society

Tim Thornton

Panel 43 – Ideology, Identity & Democracy in Australian Politics

Location – Grand 4

Chair – TBC

Welfare-to-work and the Influence of Political Ideology in Australia

Siobhan O'Sullivan

Representing Australianness: a corpus assisted discourse analysis of Prime Ministerial Australia Day and Anzac Day addresses

Nicholas Bromfield & Alexander Page

The postal survey on same-sex marriage: Direct democracy in action?

Paul Kildea

Panel 44 – New Patterns of Politics & Political Contestation in the Middle East

Location – Grand 5

Chair – Benjamin Isakhan

*The Islamic State attacks on Shia Holy Sites and the “Shrine Protection Narrative”:
Heritage as a Mobilization Frame*

Benjamin Isakhan

Contestations between Orthodoxies: Governmental Vs. Traditional Shi’ism

Naser Ghobadzadeh

*Polling in authoritarian climates: An examination of voter polling in the lead-up to the 2017
Iranian presidential election*

Dara Conduit

Erdoğan, the latest chapter in Turkey’s strongmen leaders

Tezcan Gumus

Panel 45 – Political Transition and Electoral Systems

Location – Grand 6

Chair – TBC

Extreme bounds of turnout (at the aggregate level): we know less than we claim

Ferran Martinez i Coma & Richard Frank

Building Election Management Capacity

Holly Ann Garnett

*Electoral disproportionality and economic inequality: A re-examination of the hypothesis at
the global scale using simulation approach for the measurement of disproportionality*

Araz Aminnaseri

Panel 46 – Information, Technology, and Norms in International Security

Location – Park

Chair – TBC

The Era of Mega-Leaks

Rodney Tiffen

*Metagovernance by Stealth? Australia’s Role in Steering the Bali Process on People
Smuggling, Trafficking in Persons and Related Transnational Crime*

Paul Fawcett & Charlie Shandil

Cybersecurity and Political Information

Tim Aistroke

Panel 47 – Identity & Environmental Sources of Conflict

Location – Albert

Chair – TBC

Ethnic parties, ethnic tensions? Results of an original survey panel study in Romania

Anaid Flesken

*Does Consociationalism Entrench Ethnic Divisions? Evidence from Bosnia, Northern
Ireland and South Africa*

Jon Fraenkel

Climate Security and Complex Crises in the Middle East and North Africa

Kumuda Simpson-Gray

Panel 48 – Gender Politics & Populism

Location – Victoria

Chair – TBC

The devil within: combative populism within the feminist movement

Joanna Richards

A Tale of Two Women: A comparative media analysis of UK Prime Ministers Margaret Thatcher and Theresa May

Blair Williams

Resurgent right-wing populism in Bosnia: What does it mean for women?

Elliot Dolan-Evans

Panel 49 – Realising the Anglosphere in the Wake of Brexit

Location – Element

Chair – Benjamin Leruth

Brexit, the Anglosphere and the Emergence of Global Britain

Andy Mycock

The New Politics of the Anglosphere

Australian Political
Studies Association

Tim Legrand

EU-Australia Relations in the Shadow of Brexit

Melissa Conley Tyler & Alfonso Martinez Arranz

Brexit: English Nationalism, Euroscepticism and the Anglosphere

Ben Wellings

Panel 50 – Understanding the Rise of Populism 1

Location – Lake 1

Chair – TBC

Populism, Populist or Personality? What is on the rise and how to test it

Kathryn Crosby

Populism and Connectivism: A Comparison of Mediated Communication Logics

Michael Jensen

Algorithmic populism, civic technologies, and the building of an e-demos

Marta Poblet Balcel

Panel 51 – Voting Patterns & Electoral Campaigns

Location – Lake 2

Chair – TBC

Western Sydney Voter Attitudes to Asylum Seekers During the 2013 Federal Election Campaign

Kathleen Blair

Xenophobic vote seeking logic: a geography of Coalition swing voting at Australian federal elections

Luke Mansillo

GoKimbo2016: a political philosophical auto-ethnographic exploration of politics in Canberra

Kim Huynh

Panel 52 – Time, Justice & Economy

Location – Lake 3

Chair – TBC

Time, Change and Comparisons: Temporality in Comparative Political Theory

Adrian Little & Hamza bin Jehangir

Hegel's influence on Alfred Marshall's economics: The family's role in reproducing liberal economic institutions

Miriam Bankovsky

Rethinking justice for the Anthropocene

Jonathan Pickering

AFTERNOON TEA, 15:30-16:00

PARALLEL SESSION #6, 16:00-17:30

Panel 53 – ANZAC, the Great War and the Politics of History

Location – Grand 1-2

Chair – Katrina Lee-Koo

Australian Journal of Politics and History Roundtable

Frank Bongiorno, Nicholas Bromfield, Jason Flanagan, Mia Martin Hobbs & Matt McDonald

Panel 54 – Australian & Comparative Voting & Electoral Trends

Location – Grand 3

Chair – TBC

Separate Bicameral Elections: A comparison of Japan and Australia

Masahiro Kobori

What are the implications of changing forms of voting in Australia?

Martin Drum & Stephen Mills

Pauline Hanson's One Nation Then and Now: Modelling the Socio-economic and Demographic Characteristics of the One Nation Party Vote in 1998 and 2016

Alexander Damon

Panel 55 – Financial Regulation & Government Decision-Making

Location – Grand 4

Chair – TBC

Financialization, financial regulation and voter attention: Explaining the post-crisis regulatory cycle in advanced economies

Andrew Walter

BITs and FDI: Credible Commitments and Interdependent Choices

Chungshik Moon & Dale Smith

Federalism, Social Policies and Multi-Level Cooperation: The Evolution of Cash Transfer Programs in Brazil

Helder Ferreira do Vale

Panel 56 – Varieties of Populism; Varieties of Approaches

Location – Grand 5

Chair – Kanishka Jayasuriya

Roundtable Discussion

Carol Johnson, Priya Chacko, Garry Rodan & Tiziana Torresi

Panel 57 – The Governors, the Governed and Others: Re-examining Political Actors and Relationships in Britain

Location – Grand 6

Chair – Andrew Mycock

From Big Ben to Basic Values: what makes MPs tick

James Weinberg

Unnatural selection: drivers of 'unnatural' class voting in the UK and Australia

David Jeffrey

"Ideas are not enough": the strategies of the Adam Smith Institute (1977 - 2015)

Keshia Jacotine

Panel 58 – Political Economy in Developing States

Location – Park

Chair – TBC

Nationalism and public support for international flows: Evidence from Indonesia

Diego Fossati

Interrogating Resource Politics and Rentier State- Evidence from the Coal Economy in Jharkhand

Nikas Kindo

The Failure of Developing States to Engage with the Private Sector in the Implementation of the Trade Facilitation Agreement

Chris Arnel

Panel 59 – Australian Foreign & Security Policy

Location – Albert

Chair – TBC

Australian foreign policy and relations with the European Union: Reconceptualising the significance of the EU as an international actor

Edward Yencken

International Law and International Relations: Australia's Approach

Melissa Conley Tyler

Balancing economics and politics: Critical factors in Australia's foreign policy towards China during the Howard government

David Fitzsimmons

Identity and the Construction of Australian Maritime Security Policy

Maria Rublee

Panel 60 – Policy Making 4

Location – Victoria

Chair – TBC

Policy Learning Post-Crisis: In Defence of the Public Inquiry

Alastair Stark

Government Corruption: How Abuse of Office Undermines Popular Support for Democratic Values

Zareh Ghazarian & Michael Mintrom

Exploring the evidence ecosystem: Use and access of information and research for policy and practice

Amanda Lawrence

Panel 61 – New & Old Populisms: Duterte & Strongman Leadership in the Philippines

Location – Element

Chair – Steven Rood

New Directions in Terrorism and Strongman Rule in the Philippines: the ISIS-inspired siege of Marawi, Martial Law and Foreign Policy Pivots

Charles Donnelly

Duterte's Peace: Promising Start, Bloody End?

Dennis Quilala

"Penile Populism": The role of hypermasculinity in enabling populism in the Philippines

Maria Tanyag

Panel 62 – Environmental Policy & Reform 3

Location – Melbourne

Chair – TBC

Can Australia Become an Alternative Energy Superpower? Political Economy and International Relations Impacts of Australia's Potential Alternative Energy Exports to Asia

Natalie Ralph, Linda Hancock & Doug Macfarlane

The Elusive Global Governance of Climate Change: Comparing Nationally Determined Contributions

Robert Thomson & Justin Leinaweaver

Paradigm shift and rural water reform in Victoria

Ben Rankin

Panel 63 – Classical Stoicism & Modern Political Thought

Location – Lake 1

Chair – TBC

Classical Stoicism and Locke's Theory of Self-ownership

Lisa Hill

Stoicism and Proto Feminism in the Enlightenment

Astrid Lane

On the Coherence of Cosmopolitan Humility

Luis Cabrera

Panel 64 – Political Violence, Extremism & Foreign Fighters

Location – Lake 3

Chair – TBC

Pashtun radicals, identity issues and extremism

Farah Naz

Micro-Geopolitics and conflict hotspots in Eastern Mau forest, Kenya (1967-2014)

Raphael Kweyu, Thuita Thenya, Karatu Kiemo, Jens Emborg & Christian Gamborg

Examining the roles of non-combatant foreign fighters

Samantha Kruber

Panel 65 – Populist Mobilisation & Globalised Politics

Location – Lake 4

Chair – TBC

Populism and Globalization

Javed Maswood

The Symbiosis of Populism and Crisis

Octavia Bryant

The Politics of Anger: Perception vs. Fact

Makoto Usami

DAY 3 – WEDNESDAY 27 SEPTEMBER

PARALLEL SESSION #7, 09:30-11:00

Panel 66 – The Oxford Handbook of Australian Politics

Location – Grand 1-2

Chair – Jenny Lewis

Roundtable Workshop

Jenny Lewis, Anne Tiernan, Katharine Gelber, Daniel McCarthy, Siobhan O'Sullivan & James Walter

Panel 67 – Health Policy

Location – Grand 3

Chair – TBC

The autism epidemic, autism prevention, and the failures of western liberal democracy

Toby Rogers

Examining quality of interaction and learning in public agencies

Amanda Smullen

Medicare, democracy and populism

Paul Mackey & Linda Hancock

An expanding brief? Engagement of multi-jurisdictional ministerial bodies in the paradox of regulation

Fiona Pacey

Panel 68 – Australian Migration and Asylum Seeker Policy

Location – Grand 4

Chair – TBC

Inequality, Social Heterogeneity, and Attitudes toward Migrants in Australia

Woo Chang Kang & Emily Look

Self-represented witnessing: the use of social media by asylum seekers in Australia's offshore immigration detention centres

Maria Rae, Rosa Holman & Amy Nethery

Pragmatism, Not Idealism: Overcoming Australia's Punitive Approach to Asylum Seeker Policy

Florim Binakaj

Panel 69 – Gender Politics & Security Policy

Location – Grand 5

Chair – TBC

The Queer Logic(s) of Reaper Crew Masculinities

Lindsay Clark

Zombie Feminism: The (Un)Dead Radical Theory Haunting Feminist International Relations

David Duriesmith & Sara Meger

The inherent masculinism of drone warfare: gender, order and hierarchy in unbordered security practices

Christine Agius

Panel 70 – Youth & the Politics of Participation

Location – Grand 6

Chair – Katrina Lee-Koo

Youth-led Advocacy in Guatemala: Campaign, dialogue, division and the proposed Youth Law

Helen Berents

Civics, citizenship and political knowledge in Australia

Zareh Ghazarian

Maintaining the spotlight on youth empowerment following conflict: The Solomon Islands Youth at Work program

Caitlin Mollica

Youth Leadership: Focus on Young Women

Lesley Pruitt

Panel 71 – Policy Making 5

Location – Park

Chair – TBC

Redesigning policy innovation: is Nudge the answer?

Brian Head

21st Century policy co-ordination in the Australian Federation: The emergence of Multi-level Governance and independent national regulators

Paolo Marinelli

Policy Entrepreneurs and Collective Action: Pursuit of the Sustainable Development Goals

Michael Mintrom

Panel 72 – Early Career Researchers Publication Workshop

Location – Albert

Chair – TBC

Roundtable/Discussion Workshop

Adrian Kay, Matt Mc Donald, John Parkinson & Rose Williams

Panel 73 – Politics and Populism in the Local Government Systems of Australia

Location – Victoria

Chair – Bligh Grant & Joseph Drew

Politics and Populism in Australian Local Government Systems: an Historical and Theoretical Overview

Bligh Grant

The Price of Populism: Directly Elected Mayors and Expenditure in Local Government

Dana McQuestin, Joseph Drew & Bligh Grant

Participatory Governance or Local Tokenism? Community Engagement Practices of Australian Local Governments

Helen Christensen

Driving change in democracies: The heresthetic of local government amalgamation

Joseph Drew, Takahiro Endo & Masayoshi Noguchi

Panel 74 – Digital innovation in policy and participation: Material Practice to normative effect

Location – Melbourne

Chair – Andrea Carson

Trust in digital policy innovation: impact of anti-politics on policymaking

Gerry Stoker, Will Jennings, Mark Evans & Max Halupka

Connected feminists: how individual activists constitute organisations in the digitally connected era

Verity Trott

#SOSVenezuela and the limits of virtual visual protest strategies: participating in the spectacle of participation

Aleksandar Deejay

'Our' Citizens' Agenda as a case study of digital participation: in the shadow of algorithms

Luke Heemsbergen

Panel 75 – Foreign Policy in the Asia Pacific

Location – Lake 1

Chair – TBC

China's Institutional Challenges to the International Order

Kai He & Huiyun Feng

North Korean nuclear weapons: How the Kim regime use nuclear weapons to maintain its power

Isabelle Guenther

Populism after the Pivot: Trump, Asia and 'transactional' foreign policy

Mark Beeson

Panel 76 – Comparative Perspectives on Migration and Resettlement

Location – Lake 2

Chair – TBC

Multi-level governance, institutional dynamics and refugees' labour market participation in Canada and Belgium

Adèle Garnier

Economic Sanctions and Afghans' resettlement from Iran

Athar Shafaei

Local Immigrant Integration in Japan: Substantial or Superficial?

David Green

Panel 77 – Political Concepts & Practices

Location – Lake 3

Chair – TBC

Analysing democratic representations of children in contemporary political debates

Daniel Bray & Sana Nakata

Making the case for a practice-based comparative political theory

Hamza bin Jehangir

Ambiguity and Vagueness in Political Concepts: On Coding and Referential Vacuity

Keith Dowding

MORNING TEA, 11:00-11:30

PARALLEL SESSION #8, 11:30-13:00

Panel 78 – Resources, Infrastructure & Public Policy

Location – Grand 1-2

Chair – TBC

Problem windows and changing frames: frame conflicts over the future of coal seam gas ('fracking') in Australia

Paul Fawcett

Politics of the Unpopular: Rhetoric, Realities, and Road Reform

Michael de Percy

Panel 79 – Labour, Business & Private Sector Regulation

Location – Grand 3

Chair – TBC

Power to resist: Services Liberalization in Greece, 2006-2016

Francesco Stolfi

Labour in the Twenty-First Century

Verity Burgmann

Corporate Propaganda and the Evisceration of the Australian Union Movement

Tómas Rosa

After Unity, Autonomy? Monsanto and the Remaking of Corporate Power

Jensen Sass

Panel 80 – Political Justice

Location – Grand 5

Chair – TBC

The Indefinite Audience of the 'Public'

Sophie Reid

Facts, Principles, and Egalitarian Justice

Nicholas Barry

Rethinking justice for the Anthropocene

Jonathan Pickering

Panel 81 – Democratic Transitions 2

Location – Grand 6

Chair – TBC

The plot and characters of democracy: activist narratives in Myanmar

Tamas Wells

National Resource Ownership Discourse and Community Engagement in Tanzania's Natural Gas Governance

Japhace Poncian & Jim Jose

Somali myths: The democratic experiment in Somalia 2000-2017

Stephanie Carver

Panel 82 – Environmental Policy & Reform 4

Location – Park

Chair – TBC

Climate Neglect, Power and Democracy in Australia

Robyn Eckersley

'Pushing a lot of open doors': Green Party Influence on Irish Economic Policies during the Global Financial Crisis

Megan Tighe

Framing Climate Change: A Study of Conceptual Dynamics

Naomi Wellington

Panel 83 – Enhancing Political Participation 1

Location – Albert

Chair – TBC

Democratic knowledge and support in Russia, Ukraine and Belarus

Emily Look

A Global Survey for Initiative and Referendum of The Direct Democracy

Chang-Lin Li

Democratic satisfaction and electoral integrity: explaining widening divides between demographic groups

Andrew Klassen

Panel 84 – Understanding the Rise of Populism 2

Location – Victoria

Chair – TBC

Mainstream conservative party responses to new populist parties in Australia and Sweden

Amy Nethery & Andrew Vandenberg

Nick Xenophon: Australian Populist or The Democrats Reborn?

Patrick Marple

One Nation and the Heartlands Cleavage: an Explanatory Spatial Data Analysis

Ben Reid

Panel 85 – Climate and Energy Politics 1

Location – Melbourne

Chair – James Goodman

Energy and Democracy under Climate Change

James Goodman

Delegitimising the Moral Case for Coal: Transnational Climate Justice Narratives against the Carmichael Coalmine

Ruchira Talukdar

Panel 86 – Local Governance and Identity Politics in a Comparative Perspective

Location – Lake 1

Chair – TBC

Partisan dealignment and ethnic politics in new democracies: The Indonesian case

Diego Fossati

Ethno-nationalism travels incognito in Singapore

Michael Barr

Coping with Decentralization: Local Governments in Post-Decentralized Brazil, India and South Africa

Helder Ferreira do Vale

LUNCH, 13:00-14:00

Policy Studies Research Group Meeting, 13:00-14:00

Location - Victoria

PARALLEL SESSION #9, 14:00-15:30

Panel 87 – Understanding the Rise of Populism 3

Location – Grand 1-2

Chair – TBC

The role of scams in populist policy-making: A dramaturgical framework

Adrian Kay

Populism Against Neoliberalism: Is it Time to Write an Obituary for Liberal Democracy?

Henrik Bang & Michael Jensen

Pretend Populism and Power Politics: The Irony of Brexit and the Triumph of Two-Party Control

Lucas Grainger-Brown

Panel 88 – Practicing Federalism in Nepal's New Constitution

Location – Grand 3

Chair – TBC

Transition to Constitutionalism in Nepal Roundtable

Badri Prasad Neupane & Purkha Bahadur Budhothoki

Panel 89 – Enhancing Political Participation 2

Location – Grand 4

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Political socialisation in the workplace: the case of trade and technical workers

Emily Look & Jill Sheppard

The Greater Manchester Metro-Mayor elections 2017: New English Regionalism for 'a stronger democracy'?

Andy Mycock

Does political discourse matter? How citizens' assemblies can help understand the gap between party positions and public opinion

Benjamin Leruth

Panel 90 – International Intervention, the Peacebuilding Agenda and Patterns of Local Conflict

Location – Grand 5

Chair – TBC

Responsibility to Protect from 'inappropriate action' to 'appropriate inaction': A reflection on Rohingya crisis

M Mizanur Rahman

The Crisis of Populism and Lessons from Peacebuilding Policy: The Principle of Local Ownership and Hybrid Approaches to Governance

Eleanor Gordon

Globalised peace in the age of populism: the case of the Philippines

Nathan Shea

Panel 91 – Comparative Political Leadership and Political Change

Location – Grand 6

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A Tale of Two Women: A comparative media analysis of UK Prime Ministers Margaret Thatcher and Theresa May

Blair Williams

New tensions open up new possibilities for discussion and transformation: Britain, America, Germany, Sweden and Australia in 2017

Andrew Scott

"Who is Mr Putin?": from Soldier to Statesman

Albina Kartavtceva

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Problems of Climate Technologies in the Capitalist State

Jonathan Paul Marshall

Climate Change and Armed Conflict: the Cases of Darfur and Syria

Christopher Odeyemi

Government and corporate leadership in energy transition- A Comparative Study between Australia and Japan

Amy Lin



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Panel 43 – Ideology, Identity & Democracy in Australian Politics

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ABSTRACTS (BY PANEL)

Panel 1 – Parties, Populism & Elites

A new norm in Australian politics? The who, how, and why of Cross-Party Collaboration 2005-2016

Adele Lausberg, University of Adelaide

Although nascent, cross-party collaboration in the Australia Federal Parliament is on the rise. More politicians are engaging in the practice, despite a limited capacity for legislative success: CPC is becoming a normalised activity for some politicians. In this paper, I analyse patterns across cases of CPC from 2005 to 2016 to identify who participates in CPC, how success is defined and achieved, and how Australian politics and parties could be more accommodating of collaboration, thereby potentially reducing the likelihood of CPC. I use original interview data and the Hansard to complete this research. I provide a positive response to the following question: does CPC reflect broader changes in the way Australian politics is practiced? Without any changes to parliament or parties and with a continued rise in the presence of parties other than the major ones in parliament, CPC will likely continue to occur. It has become a strategy for backbenchers and minor party members to use to promote an issue in parliament outside the constraints of the major parties.

Populism outside parties

Liam Weeks, University College Cork

Populism has emerged and been studied in a variety of guises, but primarily through the vehicle of political parties. In some ways, populism and parties make strange bedfellows since populists by their nature are anti-political and often anti-party. This paper considers what some would believe is a form of populism par excellence, that of politics outside parties. It does this via an analysis of independent, or non-party, politicians.

Independents have recently re-emerged in a number of democracies, but the two countries in which they have experienced most electoral success are Australia and Ireland. These two democracies are also arguably lacking the type of neo-populist parties that have now emerged in most mainstream democracies. For this reason, it may be that independents are a particular variant of populism in these political systems.

This paper assesses the extent to which independents are populists by considering both the supply and demand perspective, that is, both independent candidates and their voters are assessed. It is found that independent politicians exhibit some of the traits associated with populism, but the same cannot be said of their supporters. Perhaps the more appropriate conclusion is that independents are another form of populism.

Trump contagion? An examination of Australian political elites' use of 'fake news' and other 'post-truth' terminologies in popular discourse

Andrew Gibbons, University of Melbourne; Katherine Farhall, University of Melbourne and Andrea Carson, University of Melbourne

The United States' Republican presidential primary race and subsequent election of Donald Trump saw the rise of 'fake news' and 'alternative facts' and similes in elite and popular discourse. This article examines the period from Trump's election to understand how these terms are used and understood in the Australian political elite lexicon. Through qualitative and quantitative content analysis of elite political communication in the forms of selected daily metropolitan newspapers, Hansard records, politicians' press releases and their social media use this paper explores: 1) The incidence and context of these terminologies and 2) the key political actors promulgating these terms. In doing so, this study aims to identify a typology of the ways in which these terms are used in Australian political discourse.

Understanding State Labor Governments

Dr Rob Manwaring, Flinders University and Geoffrey Robinson, Deakin University

This paper seeks to examine what is 'Labor' about recent state Labor governments in Australia. Since the 1990s, centre-left politics has been in a state of flux, and labo(u)r and social democratic parties have been 'modernising' in the face of the dominance of neo-liberalism and wider social changes. In the late 1990s, the debates about the renewal of social democracy focused on the oft-cited 'third way'. These debates have tended to focus on national, rather than subnational governments. This paper explores the extent to which social democratic and labourist ideas are playing out at the state-level in Australia.

The state Labor governments do not have the same suite of traditional policy levers as their national counterparts, and as such, what it means to be 'Labor' at the state-level is contested. This paper explores the changing meaning of Labor at the state level by focussing on recent ideational and policy changes in a number of state governments. The paper outlines the ideological traditions of the ALP in Australia, and offers insights into how this has played out at the policy (and State) level. The ALP as a site ideology, has broadly ideology encompasses at least four main traditions, socialism, social democracy, labourism, and social liberalism.

The cases of recent State Labor governments in South Australia, NSW, and Victoria will be used to examine how far, if at all, we might consider them 'Labor' (beyond their nominal definition). The focus of the cases will be to examine how far their significant policy announcements might be best categorised and understood within the Labor tradition. The cases will focus on key parts of the State Labor economic policy, and aspects of their social policy agendas.

Panel 2 – Local Government

Over the last decade, there has been a focus on local governance: reporting and analyzing on the way in which local governments engage with their constituents and communities. We have not focused on the place of local government in national systems of government. There has been a taken-for-granted approach that assumes local government form and function is fit for purpose. In this panel, we will call for papers that question the relationship between systems of local government and the nation state within which they are located. Have these nations negotiated respective roles and responsibilities such that the principle of subsidiarity is apparent? Or is there greater central intrusion into local affairs? Conversely are local governments being adequately supported by their national, or state governments in federal systems? Also, how has the restructuring of local governments impacted their capacity to act locally in a global world? How has local government fared with directly elected mayors responsible for large local governments encompassing a diversity of communities?

The panel welcomes both theoretical and applied/case study papers that draw on local government literature, and on the role of elected politicians in acting as leaders for their local communities.

Structural Reform of Local Government in Perth and Sydney: What Went Wrong?

Graham Sansom, University of Technology Sydney

This paper analyses recent attempts to implement structural reform of local government in Perth and Sydney. In both cities State governments commissioned independent reviews of local government systems and subsequently proposed sweeping amalgamations of council areas. In Perth the attempted reform ended in almost total failure. In Sydney, just over half the proposed mergers were forced through, but the rest have been delayed – perhaps indefinitely – by intense opposition and legal action. This experience contrasts with earlier, more successful efforts in Melbourne and Brisbane-Gold Coast. The explanation for contrasting outcomes appears to lie in the interplay between the clarity and perceived validity of the strategic objectives put forward by central governments as the basis for reform, the utility of the relevant legislation, and the robustness of the implementation process – particularly in terms of the political dynamic, community acceptance and natural justice. In Melbourne and Brisbane-Gold Coast State governments had combined more or less plausible strategic arguments in support of reform with the use of special legislation to over-ride opposition. But in Perth and Sydney the strategic arguments were clearly flawed or under-played, the applicable legislation contained the seeds of failure, and the implementation processes generated increased opposition rather than acceptance. Crucially, these failed attempts

at structural reform may well have long-term repercussions for State-local relations, the role and status of local government, and ultimately the quality of democratic governance.

Enhancing local democracy: Comparing the cases of Auckland, NZ and Kirklees, UK.

Andy Asquith, Massey University and Andy Mycock, University of Huddersfield

Declining levels of voter participation in local government elections are not a phenomenon unique to any one locality. This paper examines the situations in two unitary councils on opposite sides of the world. In the last two years both Auckland, NZ and Kirklees, UK have instigated enquiries to ascertain why the levels of engagement by the citizenry are declining in local government elections and what measures they can unilaterally take to reverse this decline. Many of the themes identified by both local authorities are shared, and indeed are common across many councils. However, the one striking differential between the actions of Auckland and Kirklees has been the role played by elected representatives in the processes. Whilst in Kirklees the process was very much councillor led, in Auckland the process was an elected member free, officer led exercise. The results from the 2016 local elections in Auckland did not show any significant impact of this activity whatsoever. We await with interest the results from the 2017 local government elections in Kirklees.

It's my Party – I'll lie if I want to: Political Party (in)action in local government elections in Auckland NZ.

Karen Webster, Auckland University of Technology and Andy Mycock, University of Huddersfield

Political parties have been an accepted and dominant presence in representative democratic local government, specifically, in the UK, the Nordic Countries and the Netherlands, throughout the 20th century. Not so, however, in the southern hemisphere where, in New Zealand and Australia, citizens of similarly representative democratic institutions have “flocked to the banner ‘Keep Politics out of Local Government’,” to express their repugnance for the idea of national politics influencing local governance (Bush 1980). This research explores the nature of central government party politics in Auckland local government. It presents an analysis of the declared political affiliation of local government elected representatives, post the 2010 amalgamation. While evidence suggests that central government political party involvement in the Northern hemisphere local democracies appears to be declining, we propose an opposing hypothesis for the Auckland situation – that politicisation of local government, albeit overt or covert, is in fact on the rise. Furthermore, that politically in Auckland, which comprises more than a third of the national population, the local government election is a campaign ‘trail blazer’ for the central government elections held each year following the local election.

From Town Clerk to Contract Manager: How has the CEO role changed since the mid 20thC and what impact does it have on the quality of local government in Australia today?

John Martin, LaTrobe University

Local governments across Australia's state-based system of local government have changed dramatically since the mid 20th century. The wave of new public management reforms throughout the 80s and the 90s changed, fundamentally, the way in which local government services are delivered across the nation. Along with the amalgamation of councils into larger populations and geographical jurisdictions, the delivery of services by the private sector, greater openness in council decision-making through mandatory requirements to engage with their communities and the use of information technology to communicate with citizens the role of the Chief Executive Office (CEO) has also changed dramatically. Prior to these mid century falls individuals occupied the position of town clerk on a permanent basis, much like their counterparts in state and the Commonwealth governments. While a much more heavily male dominated occupation town or shire clerks were typically esteemed individuals within their communities holding high status with their elected councillors. This has now changed to a situation where is not uncommon for state systems of local government to experience high turnover of CEOs within council terms. CEOs are not as prominent in the media and community activities as they once were a generation ago. Elected members now have a much higher profile via social media and council websites. In some council cases it is not even possible to readily identify the CEO and senior management positions. What is the impact of these new arrangements in the employment of Chief Executive officers in Australia local government? How might this impact the quality of local policy-making? What does the situation say to those considering a management career in Australia Local Government?

Panel 3 – Campaigns, Parties & the Public Service

Exploring the professional backgrounds of Australian ministerial staff

Maria Maley, ANU

Australian federal ministers have large, politicised and powerful ministerial offices. Yet the advisers who work in these offices are also largely anonymous. The secrecy about their identities breeds a curiosity and a concern about what skills and experiences they bring to the job. Drawing on a dataset of ministerial staff working for the conservative Coalition government headed by Prime Minister Tony Abbott in 2014, the paper explores the professional backgrounds and career paths of a cohort of contemporary Australian political staff. It considers whether it is true that many politicians, as Allan Behm recently lamented, 'surround themselves with adolescent claqueurs rather than experienced counsellors'. (A claqueur is a professional applauder).

Re-thinking the modern Australian party system: fragmentation, polarisation, and divided party government

Josh Holloway, Flinders University

With a few notable exceptions (e.g. Jaensch 1983; 1989; 1994), the Australian party system has rarely been the subject of careful examination. Yet if Australia has indeed been affected by 'a new age of extremes', analysing the recurrent patterns of party competition that constitute a party system offers unique insight into any such changing dynamics. For such a framework to assist in our understanding, though, it must be designed to reflect the idiosyncrasies of the Australian political system. This paper therefore has four aims. First, it looks to integrate two often disparate approaches to party system inquiry: qualitative classification and quantitative measurement. Second, it argues that the functional divisions between electoral and legislative arenas, and between the House of Representatives and Senate, must be acknowledged as connected but distinct settings for party interaction. Third, it contends that Australia's strong bicameralism means that a focus on the formation of government – as is common in the party systems literature – risks mischaracterising the Australian party system. Fourth, it seeks to assess the degree to which the Australian party system has resisted, or acceded to, the fragmentary and polarising politics observed in the party systems of other liberal democracies.

In so doing, four indicators of party system change are employed: the number and relative size of parties, ideological polarisation, the competition for government, and legislative bargaining power. The results of these indicators subsequently inform a reclassification of the Australian party system. It is found that pervasive claims of an Australian 'two-party system' have not, for some time, reflected the realities of the party contest. At odds with the predominant narrative of relatively stable two-partism, there has in fact been significant, albeit gradual system change. In particular, such characterisations have failed to recognise the emergence of a subsystem, based around the Senate, with distinct patterns of party interaction. This has implications far beyond those directly stemming from individual system attributes. System change has entrenched divided party government (Uhr 1999), fragmented opposition legislative bargaining power, and could further influence government stability and governance outcomes. Contrary to the notion of 'a new age of extremes', however, little of the change within the Australian party system has derived from the presence or success of anti-politics, populist, or extremist parties.

Boxing on: The persistent usage of television news for political information during election campaigns in three English-speaking parliamentary democracies (Australia, the UK, and New Zealand), and how their campaign coverage compares

Mark Boyd, University of Auckland

Data from national election surveys show that television news continues to be the leading source of political information for voters during election campaigns in Australia, and other modern democracies. This is despite predictions over the past two decades of the much-heralded, but yet to transpire, 'internet election'. This paper compares primetime television news coverage of the most recent election campaigns in three parliamentary democracies with 'liberal' media environments according to the typology of Hallin and Mancini: Australia (2016), the United Kingdom (2017), and New Zealand (2014). Comparisons are made between the leading public service, or state-owned, broadcaster, and the leading commercial broadcaster, in each country using several variables over the month prior to election day: total campaign coverage; prominence of election stories (whether they led

the bulletin, or if not, where they were placed); and what other types of news the broadcasters chose to highlight. More detailed analysis is made of a seven-day sample over the same period for the following variables: sound bite length; coverage of party leaders; coverage of major parties compared to minor parties; 'game' and issue coverage; and tone of the coverage. Findings are that the state-owned broadcasters carried more campaign coverage, and featured it higher in their bulletins, than the privately-owned broadcasters in each country. But there was considerable variation between countries: both UK broadcasters provided much more coverage, and gave it more prominence, than the broadcasters in the other countries. Surprisingly, the data for the Australian public broadcaster (ABC) was broadly similar to the New Zealand broadcasters, both of which are heavily commercial. The Australian privately-owned broadcaster (Channel Nine) carried by far the lowest proportion of campaign coverage, and ran it further down the bulletin than all the other outlets.

Panel 4 – Health of Democracies & Turnout in Autocracies

This panel will bring together two sorts of comparative works. On the one hand, those studying democracy explaining the reasons for its satisfaction and whether it is de-consolidating. On the other, those analysing political participation in non-democracies. The general argument is that there are common features in both regimes that will shed light to our understanding how democratic and undemocratic regimes work. This panel brings scholars from three Australian universities.

Democratic Deconsolidation

Roberto Foa, University of Melbourne and Yascha Mounk, Harvard University

Most political scientists believe that the stability of democracy is assured once a set of threshold conditions – prosperity, democratic legitimacy, the development of a robust civil society – is attained. Democracy, it is claimed, has then become consolidated, and will remain stable. In this article we challenge the notion of “democratic consolidation.” Just as democracy can come to be “the only game in town” through processes of democratic deepening and the broad-based acceptance of democratic institutions, so too a process of democratic deconsolidation can take place. As citizens sour on democratic institutions, become more open to authoritarian alternatives like military rule, and start to vote for anti-system parties, democracy ceases to be the only game in town. Using both case studies and regression analysis, we show that the measures of democratic deconsolidation we propose have historically been a strong predictor of subsequent declines in the actual extent of democratic governance. This makes it all the more worrying that, as we demonstrate, a process of democratic deconsolidation is now underway even in democracies widely considered to be fully consolidated, including France and the United States.

Economic Performance and Satisfaction with Democracy

Andrew James Klassen, Charles Darwin University

Many studies have shown the importance of economic performance for public satisfaction with democracy, but few have analyzed the levels at which different indicators have positive or negative effects. This article aims to determine the optimal ranges of economic indicators for maximizing satisfaction with democracy. This correlational cross-sectional study aggregates over 3.2 million survey respondents in 147 countries between 1973 and 2016. The analysis utilizes bivariate regressions, data visualization, and multilevel random-effects models. Positive effects on democratic satisfaction are significant when real interest rates are below 3.5%, gross national savings are above 22% of gross domestic product (GDP), government budget balances are above -1.5% of GDP, government debt is below 37% of GDP, unemployment is below 6%, inflation is between 1.7% and 2.7%, GDP growth is above 4.2%, and gross national income per capita is above US\$30,000. The indicators in this study collectively explain about a third of the variation in democratic satisfaction, confirming the importance of a healthy economy and sound government finances. The ranges resulting from this study provide guidance for public policy.

Turnout in autocracies

Ferran Martinez i Coma, Griffith University and Lee Morgenbesser, Griffith University

Over the past years, scholars have been studying elections in autocracies. The works have been diverse. Some authors have discussed about the instrumental use of elections to (Geddes, 2005; Gandhi, 2008) Boix and Svolik (2013); others have argued that elections in autocracies have a symbolic purpose (Schedler, 2009). All of these works, however, do implicitly consider participation as a key variable but none of them focus their attention of such determinant variable. That is a surprising absence in the literature, given that elections can neither be instrumental nor symbolic if there is no participation. In this paper we build an argument for turnout at the aggregate level and test it over 340 elections in 81 autocratic regimes for the 1960-2010 period.

Panel 5 – The European Union & the Anglosphere

Explaining Resistance to Foreigners' Political Rights in the Context of Direct Democracy: a fuzzy set QCA of Swiss Cantonal Popular Votes

Francesco Veri, University of Lucerne, Switzerland

In this manuscript, I analyze the extension of citizenship-based political rights to foreigners in the direct democratic context. My analysis individuates a total of five theoretically-informed causal conditions that explain citizenship liberalization and the success or failure of popular votes. I then located these conditions within two theoretical frameworks that consider mass-elite linkages in a configurative way. This paper will examine whether mass-elite linkages can be elite-driven (top-down connection) or mass-driven (bottom-up connection). The referendums results are dependent on these two connections. I tested the five conditions on 38 popular votes regarding the extension of political rights to non-citizens in the Swiss Cantons. In order to test the conditions, I used the fuzzy-set Qualitative Comparative Analysis (fsQCA); this technique is particularly suited to identifying causal configurations and can explain the success or failure of policies that extend political rights to foreigners in the context of direct democracy equally well or better than my starting conditions. The analysis will reveal in which configurations of conditions top-down and/or bottom-up models are operative.

Brexit, Euroscepticism and the Anglosphere

Ben Wellings, Monash University

Decision-making and networks in the Council of the European Union after Brexit

Narisong Huhe, University of Strathclyde; Daniel Naurin, University of Oslo and Robert Thomson, Monash University

We assess the likely impact of the United Kingdom's decision to leave the European Union on legislative decision-making and network relations in the Council of the European Union. The Council of the EU, in which member states are represented, is the most powerful institution in the EU, and is the part of the EU in which the UK's departure is likely to have the clearest observable implications. We draw on the spatial model of legislative politics and insights from network analysis to develop theoretical propositions regarding the impact of the UK's exit on decision-making in the Council. We apply these propositions to two of the most prominent datasets on recent decision-making in the EU: the Decision-making in the EU (DEU) dataset and the Gothenburg dataset on cooperative network relations in the Council's working groups.

The spatial model of legislative politics specifies how the location of the pivotal position in a policy space affects the decision outcome on any controversial issue. The model highlights the difference between decisions taken by unanimity and the increasingly prevalent supermajority rule of Qualified Majority Voting (QMV) with respect to the conditions under which the exit of an actor would make a difference to the location of the pivotal position. Under unanimity, the exit of an actor only affects the location of the pivotal position if that actor happens to be the most conservative actor, i.e. if it is the actor located closest to the status quo policy. Under QMV, the exit of an actor could potentially affect the location of the pivotal position regardless of the location of that actor's position. Under both rules, the clustering of actors' policy positions into discrete groups of positions affects whether the removal of any actor affects the location of the pivotal position. The DEU dataset contains detailed information on the policy

preferences of each member state on 331 controversial issues. We examine these data to identify issues on which the exit of the UK changes the location of the pivotal position.

One of the main insights of network analysis is that networks are held together by both direct and indirect relations between actors. The exit of any one of the actors from a network has obvious implications for the direct relations between that actor and the others with which it is connected. Exits also have less obvious implications for the indirect relations between the remaining actors. For instance, if an actor forms a bridge between otherwise unconnected or weakly connected pairs of other actors, then its removal could have significant negative consequences for the cohesion of the network, far beyond the impact of its direct relations. The Gothenburg dataset has systematically surveyed member state representatives in each of the main working groups of the Council to identify the main cooperation partners of each of the states. Using this dataset, we assess the impact of the UK's exit on the relations between the remaining member states and on the cohesion of the network as a whole.

Panel 6 – Democratic Theory

Contemporary Shia theories of justice and Western liberal democracy: a comparative political theory approach

Nicolas Pirsoul, University of Auckland

This paper establishes relations between comparative political theory, deliberative democracy, and the theory of recognition. It highlights the importance of embedding the struggle for recognition in discursive practices which challenge the existing relations of justification. It then argues that a justificatory comparative political theory which addresses political Islam is necessary to avoid the "clash of civilisation" becoming a self-fulfilling prophecy. While current comparative political theory focuses on Sunni Islam, the paper argues that more attention needs to be paid to Shia Islam. The paper offers two main reasons why a better understanding of Shia Islam is required for political theorists interested in the relations between Islam and politics: their status as an oppressed religious minority in most Middle Eastern countries, and the ongoing crisis of the legitimacy of political authority related to the occultation of the twelfth Shia Imam. The paper finally offers an overview of current Shia political thought with a particular emphasis on the theological motivations informing current Shia intellectual figures who promote secularism and democracy while opposing the current political system of the Islamic Republic of Iran. In this last section, the theologico-political theory of Mohsen Kadivar, a dissident Iranian cleric, is analysed to illustrate the trend of "new thinker" Islam.

Expressive Deliberation

Jensen Sass, University of Canberra

Political theorists routinely distinguish between deliberative and non-deliberative political practices, but they have seldom explicated the basis of this distinction. Prominent theorists, among them Iris Marion Young and Archon Fung, take the distinction as self-evident, i.e., there are deliberative practices (which approximate the folkish, and ideal, image of deliberation) and there are non-deliberative practices, including voting but also direct action, civil disobedience and, more generally, the familiar repertoires of modern social movements. In this paper I concur that there is a meaningful distinction to be drawn between deliberative and non-deliberative practices, but that it should be drawn differently. Many of the practices usually considered non-deliberative are in fact deliberative but in an expressive sense. Expressive deliberation relays normative and epistemic claims in an indirect and sometimes oblique fashion, i.e., via narrative, imagery, and performance. The distinction between ideal and expressive deliberation maps on to the distinction between "pure speech" and "symbolic speech" as recognised in U.S. constitutional law.

Democracy and Human Rights - Ideas between Universality and Relativism

Peter Alsen, Deakin University

Few topics in academic research and the political arena have caused such an engaged discussion as the existence and the compliance of Democracy and Human Rights. Oriented on the basic principles of the *Charter of the United Nations*, the General Assembly announced the legally non-binding "Universal Declaration of Human Rights" in 1948 and, with the will of the contracting parties, the "International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights", and

"International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights" in 1966. These provided a legal basis for the implementation of the concept of the universality of Democracy and Human Rights.

Despite this, world political status seems not to be built on the essentials of Human Rights nor their protection and development both in national constitutions and international agreements. This provokes an investigation of the tension between theoretic status of Human Rights Legislation and political practice. The primary question asked here is: are there different ideas of theories on Human Rights in terms of universality or particularity?

Firstly, this paper will identify the basic concept of Human Rights in various geographic locations of the world. Secondly, it will discuss the similarities and differences of Western-influenced Human Rights Agreements with the Asian Human Rights Charter on the basis of the Regional Meeting (Bangkok-Declaration – A/Conf. 157/PC/59) of the World Conference on Human Rights 1993 in Vienna, and Regional Meetings (Western Asia – A/54/280; Asia – A/54/754) of the "Millennium Assembly of the United Nations".

Liberal Proceduralism in Normative Democratic Theory: Some Problems and an Alternative

Quinlan Bowman, Nanyang Technological University

Reflection on lived experience seems to indicate that when we reason intelligently about how to craft a democratic process, which aims to treat persons as "free and equal," we recognize the need to reason about procedures, virtues, and cultural practices in conjunction. And this would seem to suggest that the role of normative democratic theory should partly be to help democracy's participants to engage in such reasoning. Yet, a close consideration of the prominent theories of Robert Dahl, Jürgen Habermas, and Joshua Cohen reveals that none of these authors depicts the role of normative democratic theory in this way. Part of the explanation for this concerns the kind of "liberal proceduralism" that characterizes their respective theories. A further concern is that in each case it is either unclear how, if at all, the author views his theory as having *emerged out of empirical inquiry* or how, if at all, he expects it to *guide further such inquiry* (or both). Once we recognize the adverse consequences of these forms of unclarity, we can appreciate the attractiveness of viewing normative democratic theory in the following way: as a form of theory that *emerges out of reflection* on lived experience with the values of treating persons as "free" and as "equal" and that *guides further inquiry*—inquiry into the procedures, virtues, and cultural practices that, in some particular context, are most apt to promote the realization of those values.

Panel 7 – International Organisations

International Organization Accountability, Legitimacy, and Representation: Lessons from Public Administration

Kim Moloney, Murdoch University

International organization (IO) "administrative life" studies are dominated by scholars of international relations and international political economy (e.g. Barnett and Finnemore, 2004; Weaver, 2008). Typical approaches to this subject include constructivism and principal-agent theory (Nielson and Tierney, 2003; Nielson, et al, 2006; Weaver and Leiteritz, 2005). More recently, scholars in public administration and public policy have utilized their bureaucratic and policy toolkit to explore international organizations and their behaviour (e.g. Bowman, West, Moloney, forthcoming, 2018; Stone and Moloney, forthcoming, 2018; Xu and Weller, 2009). Drawing on recent IO administrative studies in budget transparency, international civil servant whistleblowing, and the personnel management practices of IOs, this paper evaluates how an incomplete "competing perspectives model" (Rosenbloom, 1983) at the global level makes traditional forms of accountability, legitimacy, and representation difficult to ensure among and between IOs. The competing perspective model further explains IO and member-state inaction with ongoing UN peacekeeper abuses, insufficient IO oversight, and low quality "internal justice" IO mechanisms.

The Politics of Intelligence Sharing in the IOR: A Multi-pronged Approach to Multi-level Communication

Daniel Baldino, University of Notre Dame and Jamal Barnes, Edith Cowan University

The Indian Ocean Region (IOR) has become an area of increasing interest for states such as Australia in recent years. Not only is the IOR of geostrategic importance, but it is also a region that contains non-traditional security threats, such as terrorism. States in the IOR have called for stronger collaboration in tackling these threats and emphasized the importance of intelligence sharing in doing so. This paper explores the options available and the

challenges involved in establishing an effective intelligence sharing framework in an area characterized by diversity, a lack of a common institutionalized identity, and poor human rights records. Focusing on the development of a security architecture mechanism for information-sharing through The Indian Ocean Rim Association (IORA), it will argue that a multipronged approach is needed that concentrates on both the regional and sub-regional levels. We argue that such an approach provides the most promising opportunity to establish an accountable intelligence sharing framework as well as protect, and promote, human rights standards in the region

International organisations, autonomy, and the first permanent secretariats in the 19th century

Ellen Ravndal, ANU

International organisations (IOs) play increasingly important roles in world politics. As states face more complex challenges they have joined together in IOs to solve their common problems. Yet once an IO has been created it may take on a life of its own making it difficult for its state founders to control what it does. Permanent secretariats populated by experts are one of the most important sources of IO autonomy. Why do some organisations gain autonomy and influence while others remain loyal servants? When did the first autonomous secretariats emerge? Most scholars would argue that the League of Nations secretariat was the first 'true' international secretariat, yet this was not the first permanent IO secretariat in existence. How much autonomy and influence did the first permanent secretariats formed in the 19th century possess? What can the experience of these institutions tell us about how IOs in general gain autonomy? Through a study focusing on the secretariat of the International Telegraph Union, created in 1868 as the first permanent secretariat, this paper will seek to answer these questions.

Panel 8 – New Developments in Understanding & Combating Corruption

The need to deal effectively with corruption is now widely accepted, as is the acknowledgement that corruption is not just a serious problem for developing countries. This themed session presents some current research on better understanding and combatting corruption in more- and less-developed countries. The importance of different institutional and organisational factors is a consistent theme of the papers in the session. Paper 1 (Brown) argues the case for international corruption measures to get beyond a focus on individual level corruption and include more institutionalised forms of corruption. Paper 2 (Ankamah) points to the importance of strong horizontal and vertical accountability mechanisms for anti-corruption bodies. Paper 3 (Sakib) uses the case of Bangladesh to identify the ways in which isomorphism in anti-corruption institutions can mask failures to address corruption seriously. Paper 4 (Smith) explores the impact of organisational policies and practices on outcomes for whistleblowers in Australian public sector organisations.

Defining and Measuring Corruption in Australia and Beyond: Improving the Use of Citizen Experience and Perceptions.

AJ Brown, Griffith University

Since 2003, when first funded by the Australian Research Council and Transparency International (TI), TI's Global Corruption Barometer survey has become the world's largest body of comparative public attitude and experience research on corruption issues. However, the Global Corruption Barometer (GCB) continues to focus on service-level (sometimes called 'petty') corruption in the form of bribe-demanding or bribe-giving on the part of public officials, and only recently has begun to explore citizen experience and perceptions regarding other behaviours, more consistent with challenges of 'grand' corruption, 'grey area' corruption and even 'legal' corruption (e.g. in the case of lawful but corrosive and/or dishonest forms of political financing, influence peddling and public procurement and contracting). This paper will explore ways of rectifying this balance and suggest new options for data collection as part of a proposed second module of the GCB, being developed with TI as part of a new Australian Research Council Linkage Project.

Accountability Relationships: What Role for Anti-Corruption Agencies?

Samuel Ankamah, Griffith University

In recent years, the need for interactions among different accountability mechanisms has received much attention in scholarship as such interactions are considered to be more promising in the fight against corruption. One such call is the need for interactions between horizontal accountability mechanisms (e.g. anti-corruption agencies) and

social accountability mechanisms (media and civil society, including complainants). Yet our understanding of the factors that influence such accountability relationships remain understudied. Specifically, the key roles that horizontal accountability agencies may play in accountability relationships are less understood. I use evidence from in-depth interviews with key stakeholders in two Australian states including anti-corruption agency staffs, journalists, civil society including whistleblowers, other observers and documents on public record to explore the specific roles anti-corruption agencies play or can play in relation to social mechanisms. I find that the transparency and accessibility of anti-corruption agencies to the media and civil society is critical for accountability relationships. Furthermore, I find that, the management of corruption information and complainants – including whistleblowers - are also critical in accountability relationships. These findings contribute to the initial discussion and development of a new framework of factors that influence accountability relationships. These findings further affirm the potential for research on how these critical factors can better be stimulated and maintained for enhanced accountability outcomes.

Why Anti-Corruption Isomorphism Fails in Developing Countries: An Analysis of the National Integrity Strategy (NI-Strategy) of Bangladesh.

Nurul Huda Sakib, University of Sydney

Institutions matter in reducing corrupt behaviour but it is tough to build institutions in developing countries. One very common way of combating corruption is the international transplantation of institutions such as anti-corruption agencies through institutional isomorphism. This paper focuses on the case of the National Integrity Strategy (NI-Strategy) of Bangladesh to argue that that this strategy of institutional isomorphism is not making good headway in combating corruption. The paper draws on a national survey as well as interviews with a range of stakeholders to demonstrate some of the micro-level problems associated with the isomorphic strategy in Bangladesh. The paper shows that the strategy has been undertaken largely as a strategic response by policy makers in Bangladesh to international pressures. These policy makers have initiated the strategy to make international donors happy and comply with procedural requirements. The paper also suggests that most of the elements of the strategy are fragile and Bangladesh does not have capacity to combat corruption effectively using this framework.

Better Outcomes for Public Sector Whistleblowers: How Important are Organisational Policies and Practices? Preliminary Evidence from Australia.

Rodney Smith, University of Sydney

The research agenda on whistleblowing has begun to move beyond early questions about what types of people are likely to report wrongdoing in organisations and whether they suffer negative repercussions to more nuanced questions about what policies, strategies and processes improve outcomes of reporting for whistleblowers themselves and for their organisations. This paper draws on two sets of data collected for 'Whistling While They Work 2' (WWTW2) as part of an ARC Linkage Project (LP150100386) to present a preliminary exploration of relationships between whistleblowing processes in Australian public sector organisations and outcomes for whistleblowers in those organisations. First, data provided to the WWTW2 Project by 634 Australia public sector, private sector and not for profit organisations shows that, as in a number of other areas of employment policy, public sector whistleblowing policies and processes tend to be more comprehensive and apparently stronger than those in the other two sectors. Second, survey responses from employees who have reported wrongdoing in public sector organisations suggest that more comprehensive polices and processes do have some positive effects on outcomes for whistleblowers. While the results are preliminary, the paper demonstrates how researchers can fruitfully combine organisational level policy data and individual level whistleblower data to advance our understanding of outcomes for whistleblowers.

Panel 9 – Gender, Political Participation & Leadership

Public Support for Increasing Women and Māori MPs in New Zealand

Catherine Bolzendahl, University of California, Irvine and Hilde Coffé, Victoria University Wellington

Legislatures that more fully reflect the composition of their citizenry better achieve the promises of democracy. All democracies, however, fail to provide full political equality. For example, while women have gained significant progress in political representation over the last couple of decades, elected representatives are mainly male, upper-

class, and from the dominant ethnic/cultural group in that nation. Although parties and selectorates play an important role in explaining inequalities in political representation, one important factor on the voters' side, which has so far received relatively little attention, is the extent to which voters *want* the composition of legislature to change. Indeed, an increase the representation of women, and underrepresented marginalized groups in general, is unlikely to happen without substantial political support. Therefore, the broad question motivating our study is: to what extent do voters want more women and other marginalized groups in legislature, and why? In particular, we investigate support for an increase of women and indigenous Māori MPs in the New Zealand Parliament. Starting from Pitkin's (1967) four part concept of representation, we distinguish four possible explanations for such support: formal (efforts to increase the number of MPs of certain groups), descriptive (group identity), substantive (issue alignment), and symbolic (support for policies aiming at greater economic equality and social inclusion). Using data from the 2014 New Zealand Election Study, we find that all factors matter for increasing support, however, links to formal and descriptive representation are the strongest. For increasing women MPs respondents see this as nearly synonymous with increased official and unofficial efforts (e.g., quotas and party policies). For increasing Māori MPs, identity is key and the strongly source of support comes from other Māori. Yet, respondents who back the continued use of reserved seats for Māori MPs also want increases in Māori MPs, again suggesting the importance of formal representation. Overall, the findings suggest respondents who want better representation for marginalized groups are realistic about the capacities of these groups to enact change in any particular issue area, and are committed to a path of institutional and descriptive fairness.

Children and gender in Victoria's Royal Commission into Family Violence

Sophie Yates, ANZSOG / UNSW

This paper examines gender and the framing of domestic and family violence (DFV) in the 2015-16 Victorian Royal Commission into Family Violence. The Royal Commission has had (and continues to have) a powerful effect on DFV policy in Victoria; the government accepted all 227 of its wide-ranging recommendations and has committed significant funding to implementing them. In the context of fierce public debate about the role of gender in DFV, and about the role of individual risk factors vs societal causes, how did key policy actors frame the problem of DFV in their contributions to the Commission? How did the Commission then frame the problem in its report and recommendations? Of particular interest will be debates about family violence and children, where the focus is on the harm done to children and a gender and power analysis is at risk of disappearing altogether.

The framing of policy actors contributing to the Commission, and the Commission's response (in the form of its report and recommendations) will be analysed using Critical Frame Analysis (Verloo 2005; 2007; Lombardo and Meier 2008). This is an appropriate method for uncovering the role of gender in policy actors' problem framing - gender tends to disappear in policy debates and it is often referred to obliquely or indirectly, but Critical Frame Analysis was developed to enable the hidden significance of a text to firstly be made explicit, and then compared with other relevant texts. In this way, the framing of Royal Commission contributors can be compared to the framing of the Commission itself, to see which actors have been successful in influencing the work of this important policy broker.

Mapping the gendered descriptive representation of non-party candidates: a case-study of Ireland

Fiona Buckley, University College Cork and Francesca Gains, University of Manchester

Explanations for the underrepresentation of women in politics have highlighted both supply and demand factors (Norris and Lovenduski, 1995). This literature highlights the key gatekeeping role played by party selectorates who, in seeking to identify candidates who conform to gendered norms, act to ensure the continued over representation of men in political office (Galligan and Wilford, 1999; Durose et al, 2013; Buckley, 2013; Childs and Campbell, 2015; Murray, 2015). However where party elites support greater diversity of representation such as through the adoption of gender quotas, all women short lists, or targeted selections, party demand can address and overcome the veto actions of party selectorates (Buckley et al, 2016; Kenny and McKay, 2014; Annesley et al, 2005).

However, the literature on the processes of party fragmentation and realignment suggest that over time parties are less able to exert a monopoly over the supply of candidates for election (Copus et al, 2009; Clark, 2010). Identified

in this literature is a rise in both non-hierarchical party organisations and independent candidates. However this literature has not considered how this rise impacts on both the supply and demand of women candidates.

This paper presents a gendered descriptive account of non-party candidates in Ireland, a country where independents have been a constant feature of Irish politics since the foundation of the State in 1922 (Weeks, 2016). In this baseline study of gender and independents, we sketch a picture of independent candidates, outlining their personal and political backgrounds, and examine which independents win and lose elections, and why. Through this gendered analysis, the primary concern of the paper – identifying those women who run as independent candidates and who are successful in gaining election - is addressed.

This paper therefore contributes to the literature on gender and political recruitment, as well as that on party fragmentation and realignment, by providing gendered data on the rise of independent candidates. An examination of the gendered recruitment patterns of independents is revealing in telling us something about the supply and demand of candidates, in particular women, where there is no party to either enhance or reduce the demand. Where parties do not exert a monopoly on the demand for candidates, we might learn something more of the supply side factors which either support or suppress women in coming forward as political candidates.

Sex, Gender and Promotion in Executive Office: Cabinet Careers in the World of Westminster

Jennifer Curtin, ANU; Matthew Kerby, ANU and Keith Dowding, ANU

This paper examines the ministerial career paths of women relative to men in Westminster systems. Westminster systems provide a good example for considering women's ministerial careers in politics as they provide a less complex setting for examining the forces leading to women's executive representation than in other parliamentary systems. Westminster systems tend to produce single party government giving the prime minister more freedom to choose their cabinet less constrained by the demands of other party leaders and constitutional requirements. The paper uses hazard analysis and sequence analysis to show the differing career paths of men and women in the three countries, and differences across the three countries. It shows women are less likely to be given important portfolio, that men and women are equally likely to be appointed to junior positions, and equally likely to be promoted thereafter for three years, but then career paths diverge, with women less likely to be promoted from junior positions, more likely to stay in them, and have shorter careers as a result, though women who are promoted have equally long careers as men. Women tend to be older but have less parliamentary experience when promoted. The divergence in career trajectories is greatest in Canada. We discuss the forces that lead to these findings in relation to previous literature.

Panel 10 – Cases and Empirical Evidence of Populism

Pauline Hanson's One Nation: Rise of the 'White Queen' or Death by Dysfunction (Again)?

Glenn Kefford, Macquarie University

Pauline Hanson and Pauline Hanson's One Nation party continue to dominate daily headlines just over a year after re-emerging on the political scene following the 2016 federal election. In considering the re-emergence of PHON, I examine the organisational and ideological dimensions of the party to analyse how, if at all, the party has changed since its first period of success in the 1990s. I also consider the electoral performance of the party in comparison to this earlier period. Utilising party documents and semi-structured interviews with candidates and party officials, I argue that there are similarities and differences with the earlier period of success. I also generate a set of hypotheses to be tested in later research on who exactly is the PHON voter and what drives them to support PHON.

The New International Populist Radical Right in Europe

Duncan McDonnell, Griffith University and Annika Werner, Griffith University

While Eurosceptic radical right populists have traditionally been unlikely partners, this situation has changed, most notably via the European Parliament (EP) group, Europe of Nations and Freedom (ENF). Created in 2015, the ENF brings together the French Front National, the Dutch Party for Freedom, the Italian Northern League, the Flemish Vlaams Belang and the Austrian Freedom Party for the first time.

However, to what degree is Euroscepticism the driver of the ENF? Using party position data, EP voting records, and interviews with key figures, this paper will examine the extent to which it is Euroscepticism that underpins greater cooperation between these parties as opposed to other political factors.

The International Political Economy of Populism

Paul D. Kenny, ANU; Dongwook Kim, ANU and Charles Miller, ANU

Populists are personalistic leaders who seek to win and retain power by directly mobilizing mass constituencies of voters. They often make appeals to the “common people” that explicitly stress nationalist aims or that target lower class voters who face competition from globalization. There are thus strong reasons to expect that populists in power should be more protectionist than non-populist democratic leaders. At the same time, populists often promise to cultivate deeper bilateral economic relationships with the countries of like-minded leaders. This paper first theorizes the international political economy of populist government. Second, it provides the first test of whether populism is associated with an increase in general protectionism and/or a turn towards bilateralism. It uses a new dataset on populist and non-populist rule in 85 countries from 1980-2014, along with updated measures of trade openness, financial openness, treaty compliance, and bilateral trade agreements.

No guts, no glory: How framing the collective past paves the way for anti-immigrant sentiments

Frank Mols, University of Queensland and Jolanda Jetten, University of Queensland

Populist Right-Wing Parties (PRWPs) have made a remarkable comeback since the 1980s, especially in Western Europe. In this paper, we extend research showing populist parties can be successful in times of economic prosperity, and among relatively affluent voters. More specifically, we argue that in order to explain such successes we need to understand the creative way in which PRWP leaders frame the collective past, present and future. We examined speeches of PRWP leaders in France, The Netherlands, and Belgium and examined in each of these unique contexts how these leaders instill collective nostalgia and perceptions of discontinuity between past and present to justify a tougher stance on immigration, asylum-seeking and multiculturalism. We found that these PRWP leaders use temporal narratives about history and identity to persuade their audience that (a) our past is glorious, our future is bleak, (b) we know who brought the country down, (c) we were once glorious because we were tough, (d) we need to be tough once more, and (e) we are the only party prepared to take on “the enemy”. We conclude that PRWP leaders not only feed collective angst and fear of losing collective roots, they also provide (potential) followers with a historicized justification for harsher treatment of migrants and minorities, arguing that history has shown that the nation's survival depends on its ability to be unflinching.

Panel 11 – US Foreign Policy

How American Allies React: Elite Sentiment and Foreign Policy Shifts in the Aftermath of US Presidential Elections (2000-2016)

Gorana Grbic, University of Sydney Shaun Ratcliff, United States Studies Centre at the University of Sydney

US presidential election campaigns and their fallout are closely followed in traditionally allied states. Following these elections, there is a surge of elite-level reactions and commentary on the repercussions of their outcomes. Clearly, some American presidents are more popular abroad and receive more positive news coverage than others. However, to what extent does elite public sentiment impact the state of US alliances and interstate relations more broadly? We test two hypotheses: a) when dominant, negative sentiment towards the US president amongst a state's elite has a deleterious impact on its relationship with the US; and b) if this view is shared amongst allied states, this can trigger soft balancing against the US. We examine how different presidents are framed and the tone in which they are covered at the beginning of their terms in office using natural language processing (including sentiment analysis and topic modelling) on coverage in newspapers in traditionally allied states such as Australia, France, Germany, Japan and the United Kingdom after each presidential election between 2000 and 2016. We then test possible impacts of this sentiment on interstate relations, by comparing shifts in elite sentiment to changes in states' voting patterns at the UN General Assembly. The paper moves beyond the standard investigations in the field of political communication and campaign studies as it explores the immediate impact of the electoral outcomes on foreign policy. In doing so, it tests to what extent alliances with the US are prone to challenges based on a change in political circumstances in the US.

Politics, Time, Space, and Attitudes toward US–Mexico Border Security

Timothy B. Gravelle, University of Melbourne

The tumultuous 2016 US presidential election cycle featured a range of policy proposals to address the issue of illegal immigration. Channeling anxieties around the economic and social consequences of illegal immigration with claims of porous, unsecured borders, then-Republican candidate Donald Trump notably committed to building a wall the length of the US–Mexico border. At the same time, border security is not a new issue on the American policy agenda. Drawing on multiple surveys over the period 2006 to 2016 and spatial analytic tools, this paper explores two questions. First, how have attitudes toward border security shifted over time in response to changes in the partisan political environment? Second, how does spatial context – namely proximity to the US–Mexico border – shape attitudes toward the proposed border wall? Findings point to both time and space, in conjunction with individual-level political attitudes, as key factors shaping attitudes toward US–Mexico border security.

Key words: United States; public opinion; border security; spatial analysis

Sino-American contest: an appropriate dataset

George Boone, University of Sydney

Will America and China wage war for dominance in East Asia? No question holds greater importance for 21st century international politics, and yet, we lack an appropriate dataset for studying the problem. In principle, realist thought believes that states operating under similar international conditions should behave similarly. An appropriate dataset, therefore, would identify and operationalize a given set of international conditions and then determine which historical cases satisfy the operationalized criteria. The existing datasets examining peaceful change and the Sino-American contest generally fail to meet this standard. For example, Graham Allison identifies cases with ruling states' threat perceptions; Jason Davidson and Mira Sucharov use international outcomes; and John Mearsheimer draws conclusions from the behavior of the strongest major powers. This paper aims to fill the void by developing an appropriate dataset. Using 41 peer-reviewed assessments, it identifies the Sino-American international conditions in the following terms. Two major powers separated by geography harbor interests in a common region (East Asia): the local power (China) seeks regional preeminence; and the extra-regional power (USA) prefers regional balance. The powers' geographic separation also creates two material relationships: an aggregate balance heavily favoring the extra-regional power; and a more ambiguous regional balance tilting towards the local power. As such, an appropriate dataset for the Sino-American contest would contain cases wherein aspiring regional hegemons enjoy a local imbalance but face an extra-regional balancer with more aggregate power. To pinpoint such cases, the paper adopts a two-step process. First, it divides the world into eight regions using the works of Sir Halford Mackinder and Nicholas Spykman. Second, it defines and operationalizes four terms: extra-regional balancer, aspiring regional hegemon, aggregate power, and local imbalance (regional combat power). Through this process, the paper identifies four historical episodes with similar international conditions to the Sino-American contest: USA versus Great Britain (North America, 1889-1904), Japan versus Russia (East Asia, 1898-1917), Japan versus USA and USSR (East Asia, 1931-1943), and USSR versus USA (Europe, 1949-1990).

Panel 12 – Risk, Think Tanks & Global Governance

'An idea whose time has come?': Think tanks and India-Australia relations

Alexander Davis, LaTrobe University and Stuti Bhatnagar, University of Adelaide

Various Indian and Australian think-tanks have recently become extremely enthusiastic about India-Australia relations, arguing there are no serious impediments to the relationship, even terming it 'an idea whose time has come'. This has generated a great deal of enthusiasm for the relationship, in both media and political discourse. Think tanks have even been directly involved in track 2 and 'track 1.5' dialogues in recent years. Still, very limited academic attention has been paid to their ideational influence in framing and informing the agenda on India-Australia relations. This leads us to examine if Indian and think tanks see the relationship the same way, and if the build of expectations they've produced are unrealistic. We investigate this through both the broad framing of the relationship and the changing regional dynamics with China's increasing role in the South China Sea and imperatives for maritime security. Throughout, we assess the likelihood of India-Australia relations being pushed

forward in the manner proposed by key think tanks in the two countries; their emphasis on changing bilateral ties and joint cooperation strategies with regards to China's growing influence in the region.
Davis & Bhatnagar

Transparency, Trust and Epistemic Authority in Global Governance

Daniel R. McCarthy, University of Melbourne

Transparency is central to contemporary forms of global governance. A vast range of actors claim the right to access information held by international organizations, non-governmental organizations, corporations, states, and even specific individuals. Given the centrality of transparency promotion taking full measure of its tensions and contradictions is important for assessing its scope and its limitations. This paper outlines the complex relationship between transparency, legitimacy, and epistemic trust in global politics. Transparency is often promoted as a solution to the problem of low levels of trust, or even active distrust, of the institutions of global governance. Rooted in a sceptical individualist epistemology, transparency appears as a solution to issues of uncertainty and risk for global publics, providing accountability for the governed and undercutting the prudential risk of trusting in epistemic authorities. Publics will be able to directly see what governing institutions are doing, lowering the risk that the powerful will abuse their power as a result. As an account of knowledge, this view of transparency is misleading - epistemic dependence, and thus risk and uncertainty, is a necessary feature of all knowledge practices. Transparency promotion risks reinforcing public disenfranchisement when portrayed as a solution to distrust based on revelation of objective knowledge. Discussed through a focus upon climate sceptic discourse in Australia, this paper will highlight how calls for transparency amongst sceptics rely on an inaccurate understanding of how scientific knowledge is produced. Epistemic authority in global governance requires recasting knowledge production as always a deeply social process, with all of the fallibilities this entails, in order to address this facet of the legitimacy crises in global governance.

Think Tank Diplomacy

Melissa Conley Tyler, Australian Institute of International Affairs; Rhea Matthews Tyler, Australian Institute of International Affairs and Emma Brockhurst Tyler, Australian Institute of International Affairs

If a key aspect of diplomacy is how your country is seen abroad, official diplomats are not the only actors. As American author Parag Khanna memorably described it, diplomacy is no longer the stiff waltz of elites but the jazzy dance of the masses.

In this changing diplomatic landscape, a range of actors – including think tanks – have a role to play. While official diplomats are still the primary agents, there are others who perform some of the functions of traditional diplomacy both in their activities and methods.

As organisations producing independent intellectual outputs to influence public policy, think tanks engage in at least four diplomatic functions: negotiation, communication, information-gathering and promoting friendly relations in international affairs.

Detailed case studies of nine think tanks show that they both directly perform diplomatic functions and act indirectly as facilitators of diplomacy: as metaphorical hired guns, charm offensive, witnesses and safe space; as a school for diplomats, personal trainers, chief knowledge officer and wise council.

In contexts as diverse as Syria, Myanmar and the South China Sea, think tanks are influential actors whose impact deserves greater study. To reach their full potential, think tanks need to overcome obstacles including resource constraints and relationships with policy-makers.

Panel 13 – Environmental Policy & Reform 1

Identifying More Other Factors that Promote the Sustainability of Hybrids: Testing the Hybrid Ideal with Social Enterprises in Hong Kong

Shiufai Wong, Macao Polytechnic Institute

Hybridization referring to collaborative governance in term of a semi-social and semi-commercial corporate structure is recently a disputable concept in the nonprofit organization literature. Despite the concept being theoretically regarded as an asset to help improve nonprofit organizations to become financially sustainable without compromising their social goals, empirical researchers call into question the feasibility of it. Literature review shows that the number of hybrids has grown rapidly *worldwide in recent years*, but many of them hit snags in practice. While the knack lies in integrating both social and economic aims in the same strategy, how to integrate the two aims is unknown. While this prompts social entrepreneurs to adjust their ways of doing business, theorists have inductively *generalized* a new business model, the Hybrid Ideal, to dissolve the contradictions inherent in mission and profit. This paper thus uses the Hybrid Ideal to test a number of widely acclaimed hybrids in Hong Kong, identifying more other factors that may promote the sustainability of hybrids.

Planet vs Nation: Climate Science, Identity, Affect and Desire in the U.S.

Benjamin Glasson, University of Melbourne

In this paper I seek to understand how climate change became an intensely emotive political issue, one now divided along angry battlelines of cultural identity as much as by reason or even ideology.

Social theorists such as Ulrich Beck (2000, 1998, 1995, 1992), Manuel Castells (2009, 1996) and Zygmunt Bauman (2000, 1997) have noted highly significant shifts underway in the manner with which publics interrogate scientific discourse. Established structures of institutional authority that are relatively coherent at the national level are being challenged by forces of fluidity, fragmentation, complexity and uncertainty. Furthermore, the modern notion of communication circuits transmitting knowledge is being supplemented, if not superseded, by complex networks circulating affects, identities and desires.

It is in this theoretical context that I am investigating the bundles of meaning, affect, desire and identity attached to notions of *planet* and *nation* in the climate-change discourse of opposed political groups in the United States. These notions are at the heart of the climate politics divide, and appear to function as key, and contradictory, identity markers. I aim to go further than political-theoretical analysis of the ideological divide between liberals and conservatives, cosmopolitans and communitarians. Instead, I seek to understand the affective *calls to activation* made by influential political actors seeking to strategically align issues like climate change to existing antagonisms and identity conflicts along dimensions of – for instance – race, socioeconomic status, religion, geography and education.

Panel 14 – Policy Reform

When global certification meets local resistance: the case of Tassal, Environment Tasmania and the Aquaculture Stewardship Council

Hannah Murphy-Gregory, University of Tasmania

Global certification schemes administered by civil society organisations are an increasingly utilised form of private governance that seek to regulate the environmental and social impacts of corporate activity. Certification arrangements are typically voluntary, facilitate consumer activism, offer reputational benefits to corporate actors, and may even reduce the need for public regulation. Certification arrangements elevate the status of civil society organisations in contemporary governance, particularly as independent standard-setters. Whilst some legitimacy issues surrounding certification governance have been raised, including corporate co-option, certification schemes have generally been viewed as a significant, evidence-based component of contemporary governance. In this paper, I seek to contribute to the literature on global certification governance by critically analysing the Australian case of Tasmanian salmon producer, Tassal, its certification by the Aquaculture Stewardship Council and the campaign against Tassal led by local group Environment Tasmania. In an effort to examine why ASC certification

has failed to shield Tassal from public criticism, I examine the key elements of the local opposition to Tassal focusing on the public discourse generated by local campaigners and the media. Specifically, local campaigners successfully projected a narrative of environmental degradation, corporate power, and governmental acquiescence in a manner that dampened the Tassal's and WWF's competing narrative about the rational, evidence-based nature of the ASC certification process. The case highlights some problems, risks and lessons for civil society-led private governance, namely, discord within the environmental advocacy sector, the complexity of certification, the one-size-fits-all approach, the relationship between private and public regulation, and the significance of industry structure. Through this case, the paper explores the limits and possibilities of civil society administered global certification schemes.

It is time for a rethink: Public sector engagement in the era of governance.

Robyn Hollander, University of Technology Sydney; Tracey Arklay, Griffith University and Elizabeth van Acker, Griffith University

Public servants have always interacted with the 'public', through policy communities and networks, as clients and customers, or via stakeholder engagement. In recent decades, scholars have increasingly focused their attention on the quality and purpose of this interaction. Some have identified the emergence of a new paradigm, dubbed New Public Governance (NPG). NPG describes the new, deeper form of engagement associated with collaboration between government and the citizenry. This means that the community is no longer simply consulted in the policy making process or conceptualised as the clients or customers of services but instead as an active partner in co-production. But how realistic is this picture?

This paper adopts a mixed mode approach to address this question. It combines the findings of the first large scale survey of public servants from across the country with an in depth case study of an innovative agricultural trial program conducted in Queensland. While the survey data reveals the scale and importance of engagement to public servants, it reveals less about the quality of this interaction. The case study provides insights from key stakeholders and public servants about their interactions over an extended time frame. The first ten years saw traditional approaches to government engagement being used. The next five saw an innovative co-production strategy being utilised, with dramatic results.

A functional-ideational approach to welfare state reform

Adam Hannah, University of Melbourne

Since the early 1990s, the dominant accounts of the contemporary welfare state have tended to be stability-centric, suggesting that change is both difficult and risky. However, it has since become clear that welfare states continue to evolve, even through the explicit reform of major programs. This paper proposes an approach to the welfare state that seeks to explain why governments continue to engage reform, despite the apparent risks.

Drawing upon literature on ideas, policy change and decision theory, a distinctive account of reform is developed. It builds upon Vis and van Kersbergen's (2013) "open functional" approach, which sees policy problems, specifically those that threaten electoral punishment in the case of inaction, as the primary cause of reform. This paper proposes a method of identifying functional pressure, by examining how policy problems are translated into public opinion and media and elite attention. Timing and sequence is theorised to play a key role here, and can exacerbate the effect of objectively less urgent policy problems.

This paper diverges from the open functional approach, however, in one key respect. Here, it is argued that functional pressure is often insufficient to be the sole cause of reform. Instead, ideas motivate leaders to take on the opportunity afforded to them by the presence of functional pressure, especially where parties have previously failed to implement core policy goals. In this way, dissatisfaction with the status quo allows for the return of previously dormant, non-viable or unsuccessful ideas as alternatives.

This functional-ideational approach is briefly tested through the comparison of two case studies, from two distinctive health care systems: The development of the US *Patient Protection and Affordable Care Act* (popularly known as "Obamacare") and Sweden's 2009 *vårdval* (patient choice) reform in primary care. While functional pressure certainly existed in both cases, reformers are found have also been strongly motivated by ideas.

In the US case, Democrats had long maintained the belief access to health insurance should be a right of citizenship, and had continually engaged in attempts to expand it, despite obvious political risks. In Sweden, the Liberal Party was clearly driven by a desire to implement a “family doctor” system, the party’s third such attempt at doing so.

It is now well accepted in the literature that ideas have “influence of their own, but not completely by themselves” (Biernacki 1995, p.35 in Parsons 2015). This paper demonstrates that ideas can be a key cause of the decision to reform in welfare policy, but usually only in conjunction with functional pressure.

Panel 15 – Feminist Politics: Moving Beyond the Individual

Feminist Politics: moving beyond the individual

Meagan Tyler, RMIT

Feminism is fashionable again. There has been an increasingly visibility of feminist ideas in the mainstream media and everyone from celebrities to male political figures are claiming the label ‘feminist’ for themselves. But this version of palatable ‘pop feminism’ is often steeped in liberal individualism, divorced from feminist ideas of collective action and liberation.

This paper will frame the panel, and will discuss the importance of reclaiming structural analysis in feminist politics, linking this to examples of issues that are frequently individualised (e.g. beauty practices, sexuality, marriage,). It will be argued that these issues, often considered ‘lesser’ in the scheme of gender inequality campaigns, are intimately connected to larger issues, such as sexual violence and workplace discrimination, and must be seen as such in order for real change to be achieved.

Representations of Pop Feminism

Kate Farhall, University of Melbourne

A glance at popular culture would suggest feminism is experiencing a significant revival; Beyoncé is hailed as a feminist icon, the television series *Girls* is positioned as a feminist critique of contemporary womanhood and feminist commentary and mobilising via the Internet is increasingly visible through blogs such as Jezebel. Feminism has been rebranded and marketed to a younger, more pop culture oriented generation; to call oneself a feminist is no longer seen as social suicide. But what kind of feminism does pop culture sanction? And what kinds of exclusions does it entail?

Drawing on data from contemporary women’s magazines, alongside broader media analysis, I argue that popular feminism rests on an individualised conception of empowerment which overlooks a structural critique of inequality, thereby failing to effectively challenge patriarchal dominance.

Digesting Femininities: The politics of women and food

Natalie Jovanovski, Swinburne University of Technology

The gendered politics of food and eating play an undeniably central role in women’s lives. While narratives of hedonism and the right to pleasure abound in contemporary cookbooks and best-selling diet books marketed to women, the gendering of these messages, and the body-policing narratives they contain, fall short of fully emancipating women from oppressive patriarchal norms. Informed by my analysis of contemporary cookbooks, best-selling diet books, and even iconic feminist texts on food and eating, I argue that the new feminist politics of food should consider challenging the gendering of food and eating, and re-politicising the current liberal feminist orthodoxy that paints women’s relationships with food, health, pleasure and their bodies as individualistic pursuits.

Moving Violations of the Feminist Street: Forms of public pornographication

Helen Pringle, University of New South Wales

This paper concerns representations of gender in public space, focusing on Wicked Campers, a global company whose core business is the hire of campervans decorated by graffiti-messages. The company's graffiti-covered vans exemplify the increasing use of pornographic visual material not only as an aid to sexual arousal, but as a weapon in patterns of intimidating, abusive and violent behaviour towards women. That is, to call them pornographic is to draw attention to the way in which they incite a cruel laughter that takes delight in humiliation and that finds subordination funny. Indeed, perhaps the most effective form in which sexual hierarchies are policed today is pornographic laughter, which has become the stock in trade of unrepentant discrimination. Jeremy Waldron has argued that a flourishing and fair society rests on the equal standing and treatment of its members – and on the recognition and assurance of that equality in society's 'signage'. My paper assesses the possibility of addressing the moving violation of the company's vans as a form of sexual discrimination, rather than as nuisance.

Panel 16 – Policy Making 1

The decline in policy capacity: Trends, causes, and remedies

Meredith Edwards, University of Canberra; Brian Head, University of Queensland; Anne Tiernan, Griffith University and James Walter, Monash University

There has been significant concern among policy practitioners, researchers, public intellectuals, business leaders, and community activists about the low quality of recent policy debate and declining levels of trust in public institutions. Poor quality policymaking, together with low trust in political leaders and institutions, arguably hinders robust responses to global and national challenges such as free trade, climate change, migration and rising community expectations. Influential commentators who championed the reforms of the 1980s and 1990s now suggest that the system has broken down (e.g. Paul Kelly). Serious disquiet about the deterioration of policy capacity and debate is well summed up by former Treasury Secretary Ken Henry: "I can't recall a poorer quality of public debate on almost any issues, than we have had in recent times in Australia" (9 May 2015), and "there was a time when we did have a better public understanding of the issues confronting Australia" (14 August 2012). Among the factors identified in this "policy decline" narrative are populism, deficiencies in political leadership, short-termism, complacency, pressures of globalisation, the stalling of major reform, party leadership changes, diminution of the public sector, media preoccupation with celebrity and infotainment, and post-truth opinions posing as informed analysis.

Are these concerns and diagnoses persuasive and well founded? If so, what can be done to encourage a regeneration of robust and well-informed deliberation? Even if the arguments about decline are overstated, they point to a well-documented diminution of trust in institutions and processes. Strategies for restoring trust are important, especially in an era when respect for science and expertise seem to be under threat. These are issues fundamental not only to good governance but also to sustainable democracy.

This paper reports on discussion among academics and senior practitioners at a workshop held in Canberra in February 2017. Drawing on that discussion, it reviews:

- transition points in deliberative processes, political practices and policy capacity in the past thirty years and their catalysts;
- changing relationship between political/policy decision makers and expert providers of policy advice in recent times;
- channels of communication between the political/policy community and the research community;
- indications of a diminution in the political appreciation of public concerns, and in the public understanding of policy imperatives; and
- how collaboration between experienced practitioners and expert researchers might assist in improving policy debate and policy capacity today.

Has Policy-Related Consulting been Captured by the Big Commercial Consulting Firms? Patterns in Contract Data at the Commonwealth Level for the Past Decade.

Michael Howard, University of Newcastle

Michael Howlett has recently characterised the state of scholarly estimates of the influence of commercial consultants on the policy process in contemporary western states as 'divided' (Howlett and Migone 2013: 242-4; Howlett and Migone 2014:174). Some academic commentators infer 'strong' influence from the evidence of a shift from an 'autarkic' state to a contracting-out state, where major responsibilities are devolved; these observers often point to the public prominence of some large consulting firms. Other analysts play down the significance of commercial consultants, pointing to their dependence on demand from the governmental executive, the vulnerability of small firms and the scepticism in some quarters about the value they can add to organisational decision-making.

One step in approaching this question is to map the distribution of consulting and contracting work oriented to program development between different types of consulting entities. Howard (2006) examined the summary details of all 3,400 consultancies reported by three Commonwealth departments during 1987-93, using a twelve-part classification of type of consultancies. He found that the entities conducting the largest proportion of consultancies most directly relevant to program review and development were academics, either as individuals or as members of university research centres. The big accounting-consulting firms did a not insignificant number of these consultancies, however, and were unique for the range of their work across the twelve categories of consultancies.

Howard (2017) has documented the continuing build-up in the volume of work going to the Big Four accounting firms in the period since the mid 1990s, especially the quantum increase since 2009. So the purpose of this paper will be to explore whether the patterns in the distribution of work on policy relevant consultancies found in Howard (2006) still applies. Do academics still predominate in consultancies most relevant to program development? Has there been a change in the share of work going to entities such as NGOs and 'peak' organisations? Are smaller commercial firms specialising in policy analysis now more conspicuous? Or have the largest and most well known management consulting firms, overtaken all other entities?

The paper will draw on the Austender data base of contracts of Commonwealth departments and statutory authorities for the period 2007-2016. It will seek to discern some initial patterns by utilising various fields in the data, especially the more detailed classification of contracts that came into effect in 2007. The paper will highlight the usefulness and the limitation of this administrative reporting source for an understanding of the role now played by external consultants in the policy process.

Political Science and 'Engagement and Impact': prospects and pitfalls

Marian Simms, Deakin University

As Australian universities focus on the Pilot Assessment (PA) of 'Engagement and Impact' it is timely to ask how well Political Science (and public policy studies undertaken by political scientists) is placed for such an exercise. This paper argues that overall there are some positive indicators in terms of a good record of producing 'impactful' research that arguably has been of benefit to 'society' and the 'environment', the evidence for engagement *per se* is likely to be weaker. The recent report by the Academy of the Social Sciences provides glimpses of this impact. That said the discussion around the PA provides an opportunity for Australian political scientists to develop new indicators of engagement.

In the first part of the paper the PA and the state of the impact discussion will be outlined. While there has been much discussion in Australian research policy circles about the British Impact exercise – with its case study narratives- as a 'role model' for Australia this downplays the 'Engagement' dimensions of the Exercise. Currently the choice of engagement indicators does not seem to favour the traditional research practices of Australian political scientists. These indicators are – (1) research outputs co-authored and co-funded with end users and available on open access; (2) research income related to partnerships with end users; (3) patent-related activities; and (4) Higher Degree by Research student activity, such as co-supervision with end users.

Some of the available data to be presented in the second section of the paper – using evidence such as application and success rates in the ARC's Linkage Program and other large scale investment schemes – the initial picture is of a discipline that is disengaged from end users, as compared with cognate disciplines, for example sociology. Sociology has rich connections with its end users as evidenced by regular workshops discussing and involving research partnerships at its annual and special conference. Other data, for example, the propensity to apply for grants in teams, indicates that a considerable amount of political science scholarship is of the solo kind.

The final part of the paper will outline possible pathways for political science. After all the status quo may be an option, given the success of political science in ERA, Discovery grants and so forth. However, depending on the outcomes of the PA there may be an expectation that successful disciplines will extend their repertoire.

Panel 17 – Indigenous Affairs & Political Power in Australia

Narratives of policy failure and reinvention in Australian Indigenous Affairs: Consequences for Indigenous education

Melissa Lovell, ANU

This paper focuses on the Indigenous Affairs policy context, one of several overlapping sites of representation that ultimately influence and inform the Indigenous education space. At the level of national Indigenous Affairs policy, frequent exhortations of policy failure draw upon discourses of both Indigenous deficit, and on deficits within previous policy paradigms, designs, institutional structures and ideologies. In this presentation I characterise Indigenous Affairs as a space of ongoing reinvention, and highlight the near compulsive need by policy elites to constantly expunge past models of Indigenous service delivery and replace them with entirely new solutions to the problem of Aboriginal disadvantage. I discuss the Indigenous Advancement Strategy (IAS) of 2014 and the Northern Territory Intervention (NTI) of 2007 as two examples of rapid, comprehensive restructuring of the Indigenous Affairs policy landscape. Policy elites exhort the importance of evidence-based policy. However, common narratives of policy failure and crisis, and the desire for policy novelty, act to undermine the capacity of the sector to incrementally build on strengths, and previous successes. I conclude the presentation by considering the impact of constant policy reinvention on Indigenous education, where it can lead to the adoption of novel educational programs and concepts that may not be demonstrably effective in the Australian context.

Keywords:

A History of Stolen Wages in Victoria

Andrew Gunstone, Swinburne University of Technology

In this presentation, I will analyse several stolen wages practices that occurred in Victoria during much of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. These practices occurred due to the control of governments and their agencies over the wages, savings and social security benefits of generations of Indigenous Victorians. The practices included the failure to pay any or adequate wages to Indigenous people, the exclusion of Indigenous people from accessing many social security benefits, such as maternity allowances and child endowments, the lack of accountability and poor governance in the administration of Indigenous affairs, and the enforcement of harsh employment controls on Indigenous people.

Questions Without Notice in the Australian Senate and House of Representatives: Deliberation in the two Chambers Compared

James Frost, ANU and John Uhr, ANU

What aspects of a national parliament's deliberative processes lend themselves to academic examination from the perspective of deliberative democracy? We examine the Australian national parliament's two processes of Question Time: an hour each sitting day in each chamber – the lower House of Representatives and the upper house or Senate. Our intention is to examine these two models of a core parliamentary process to compare their deliberative capacities. We note that although the two processes share many common features, they also differ in a number of important features affecting the style and content of parliamentary deliberation. This paper compares these two important elements of Australian parliamentary politics, noting the many differences between the styles and content of deliberation in each parliamentary house. Our conclusion notes the comparatively richer nature of

deliberation in the Senate. We invite students of deliberative democracy to deepen our initial understanding of the institutional and cultural influences on the diversity of deliberation in the two houses of the Australian parliament.

Panel 18 – Populism & Trump

Trump: The Culmination of 'New Right' Conservatism and Reactionary Populism in the United States

John Pilbrow, Monash University

Emergent in the aftermath of the 2007-2008 financial crises, a wave of populism has engulfed the liberal democratic world. Empowered by the more visible wealth disparity between the perceived 'haves' and 'have-nots' of society, populists have procured electoral support through anti-elitist appeals. A crucial instance of this new populist wave was the election of United States President Donald Trump, whose campaign, constructed around a controversial right-populist agenda, propelled him to the White House. This paper will focus on the Trump campaign to illustrate how he harnessed sufficient support from a divided and somewhat disenchanted American electorate.

Populist appeal, however, was not the sole factor that secured a Trump administration, nor was Trump the first to garner support from disenchanted American voters. Trump's campaign gained traction by consequence of longstanding divisions within the Republican Party (GOP), capitalising on the seemingly eternal conflict between its 'moderate' and 'conservative' factions whilst brushing aside the fragmented and leaderless Tea Party, to claim the Republican presidential nomination. Intraparty conflict is a recurrent force within many political parties, and the GOP is no exception. The moderate-conservative divide gave rise, in the mid-20th century, to the *New Right*, which encompasses two distinct movements that changed the face of conservatism within the GOP. This paper will elucidate how the *New Right* ripened the American political climate for the rise of reactionary right-populists.

Facilitated by the *New Right*, this paper contends that Trump is the embodiment of reactionary right-populism in the contemporary US. By consequence, it will be argued that Trump's success is not a result of newfound political apathy and disenchantment, but rather the culmination of decades of disillusionment with politics as usual. This paper will demonstrate how the *New Right* carved an avenue through which right-populist candidates, such as Trump, could feed off political disenchantment to achieve electoral success.

'Why Trump Won: The rightwing populist v-curve and (anti)-corruption'

Robert Lamontagne, Griffith University

Attempts to explain Donald Trump's election have dwelled on the vaguely-defined cultural pathologies of the 'white working class' (Caucasians without a university degree), who are uniquely vulnerable to 'populism' due to economic deprivation and racism (see Gest 2016; Hochschild 2016; Isenberg 2016; Vance 2016).

While this narrative is not wholly wrong, it is incomplete. Far from being a revolt of the white working class alone, the Trump coalition is in fact a rightwing bilinear, or 'v-curve', coalition of economically comfortable and affluent whites (Dambrun et al 2006; Jetten et al 2015; Mols and Jetten 2017). Moreover, while there are novel aspects to this coalition, it is also another example of a decades-long populist political style that unifies American conservatives against a so-called 'corrupt elite' (Kazin 1995; Perlestein 2017).

Indeed, as Bonikowski and Gidron (2013) point out, populism can be an ideology, an aesthetic/rhetorical style and finally a means of political mobilisation – and Trumpism, while often assailed as being an example of the first, is best described as the latter: a stylistic approach (Canovan 1999; Moffitt and Tormey 2013) and means of tactical political mobilisation (Weyland 2001; Hawkins 2010).

This understanding of Trumpian populism allows me to explain a paradox at the core of his campaign, namely how a candidate who made his knowledge of and participation in corrupt politics could also convince this coalition that he was the 'I alone' who could 'drain the swamp' of political corruption and vanquish a 'corrupt elite' (Trump 2015; Trump 2016).

My explanation is that although the academic consensus definition of corruption is the abuse of public office for private gain (Transparency International 2010), in practice it is simply another word for powerful people doing

things you don't like. Instead of an accurate descriptor, then, corruption functions as emotive statement of disapproval that motivates the style and tactics of Trumpian populism.

My paper will prove two claims. The first is that the v-curve accurately describes the coalition that propelled Trump to victory, using data from the US Census, exit polling and the literature on voter turnout. The second is that far from economic deprivation or competition with immigrants, this coalition was founded on a populist mobilising style with anti-corruption at its core. Finally, I will note that this perception of corruption bears no resemblance to academic definitions of the concept, and offer recommendations for further research in this area.

Trump's Base: the rise of the "alt-lite" in American politics

George Rennie, University of Melbourne

This paper examines the impact of the "alt-lite" as a political force in American politics. While considerable attention in academia and the press has been given to the white-nationalist "alt-right" (a term coined by one of its leaders Richard Spencer in 2008), little is understood about its far larger, and more influential ideological derivate, the alt-lite. The alt-lite retains the nationalist goals of the alt-right, but embraces racial diversity, provided racial and cultural groups assimilate to "western values". Having positioned itself as an antidote to a widely perceived rise of political correctness, the alt-lite, not the more extreme alt-right, forms the key ideological and supporter base of the Trump administration.

Panel 19 – Indian Politics

Delhi on the Periphery: Indian states as international political spaces

Alexander Davis, LaTrobe University

International Relations (IR) has a tendency to boil states down solely to their capital city, dramatically narrowing who counts and who doesn't. In the case of India, this brings with it a particular absurdity: that a massively diverse state of 1.25 billion people engages with the world solely through Delhi. In this exploratory paper, I sketch out the theoretical means of thinking through India's engagements with the world outside of its capital city. I argue that we should view Indian states and territories as international political spaces with distinct histories, identities and perspectives on world affairs. This allows us to decentre our view of Indian foreign policy, and consider India's numerous global connections beyond Delhi. Throughout, I draw on preliminary fieldwork in Tamil Nadu, including the historical and international construction of Dravidian nationalism, the centrality of Tamils to India's Ministry of External Affairs after independence and the domestic checks placed on Delhi from Chennai.

Dr, Department of Politics and Philosophy

Keywords: India, Identity, IR, Tamil Nadu

A Populist Modi government in India – Evolving role of Indian Think Tanks

Stuti Bhatnagar, University of Adelaide

Winning elections on the plank of a robust foreign policy and an emphasis on India's vital national security interests, the Indian government led by Prime Minister Narendra Modi represents the international trend towards populist politics. While the Modi government has reached out to regional and global partners, its domestic impact on actors and institutions within India is still a developing story. One of these actors relevant for research and analysis and the development of India's foreign policy discourse are Indian think tanks. Although, literature often considers think tanks as secondary actors in their role in the formulation of policy, this paper will argue that the body of research that think tanks develop in India has a significant impact on the creation of public discourse. Further, the intellectual elite at Indian think tanks performs the function of generating public opinion on key government policies and owing to their position and relevance, there exists an interactive process for the exchange of policy ideas. Yet, how the Modi government impacted the role of Indian think tanks is a question this paper will critically analyse. There has been a tendency in a populist government like Modi's to centralise power and institutions, curtailing alternative conceptions of security and foreign policy. Yet, think tanks are increasingly becoming forums for presentation of government discourse and specialised research. In addition to the growing number of think tanks in India are now added new think tanks like Brookings India, Gateway Foundation and Carnegie India – inspired and supported ideologically by important American think tanks, further muddling the field.

State Violence against the anti nuclear movements in India; Narratives from Koodankulam in Tamil Nadu and Jaitapur in Maharashtra

Ajmal Khan A T, Tata Institute of Social Sciences

State sanctioned brutal violence on its people has been a normal state of affair for a long time from the beginning of developmental state in India. The violence which was used for the state led development projects made its citizens particularly, vulnerable population like Tribals, Dalits and other backward classes as second class or no citizens (Nandy 1989). Among the state led violence in India, violence against the people who are resisting the nuclear power projects has been huge in the recent pasts. Since nuclear and establishments is directly controlled by the state, questioning anything related to nuclear energy became anti-national and anti state, hence its easier to legitimize the violence against them. This paper is looking at the use of state violence in the two social movements against the establishment of nuclear power projects in the state of Tamil Nadu and Maharashtra. The use of violence by police, paramilitary and other forces as well as implicating charges of sedition and waging war against the state, even on the elders, women and children at these two locations became normal and democratic in India. Using innovative ethnographic sources, the paper argues that, state violence used on the protestors against the nuclear power plants in India has been one of the unprecedented in the last one decade. The violence that was used at Kudankulam against the protestors of Kudankulam Nuclear Power Project in Tamil Nadu and Jaitapur Nuclear Power Project in Maharashtra by the Indian state shows not only the violence against its own people but how science and nuclear energy can also be a means of justification for the state to make people anti-state, waging war against the state and thereby destroy the rights that was given by the Indian constitution including the fundamental rights of the citizen. The paper also shows the intensity of the violence used by the state on not only protestors but on even vulnerable sections like children, women and elders in the villages where the power plants are located.

Panel 20 – Democratic Transitions 1

Australian Political
Studies Association

Democratic Capitalization, Local Actors, and Political Patronage Networks

Muhammad Uhaib As'ad, Islamic University of Kalimantan Indonesia

This paper explains the conspiracy and involvement boss mine (coal) in several provincial elections (regents and governors) in South Kalimantan. As is known, the political landscape of post Soeharto New Order government that gave birth to democracy and radical change in the institutions of power, namely from the centralized power-authoritarian system to a democratic system of government has spawned a democratic transition which was prolonged until today. In the midst of a prolonged transition to democracy at this time, the arena of democracy has been hijacked and the stage of political and economic power has been controlled by entrepreneurs or local and national capitalist power by doing pesekongkolan between candidates authorities or local authorities that one of them through the local election process. The businessmen are involved as a supplier of funds to the local authorities candidate to win as a form of money politics and transactional politics. In some cases the local elections in South Kalimantan, such as the election of the regent and the governor, political practice is utilized with clarity and has already become a political culture that is structured within massive post-New Order government. Therefore, democracy is being woken up in Indonesia after the New Order.

Engaging and winning over an international audience: new Kurdish narratives in a troubled Middle East

William Gourlay, Monash University

Amid the crisis of the Syrian civil war and the onslaught of ISIS, Kurds in Syria and Iraq have won unprecedented media attention and international military support. Kurdish political actors have highlighted a long-standing political discourse that emphasises democracy over ethno-nationalist goals in order to win legitimacy for their struggle(s) for self-determination. This paper examines how Kurds in Syria and Iraq have positioned themselves as allies to the West and as pursuing political projects that stand in contrast to those of jihadist groups and Middle Eastern authoritarian regimes. The Kurds have worked to move beyond their historical underdog status and to forge a new narrative as the standard bearers of pluralism and democracy in the Middle East. The Kurdish narrative thus contains some of the same Others – jihadists, Middle Eastern despots – as those of Western populists, however, the Kurds use these tropes not as divisive or exclusionary tactics in their own domestic politics but to promote themselves as offering political alternatives worthy of international support. In this new narrative, the Kurds pose

as champions of an inclusive politics and of Western values. Even as sub-state actors, the Kurdish-led Syrian Democratic Forces (SDF) have become the West's key military partners in the war against ISIS in Syria due to deteriorating relations with Turkey, while in northern Iraq the Kurdish regime in Erbil has won significant international backing. The paper examines how this Kurdish narrative has played out in the international arena. It concludes by analysing the territorial expansion that Kurdish groups in Syria and Iraq have achieved as they have pushed back ISIS and by questioning whether the Kurds' newly found international support will be sufficient to sustain these gains in the face of resistance from regional stakeholders.

'Truth and Politics' in Research Strategies: Illustrations from Studies on Democratization in Africa

Christopher Appiah-Thompson, University of Newcastle

This article demonstrates the distinctive contributions that research on African Politics has made to comparative politics, since the field of political science is also dedicated to the accumulation of knowledge about politics around the world. In this respect, it discusses the distinctive leverage offered by qualitative— "small-N" strategies for supplementing quantitative— "large-N" strategies; and their trade-offs, thereof, used in testing and generating knowledge about the causes and consequences of re-democratization in Africa, since the 1990s. This paper reviews a multiplicity of theoretical and empirical sources on the merits and demerits of the comparative methodology employed in comparing the democratization processes, within the African context and beyond. Through this scholarly survey, this paper will attempt to bring the great debates on qualitative and quantitative research strategies to "full circle" by clarifying how the various methodological rules or "canons" constitutes a coherent set of methodological guidelines for the conduct of valid research in comparative politics, thus contributing to the concept of "truth and politics' in political studies. Furthermore, this article also seeks to contribute to the growing literature on Comparative Politics and Democratization research in Africa by extending, Munck's insightful article on the synthesis of KKV's, 'Designing Social Inquiry: Scientific Inference in Qualitative Research' (1994), through its application in the comparative studies of democratization processes in Africa. In sum, by focusing on substantive research works in the field of democratization, and the methodological issues that may arise from them, the author hopes that this article will immensely contribute further to a discussion of how divergent research traditions can be enriched by one another and more importantly on the concept of "truth and politics' in comparative politics in general.

Panel 21 – The Methods of Self-Determination Movements

The Methods of Self-determination Movements

How do self-determination movements pursue their ends? Researchers are increasingly paying attention to the dynamics of rebellion and separatism at the local, national, and international levels. From Papua to Kurdistan to Catalonia, nations have tried to achieve greater recognition with varying degrees of success. Although all self-determination movements claim a right to independence, their demands are not always successful nor viewed as legitimate. Moreover, conflict is too often the result, and, according to one scholar, secessionism is the chief source of violence in the world today. What accounts for their success? What are the methods that self-determination movements adopt when seeking recognition, and how do they vary? How do secessionist leaders gain legitimacy in the eyes of their local, national, and international audiences? How do changes in international norms and great power politics influence the strategies and success rates of independence efforts?

Towards a strategic framework for self-determination struggles: the case of West Papua

Jason MacLeod, University of Sydney

Nonviolent movements trying to remove dictators or authoritarian governments succeed twice as often as armed struggles. In contrast, self-determination struggles rarely realise their maximalist goals, irrespective of the means – violent or nonviolent – they pursue. Part of the reason is because the international system is not open to the prospect of new states being formed. But low success rates for aspiring liberation movements is not only caused by difficult goals, the lack of conventional political pathways, and unfavourable geo-political environments. Few, if any, self-determination movements have a coherent and well-planned strategy. At the same time, the prevalence of conflict over self-determination claims remains high. The passion with which self-determination movements are fighting for recognition and self-government is not diminishing and the relevance of self-determination as an

international norm refuses to go away. Aspiring nations-in-waiting therefore need to find more effective and less costly ways for waging self-determination struggles, particularly for those facing repressive opponents. Could the success rates for self-determination movements seeking liberation through nonviolent means be increased? If so, what might a conceptual strategic framework for waging self-determination struggles through civil resistance look like? How are West Papuans applying lessons from other movements? Could their experience point to a strategic framework that has relevance beyond the particulars of West Papua?

Participation of Women in Self-Determination Movements

Keshab Giri, University of Sydney.

Research shows that there are multiple political and tactical gains to be made by recruiting female into rebel groups as a combatant or in a support role. Particularly, for the group fighting for self-determination movements, such strategy of recruiting female combatants enables rebel groups to tap into a greater pool of human resources, confers them some legitimacy, publicizes their grievances and political agendas, and gives them a tactical edge. Yet, some rebel groups are often hesitant to involve female combatants in self-determination movements. A puzzle remains—why do some rebel groups fighting for self-determination not do so by lacking in strategy to recruit female combatants? Existing studies point to the lack of a distinct political ideology in regards to important political questions such as social justice, redistribution of resources, conflict resolution and (re)structuring society in the post-conflict scenario in such movements. Furthermore, they argue that such movements are ambivalent regarding gender issues in the society. While others stress on the gendered nature of self-determination movements that often disempower, control and suppress women compared to liberatory guerrilla movements based on leftist ideology that advocate egalitarian societies. This paper aims to further explore the above-stated puzzle by exploring the contribution of female combatants in resisting government in self-determination movements to see whether rebel groups in secessionist movements are committing strategic blunders by not harnessing the other half of the social capital in the society. It uses statistical analysis by using WARD (Women in Armed Rebellion Dataset).

Self-Determination through Sport: The Internal and External Dimensions of Abkhazia's 2016 World Football Cup

Kieran Pender, ANU

On 28 May 2016, the Confederation of Independent Football Associations World Football Cup commenced with an opening ceremony in Sukhum/i, capital of the unrecognised state of Abkhazia. Abkhazia was joined by Somaliland, Kurdistan, Northern Cyprus and several ethnic minority groups, at a competition covered by major international media outlets and broadcast across the world. The separatists were playing soccer. This was puzzling. Abkhazia is an impecunious post-conflict zone financially reliant on its patron Russia; international sporting events are very expensive. What motivated the Abkhazian government to host the World Football Cup?

This paper analyses the role of sport as a form of self-determination and legitimacy building for these anomalous territorial entities. Drawing on extensive fieldwork at the World Football Cup, including interviews with the President, Prime Minister, Foreign Minister, civil society leaders, coaches, players and sporting officials, it examines the tournament's utilisation as an internal and external legitimacy building tool. The event was, in the words of the Abkhazian President, 'a window for the outside world to hear about Abkhazia'. It also had a conspicuous internal effect on this divided multi-ethnic polity – as one local offered, 'the team did what no political force in our country could. It brought everyone together.' After contextualising this phenomenon with reference to the extant literature on sport and politics, the paper will analyse sport's effectiveness as a self-determination tool.

Action in Deferral: Making sovereign futures for Western Sahara's state-in-exile

Randi Irwin, The New School for Social Research

This paper explores how Polisario representatives engage in strategies that actively construct a Saharawi Arab Democratic Republic territory and sovereignty in a way that enables it to be actionable in the future, emphasizing usability that extends beyond preparedness. While commonly referred to as a stalemate (Darbouche & Zoubir 2008, Jensen 2005, Mundy 2004), I posit that the Saharawi development of a natural resource program from their refugee camp in Algeria has projected a sovereign Western Sahara into the near future in such a way that it generates new possibilities for action and legitimacy in the present moment. While the program for natural

resources emphasizes preparation in all aspects, it also creates property in Western Sahara by marking out plots and contracting them to international corporations for future use. I suggest that the very formation and marketing of Saharawi property via financial strategies signals a use of land under *uti possidetis juris* (translated “as you possess under law”). While Saharawis are displaced from their land, future-based property contracts provide a means to maintain their use of the territory and demonstrate possession during Morocco’s presence. How might these Saharawi contracts – as a mode of projecting a future, decolonized Western Sahara – provide a new level of legitimacy and viability to decolonization and secessionist movements? What might the Saharawi struggle tell us about the future of decolonization struggles and the knowledge we produce about them?

Panel 22 – Free Trade, Fair Trade, Aid and Development

Aid and Development Effectiveness in the Pacific: Donors, NGOs, and post-Busan “Partnership”

Kim Moloney, Murdoch University

The 2011 Busan Outcome document seeks increased partnership between foreign donors and non-governmental organizations (NGOs). There are numerous studies on NGO interaction with donors – both bilateral and multilateral. There are far fewer studies on the interaction between donors and the local NGOs in the countries which donors supply aid (e.g. Jones and Picanyol, 2011; McGee, 2013). Excluding donor reports and findings, scholarship on Pacific-based NGOs is particularly limited despite a former leader of the Pacific Islands Association of NGOs (PIANGO) facilitating global NGO viewpoints in the lead-up to Busan. This paper draws up nearly 50 semi-structured elite interviews of Pacific-created (or “southern”) NGOs and their bilateral and multilateral donors in four Pacific states: Fiji, Samoa, Solomon Islands, and Vanuatu. The findings indicate Pacific-created NGOs may consult but do not collaborate in donor-recipient planning processes. Any involvement is usually post-hoc and occurs after the donor has decided objectives. In contrast, NGOs from the West, in particular, Australia and New Zealand, are more likely to collaborate with key donors on Pacific issues than Pacific-created NGOs. Reasons include perceptions of Pacific NGO incapacity, non-transparency, and objectives counter to the donor capitals from which aid comes. Partnership, as envisioned by Busan and in the Pacific, remains an ideal largely unrealized.

Why Australia Is Defying Fair Trade

Lachlan Mckenzie, ANZSOG and Evgeny Postnikov, University of Melbourne

Preferential trade agreements (PTAs) have become the main vehicle of trade liberalisation in recent years. These agreements often go beyond the simple removal of trade barriers and include social standards, i.e. provisions that cover labour and the environment. Trade preferences are made conditional on preventing environmental degradation and worsening of workers’ rights in most of North-South PTAs and, increasingly, in South-South agreements. Australia has been at the forefront of bilateral trade liberalisation but conspicuously avoided incorporating social standards in its PTAs. In doing so, it has become a real outlier in the developed world. What accounts for this curious case of absence of social standards in Australian PTAs? This question is especially puzzling, given the bargaining leverage that countries in the global North, at whose behest social standards are often added, have vis-à-vis the global South when making such agreements. Scholars often portray social standards as fair trade clauses demanded by constituents in the developed world and given by governments to ensure public support for free trade. We argue that Australian policy-makers view social standards not as fair trade clauses but as protectionist tools that would hurt bilateral trade deals. This perception is particularly strong given the broad acceptance of free trade among the Australian public. We explore the framing of social standards by Australian trade officials, civil society and citizens to uncover their perceptions of social standards in trade agreements. Our analysis adds to the growing literature on PTA design and fair trade.

Political Economy of FTA Negotiations

How Are Participants and Agenda Decided?

Shintaro Hamanaka, Institute of Developing Economies (IDE-JETRO)

There is an interesting paradox regarding FTA negotiations and leadership. On the one hand, a country that assumes leadership decides, to a certain degree, participants and agenda of negotiations; on the other hand, which country assumes leadership depends on participants and agenda of negotiations. Therefore, at the initial

stage of negotiations, it is uncertain (i) which countries participate in negotiations; (ii) what is the negotiation agenda; and (iii) which country assumes leadership. This paper will examine how participants and agenda of FTA negotiations are determined, using three case studies of FTAAP, TPP and RCEP.

The Growth of the Nonprofit Sector and Government Funding in South Korea

Chang Bum Ju, Dongguk University-Seoul

In their review of "the nonprofit sector in comparative perspective," Anheier and Salamon (2006) noted an emergent international trend in the past decade and a half in which the nonprofit sector has become an arena of increased political contestation. Rather than being shaped passively by broader power relationships among social classes and institutions, the nonprofit sector and the larger civil society have increasingly become forces shaping social and political developments. What historical and institutional factors have propelled NGOs to the center of political contestation? What are the consequences of political contestation to the development of the nonprofit sector itself?

In this paper, we explore these questions by examining the evolution of environmental nongovernmental organizations (ENGOS) in Korea. The emergence of ENGOS in Korea has been a relatively recent phenomenon. It can be traced back to the democratic transition in 1987, giving it a short history relative to the rise of ENGOS in western countries. After some modest gains since 1987, the expansion of the ENGO sector in Korea accelerated dramatically since the late 1990s when the Korean government began funding nonprofit organizations. Such funding has subsequently become the object of contestation among competing political coalitions. This paper examines the evolutionary trajectory of ENGOS in Korea, focusing on how political contestation has affected such a trajectory.

In addition, I also examine how the Korean case illustrates about the potential and limitations of some of the well-established perspectives for understanding the evolution of the nonprofit sector in specific national settings. Specifically, I examine the limitations of two conventional perspectives—social origins theory and the power distributional account—which view the nonprofit sector as mostly a reflection of power relationships among major social classes and institutions. I argue instead for the relevance of the broader literature of historical institutionalism, which provides insights on how marginal organizations may become important institutions by being mobilized by powerful political coalitions, a perspective well suited for understanding the Korean case.

In what follows, I first provide an account of the historical and institutional backgrounds for the rise of ENGOS. The account is based on the extensive Korean literature on the subject, published data, and our interviews with 65 ENGO executives in Seoul between 2012 and 2014. Then I analyze the Korean case through various theoretical frameworks.

Panel 23 – Theoretical Approaches to Populism

Populism and One Proposed Solution: Epistemic Democracy

Lisa Hill, University of Adelaide

With recent elections bringing to power one populist government after another, many are asking if democracy is still viable. Is popular will a reliable criterion for choosing leaders? For some, populist trends are a consequence of mass participation and the widespread 'ignorance' the universal franchise brings with it. On this account, electoral democracy is fatally flawed because the decisions of the multitude inevitably lead to bad government. One proposed solution is epistemic democracy, a form of rule whereby the decision-making power of the 'ignorant' masses' is reduced and transferred to the so-called 'wise', either by restricting the right to vote to those able to pass a political competence test, granting an educated elite "additional voting power" or else allowing panels of experts to overturn bad policy decisions.

This paper challenges the epistocratic solution on the grounds that it is based on a misguided interpretation of the whole purpose of modern democracy. Instead, a procedural conception of democracy is defended. The paper also problematizes the idea that public opinion or *doxa*, upon which proceduralism relies, is a second-rate form of 'knowing'.

On Populists and Demagogues

Haig Patapan, Griffith University

This paper compares and contrasts the classical demagogue and the modern populist. It argues that both the 'demagogue' and 'populist' address the same phenomenon – individuals who deploy a distinct and divisive rhetoric to exploit weaknesses in democracy to aggrandise themselves at the expense of the people. But populists are also significantly different from demagogues in two major respects. The first is that modern populists are weaker than demagogues because they face more considerable obstacles to their ambitions in the form of rule of law and constitutionalism. The second is that in other respects populists are more powerful than demagogues because in attempting to limit demagogues – and thereby giving rise to the 'populist' – modernity armed populists with new weapons, including new concepts or 'ideologies' for manipulation (such as 'the people'; 'elites'; nation; race; class), and new rhetorical techniques such as propaganda that exploited modern technology and mass media.

Populism Against Neoliberalism: Is it Time to Write an Obituary for Liberal Democracy?

*Henrik P. Bang, Institute for Governance and Policy Analysis, University of Canberra and Michael J. Jensen
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The rapid spread of contemporary populism has been prompted by neoliberalism's takeover of the management of the political economy in democratic countries worldwide. Populism today is a complete negation of the neoliberalist establishment. It is: anti-globalist, anti-pluralist, anti-individualist, anti-expertise, and anti-technocratic. We develop an account of populism not as an ideology but as a form of governmentality. We relocate the central problematic in populism from various democratic forms to emphasize focus on the tensions between authorities and laypeople in the authoritative articulation and allocation of values. Populism, we suggest, should be understood politically, as manifesting the ideational and moral conception of hegemony as the core principle of popular sovereignty. The argument proceeds in three parts:

1. Held against liberal democracy, populist political forms emphasize popular sovereignty as well as an anti-pluralist account of "the people" which distinguishes populism as an illiberal form of democracy, emphasizing the consensus of the homogeneous people over the conflict of pluralist groups in society. This account of populism, however, conceals how it approaches the relationship between political power and morality as prior to the formation of liberal democracy with its tensions between left and right, public and private and state and civil society.
2. This refocuses the central conflict as one between hegemony and self-governance rather than liberal democracy and populist deviations. This section is developed through the writings of Ranciere and Wolin who similarly see political authority as a 'super power' closing off the spaces of politics inside political communities. Conversely, on their view, politics occurs in those spaces where it has not been authorized.
3. Both populism and neoliberalism can assume a variety of left/right variations and combinations but common to them all is a conception of hegemony as constitutive of social relations. Neoliberalism identifies pluralism with networks of expertise that operate as a technocracy from the local to the global. Populism counters the neoliberal technocracy model with a nativist politics of experience. It challenges neoliberalism's hegemony by making the nation 'great again' and recover the collective identity of 'we the people'. The problematic of populism here is presented as a political rather than social form. Following from this, the paper concludes by examining the need to find ways to reconnect citizens and political authorities which involve governing with and by the people.

Populism – Democracy's *Pharmakon*?

Simon Tormey, University of Sydney

Notwithstanding the conceptual slipperiness of "populism", 2016 was undoubtedly the year populism went mainstream. The emergence of Corbyn, the Brexit vote, the election of Trump, Duterte, the success of the Five Star Movement are all witness to a basic change in the coordinates of representation away from the familiar left-right politics towards an insider/outsider dynamic of the "demos" against the elites. In this sense populism is consonant - discursively at least - with democracy. However commentary is of course full of worry about the populist turn, seeing it as potentially threatening democratic life. So we are confronted with a seeming paradox:

movements that arise out of democracy claiming to represent the demos being regarded as dangerous to democracy. Hence the reference to the *Pharmakon* – the “medicine” that kills, or the toxic substance that cures...? Progressives are caught in a curious bind – can we be populist too, or are we condemned to remaining outside the inside/outside dichotomy, and perhaps politically irrelevant? Based on fieldwork in Spain since #15M this paper seeks to highlight the issues at stake but also points to the need for a more nuanced approach to populism with a sharper sense of the context in which populisms arise and also the need to distinguish between and amongst populisms. Progressives can have their populist “cake”, but they need to attend carefully to the cake’s ingredients and to issues around who bakes it and for whom.

Panel 24 – Welfare Policy

Better welfare-to-work contracting-out practices? Evidence from Job Services Australia (2009-2015)

Phuc Nguyen, University of Melbourne; Mark Considine, University of Melbourne and Siobhan O’Sullivan, University of New South Wales

Informed by New Public Management (NPM), the employment services sector in Australia has undergone radical changes since the 1990s. From a starting point where employment services were solely provided by a public agency, the government started contracting out service delivery to numerous private providers, and by 2003, the market was fully privatized. However, operationalizing NPM principles in the context of Australian welfare-to-work proved to be not an even journey, with the sector being persistently subject to design, redesign, regulation and reregulation. It has undergone four waves of reform so far: *Working Nation* (1994-1996), *Job Network (JN)* (1996-2009), *Job Services Australia (JSA)* (2009-2015) and *jobactive* (July 2015-present). Underlying the sector’s constant flux is the fact that each program while designed to address problems embedded in the preceding program, simultaneously creates additional barriers to effective and efficient service delivery, which in turn necessitates a new reform agenda.

We argue that empirical research which touches on all aspects of the commissioning framework at grass root level is critical to breaking such a seemingly never-ending reform cycle. This paper contributes to the research genre by employing an open approach to exploring *JSA* (the program ran from 2009 to the end of June 2015), at the frontline, a critical point in the system where ‘policies are translated into a client’s individual experience’ (Smith and Lipsky 1993: 98). Specifically, in the survey of Australian employment services frontline staff in 2012, we asked participants, from their own experience delivering *JSA* services, to freely identify potential measures that could be implemented to improve the program.

The analysis of nearly 800 responses captured different problematic areas of *JSA*, for instance, jobseekers classification, staff knowledge/ skill base, collaboration among multiple parties involved in employment services delivery, compliance and administration. We also found that the policy instruments underpinning the framework (i.e. incentives, payment structures) were not designed to sufficiently handle the trade-off between quality and cost dimensions of service delivery. The findings provide suggestions on how to effectively address *JSA*’s shortcomings, which is arguably critically important when *jobactive* - *JSA*’s successor is still in its early existence.

Digital Preparedness in the Era of Online Social Services: an Australian case study

Siobhan O’Sullivan, University of New South Wales and Chris Walker, University of New South Wales

Social services are becoming increasingly digitalised across the OECD. This includes services once considered highly personalised, such as job search assistance. In the Netherlands, Dutch jobseekers receive their employment assistance online for the first 12 months. In the UK, starting in 2017, JobCentre Plus will deliver the first two years of jobseeker assistance via a digitalised system whereby jobseekers are encouraged to ‘check in’ online. Digitalisation is also increasingly informing Australian employment assistance practices. Centrelink, the Australian Government’s client facing welfare agency, is already heavily reliant on call centres and big data, while Australian private, contracted, welfare-to-work agencies are increasingly digitalising their processes.

Unlike the Netherlands and UK, Australia is a vast country with a highly concentrated population. At the same time, many of the most vulnerable social service recipients live outside large urban centres. Australia has some of the slowest internet speeds in the developed world, with regional and remote Australians reporting that their access to

the internet is fundamentally inadequate and price preclusive. This means that social service digitalisation presents unique challenges in Australia and without a cautious approach could result in divergent social outcomes for service users. In short, while service digitalisation may be advantageous to the extent that it reduces costs on the part of delivery agencies, it may further exacerbate existing social inequalities. It may also be the case that Australia's infrastructure simply fails once an extensive range of digitalised services come online.

This paper presents early findings. Using a mix of desktop reviews and elite interviews with policy makers, service delivery managers, and peak bodies representing welfare recipients, this paper will outline Australia's current level of digital preparedness. It will also identify vulnerabilities in Australia's digital landscape and make some early recommendations as to where the Australian Government should focus its digital resources in order to both allow for the smooth transition to social service digitalisation and to ensure that the move does not compromise the wellbeing of those already living with disadvantage.

The Three Worlds of Welfare Capabilities: Distributional inequalities and welfare policy regimes

Jeremiah Brown, University of Melbourne and Adam Hannah, The University of Melbourne

Since the publication of Gøsta Esping-Andersen's Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism, debate over how best to evaluate and typologise advanced welfare states has been ongoing, to the extent that the literature is sometimes known as the 'welfare modelling business' (Abrahamson 1999). At the same time, studies of the contemporary welfare state continue to grapple with a 'dependent variable problem' (Kühner 2015). There is a distinct lack of consensus on what should actually be measured in macro-analyses of welfare states. This is especially the case with regards to measuring the comparative effectiveness of different kinds of policy regimes.

This paper proposes using the capability approach as an evaluative framework to consider differences across mature welfare states. The capabilities approach, as operationalised here, regards the real-world opportunities that individuals hold as being essential to understanding their welfare.

The paper uses a new capabilities oriented measure of democracy to evaluate the outcomes in democratic quality associated with different types of welfare policy regime. In doing so, the paper aims to evaluate whether it is possible to differentiate between types of welfare regimes on the basis of outcomes associated with freedom, as defined using the capabilities approach. As such, the measure emphasises distributional inequalities associated with the domains of health, education, and the economic conditions experienced by individuals.

Given the potential for these kinds of inequalities to translate into social exclusion and political upheaval, the application of this capabilities-based measure has the potential to shed new light on the relationship between welfare policy and social protection.

Panel 25 – Understanding Foreign & Strategic Policy

Towards a simplified theoretical framework for middle powers

Gabriele Abbondanza, University of Sydney

The hierarchical assessment of the power exerted in international relations represents one of the oldest debates in the discipline, with distant roots to be found in the thought of philosophers from ancient Greece, China and Rome. Despite more solid theoretical investigations carried out in medieval Italy, thanks to the works of great minds such as those of Thomas Aquinas, Bartolus de Saxoferrato and Giovanni Botero, the study of this conceptual branch of IR has been remarkably fluctuating throughout the following centuries, witnessing a renewed and structured interest from academics only after the process that led to the formation of the League of Nations and the United Nations. Today, middle power theory is experiencing somewhat of a 'theoretical renaissance', since it is able to explain at least in part the current power shift that is affecting the structure of the international system. However, as often happens in IR, there is no fully shared conceptual or theoretical framework, as well as no universal definition of what makes a middle power. This paper reviews the main theoretical foundations underlying such concept, from the oldest to the most recent, with the aim of identifying the common criteria and presenting a 'lowest common denominator' of middle power theory, a binomial positional/behavioural framework that could be used as a common theoretical ground for future research in this field.

Cool Japan: Japan's Alternative Initiative to Soft Power

Tets Kimura, Flinders University

The concept of power is diverse in International Relations, but it is conventionally related to the power politics of realism. However, this structure was “challenged” towards the end of the Cold War. The Cold War did not end due to a direct impact of military force such as atomic weapons. Rather, the end of communism was caused by the exercise of a hard currency of economic pressure combined with the soft component of cultural attraction as a supplement. There was an undeniable rising voice by people in communist countries longing for a Western life style that included freedom and popular culture.

Around that time, the inclusion of a non-coercive element to theorise power was famously popularised by Joseph Nye, who gave it the catchy term, soft power. The vital key to project soft power is attraction. If there is something appealing and pleasing about the practices and institutions and culture of a particular country, others will want what it has, they will want to do what it does. Soft power makes “others to want the outcomes that you want” by “attraction rather than coercion.” The most obvious soft power asset is culture.

In Douglas McGray's 2002 article *Japan's Gross National Cool*, he advocates that Japan is “a cultural superpower” due to its various contemporary cultural commodities such as videogames, manga/anime, and fashion, fusing different pop genres into one almost-coherent whole. McGray's idea in linking Japan's “national cool” and soft power was precious to Japanese policy makers, as such it triggered “the sudden excitement.” Consequently, the term “cool Japan” was created and by 2010, the Office of Cool Japan was established within the Ministry of Economy, Trade and Industry. This is seen as the official launch of Japan's soft power policy.

However, unlike the global superpower of the US where soft power exists in conjunction with hard power for the comprehensively benefit of its diplomacy – which Nye calls “smart power” – this paper argues that Japan has an alternative goal from its soft power initiative. Japan's soft power goal is no more than economic revitalisation. Known as the “lost decades”, Japan has continued to experience a struggling economy since the end of its bubble economy in the early 1990s. There is a rise in the realisation that Japanese culture could overcome the ongoing economic struggles, as it, for example, can increase Japan's international cultural sales and overseas visitors to Japan.

MIKTA as a case study in Australian multilateralism

Melissa Conley Tyler, Australian Institute of International Affairs and Evan Keeble, Australian Institute of International Affairs

At a time when Australia's foreign policy behaviour is constantly being scrutinised for partiality towards China or the US, its newest foray into multilateralism deserves attention.

MIKTA is an acronym for the grouping of Mexico, Indonesia, Republic of Korea, Turkey and Australia. Created in 2013 on the sidelines of the UN General Assembly meeting, this group has been meeting at foreign minister, senior officials and other levels since then.

At first glance the nature of the grouping is not obvious: there is no shared language or geography, no shared culture and there are no strong historical ties. The countries, however, all define themselves as ‘democracies that benefit from open economies with robust growth rates and a significant level of economic power’. They see themselves as strategically located and strongly linked to their surrounding regions in all aspects.

Looking at MIKTA's activities and achievements to date shows a very traditional idea of constructive middle power at work. MIKTA can be seen as a way for the five nations to increase their influence in the international sphere through a group of their own where they can pool their resources, exchange points of view, consult and promote coordination on issues of common interest.

As the middle powers' answer to the BRICS, MIKTA is a useful case study on Australia's continuing attempts to increase its weight and reputation in the international community.

Temporal-Strategy: Restoring the role of time in strategy

Andrew Carr ANU

Strategy is the conduct of action in space and time. While the impact of geographic space on strategy is both widely and well-studied, the same cannot be said for time. This paper shows that while the concept of time is integral to the field from classic works to several cutting edge studies, its importance has not been explicitly recognised. The paper seeks to bring together these disparate streams and identify the main concepts such as Time Horizons, Windows of Opportunity, and Warning Time which inform how time operates as a strategic concept. The paper argues that temporal-strategy, like geostrategy should be developed as a distinct element of the contemporary strategy literature and identifies some of the first steps towards that objective.

Panel 26 – Policy Making 2

Under pressure: multicultural integration policy frameworks in a polarised world

Adam Ridley, Flinders University

Despite significant backlash against multiculturalism over the past two decades, the principles of multicultural integration have demonstrated remarkable resilience in liberal democratic policy agendas. This paper draws upon 23 elite interviews and document analysis to compare the Australian and British multicultural integration policy frameworks in a climate of increasing contestation. Both cases establish anti-discrimination legislation as a foundational bedrock, and both emphasise community cohesion with localised projects. However, Australia has an extensive integration apparatus informed by the principle of access and equity. In contrast, the UK takes a *laissez-faire* approach, providing integration services for refugees only.

This paper examines Australian multicultural policy with a focus on South Australia. The state government has maintained orthodox understandings of multicultural policy by supporting people with a migrant background to express their cultural identity. The Commonwealth government also continues to provide settlement services for migrants to facilitate integration. However, this comes amid concerns about rising polarisation, with South Australian policymakers keen to avoid political confrontations about migrant integration so that far-right views do not proliferate. Accordingly, the state government tends to allocate resources in less contentious areas, such as grants for multicultural organisations and conciliating discrimination complaints.

Multicultural policy in the UK focuses on race equality, equal treatment and fostering good race relations, rather than migrant integration services. Through the public sector equality and race relations duty, the Equality and Human Rights Commission has extensive statutory authority to investigate complaints of discrimination, and ensure public bodies promote race equality. In recent years, continued austerity has thinned EHRC resources, leading to a reduced capacity to support complainants. Furthermore, Brexit has exacerbated community divisions, correlating with rising hate crime. Desires for greater immigration controls now overshadow policy discussions about integration programs for all new arrivals.

Even though the rhetoric of multiculturalism has waned at times due to sustained pressure in recent years, there is an ongoing commitment to the objectives of multicultural integration policy. Insights into the implications of recent policymaking trends highlight the importance of protecting institutions and norms from populist erosion.

Policies for ordinary Australians: Values and interpretation of good governance

Heba Batainah, University of Canberra

Speaking on the behalf of 'ordinary Australians' is not just the domain of populist leaders. Policy makers often purport to be actively attuned to societal values and to present policies which best represent a values compromise, such as balancing personal freedom and national security. The divide between the aims of policy making in democracies and the pragmatic, value-laden approach adopted by policy makers has created tensions in attempting to understand the policy making process in societies with diverse values. Multiculturalism, long seen by many as giving too much to minorities at the expense of the majority, was feared as an anti-democratic weapon if politicised by minorities. Concurrently, there has been a marked change in the way that 'multiculturalism' as a word and as a value has been used in recent political rhetoric. In the age of new nationalism, multiculturalism has

become politicised at the expense of minorities residing in diverse, democratic nations. The rhetoric of multiculturalism has been used to bolster the policy of border control and to demarcate cultural exclusiveness in the debate on good and bad cultures and therefore good and bad values. This highlights the tension evident in focusing on values in policy making: policies are portrayed as the institutional embodiment of shared culture and shared values yet the interpreted and symbolic dimensions of national culture may be interpreted differently by citizens. This paper looks at the scant literature on resolving value conflicts in policy making and questions the lack of empirical data on the ways in which value conflicts are resolved. The paper focuses on the rhetoric and policy of border protection and demonstrates that far from being values- neutral or simply derived from the values found within the national culture, value dominance in border protection policy is an active form of nationalism rather than an example of good governance.

Constitutional qualifications

Helen Pringle, University of New South Wales

This paper analyses state and federal stipulations in regard to the qualifications of members of parliament, both in terms of qualifications to stand and sit in parliament, and those acts or events leading to a member losing his or her seat. The paper particularly focuses on nationality, loyalty and allegiance provisions. I attempt to map out an interpretation of such provisions that would be consistent with cosmopolitan selves holding a variety of cultural, religious and political fidelities. Reference will be made throughout to attempts to reform section 44, as well as to the political history of cases concerning its meaning and significance. Reference will also be made to provisions on dual nationality and citizenship as qualification to office in other Commonwealth countries.

Panel 27 – Institutions & Institutionalism

Rethinking Critical Juncture Analysis - Institutional Change and Liberalization in Chinese Banking and Finance

Stephen Bell, University of Queensland

China's stimulus and credit surge in response to the 2008 Global Financial Crisis marked a turning point or critical juncture which questioned existing growth models and China's state-directed credit and banking system. The subsequent growth of the informal shadow banking sector as an institutional work-around amounts to China's version of 'banking reform'; a classic 'informal institutional adaptation' in the shadow of hierarchy. We analyze these developments using historical institutional theory arguing that existing theory, and especially its accounts of critical junctures, cannot adequately capture or explain the key dynamics in play. The current approach has a limited, temporarily specific account of institutional change, overlooks the importance of changes on either side of the critical junctures, and is unable to integrate its emphasis on critical junctures with alternative accounts, such as incremental accounts of institutional change. These problems clearly call for a fresh approach which is able to bridge these theoretical divides.

Institutional Amnesia in Government

Alastair Stark, University of Queensland

Institutional amnesia is a variable that transforms politics and policy. As governments churn in various ways, the issues of the past, and the reforms put in place to prevent them from reoccurring, fade and are forgotten. Those issues then resurface and the same conversations and reforms occur again. Despite this problem the nature of institutional amnesia within government is not well understood. This paper responds to that issue by presenting a three-fold conceptualisation of institutional amnesia which has been generated from an international comparison of four Westminster systems (Australia, Canada, New Zealand and the United Kingdom). The paper suggests that a first step towards dealing with amnesia prescriptively is to understand it in political, organisational and socio-cultural terms.

The institutionalisation of change: cycles of destruction and reinvention in Indigenous policy

Elizabeth Strakosch, University of Queensland

Recent work in New Institutionalism emphasises the role of continuity in policy regimes and organisations. Efforts to impose structural change are highly mediated by informal practices, relationships and mindsets. This paper examines what appears to be an anomalous case – that of Australian Indigenous policy. Since 2000, there have been at least eight comprehensive restructures of the federal Indigenous policy apparatus. The government has relocated bureaucrats from an Indigenous specific organisation, to the Department of Prime Minister and Cabinet, to the social policy portfolio and back to the DPMC. With each move, knowledge and staff are lost and relationships within the sector must be renegotiated. There is therefore no ongoing Indigenous policy 'network' which stabilises practices; instead, those working with government are accustomed to insecurity and arbitrary decision making. This paper examines the Indigenous Advancement Strategy, the federal government's most recent unsuccessful bureaucratic formation, and asks: how can we account for this institutionalisation of institutional chaos?

Historical Institutionalism and Norms as Institutions

Katharine Gelber, University of Queensland

New Institutionalism treats norms as institutions that limit or shape current policy options' (Kay 2005, 557). Norms are understood in various ways - as rules that determine logics of appropriateness (Lowndes 2010: 67), as a 'stable, recurring pattern of behaviour' (Goodin 1996: 22), and as 'socially sanctioned ..., collectively enforced expectations with respect to the behaviour of specific categories of actors or to the performance of certain activities', which impose 'relations of authority, obligation and enforcement' (Streeck and Thelen 2005, 9, 11). In this paper, I challenge how norms are understood as institutions in the literature, identifying inconsistencies that render this understanding problematic. I also suggest an alternative construction of the use of norms in New Institutionalism, namely viewing norms as principles mediated by institutions. I use the norm of free speech as the case against which to conduct this analysis.

Panel 28 – Education, Citizenship & Participation

Education, Equality, and Maximising Individual Potential

Kirsty Macfarlane, LaTrobe University

In recent decades political philosophers have increasingly been engaged with the issue of educational equality. Achieving greater equality in education is generally considered to be essential if justice is to prevail. However, there is no consensus about how educational equality is best understood. There are many views on what equality in education entails, and there are problems with the dominant interpretations of this ideal. Educational egalitarians often favour meritocratic conceptions of educational equality which allow talent and effort to influence educational opportunities, but not social circumstances. However, this approach collapses into equality of outcome, and an ideal of equal educational outcomes seems counter-intuitive because it ignores individual differences and capabilities. This paper proposes an alternative interpretation of educational equality which suggests that what matters fundamentally in education is allowing all children to maximally realise their potential, whatever this may be. Emphasis should be placed on ensuring that circumstances are conducive for all children to realise their own unique strengths and develop their abilities. I will argue that this alternative understanding of educational equality offers an intuitively appealing principle of justice in education that warrants further consideration.

Pass or Fail? The Heresthetic of Education Funding Reform

Joseph Drew, Institute for Public Policy and Governance, University of Technology Sydney; Glenn Fahey, Institute for Public Policy and Governance, University of Technology Sydney and Bligh Grant Institute for Public Policy and Governance, University of Technology Sydney

Australia's school policy debate has been dominated for the past decade by populist agendas – namely through building an 'education revolution', a 'digital education revolution', and comprehensive funding regimes whereby no school should 'lose a dollar' – not surprisingly resulting in the prevalence of sloganeering under, in particular, the 'Give a Gonski' banner. In effecting the latest round of reform, the Turnbull government, with its own populist intent – under the auspices of Gonski 2.0 –, portrays its prima facie 'reduction' in the overall quantum of federal funding

for schools as motivated by notions of 'fairness', ensuring 'needs-based funding' and 'equity'. Moreover, in seeking to sell the reforms on the basis of 'fair' cuts to funding for elite private schools – as a nominally conservative government – appears a puzzling development. In so doing, all potential losers from the policy are concentrated firmly in the proponent's traditional constituency. This is all the more bemusing when the Labor opposition – whom had staked their political fortunes largely on their monopoly over school funding debates in which they had hitherto enjoyed ascendancy on the basis of a superior commitment in 'quantum' of funding – attempts to roadblock such reform, instead clumsily allying itself with traditional foes in the relatively privileged non-government sector.

We believe that heresthetic (the study of rational means available to structure the world in such a way that potential losers become winners) admirably explains not only the somewhat surprising target for 'negative growth' in funding but also the method employed for introducing the reforms and responses elicited from the political opposition. In particular, we demonstrate through examining the attempts at dimension control by respective agents, and, in so doing, offer a heuristic guide, which helps to explain inter alia, how the government and opposition may have optimally proceeded within the dynamics of this heresthetic contest. We conclude by affirming the importance of vicarious instruction, not only for aspiring herestheticians, but also for the media, political opponents and the public that they seek to manipulate.

Back to the future? Reconsidering Indigenous self-determination, policy engagement, representation and the Australian Public Service

Diana Perche, University of New South Wales

For the past fifty years, since the 1967 Referendum, questions around how to provide space for Indigenous self-determination and representation in policy formulation have been largely unresolved. "Experiments" such as the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Commission have been rejected by governments as unworkable, and the portfolio of Indigenous Affairs has gone through multiple machinery of government changes, most recently being moved by former Prime Minister Tony Abbott into the Department of Prime Minister and Cabinet. Dissatisfaction with the current arrangements is evident among Indigenous organisations and communities, and reflected in key documents such as the Redfern Statement from the 2016 Federal Election campaign, and the "Uluru Statement from the Heart" presented by First Nations delegates at the National Constitutional Convention in May 2017. Both these documents have called for substantial structural reform to address the loss of trust between Indigenous and non-Indigenous people, the gaps in cultural understanding, and the disregard for Indigenous knowledge and expertise by policy makers.

A recent Discussion Paper prepared by the DPMC acknowledges that the Australian Public Service has a significant role to play in addressing these issues. The APS continues to pursue employment targets for Indigenous public servants, and it may be assumed that increasing numbers of public servants could present opportunities for greater engagement and bridging of cultural gaps. Recent studies of the experiences of Indigenous public servants have observed the frustrations for those working in Indigenous affairs, however, prompted by the limited use of their skills, the lack of a career path and promotion opportunities, experiences of everyday racism, and the inability to "make a difference" to the lives of people in their communities. More damaging, many of these public servants have had to defend government policies which were detrimental to Indigenous interests, including the Northern Territory Intervention, and more recently the implementation of the Indigenous Advancement Strategy.

This paper considers the current structure of Indigenous affairs at the Commonwealth level, drawing on reflections by public servants in public statements and Senate Committee processes. It reflects on the ways in which the public service might respond more effectively to the calls for greater recognition, engagement and genuine self-determination from Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples.

Contemporary citizenship in Australia through the lens of school education policy.

Sarah Warner, University of Queensland

The increasing decline in structural forms of participation in western democracies and broader concerns about social cohesion has produced a renewed interest in citizenship (Nicoll et al. 2013, 831). In this paper I argue that decline in the structural participation in western democracies needs to be contextualised in terms the citizen's relationship with the state. Relations between the individual and the state are the terrain of citizenship. At its

thinnest, citizenship is the legal right to reside in a country and is bestowed by the state. Whilst a strictly legal definition of citizenship can see it tied solely to what the state confers, which is used contingently to include or exclude populations or individuals, there is general consensus that citizenship, particularly in democratic societies, implies more than this legal status. While important political questions can be asked about who, how and why people are excluded from the status of citizen, there remains equally important questions about what it means to be a citizen in a modern western democracy? In this paper I explore how citizens articulate their relationship with the state through the public policy area of school education in Australia. I use Isin and Nyers's definition of citizenship "...as an institution mediating rights between the subjects of politics and the polity to which these subjects belong" to explore the space left for the citizen to engage with (Isin and Nyers 2014, 1). This paper will focus on one area of state activity, school education policy to explore how the state understands its responsibility to its citizens and how citizens understand the expectations of the state and make demands of the state. I use qualitative data collected from a survey of parents in New South Wales about their experience of school education policy in addition to analysis of policy documents in school education to reveal these positions. The survey reveals, how citizens have internalised government policy around school choice but also reject some of its outcomes. Citizens appear to be actively engaged in what they want from the state in regards to education while the state has is ambiguous in its demand of citizens. The implications for this position make for good exploration of contemporary citizenship.

Panel 29 – The Australian Greens and Parliamentary Stability

The extent of the revolving door in Australian politics

George Rennie, University of Melbourne

This paper examines the extent of the use of the "revolving door" amongst Cabinet members of Federal and State governments in Australia since 1990. Scholarship has long recognised the importance of understanding the revolving door as a threat to democratic "good governance", particularly as it pertains to regulatory capture. However, little is understood about the actual extent to which the revolving door is used, especially by the most senior of policy makers, such as those in Cabinet. To address this gap in the literature, this paper will track where Cabinet members have gone after leaving office, and will show the proportion of former Ministers that went on to represent businesses where they had ministerial responsibility for, or oversight of.

Stability of Green Political Party Identification among young Australians

Bruce Tranter, University of Tasmania and Jonathan Smith, Monash University

Longitudinal data from a cohort survey of young adults from Queensland, Australia (respondents aged 16/17 to 21/22, wave 3 N = 2,158), show that Greens party identifiers are less likely than major party identifiers to exhibit stable party allegiances over time. Strength of party identification and political interest are positively associated with partisan stability, while defections between Greens and Labor identifiers are far more likely than between either of these parties and the conservative parties (Liberals or Nationals). As expected, parental political affiliation has an important influence upon identifying with major political parties, yet there is also evidence of a similar pattern of parental political socialisation among Greens identifiers. The comparatively recent formation of a national Greens party in Australia in 1992 is a contributing factor to the relative instability of Greens compared to major party identifiers among young Australians. However, the continuing presence of Australian Greens as an influential minor party on the national level should contribute to intergenerational transmission of Greens partisanship, and to at least the medium term survival of the Greens as a national level political party.

The Australian Greens: Realignment re-examined in Australia (Individual Paper)

Todd Farrell, Swinburne University of Technology

Political parties are an integral part of modern democracy, but can only maintain their existence as long as they attract dedicated support. Realignment theory explains how this support changes among a significant proportion of voters, either suddenly or over a longer period. Such a theory has been instrumental in the course of American political science. This study argues that realignment is an underutilised political theory that has seen little consistent application within the Australia political system. In particular, the late development of comparable survey data to the National Election Study in America and a reliance on party identification has weakened the theory's

retrospective utility. Realignment was considered and rejected to explain the ultimately unstable support for the Australian Democrats, particularly at the 1990 and 1993 federal elections. However, despite support for the Greens now regularly surpassing the Australian Democrats both in terms of votes and seats, the theory has seen little comprehensive use.

This study will explore whether the rise of the Greens as a significant player within Australian politics constitutes a realignment of the Australian electorate. Unlike the Australian Democrats, the Greens have an established partisan base and take an ideologically clear position on salient issues within the Australian electorate. Their support is mobilised in concentrated areas and is translating slowly to lower house legislative victories. To determine whether the emergence and sustained electoral support for the Greens has constituted a realignment within the Australian electorate, this study takes two approaches. This study will undertake multinomial logistic regression on identified partisans from the Australian Election Study to demonstrate a significantly distinct and durable Green party base. It will augment this approach by tracing historical first-preference votes in divisions the Greens targeted at the 2016 federal election. These two approaches demonstrate a realigning Australian party system amidst increasing fractionization of political support facilitated by Australia's unique electoral institutions.

Panel 30 – Election Pledges and Government Policies

Election pledges and government policies

This themed session will examine the congruence and incongruence between what parties promise to voters during election campaigns and what governments deliver during subsequent governing periods. Some of the main questions addressed in the contributions are: To what extent and under what conditions do parties fulfil their previously made election pledges when they form governments after elections? Under what conditions do citizens evaluate pledge fulfilment positively? This field of research is highly relevant to the theory and practice of modern representative democracy. The idea of promise keeping politicians is intertwined with the mandate theory of democracy and the responsible party model, according to which changes in public policies should reflect changes in public opinion. Even for liberal democratic theorists, who see elections mainly as instruments for selecting who governs rather than how they govern in terms of policy decisions, the fulfilment of election pledges is highly relevant. Since it is nowadays common practice for parties to formulate detailed policy plans and discuss these plans during election campaigns, it is impossible to distinguish clearly between votes for candidates and votes for policies, as some liberal theorists imply. This field of research is also a testing ground for positive theories of how various aspects of representative democracy work, from theories of party competition to theories of policymaking in coalitions, and theories of how citizens evaluate policy performance. In terms of research design and methods, the contributions to this themed session share a focus on a common definition of "election pledges", which we define as statements in which parties commit themselves to take certain actions or bring about certain outcomes, which are worded in such a way that researchers can assess whether or not these commitments were carried out. This shared focus necessitates a common qualitative comparative approach to research and contributes to the cumulation of knowledge in this field. Notwithstanding this agreement, the contributions to this session focus on different aspects of the link between election pledges and government actions.

Do Parties Keep their Election Promises? A Pilot Study of the 43rd Australian Parliament (2010-2013)

Andrea Carson, University of Melbourne; Andrew Gibbons, University of Melbourne and Aaron Martin University of Melbourne

In their most basic form elections are designed to allow the public to hold politicians and political parties to account for their past performance. Central to this should be whether parties have fulfilled the promises they made at the previous election. But how do parties express election promises to citizens and are they likely to fulfil these promises? We examine both of these questions by conducting a pilot study of the 43rd Australian Parliament (2010-2013). We do so by adopting the methods of the international Comparative Party Pledges Project, which has examined pledge fulfilment in 12 countries, until now excluding Australia. We highlight where Australia conforms and deviates from the other countries studied, thus adding an important comparative element to our findings. In examining these issues, we provide some answers to questions that lay at the heart of representative democracy in Australia and elsewhere.

Ministerial effects on the fulfilment of election pledges

Patrick Dumont, ANU; Robert Thomson, Monash University; Matthew Kerby, ANU; Eoin O'Malley, Dublin City University and Rory Costello, University of Limerick

We develop and test an explanation of the impact of ministers on government policy. The ministerial portfolio allocation model has been a point of reference for scholarship on policymaking in coalitions, and our explanation builds on a version of that model by incorporating the characteristics of individual ministers and the policy proposals they might enact. The portfolio allocation model posits that the best prediction of government policy in any given area is given by the policy preference of party of the minister responsible for that area. Notwithstanding the plausibility and elegance of this model, the evidence for this main proposition has been mixed, which suggests there are conditions under which it is more or less apt. Our explanation specifies these conditions by formulating propositions regarding the impact of ministers' preferences on and capacity to realise particular election pledges that fall under their jurisdictions. An election pledge is a promise made a party during an election campaign to take a specific and verifiable policy action if it enters government. Ministers' preferences on election pledges derive both from their affinity with the ideological position of their parties and the extent to which pledges are congruent with those ideological positions. For instance, a committed socialist minister in a left-wing party is more likely to fulfil the party's pledges to expand government programmes and raise taxes than other pledges. In addition to ministers' ideological position and the content of pledges, our explanation considers ministers' capacity to bring about policy change, which is in turn influenced by their standing in the party and relevant policy-area expertise. Given that these elements relate mainly to intra-party politics, and that single-party cabinets are more likely to undergo frequent reshuffles to adapt to new circumstances, our version of the portfolio allocation model is not limited to coalition governments.

To test our explanation, we bring together research from two previously unconnected research programmes: the Selection and Deselection of Political Elites Research Network (SEDEPE) and the Comparative Party Pledges Project (CPPP). The SEDEPE Network has collected a wealth of detailed information on ministers, including their positions inside their parties and careers outside party politics. The systematic coding of this evidence allows us to formulate comparable indicators of ministers' preferences and capacities. The CPPP has identified parties' election pledges during election campaigns and evaluated pledge fulfilment during subsequent governing periods. This has involved detailed qualitative assessments of government actions in relation to thousands of specific promises in twelve countries, including parties that went on to form single-party and coalition governments. We take the first step in linking these programmes by focusing on the fulfilment of 3912 pledges made by Irish parties in the period 1977–2016. During this long period Ireland was governed by all possible cabinet types (single-party majority, single-party minority, majority coalition, minority coalition), allowing us to control for the effect of cabinet structure and support but also to devise and test specific hypotheses regarding the effect of ministers on pledge fulfilment in those different conditions.

A Comparative Study of Citizens' Evaluations of Campaign Pledge Fulfilment in Six Countries

François Petry, Université Laval; Robert Thomson, Monash University; Elin Naurin, University of Gothenburg; Anna Belchior, Universitarion de Lisboa; Heinz Brandenburg, University of Strathclyde; Dominic Duval, Université Laval; Justin Leinaweaver, Drury University and Henrik Oscarsson, University of Gothenburg

We compare citizens' evaluations of the fulfilment of more than thirty specific campaign pledges in Canada, Ireland, Portugal, Sweden, the United Kingdom and the United-States using data from recent national election surveys. Firstly, we identify the conditions under which information shortcuts, in particular party identification and political trust, lead citizens to make accurate evaluations of pledge fulfilment, as well as the conditions under which the same information shortcuts mislead citizens into making inaccurate evaluations. Next, we examine the interactions between information shortcuts and political knowledge in order to estimate the extent to which the effect of information shortcuts varies depending on the level of respondents' political knowledge. Finally, we examine whether the relationships between the accuracy of citizens' evaluations of pledge fulfilment, information shortcuts and political knowledge varies depending on characteristics of the pledges, in particular on the electoral saliency of the pledges, and on national contexts.

Panel 31 – Activism, Participation and Narrative

Legitimacy in Digital Activism? Public perception, authenticity, and efficacy

Max Halupka, Institute for Governance and Policy Analysis, University of Canberra

Is clicking 'Like' on Facebook a legitimate form of political participation? Is changing your profile picture, or sharing an online article, politically meaningful? It is undeniable that such actions can be politically-themed, but whether they amount to what we term 'political participation' remains contentious.

This article explores the legitimacy of new wave forms of political participation, such as: clicktivism; information activism; collective action, etc. Here, legitimacy is unpacked in relation to notions of authenticity, efficacy, and popular perception. In an analysis of the relationship between technological innovation and digital engagement, the paper draws upon survey data from four international connective action movements: the Gezi Park protests; the Brazilian Spring; Australia's March-in-March, and the 2013/14 Thai political crisis. Looking at the participatory behaviour of respondents involved in each protest, it is found that, though new forms of engagement prove popular, they are perceived as largely ineffective. Importantly, however, this critical view does little to diminish their acceptance as a participatory tool among protestors.

To this end, it is argued that a new understanding of political participation is needed, distinct from the prevailing arena and process definitions. That is, a more fluid approach whose boundaries can shift in response to both technological change, and emerging practices, to fully encompass the way politics is lived today.

Rethinking "political" engagement: What recent research tells us about young people and politics

Clark Tipene, University of Auckland

Much of the extant literature on youth political engagement tells a story we have heard many times before – young people do not vote in high numbers when compared to their older counterparts. This worry is reserved not only to scholars but shared by a concerned public, who point to an apathetic young population that does not care about politics. It does not help that young people are increasingly demonised as disinterested or indeed lazy by the media. It is important to challenge that rhetoric, particularly in the tumultuous political times in which we live. Using results from the 2015 New Zealand Social Attitudes Survey and interviews conducted for my own Masters research, this paper critiques a few important ideas that scholars sometimes take for granted. First, putting a piece of paper into a box every few years is not the only way to think about politics. A growing field of research into non-electoral political participation is central to this rethinking. Second, so-called establishment politics is no longer acceptable to young people. With the rise of populist movements on both the left and right, "politics as usual" does not work in their favour as societal and economic circumstances continue to change. Lastly, it is not easy to make politics meaningful and relevant. So how do we get more young people engaged, in a time when they feel politics does not respond to their needs? This paper argues that understanding the aforementioned is essential if we want to engage young people. Herein lies the significance of this project; by looking at the structural causes of political disengagement, this paper proposes a new narrative around young people and politics.

Heroes and villains in the human trafficking narrative

Erin O'Brien, Queensland University of Technology

Stories play an important role in the process of political construction, and the repetition of a particular narrative can have a significant impact on policy. Human trafficking stories have become prolific in public forums in recent decades, appearing in blockbuster films, television shows, news media, awareness campaigns, and government statements and reports. These stories have proved immensely powerful, captivating the public's attention, and spurring political leaders to act with the establishment of international conventions, national legislation, and millions of dollars dedicated towards anti-trafficking initiatives. The storytellers have served an educative function, establishing the problem of trafficking through a depiction of who the victims are, who the villains are, and what the heroes do. This narrative of human trafficking is highly politicised, and acts to both amplify certain aspects of the problem, while obscuring others.

A growing body of research examines the construction of victims, specifically the 'ideal victim', within the trafficking narrative. This paper shifts the focus to the depiction of those characterised as villains and heroes, in order to more fully examine narrative inferences regarding both the causes of and solutions to human trafficking. Stories of people trafficked into several destination countries – Australia, the United States of America, and the United Kingdom, are analysed with the aim of identifying and critiquing the dominant narrative in terms of those characterised as responsible for trafficking, and those positioned as heroes.

I argue that the existing narrative relies on archetypal villains, while applying the label of hero to those who may in fact be responsible for perpetuating the conditions that fuel human trafficking. This characterisation reflects underlying meta-narratives concerning sex and gender, migration, consumerism, and western exceptionalism. The problem with these stories, and their depictions of villains and heroes, is not that they are necessarily untrue, but that they offer a limited narrative, constraining actors to restricted roles, and obscuring the wider context and causes of human trafficking.

Panel 32 – Environmental Policy & Reform 2

The Climate State: Global warming and the future of the welfare state

Peter Christoff, University of Melbourne

In this paper, I consider possible implications of climate change for the future of the welfare state. The Paris Agreement established important goals for dealing with global warming while recognizing that existing national mitigation and adaptation commitments still fall well short of its aims.

The paper first reviews a range of structural fiscal challenges that confront the welfare state and which to some extent sit apart from the issue of climate change. Second, it considers additional economic problems and challenges posed by global warming, including those associated with programs intended to minimize its impacts.

Next, it looks at the possible implications of these compounding pressures for the welfare state, and argues that certain priorities and institutions will most likely be reordered by climate change's various demands. Finally, it suggests that a new state form, the climate state, may arise in response and concludes with an examination of this proposition.

Resilience and Environmental Security in the Anthropocene

Peter Ferguson, Deakin University and David Walker, David Walker

The terms 'Anthropocene' and 'resilience' have entered environmental, and especially security discourse since the mid-2000s. A key implication of the Anthropocene is that humanity must confront the reality that we lack the ability to predict the behaviour of, and to manage, the Earth System. Resilience has emerged in this context as a strategy to lessen the social, political and economic risks associated with a potentially volatile and uncontrollable nature. However, while articulations of both the Anthropocene and resilience discourse have been widely noted and analysed, less attention has been given to the potentially symbiotic conceptual links between the two concepts in the context of environmental and human security. This paper begins by exploring the variety of resilience discourses found in the environmental security debate. While a basic definition of resilience is the capacity of a system to absorb recurrent disturbances so as to retain its essential structures, processes and feedbacks, it is argued that resilience is currently articulated in three largely incompatible ways: as *strategic resilience*, *neoliberal resilience* and *socioecological resilience*. These disparate discourses are identified through an analysis of recent US and UK government, international organisation, NGO and academic environmental security literature. It is argued that only a socioecological model of resilience offers a potentially efficacious human security strategy in the Anthropocene. Moreover, it is not just resilience that is needed if vulnerable communities are to survive and flourish in the face of extreme Earth System instability, but a viable path to transform themselves out of vulnerability. Any meaningful transformation, however, cannot occur without the extension of significant agency to vulnerable communities. This presents a profound challenge to both existing mainstream environmental security strategies and prevailing neoliberal models of development.

Investigating 21st century norms for scientific expertise – the case of the Climate Wars

Peter Tangney, Flinders University

In 1942 R.K. Merton described a set of epistemic values for science in the 20th century. During and after World War II, when science had contributed so much to the protection of liberal democracy, Merton's norms resonated with those who believed that science could autonomously 'speak truth to power'. *Universalism, communalism, disinterestedness* and *organized skepticism* provided a foundation for scientific methods and experts' privileged role in public decisions. In the 21st century, one might assume our expectations for scientific knowledge have evolved. With the advent of 'trans-science' and 'post-normal' science to examine complex value-laden questions, alongside a globalized pluralistic political-economy that confounds social-environmental problems and precludes scientific autonomy, the role of experts in public decision-making is not what it once aimed to be. When considering recent claims about the truth value of science in a post-truth world, however, might Merton's norms be relevant still?

The difficulties encountered by experts in speaking truth to power are epitomized by current debates over anthropogenic climate change. Although 97% of scientists may agree that anthropogenic warming is real and that much of the underlying science has been settled, a quick perusal of the blogosphere, alongside peer-reviewed literature, reveals ongoing scientific debate that is as heated and politically divisive as ever. Significant uncertainties remain over the precise extent of human influence, how the climate will change, and what we should do about it. And this debate does not go unnoticed by political opponents who claim the entire climate science enterprise is an exercise in 'stealth advocacy' for left-wing politics. Here I demonstrate how, through the concurrent derivation and debate of the facts and values of climate change, scientists on all sides appear to have so significantly eschewed traditional epistemic norms without adequate replacement, they have created considerable ambiguity over the epistemology of their craft. Liberal democratic precepts, meanwhile, suggest that the revision or abandonment of epistemic norms is not the sole responsibility of experts. Experts gain privileged access to public decision-making based on the strength of their knowledge claims relative to others'. For the credibility of scientific practice, therefore, I argue that both experts and non-experts must now re-engage with robust scientific values. If scientists ignore traditional norms while failing to acknowledge any other epistemic values beyond the conceit of 'speaking truth to power', their public voice might be justifiably ignored; not just for climate change but for any other scientific branch causing partisan conflict.

Panel 33 – Political Violence, Civil Resistance & Peace Processes

"With neither God nor the Devil" The Origins and Evolution of Self-Defense Forces in Central Peru

Steven Zech, Monash University

This article examines community responses to insecurity and threat during and after armed conflict. I focus on self-defense forces in the Ayacucho region of Peru, where communities organized to resist the Sendero Luminoso insurgency in the 1980s and 1990s. Civilians organized in most rural communities to help defeat the insurgency, reduce violence, and reinvigorate civil society. Self-defense forces continue to play a critical role in confronting a broad range of contemporary security challenges tied to terrorism, drug trafficking, and crime. However, not all communities react the same to security challenges. Why do some communities organize self-defense while others facing similar situations do not? Existing research commonly identifies increased threat and violence as the reason *why* communities organized. But, victimization offers little explanation as to *how* communities successfully mobilized and the varied ways they used violence. I decouple a community's use of violence from its ability to initiate and sustain mobilization. I argue that community narratives affect how communities use violence based on the way they interpret events and define inter-group relations. Whether communities achieve large-scale mobilization or commit disorganized individual acts depends on its institutional capacity to generate collective action. I test against alternative explanations that emphasize increased insurgent threat and state coercion. To evaluate the arguments, I combine the analysis of regional violence data with historical and contemporary community case studies in the Ayacucho region of Peru. For the case studies, I draw from secondary sources and over 300 personal interviews with self-defense force members, community leaders, military officials, and civilians. I also accompanied contemporary self-defense forces on patrol to evaluate hypothesized social processes from my argument.

Action in Deferral: Making sovereign futures for Western Sahara's state-in-exile

Randi Irwin, *The New School for Social Research*

This paper explores how Polisario representatives engage in strategies that actively construct a Saharawi Arab Democratic Republic territory and sovereignty in a way that enables it to be actionable in the future, emphasizing usability that extends beyond preparedness. While commonly referred to as a stalemate (Darbouche & Zoubir 2008, Jensen 2005, Mundy 2004), I posit that the Saharawi development of a natural resource program from their refugee camp in Algeria has projected a sovereign Western Sahara into the near future in such a way that it generates new possibilities for action and legitimacy in the present moment. While the program for natural resources emphasizes preparation in all aspects, it also creates property in Western Sahara by marking out plots and contracting them to international corporations for future use. I suggest that the very formation and marketing of Saharawi property via financial strategies signals a use of land under *uti possidetis juris* (translated "as you possess under law"). While Saharawis are displaced from their land, future-based property contracts provide a means to maintain their use of the territory and demonstrate possession during Morocco's presence. How might these Saharawi contracts – as a mode of projecting a future, decolonized Western Sahara – provide a new level of legitimacy and viability to decolonization and secessionist movements? What might the Saharawi struggle tell us about the future of decolonization struggles and the knowledge we produce about them?

Engaging insurgency: the Impact of the 2016 Colombian Peace Agreement on FARC's Political Participation

Alexandra Phelan, *Monash University*

The 2016 Peace Agreement between the Colombian government and the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (*Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Colombia*, the FARC) commits to reforming political participation especially of traditionally marginalised sectors throughout the country to consolidate Colombian democracy. While the Peace Agreement provides implementation mechanisms that support the insurgency's transition from armed group to political party, it is also complemented by the FARC's political strategy from its inception in 1964 to today. This paper argues that the 2016 Peace Agreement has the potential to enhance democratic, political and societal participation by engaging with FARC in two key ways. First, the agreement attempts to reconcile key FARC grievances that have provided the basis for its armed struggle, such as the call for agrarian reform and the perceived lack of political participation for rural populations. Second, the agreement provides mechanisms to increase the participation of groups traditionally excluded from Colombia's political system, such as women, afro-descendants, and indigenous peoples, many of whom who have been part of FARC's mobilisation base or living in its regional areas of proto-state influence. Drawing on primary FARC political documents, fieldwork research, and peace agreement and implementation analysis, this paper adds to existing literature by revealing how FARC's political rationale of *la combinación de todas las formas de lucha*, or the combination of all forms of struggle, is consistent with their re-engagement in Colombian democracy since the 2016 peace agreement. This is evident by the way that the FARC has engaged in elections in the past, such as the 1986 election by entering its over Patriotic Union party (*Union Patriótica*, the UP), and emphasis on maintaining a covert political organisation called the Clandestine Colombian Communist Party (*Partido Comunista Clandestino Colombiano*, the PCCC) throughout its statutes and policies. Analysing both the FARC's political strategy and the 2016 Peace Agreement, I argue that the Agreement has given the FARC incentives and space to pursue its political strategy democratically, whilst simultaneously providing solutions to many of their grievances. At the same time, the Agreement has provided a positive-sum outcome for the Colombian government to strengthen its democratic legitimacy. It has been able to negotiate a settlement to resolve a 53 year old conflict by incorporating FARC into the political system, while simultaneously reconciling deep-seated socio-economic grievances by promoting the political participation of historically marginalised groups in Colombian society.

Panel 34 – Gender, Peace & Security

A 'Window of opportunity'? Women's political participation in post-conflict Iraq

Yasmin Chilmeran, *Monash University*

This paper will discuss feminist international relations insights on the 'window of opportunity' in a post-conflict context. The window of opportunity is a concept that describes an opportunity for women to gain greater levels of

gender equality and representation in their post-conflict or post-transition context. There are certain criteria that the literature outlines around what is required for these opportunities to be meaningful, including a robust and independent women's movement, support from international and transnational actors, as well as a range of other factors. In Iraq, this window has created significant spaces for women to take part in political structures, most significantly through the quota for women in parliament that was enshrined in the new constitution in 2005. This paper uses the case study of Iraq to unpack how opportunities are shaped by a variety of forces that enable and/or constrain women's capacity to participate.

Specific forms of gender-based violence (GBV) have shaped the day-to-day lives of Iraqi women after 2003. As such, this paper will discuss political participation and the ways that violence and intersectional identities impact women's capacity to participate and engage in contemporary Iraqi politics. While GBV in Iraq undermines efforts for women to engage politically, the increase in gendered insecurity also creates a necessity for women to organise along gender lines and to engage with political structures to address the causes of their insecurity. This paper will unpack how that insecurity has shaped women's engagement with the 'opportunity' for participation in post-2003 Iraq.

Barriers to women's participation in Nepal and the implementation of gender provisions of peace agreements

Sarah Hewitt, Monash University,

Nepal's Interim constitution (2007) and Final constitution (2015) are some of the most progressive constitutions in South-East Asia. They include gender provisions such as non-discrimination of sexual minorities, sexual and reproductive health, women's socioeconomic rights including property rights, and violence against women. Moreover, it stipulates proportional representation reserving 33 per cent of government positions and parliamentary seats for women as well as quotas for other areas of the legislature, executive and judicial branches. In the first Constituent Assembly (CA) elections (2007) in the post-conflict period, 197 women (33%) out of 601 CA members were elected via a mix of first past the post (FPTP) and proportional inclusion (PI) quotas, where previously women's political representation never exceeded 6%. Furthermore, women currently hold the positions of President, Chief Justice and Speaker of the CA and combined with women's increased representation more broadly, this has had major symbolic ramifications for women's participation at individual and societal levels. Although women's rights have progressed enormously since the Maoist conflict, many challenges remain to realising women's rights and access to participation. How have these gender provisions in Nepal's constitutions enabled and/or constrained women's political, economic and social participation since the end of the conflict? Analysing data from interviews with research participants from civil society, government of Nepal and international organisations, five recurring challenges to women's participation emerged. Barriers include lack of implementation of progressive gender policies and legislation, intersectional perspectives to women's diverse identities in Nepal, patriarchy as an openly acknowledged social structure, the care economy and women's extra reproductive burdens, and women's capacity and confidence for participation both internal and external perceptions. Though these five challenges are not exhaustive, they are interrelated and interconnected and identified as major hindrances to women's political, economic and social participation.

The Women, Peace and Security Agenda in Asia-Pacific: From Global to Local and from Local to Global

Barbara K. Trojanowska, Monash University

In the existing scholarship on the diffusion of the Women, Peace and Security (WPS) agenda, the Global North is commonly seen as the WPS norm provider, while the countries in the Global South are considered to be merely norm adapters. However, an exploration of the agency of the states in the Asia-Pacific region in the development and implementation of the WPS norm both globally and locally, challenges this point of view.

This paper interrogates how the WPS agenda has been localized in the context of Asia-Pacific and how that influences the global understandings of the WPS norm. I specifically examine this problem with reference to the Pacific Regional Action Plan on Women, Peace and Security and the seven National Action Plans on Women, Peace and Security adopted in the region (i.e. Philippines, Nepal, Australia, Indonesia, Republic of Korea, Japan and New Zealand).

Panel 35 – Movements, Parties & Elections

A network analysis of tax justice movements in Australia and the UK

Michael Vaughan, University of Sydney

International tax justice issues, such as closing corporate tax havens, have gained particular salience over the past decade in an environment of financial instability and government austerity. Civil society involvement has ranged from trade unions and NGOs calling for parliamentary inquiries to civil disobedience by less established actors.

But to what extent can we talk about a 'tax justice movement'? Who are the main actors and how do they exchange information and resources? And how does the picture vary between Australia and the United Kingdom?

This paper uses a combination of two data sets: hand-coded news articles from four national newspapers between 2008 and 2017, and a set of interviews with key organisations. A network analysis will allow for a comparison of who the main actors are in each network and how dense the ties of information and resource exchange are. In particular, the UK network is denser and more characterised by the centrality of aid organisations like Oxfam whereas the Australian network is looser and more dominated by trade unions. In both networks, transnational networks which are present in both countries play key roles in the diffusion of strategies and priorities.

What are the implications of changing forms of voting in Australia?

Martin Drum, University of Notre Dame and Stephen Mills, University of Sydney

The electoral landscape in Australia is changing, with increasing numbers of voters choosing to vote early, by post or in some cases electronically. There is a need to better understand the implications of this for the various stakeholders in the electoral process. The paper will present preliminary findings from interviews with campaign directors and candidates from major parties, minor parties and independents who have participated in several recent electoral events, including the WA state election in 2017 and two waves of by-elections in NSW in 2016 and 2017. These findings indicate that various participants in the process have had to change their campaign tactics in order to better target the different types of voters they were hoping to reach. It is also clear that some parties and candidates have adapted to these changes more effectively than others. The research was conducted as part of a broader multi-disciplinary study of voting change funded through the Electoral Regulation Research Network.

The role of myths in sustaining political parties

Narelle Miragliotta, Monash University

A party's formative origins have a lasting impact on its organisational structures, election and manifesto priorities, and crucially its identity. However, few studies have explored how the legacy of a party's origins shapes its understanding of its place and its contribution to the party system and its assessment of its rivals decades after the party's establishment. The aim of this paper is to examine how myth and folklore inform parties' perception of their unique role and political life but also how it colours their assessment of their opponents.

Populism and Connectivism: A Comparison of Mediated Communication Logics

Michael J. Jensen, Institute for Governance and Policy Analysis, University of Canberra

Harold Innis has shown that, historically, the various means of communication available have decisively become involved in political organization and governing capacities. Today, social media channels have become a critical space for the mobilization of both populist politicians and connective action movements. Connective action movements typically supplant offline spaces and platforms, developing strategies, tactics, and messaging in the absence of formal significant involvement by formal movement organizations. For populist politicians, social media play an important role as they enable politicians to bypass broadcast media. This serves two functions for populist figures: first, social media enable politicians to form a direct connection with supporters which is critical to the creation of an authentic relationship, and second, broadcast media are often framed as part of the establishment which populists seek to overturn. This paper evaluates connective and populist logics examining the organizational forms indicated by the posts and comments on the Facebook pages of both Donald Trump, as an exemplar of a

populist politician, and 291 Facebook pages which are associated with the, at least originally, nonpartisan *Indivisible* movement which has emerged as part of the resistance against Trump's presidency. The data analysis focuses on the period of time from the Trump inauguration on 20 January 2017 up through the 3 June 2017 March for Truth which was a nonpartisan protest in support of the investigation into the Trump campaign and potential collusion or coordination with Russia.

The analysis makes three theoretical contributions. First, it helps elucidate the different organizational functions carried out by supporters of populist and connective political movements. Second, it analyses changes in the structure of populist and connective action movements. Critically it investigates the extent to which a populist figure can avoid becoming part of the system s/he campaigned against and the extent to which connective action movements can maintain independence in a partisan space. Finally it draws wider inferences about the relationship of technologies to political logics.

Panel 36 – Political Islam & Political Violence

Hamas, Jihad and Islamic Resistance in Palestine

Tristan Dunning, University of Queensland

This paper examines the ongoing evolution of the Islamic Resistance Movement in Palestine, Hamas. It investigates Hamas' evolving interpretation and application of the concepts of jihad and resistance. In brief, the movement conceptualises and reconceptualises its notions of jihad and resistance according to circumstantial expediency in order to remain discursively consistent yet politically pragmatic. The movement's multiple and overlapping discourses incorporate armed, social, symbolic, political, and ideational conceptualisations of jihad and resistance, which Hamas employs to maintain socio-political dexterity and accrue popular legitimacy. The paper features primary data gathered by the author during fieldwork in Palestine and the wider Levant, including interviews with Palestinian Islamists and semi-qualitative surveys with Palestinian university students.

The Women of Boko Haram: Implementation and Operationalization

James Paterson, Monash University

Emerging from relative obscurity and a period of quietude, Boko-Haram has gained global notoriety with a series of brazen maneuvers since its renaissance as a fighting force in late 2010. Under the leadership of Abubakar Shekau, Boko Haram has been in a constant state of flux; it has actively and whole-heartedly embraced innovation by changing what it does, where, and to whom. As the Nigerian military, supported by its neighbors and to a limited degree the United States, have stepped-up their military advance in early 2014, Boko Haram has thought strategically and accounted for their organizational weaknesses by pursuing a calculated and coordinated campaign, a part of which has been the increasing implementation of women into the insurgency, and it is this particular nuance of the insurgency with which this paper concerns itself with.

While not revolutionary or unprecedented, Boko Haram's gendered-based violence is novel in its severity and scale. Performing disparate roles within Boko Haram, women of various ages have now become fundamental to the organization's global reputation, terroristic success, and operational mechanics. Boko Haram's utilization of women can be conceptualized within two main facets: as the utilization of women for procreation, wherein the group is seemingly using the systematic rape of captured women in an attempt to produce the next generation of fighters, imbued with Boko Haram's particular brand of jihad. Second, the use of women as part of the killing machinery, with young girls constituting a major part of the ranks of Boko Haram's recent suicide bombers.

The consequences of Boko Haram's war on women are multidimensional, the results of which, as this paper will argue, are counter-productive in the struggle against Boko Haram. First, the blurred lines between Boko Haram member, abductee, victim and sympathiser have left many women with the stigma of association. A major obstacle to reintegration into community life for those you have managed to escape, or have been freed by Nigerian security services, this sense of isolation and desperation experienced by women can mean that it will be difficult to translate the short-term victories against the insurgency in boarder strategic gains. Second, the operationalization of women has had distinct effects on the target selection of the group's martyrdom operations. Therefore, and despite

significant vulnerabilities, the gendered-based violence demonstrates that Boko Haram is far from gone and is a complex problem that is elusively, durable, and evolutionary in character.

Untangling Islamism and jihadism

Tarek Chamkhi, ANU

This paper investigates the various types of Islamists movement and jihadist's trends and untangling the violent from the non violent ones, employing a classical Islamic methodology of jurisprudence, known as *el makassid*. While all jihadists considered Islamists by nature and birth, not all Islamists are jihadists and violent, which trigger the 'why' question in order to understand those various modern manifestation of Islam. Islamism is the social and political expression of Islam that seeks to integrate it into full blueprint for politics, state affairs, economics and civil and constitutional laws. The Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood slogan, *Islam is the Solution*, indicates that Islamism is a socio-political movement in the first place. In meanwhile, the newly emerged takfiri groups in early 1970s onwards, such as GI and IJ believed society and the government to be on the same path of *jahiliyyah* (religious ignorance) and recommended jihad to re-Islamise Egypt.

While most researchers in Islamism and terrorism classify Islamists into two camps, extremists and moderates, in terms of their commitment to peaceful or violent means of change, this paper would suggest, that today's Islamists are divided into two major groups on the basis of their reading techniques of the Islamic religious sacred texts and the methodologies they use to approach them. These are, respectively, literalists (*Dhawahir or Dhawahiris*) and *maqasidis*, who adopt non-literal methodologies in their readings of religious texts. (Chamkhi 2015)

Unlike the first classification, which might include other political stances of non- Islamic affiliation such as left or far right, or nationalist, this *dhawahiris / maqasidis (literalists Vs non literalists)* classification is unique to Islam. However, this classification is not based on a violent/non-violent stance, but on personal interpretation of sacred texts. In fact, all religions across the world can have both literalists and maqasidis, including personal or inter-personal interpretations of the same sacred text. Consequently, the same text can have a range of interpretations that, at times, totally contradict each other.

Literalists or *dhawahir*, read and follow literally the sacred texts, might be violent or non-violent, extremist or non-extremist. They are "scriptists" (in reference to the sacred scripts). The *Maqasidis* approach the same scripts differently, using reason, in considering the use of metaphors, or examining the aims and surrounding circumstances of the original sacred text (namely the Quraan and Sunnah).

The debate between literalist and maqasidi ideologues goes back to early Islam and has lasted throughout fourteen centuries, involving theologians, jurists and interpreters or narrators of the Quran and hadith. However, what has been at stake in the debates over fourteen centuries has varied between one generation and the next.

Panel 37 – Public Policy in a Comparative Perspective

Corbyn, British Labour and Policy Change

Rob Manwaring, Flinders University and Dr Evan Smith, Flinders University

There are widespread claims that Jeremy Corbyn's leadership of the British Labour party has entailed a shift to a more 'radical' and 'left-wing' form of politics. Yet, many of these claims are untested or lack clear empirical evidence. This paper seeks to understand the Corbyn leadership through a detailed examination of his policy agenda. This paper synthesises both a quantitative and qualitative approach to understanding and contextualising Corbyn's policy agenda. First, the paper will use the Comparative Manifesto Party database (CMP) to compare Labour's manifesto in 1979, 1997, and 2015 to take stock of policy change since the advent of neo-liberalism in the UK. Second, the paper will offer a qualitative analysis of Corbyn's policy agenda in the areas of economic policy, social policy and foreign affairs. Overall, the paper suggests that the wider claims about Corbyn's radicalism tend to mask some long-standing continuity in the labour tradition. Overall, an examination of Corbyn's policy agenda gives key insights into the wider dilemmas and changes in the centre-left.

Policy implications of domestic resource mobilization for structural transformation in Africa: a New Structural Economics perspective

Kris Hartley, University of Melbourne and Justin Yifu Lin, Peking University

Between the end of WWII and 2008, only two of nearly 200 developing countries successfully transitioned from low-income to high-income economies. Economic development is a process of income growth based on continuous technological innovation, industrial upgrading, and institutional improvement. In concept, the economic and technological backwardness of developing countries situates them to benefit from global technological diffusion without the risks of being at the leading edge. As such, these countries can achieve developmental convergence by having relatively higher rates of growth. However, despite decades of policy interventions through international agencies and official development assistance (ODA), most of the world's developing countries have surprisingly failed to make meaningful progress. This paper examines the policy challenges of economic development through the lens of New Structural Economics. The paper begins by describing the importance of domestic resource mobilization (DRM) for structural transformation, and continues with an examination of DRM and development in Africa and possible explanations for related policy failures. It concludes with lessons for DRM and development and policy recommendations for Africa. This paper weaves accounts of successful development cases with theoretical explanations from NSE and other theories of development economics (e.g. the Lucas Paradox). While the paper is supported by a long legacy of theoretical and empirical research on the topic, it aims to identify policies that are conceptually fresh and practically applicable to modern development challenges.

Prying open the black box: methodological challenges of researching policy practice

Emma Blomkamp, University of Melbourne

Policymaking is often described as a 'black box', with many wondering how policy decisions are actually made. Even when political scientists study policymaking processes, they typically privilege interviews with, and materials produced by, elite actors in government. Yet such an approach leaves gaps in knowledge about the political decisions and cultural negotiations in the everyday work of public servants.

An interpretive approach to policy studies offers the opportunity to pry open the black box and gain insights into the practices and discourses of policy workers. This paper explores the advantages and challenges of taking an interactive and human-centred approach to accessing communities of policy practice and generating relevant data. It explores the realities of a research design that follows 'the argumentative turn' and 'the practice turn' in policy studies.

Drawing on the author's experience of PhD fieldwork in local government and current research exploring the application of design thinking in policy practice, the paper discusses what it takes to study policymaking in ways that are both pragmatic and critical. It focuses in particular on issues surrounding fieldwork, inviting discussion on questions of access, case study construction, confidentiality, flexibility, reciprocity and reflexivity.

Panel 38 – Populism in a Comparative Perspective

Religion, post-secularism, and right-wing populism in the Netherlands.

Nicholas Morieson, Australian Catholic University

At the 2017 Dutch elections the right-wing populist Party for Freedom (PVV) established itself as the second largest political party in the Netherlands. PVV leader Geert Wilders is unquestionably the most famous Dutch politician in the world, and is alternately admired and reviled at home. Wilders' popularity appears to stem to a large degree from his uncompromising attitude towards Islam, which he calls a totalitarian political ideology rather than a religion, and which he considers an existential threat to Dutch identity and culture.

While much of his rhetoric is aimed at demonising Muslims and attacking Islam, like other populists Wilders seeks to divide the population between 'the people' and their 'enemies.' What is most interesting about Wilders – and indeed about a number of other right-wing populists in Europe – is that he has a particularly religious understanding of 'the people.' That is, Wilders argues that the Dutch have a specific 'Judeo-Christian and Humanist' identity. Moreover, 'Judeo-Christian' values, according to Wilders, have given Europeans the freedom, secularism, and

democracy they enjoy today. Muslims, on the other hand, belong to an Islamic culture which he claims to be hostile to Judeo-Christian values, and by nature authoritarian and intolerant.

Given that Dutch politics is generally considered secular, it seems surprising that the PVV would enjoy electoral success while making a religion based cultural defence of Dutch culture. Perhaps more surprising is the professed agnosticism of Geert Wilders, who is nothing if not a secularist and holds liberal views on many cultural issues. So why is a secularist and agnostic – and leader of a party whose primary supporters are less likely to be religious than the average Dutch person – emphasising the religious heritage and identity of the Netherlands? What does Wilders' propensity for making a religion based cultural defence of Dutch values tell us about secularism and religion in contemporary Dutch and European public life?

My paper analyses the 2012-2017 period in the Netherlands, and discusses two questions: what role did religion play in propelling the PVV into second position at the 2017 elections? What can Habermas' observations and theories of the emergence of post-secular society tell us about the reasons behind the PVV's electorally successful use of religious rhetoric, and their success in mounting a religion based cultural defence of Dutch 'Judeo-Christian and Humanist' identity and culture?

Constitutional Restrictions on Populism in Politics

Svetlana Tyulkina, University of New South Wales

*This will always remain one of the best jokes of democracy,
that it gave its deadly enemies the means by which it was destroyed*

Paul Joseph Goebbels

This statement by the infamous Minister of Propaganda for Nazi Germany is laced with sarcasm. Nevertheless even these days it stands as a stark warning for those committed to the principles of liberal democracy. Paradoxically, democracy is 'the very thing that can bring democracy to its own knees' (Chou, 2012: 67). This is due to the fact that democracy is an inherently liberal and accommodating system of governance premised on a plurality of political ideas and opinions.

Over the past few years the world has seen how these characteristics can facilitate the activities of groups and individuals who openly attack democracy and its fundamental institutions and procedures. Often, those groups rely on populism as a main tool to gain support and access to decision-making in national parliaments.

This paper investigates the notion of militant democracy as a tool *to defend democracy against the range of possible activities of populist political movements that arguably can damage its structures and conceptual integrity.*

The Paper is based on a premise that any constitutional system should be treated these days as inherently capable to accommodate militant democracy measures, even where commitment to such militant stand is not spelled out in the nation's foundational document. Australia is one example to demonstrate that any democratic constitution comes with 'built-in' capacity to address threats to democracy and utilise militant democracy instruments.

Populism in Greece: A Permanent State of Affairs?

Georgios Nikolaidis, University of Manchester

This paper will contend that the populist critique of democracy is not entirely unfounded. Using the case of Greek state, it will show how worsening economic and social conditions after 2010, led to a resurgence in the use of populist discourses by political elites. It is suggested that support for populist parties' surges in response to the failure of the mainstream Greek political establishment to address economic and social problems. It is further argued that while aspects of the populist agenda are challenging, its critique of the political and economic system is not entirely unfounded, thus accounting for the success of such parties in Greece. Several elements underpinning the success of populism apply to various examples in western democratic state, such as the rise of Donald Trump or in the case of the Brexit movement. Specifically, in Greece at least, populism is recurring as a response to the failure of establishment elites to address real political and economic shortcomings, most notably

in the post-GFC era. This paper further contends that this seemingly continuous failure on behalf of mainstream political parties has formed a significant level of political disillusionment which has rendered populism as a permanent state of affairs in the country's political environment.

Militant Democracy and Populist Authoritarianism

Graham Maddox, University of New England

Democracies are under threat from new dangers: rapidly growing inequality and newly virulent xenophobia characterized by an obsession with border protection. In Australia the One Nation party exhibits ideological tendencies pernicious to the ideals of democracy. Reasonable defences against anti-democratic activity are worth reconsidering.

When democracy was in greatest peril, Karl Loewenstein conceived of 'militant democracy' as a defence against fascism in the late 1930s. The ethos of democracy that nurtured tolerance, freedom of speech, assembly and the press, open elections and universal suffrage allowed fascist parties to compete on even ground with established democratic parties. The inability of the Weimar Republic to defend itself against the rise of the Nazi Party exercised him greatly. Karin Bischof has recently shown how Loewenstein, rejecting Hegelian and Schmittian notions of the state, eschewed radical democracy and populist 'emotionalism' in favour of 'rational-legal authority'. Advocating a temporary suspension of the constitutional normality, he quotes Leon Blum to say that 'during war, legality takes a vacation'.

Affirming the 'preservation of democracy by undemocratic methods', he cites with approval the steps taken by Germany's neighbours, including the obvious and reasonable measures of proscribing private armies, the wearing of para-military uniforms ('indoctrinary haberdashery') and exhortations to riot. Other measures strayed into the thickets of curtailed freedom of public opinion, speech, and the press, and the empowering of secret police to screen out subversive propaganda. Loewenstein wished to change the 'mental structure' of the age, concluding that liberal democracy was suitable 'in the last analysis, only for the political aristocrats among the nations'. His thesis in itself threatens democracy.

Loewenstein appeals to a new sovereignty, where democratic ideals are preserved by the remaining democracies as a kind of collective authority. He taxes Max Lerner with identifying monopoly capitalism as a major threat to democracy, yet Lerner's thesis is nowadays endorsed by such as Galbraith, Wolin, Barber, Naomi Klein and a host of others. Militant democracy arguments have been revived against terrorism and polemic Islamism, with the concomitant dangers exposed. Meindert Fennema calls for 'a more substantial conception of democracy' which avoids 'repression' of dissidents, since this itself undermines its basic ideals. I propose a more historical/philosophical foundation for democracy that displaces 'transient majority' opinion (not to privilege transient *minority* opinion), and endorse at least Loewenstein's intent to modify the 'mental structure', or the tired rhetoric, of the age.

Panel 39 – Critical Perspectives on Terrorism & Counterterrorism

Violent extremism an effort to achieve legitimacy

Farah Naz, University of Sydney

The issue to counter terrorism is not new to the world. The security agencies face surmounted challenges of horrific acts of violent extremism such as beheading, killing, maiming, suicide attempts, and much more. This study is an effort to closely investigate: what is meant by violent extremism? How have the terrorist organisations in Pakistan made efforts to quest legitimacy? How the acts of violent extremism affect the life of an ordinary woman in Pakistan? The terrorist organisation under discussion will be the Tehrek e Taliban Pakistan (TTP), Lashkar e Jhangvi (L e J), Sipah e Sahabah, Jaish-e-Mohammad (J-e-M), Laskar e Taiba (LeT), the Haqqani Network, Hizb UT Tahrir, Jamaatul Ahrar, Afghan Taliban, Balochistan Liberation Front (BLF) and Harkat-ul-Jihadi-al-Islami. This paper aims to understand the extremist group's ideology, infrastructure, propaganda, style, recruitment procedure and funding process. It also aims to investigate people involved in radicalisation and recruitment for quenching their legitimacy. The profile of violent extremist is not clearly defined. Thus, this study will predict who is the target population of the extremists in pursuing their objectives. The methodology involved semi-structured qualitative

interviews with the Government of Pakistan employees, security agencies, think tanks, academia and madrasahs. The prominent madrasahs include madrasah Jamia Hafsa, Al-Huda, Madrash Haqania and some local madaris. For analysis, it will examine the security agencies and government reports.

The Tortured Torturers: The Dangers of Using Torture in International Society

Jamal Barnes, Edith Cowan University

Since the Abu Ghraib torture scandal in 2004, there has been a surge in studies on torture in human rights and international relations scholarship. Much of this scholarship has focused on areas such as torture and the 'ticking bomb' scenario, how torture violates international laws and norms, and how torture has adverse strategic consequences for those that use it. However, despite this expansion of torture research, little attention has been paid to the implications that using torture has on the torturers themselves and how this affects state security policies. Building upon the work of Elaine Scarry, and analysing internal government documents, reports and memoirs from torturers, this paper argues that torture harms not only the victims, but the torturers as well. In doing so, this paper shows that using torture does not strengthen the state that uses it, but weakens it. This argument has important implications for current debates on torture in counterterrorism policy and for expanding the study of torture in international relations.

"The War on Terror": Why It is All Your Fault

David Colin Sadler, University of New South Wales

My argument repositions the responsibility for Islamic terrorism. After 9/11, George W. Bush announced a US-led "Global War on Terror", telling the Free World that its enemies were Osama bin Laden and al-Qa'ida, together with any state protecting them and those like them. The course of history then included Saddam Hussein, the Taliban, Libya, Yemen, Pakistan and more. In this paper, I suggest that the causes of this ongoing and unwinnable conflict lie elsewhere. The responsibility for continuing violent Islamic extremism, the rise of Islamic State, and the franchising of local self-starting terrorism lies much closer to home. By not properly understanding and not accepting models of "cumulative extremism", our fears are limiting the ways we can respond to it, and our responses are outdated and ineffective. Radicalisation to support and engagement in terrorism translates from how we react to the world around us. Analysing how our media presents and prioritises current affairs, cultural news and government policy making indicates how editorial decisions have more to do with selling news than with reality, and that what we cast as newsworthy and how we react to it contributes to marginalisation and triggers radicalisation. We need to recognise how political rhetoric and alt-right sound bites build a cumulative extremism, and play into the narrative of terror. US and allied counterterrorism policies already suspend aspects of our morality. However, forming those policies from sensationalism and flawed perception, they become even more terrorising... and that is your fault.

Panel 40 – Authoritarianism & Transparency

Rule of Law or Law of the Ruler? How the 2017 Turkish Constitutional Referendum Challenges the Notion of Public Accountability in Turkey

Fatima Yer, Middle East Technical University

Since the election campaign and the following party program of 2002, which put a strong emphasis on human rights provisions, justice, rule of law and democracy, Justice and Development Party's political agenda has gone under severe changes. It has been widely criticized on the grounds that it has truncated the demands of the opposition both inside and outside of the party by gradually changing its party structure to a monolithic and a homogenous one. The constitutional referendum of April, 2017 consolidated this very image of JDP. Following controversies at the dawn of the constitutional referendum have arisen from the claims that former JDP leader, President Erdogan's path have diverged from the common focus of JDP'S founding principles, along with the party itself. The referendum guaranteeing a presidential power to Erdogan has been a win by a neck, which means that the Turkish citizens are concerned about unstable economy of the state, separation of powers and the future of democracy. The allegations of electoral fraud following the referendum has also cast a shadow over the victory of Erdogan. This paper discusses how Turkish constitutional referendum challenges the notion of public

accountability, and it aims to analyze the aftermath of the referendum on two dimensions: Erdogan's influence on JDP and what Erdogan's new rule promises on grounds of public accountability.

A Politics of Science? An assessment of the Data Access and Research Transparency Initiative

Enzo Lenine Lima, Federal University of Rio Grande do Sul

Methodological debates have been constant throughout the History of Political Science. One of the most recent examples of methodological disputes is the Perestroika Movement initiated within the context of American scholarship and consisting of a fierce questioning about the methodological dogmatism of the American Political Science Association (APSA) and its journals (Shapiro et al., 2004; Monroe, 2005; Caterino and Schram, 2006; Flyvberg, 2006; Jackson, 2006; Schram, 2006; Schwartz-Shea, 2006). One decade later, we are still dwelling upon questions about the meanings of science, reviving old methodological schisms in the process. Recently, the Data Access and Research Transparency (DA-RT) initiative, whose genesis dates back to 2010, has reactivated concerns about a "politics of science", which would impact directly on the development of the discipline as well as on professional careers of political scientists. As this debate has been in the spotlight of methodological quarrels, this paper attempts to address the issue by summarising the main arguments in favour and against DA-RT implementation. According to its proponents, DA-RT offers no valuation of science, embracing only an ideal of transparency and accountability (Breuning and Ishiyama, 2016; Carsey, 2014; Dafoe, 2014; Elman and Lupia, 2016; Lupia and Elman, 2014; Golder and Golder, 2016; Moravcsik, 2014). However, this view is contested by at least 1000 political scientists of different methodological traditions who signed a petition to delay the implementation of DA-RT based on profound concerns about the deleterious effects DA-RT might have in how research is conducted in the discipline (Ansell and Samuels, 2016; Fujii, 2016; Hall, 2016; Htun, 2016; Isaac, 2015; Lynch, 2016; Schwartz-Shea and Yanow, 2016; Yashar, 2016). They see DA-RT as a clear means for promoting a more quantitative-oriented discipline, where qualitative and interpretive methods are considered intrinsically biased in their application. Therefore, this paper analyses the content of DA-RT's documents and the arguments posed by both sides in this dispute in order to assess to what extent it represents a politics of science in the discipline.

Legitimacy without Democracy: The Growing Strength of Authoritarian Reliance in China

Laura Bunting, University of Auckland

The normalisation of competitive autocracies in countries such as Turkey and Hungary reveals the extent to which the relationship between political legitimacy and democratic practices has fractured. This essay focuses on the successful legitimization strategies of the longest serving Authoritarian Party – the Chinese Communist Party (CCP), to examine the evolving nature of authoritarian resilience. This paper seeks to trace the development of the CCP's legitimization strategy under the third, fourth and fifth generation in order to better understand the robustness of authoritarian resistance in China. I argue that while performance measures remain critical, Xi Jinping is increasingly drawing upon moral and ideological methods to cement one-party rule in the long-term. Process tracing reveals that this is not a new innovation but rather the product of a process of state directed cultural institutionalisation, whereby the party has actively sought to unite that state, party and the people through the institutionalisation of an evolving party doctrine for the purpose of gaining legitimacy. This demonstrates how populist politics and nationalism can imbed themselves in politics overtime at the governments behest. Therefore, the election of populist parties across Europe, and indeed Trump's populist politics in America, have the ability to change the trajectory of the national political climate long after their position of power. Most critically this paper finds that Authoritarian reliance is stronger and more flexible than previously assumed.

Panel 41 – Prime-Ministerial Leadership in a Time of Political Flux: Lessons for the Present from the Past

Judith Brett, LaTrobe University; Paul Strangio, Monash University and James Walter, Monash University

Judith Brett, author of a new biography of Alfred Deakin, *The Enigmatic Mr Deakin* (Text Publishing 2017), will be joined by Paul Strangio and James Walter co-authors of a newly released two-volume history of the Australian prime ministership, *Settling the Office: The Australian Prime Ministership From Federation to Reconstruction* (Melbourne University Publishing 2016) and *The Pivot of Power: Australian Prime Ministers and*

Political Leadership, 1949-2016 (Melbourne University Publishing 2017). They will discuss whether the statecraft exercised by early Australian prime ministers, particularly Alfred Deakin, during the turbulence of the founding Commonwealth era hold lessons for today's leaders in the midst of a fragmenting political landscape. The panel will also consider whether current developments have an element of going 'back to the future' with the erosion of party solidarity/support bases potentially heralding a return to something akin to the 'chief' led faction parliamentary politics of colonial times.

Panel 42 – Policy Making 3

Institutional design and the integrity of private food safety standards in Australia

Carsten Daugbjerg, ANU

The agricultural and food sector has been heavily regulated for decades. Regulation in the farm sector typically involved ongoing market intervention in which farm groups were often delegated significant regulatory powers. While this type of regulation has declined since the mid-1980s and early 1990s, new types of self-regulation have emerged with the rise of consumerism, increased food safety concerns, expansion of global value chains in the food industry, new food safety legislation and business concentration in the retail sector. Retailers have established their own food standard schemes in order to manage food safety and quality assurance throughout the value chain - from farm to the individual supermarket. The limited literature on self-regulation in the food sector presents mixed views on the integrity of such regulatory regimes. The challenge of obtaining a high level of integrity in self-regulation can be conceived of as a principal-agent problem occurring at two levels. That is, the principal in the self-regulation scheme, the standard scheme owners, must ensure that the agent, the certification body, delivers certification and auditing services of the specified quality. Further, the certification body has its own principal-agent challenge when acting as a principal faced with the task of ensuring that its agent, the individual auditor, delivers the services that is specified in the contract between the standard scheme owner and the certification body. The institutional design of standard schemes is an important factor affecting the integrity of self-regulation in terms of assuring consumers safe food. The key question addressed in this paper is whether the institutional design of private food safety standard schemes can provide assurance that regulatory agents perform as intended in their roles as auditors of private food safety standards. The paper maps the institutional design of three food safety standard schemes applied in the Australian food processing industry and analyses their integrity. The analysis is based on document analysis and interviews with key figures in the regulatory regime.

Reputational Accountability and the Inspector-General of Intelligence and Security

Richard Bolto, ANU and Amanda Smullen, ANU

This paper explores conceptually how the Inspector-General of Intelligence and Security (IGIS) has sought to manage reputation over time and considers whether these efforts can account for incremental changes in the IGIS's mandate and powers. Recent accountability scholarship has shifted focus beyond formal processes of political and bureaucratic accountability with consequences, to a broader range of formal and informal efforts to manage reputation. By reputation is meant the management of expectations in one's environment, or rather the public-facing activities that government agencies undertake to establish credibility among relevant audiences. Carpenter defines reputation "as a set of beliefs about an organization's capacities, intentions, histories and mission that are embedded in a network of multiple audiences" (2010:33). We argue that reputation is of particular salience to the Australian Intelligence Community (AIC). On one hand it is a small and powerful sector, where reputation can make and break, but on the other hand secretive and thus often lacking transparency regarding the content and processes of agency decision-making. Therefore external stakeholders, including the Australian Parliament, must in general rely upon the public and symbolic presentations of these public bodies, rather than more detailed forms of accountability, to assess their performance.

The IGIS plays a pivotal role in holding the AIC accountable. At the request of the executive or through own initiative, the IGIS conducts advisory, monitoring, inspection, complaint-handling or inquiry activities. Significantly this includes direct oversight of sensitive operations that otherwise are shielded from public scrutiny. The IGIS must oversee the accountability of the field, but also demonstrate their own expertise, impartiality and accountability as an actor through means that do not directly describe the detail of decisions-making processes or their outcomes. We argue that the IGIS must therefore demonstrate its effectiveness and accountability primarily

through reputational means. Using concepts from the reputational accountability literature this paper examines how the IGIS has sought to further its own reputation and that of the intelligence community through a range of reporting activities since 2001. Some initial inferences are drawn about how the IGIS has sought to build reputation and expand, however incrementally, the office's influence.

Conceptual and theoretical foundations of the steady-state society

Tim Thornton, LaTrobe University

The idea of society reaching a steady-state whereby further economic growth ceases, is a concept that has a long history in political economy. Smith, Ricardo, Mill and Keynes all considered the concept of a steady state. More recently, the idea of a steady-state society has been revived by ecological political economists such as Herman Daly, who have stressed that current societal arrangements are coming up against, or exceeding, sustainable ecological limits.

It is clearly demonstrable that contemporary societies are organised in a manner that is causing considerable damage to the environment, with global warming providing but one example of such damage. Furthermore, it is just as demonstrable that contemporary societies currently need to achieve ongoing increases in economic growth in order to avoid stagnation and unemployment (if not outright economic crisis). However, economic growth requires increases in the production and consumption of goods and services and this nearly always increases the damage done to the environment. Given this, it is unsurprising that steady-state advocates argue that the solution is for economic growth (as conventionally measured) to cease.

The conception of a steady-state economy as described above raises some fundamental questions:

- Is a steady-state economy something that is really necessary?
- Is it something that is even possible to achieve?
- What distinctive institutional features would allow the economy to achieve a viable and desirable steady-state?
- What plausible transition pathways exist to such an economy?
- This paper explores these questions. This exploration includes examining how these questions have been answered in the literature thus far, with particular attention given to the conceptual and theoretical foundations of the literature. It is argued that despite the long history of the idea of steady-state economy, its conceptual and theoretical foundations are, in some important respects, underdeveloped or problematic. The paper sets out a research agenda that seeks to contribute to the development of more solid intellectual foundations for a sustainable steady-state society.

Panel 43 – Ideology, Identity & Democracy in Australian Politics

Welfare-to-work and the Influence of Political Ideology in Australia

Siobhan O'Sullivan, University of New South Wales

Australia's welfare-to-work system is the subject of frequent policy reform, name changes (Job Network, Job Services Australia, Jobactive), and redesign. Research into Australia's privatised welfare-to-work system indicates that overall, policy makers are yet to perfect the practice of developing policy settings that strongly influence provider-behaviours at the frontline. Yet, our survey data collected under the Keating, Howard, Rudd/Gillard and Abbott/Turnbull Governments suggests that while it is hard to influence the frontline in a fine-grained way, the government of the day is able to have a large-scale, meta impact on how jobseekers experience the service they receive.

Both sides of politics remained firmly wedded to contracting private agencies to deliver welfare-to-work services under short-term contracts. But differences are evident in the compliance framework under different political regimes, as well as in the work priorities governing behaviours at the frontline. In this paper we describe discernable trends in Australia's welfare-to-work system that appear to be informed by the ideology of the government of the

day. We then consider what 20 years of privatised employment services tells us about the role ideology played in influencing policy design, and in turn, service deliver practice.

Representing Australianness: a corpus assisted discourse analysis of Prime Ministerial Australia Day and Anzac Day addresses

Nicholas Bromfield, University of Sydney and Alexander Page, University of Sydney

The literature on Australia Day and Anzac Day suggests that representations of Australianness on these occasions is varied. Australianness on Australia Day is more plural and more ambiguously celebrated than Australianness on Anzac Day. The genocidal acts that established White Australia have been pointed to by Indigenous scholars and activists, ensuring the challenge to an unambiguously positive reading of Australian nationalism by Prime Ministers on Australia Day. This plural and ambiguous reading of Australian identity and nationalism has largely failed to penetrate Prime Ministerial commemoration of Anzac Day, Australia's other major national day. Despite considerable scholarly attention and activism, Anzac as commemorated and celebrated by Prime Ministers remains masculine and Anglo-centric.

This paper seeks to test these hypotheses by applying corpus assisted discourse analysis (CADA) to a corpus of Prime Ministerial Australia Day and Anzac Day speeches and media releases from 1990-2017. CADA is a mixed method approach to discourse analysis that employs both quantitative and qualitative inquiry methods. It seeks to accomplish two primary tasks: firstly, to identify and compare the political work of Prime Ministers on these national days; and secondly, to identify and compare the diversity of Australian identities represented on the two national days. In this regard, the paper will especially look at representations of class, gender, and racial/ethnic, identities in Prime Ministerial national day addresses in order to explore how contemporary Australianess is constructed and reproduced across both time and party lines. The paper will therefore make a substantial contribution to the under-studied comparative analysis of the national days of Australia.

The postal survey on same-sex marriage: Direct democracy in action?

Paul Kildea, University of New South Wales

In August the Turnbull government surprised many when it announced that the Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) would conduct a voluntary postal survey on same-sex marriage. The decision was met with swift criticism, with some doubting the ABS's capacity to conduct the poll and others calling into question the legitimacy of the process. Legal questions were also raised, and within days two challenges were mounted in the High Court.

This paper examines the constitutional and regulatory dimensions of the ABS postal survey. It begins by tracing the recent history of the same-sex marriage debate and explains how the government came to settle on a postal survey over the alternatives of a parliamentary vote or compulsory plebiscite. Next, it discusses the uncertain constitutional status of both plebiscites and opinion surveys, and asks whether this should be a cause for concern. The paper then considers the process rules that will apply to the conduct of the postal survey, including on matters such as campaign advertising, ballot secrecy and multiple voting. In doing so it explains why the decision to conduct the survey through the ABS has created a particularly uncertain regulatory environment, and argues that this has put the integrity of the poll at risk. Finally, the paper reflects on the significance of the ABS survey in Australia's wider history of direct democracy. It argues that the peculiar framing of the same-sex marriage poll as an exercise in the collection of statistics is consistent with the longstanding reluctance of Australian governments to embrace or cultivate opportunities for direct democracy within the nation's framework of representative government.

Panel 44 – New Patterns of Politics & Political Contestation in the Middle East

New patterns of politics and political contestation in the Middle East

The Middle East Studies Forum brings this panel together to discuss the substantial changes that have unfolded in the Middle East over the past decade, heralded by the 2009 Green Movement uprising in Iran and the 2011 Arab Uprisings. Each of the uprisings had varied outcomes, leading to the consolidation of authoritarianism in Iran, the overthrow of Tunisia's long-reigning president, revolution and counter-revolution in Egypt, and civil war in

Yemen and Syria. Nonetheless, identifiable new patterns of state-society interaction have emerged, some of which also closely resemble post-upheaval political processes in other regions.

This panel examines four cases of contemporary politics in the Middle East to understand the new patterns of politics and political contestation in the region. Turkey for example has witnessed the solidification of a highly personalised authoritarian leadership. Although the country's citizens did not revolt in 2009 or 2011, the events nonetheless gave momentum to illiberal trends. Likewise, while Iran remains one of the most stable authoritarian states in the region, it is regularly home to contentious campaigns from societal sectors as diverse as secularists, women, environmental activists and theologians in the country's seminaries. How these sectors interact have interacted with regime structures since 2009 is an important indicator of regime strength and change. Finally, Iraq and Syria have undergone perhaps the greatest shift of all states in the Middle East, with each government losing control of large swathes of territory, and the re-emergence of the group now known as the Islamic State (IS). As the states and their clients attempt to directly contest IS's potent messaging, they too have engaged innovative political arguments and framing, with significant consequences for their populations. This panel examines these new patterns of political contestation and politics in Turkey, Iraq/Syria and Iran to elucidate contemporary trends in regime-opposition relations.

**The Islamic State attacks on Shia Holy Sites and the "Shrine Protection Narrative":
Heritage as a Mobilization Frame**
Benjamin Isakhan, Deakin University

After conquering large swathes of Syria and Iraq, the IS undertook an aggressive sectarian campaign in which they not only enacted horrific violence against the Shia people, but also damaged or destroyed several key Shia holy sites. Drawing on Social Movement Theory (SMT), this article analyses the response by various Shia non-state actors — militia leaders, religious clergymen, populist preachers and seminal poets. It argues that they used the IS threat to Shia holy sites to develop and deploy a mobilization frame that has come to be referred to as the "shrine protection narrative". The article also documents the manifold consequences of the shrine protection narrative: it legitimized foreign Shia militias to enter the conflicts in both Syria and Iraq; it justified the formation of entirely new militias who declared the centrality of shrine protection to their mandate; and it mobilized them to enact political violence. In doing so, this article extends existing studies of SMT to demonstrate that heritage — and particularly the need to protect religious heritage sites from specific threats — can serve as a powerful mobilization frame towards political violence.

Contestations between Orthodoxies: Governmental Vs. Traditional Shi'ism
Naser Ghobadzadeh, Australian Catholic University

Only a marginal segment within the Shī'ite clerical establishment seized the opportunity created by the revolutionary conditions of the 1970s to undertake jurisprudential re-conceptualisation, and they subsequently obtained an unrivalled place in the political arena. When in power, the political clergy capitalised on the many resources and capacities that the Shī'ite orthodoxy had built up over the centuries. Still, there could be no guarantee of unfettered access to these resources if they remained governed by a tradition at odds with the ruling clergy's version of Shī'ism. Because religion had become an indispensable component of polity, the country's new rulers could not risk provoking any potential threat from within the orthodox Shī'ite establishment. This paper argues that aware of the potential for backlash within the Shī'ite orthodoxy, the ruling clergy systematically targeted the seminaries. They became heavily involved in the scholastic pursuits and mundane affairs of the Shī'ite seminaries with the aim of transforming the orthodox establishment into a docile, tractable, and subservient institution. The specific areas in which the ruling clergy sought to exert their dominance were the education system, financial system and the centuries-old pluralistic nature of marja'iyat. Yet, the question remains: have the ruling clergy of Iran succeeded in achieving their goal or not? This paper suggests that given the current strength of the traditional Shī'ite orthodoxy in both the Qom and Nadjaf seminaries, it would be difficult to definitively answer this question in the affirmative

Polling in authoritarian climates: An examination of voter polling in the lead-up to the 2017 Iranian presidential election

Dara Conduit, Deakin University

The Islamic Republic of Iran is an authoritarian regime that holds relatively competitive elections for presidential and parliamentary officeholders. As a result, public opinion polling has had a presence in the country since the 1980s, with Dabrowski (2016) claiming that 'contrary to perceptions of public opinion surveys in Iran being unreliable, Iranian pollsters are increasingly capable of providing high-quality polling data.' This is consistent with repeated studies that have shown that careful polling can acquire high quality data in closed environments (Kuechler, 1998; Buckley, 1998). However, there has to date been no detailed study of polling quality inside the Islamic Republic.

This paper evaluates 95 polls conducted in Iran during in the 30-days leading up to Iran's May 2017 presidential election to evaluate the state of the Iranian polling industry. The 30-day period encompasses the entirety of the presidential election campaign from the official announcement of approved candidates on April 20 to Election Day on May 19. It includes polls reported in both Persian and English. Using the American Association for Public Opinion Research's (AAPOR) Minimum Disclosure Requirements as a measure of quality, the paper shows that while polling is widely used as a predictor of political outcomes in Iran, the quality of the polls continues to fall significantly short of international standards in relation to transparency and representative sampling.

Erdoğan, the latest chapter in Turkey's strongmen leaders

Tezcan Gumus, Deakin University

Much has been written to explain Turkey's authoritarian slide and the character of politics under the strongman rule of President Recep Tayyip Erdogan. The scramble to rationalize and conceptualise Turkey's current (and past) political developments by most Western observers has often lent itself to simplistic dichotomies within a framework that pits "Secular" against "Islamist" where the values of the "East collides with West". These efforts wrongfully reduce and confine our understandings of the country's politics to simply a tussle between unchangeable forces. As a result, distortion is bound to result, and one is unable to provide an accurate account for the developments in Turkey's political character.

This paper will rather argue, Turkey's current leadership and undemocratic nature of governance has not appeared in a vacuum nor can it be rationalised by the oft-trodden secular vs Islamist dichotomy. Since the introduction of multi-party politics in 1945, the path to democracy in Turkey has been a tenuous and, at times, volatile journey. Despite the resilience of the multi-party system it has been incapable of taking strong steps towards a consolidated democracy by western political norms.

Explaining the precarious nature of Turkey's democracy is not an easy task. Naturally, while it is most likely a variety of factors that have led to this pattern, the paper will contend the primary piece of the puzzle is Turkey's political leaders. Through the study of key leaders that reached the peaks of political power since the creation of the multi-party system, the discussion underlines the common theme amongst political leaders in Turkey is a failure to display characteristics required for responsible democratic leadership. Rather, the drive for single-handed rule is a discernable and persistent pattern of Turkish political leaders. By underlining this, it will be shown that democracy has been continually kept at its weakest to cater for the authoritarian tendencies of the leaders. Prime Minister-cum President Erdoğan's personalismo (cult of leadership), though its most extreme manifestation is simply symptomatic of an ongoing political cultural crisis in Turkey of the unending cycle of the strongmen leaders.

Panel 45 – Political Transition and Electoral Systems

Extreme bounds of turnout (at the aggregate level): we know less than we claim

Ferran Martinez i Coma, Griffith University and Richard W. Frank, ANU

Recent years have seen a proliferation of studies explaining electoral turnout at the aggregate level; however, we still lack a general theoretical model. Over 100 explanatory factors have been suggested to affect turnout (Stockemer, 2016), which is far from the social science objective of parsimony (King, Keohane & Verba, 1994).

Results from previous works are mixed and are dependent on the countries and years analyzed. For example, some authors find that proportional representation electoral systems increase turnout, others find the opposite. This paper proposes a means of determining a baseline empirical model of electoral turnout using an extreme bounds analysis of a comprehensive, global dataset. Over a million regressions will be run to examine the most robust predictors of electoral turnout, and we expect that these results will challenge and advance the literature on this important theoretical and policy-making topic.

Building Election Management Capacity

Holly Ann Garnett, ANU / University of British Columbia

Election management bodies (EMBs) perform many crucial tasks related to the administration of elections: from pre-election tasks such as boundary delineation and voter registration, through election-day administration of voting procedures and the counting of ballots, to post-election reporting and auditing (Wall et al., 2006). However, these important tasks can be run with varying degrees of effectiveness, sometimes due to deliberate manipulation, but often simply due to technical incompetence or mistakes. Current research on election management refer to the ability of EMBs to fulfill their key functions as their *capacity* (Kerr, 2014; Norris, 2015). This crucial variable has been previously measured according to expert surveys (Norris, Frank, & Martinez i Coma, 2014) and website content analysis (Garnett, 2015). EMB capacity has been demonstrated to be an important predictor of overall electoral integrity, based on the crucial functions that EMBs perform (Garnett, 2015).

However, scholars still lack an understand of what variables can predict a high EMB capacity. Does capacity rely on larger budgets? More or better trained personnel? New technology? This paper explores the determinants of election management capacity in Europe. It uses data from a new survey of election management bodies from over 50 countries, conducted in 2016 and 2017. These data measure, for the first time, EMB resources and personnel across a variety of countries that run elections. This paper considers the relationship between these resource and personnel variables and previously measured indicators of overall EMB capacity. The results of this paper will be of interest to both scholars of election management, as well as practitioners and policymakers who aim to improve EMB capacity and electoral integrity around the world.

Electoral disproportionality and economic inequality: A re-examination of the hypothesis at the global scale using simulation approach for the measurement of disproportionality

Araz Aminnaseri, University of Melbourne

Impact of electoral systems on the level of economic inequality as a policy outcome in democratic states has been a subject of scrutiny for political economists for decades. The favourite variable in this area of study has been the disproportionality between votes and seats of the parties in national legislatures. The common denominator between an absolute majority of studies on the role of electoral disproportionality on the level of economic redistribution has been (a) to use election data for the measurement of disproportionality on the one hand; and (b) keeping the scope on analysis limited to economically developed countries for which more reliable data is available on the level of economic inequality.

This study seeks to enhance this field of study in two ways. First, it utilizes an alternative source of data for electoral disproportionality that is based on mathematical simulation as a substitute for empirical measurement and enumerates the advantages of this alternative approach. Second, it enhances the scope of analysis by testing the rigor of the disproportionality-inequality hypothesis in a broader context to include both developed and developing democracies using the SWIID 6.0 dataset for standardized Gini coefficients.

Methodologies used for this research are multiple-regression modelling with multiple imputations for cross-sectional data and between-effect regression modelling on panel data from 1980s onward.

Findings of the study indicate (a) that the proposed relation between electoral disproportionality and economic inequality is statistically significant and in the predicted direction (positive) at a comparative global scale; (b) this relation is mediated through change in the effective number of parliamentary parties; and (c) within countries, at the earlier stages of development increase in the effective number of parliamentary parties is statistically more likely to reduce economic inequality but in higher stages of development this relation is likely to be negative.

Panel 46 – Information, Technology, and Norms in International Security

The Era of Mega-Leaks

Rodney Tiffen, University of Sydney

The traditional image of journalists and leakers is best dramatized by Deep Throat in the Watergate scandal and the clandestine meetings between Bob Woodward and his secret source in the government. Possibly the largest leak of government documents before recent decades was Daniel Ellsberg and the *Pentagon Papers*, which went to newspapers after Ellsberg spent months each evening at a photocopier. In the last decade, however, a very different type of leaking has become important.

The new era began in 2010 with Julian Assange publishing through WikiLeaks a whole variety of American diplomatic cables, as well as many revealing American activities in the Iraq War. The publication created a furore, and Assange proclaimed a new era of transparency. The episode eventually resulted in the jailing of Chelsea Manning, the only leaker from the new era so far to be successfully prosecuted. A very different example of digitally-based leaks came in November 2010 with the so-called 'Climategate' leaks, based on hacking emails from the University of East Anglia's climate science unit. These were intended to damage the coming Copenhagen climate summit and probably did so. They made a huge impact because of their volume more than their content, and prompted considerable sensationalist, anti-climate change commentary, even though eventually several inquiries concluded that they did not impact at all on the validity of the science.

Since then, there have been several more globally famous cases - Edward Snowden's dramatic disclosures about illegal surveillance; the Panama Papers and their exposure of large scale tax avoidance; the leaking by WikiLeaks, apparently from Russian-based sources of emails damaging to the Democrats during the 2016 presidential election. There have been other electronically-based leaks that are still important, although of narrower interest, such as the leaking of the Nauru files to the *Guardian* Australia.

It is already clear firstly that we are in an era where such massive leaks will continue to be part of the political landscape. However just as with the more conventional leaks of the past, it is impossible to say that all are either good or bad by various criteria. They raise issues of privacy, and issues about the quality of reporting, and the perspective it provides even more sharply than in the past.

Metagovernance by Stealth? Australia's Role in Steering the Bali Process on People Smuggling,

Paul Fawcett, Institute for Governance and Policy Analysis, University of Canberra and Charlie Shandil, Institute for Governance and Policy Analysis, University of Canberra

This paper examines how the Australian government has metagoverned the Bali Process on People Smuggling, Trafficking in Persons and Related Transnational Crime. The Bali Process is the Asia Pacific region's premier diplomatic forum dedicated to promoting policy dialogue, information sharing and practical cooperation on issues related to irregular migration. It is co-chaired by the Australian and Indonesian governments and has over 50 members (nation states and international agencies). We use Hood and Margett's tools of government framework to analyse Australia's metagovernance role across four dimensions: nodality; authority; treasure; organisation. We find that the Australian Government has engaged in 'metagovernance by stealth': a phrase that we use to capture the more or less covert ways that Australia has attempted to steer the Bali Process and its emergent policy agenda. We conclude by arguing that a 'tools-based approach' to studying metagovernance is particularly effective at unpicking Australia's dual role as both a significant regional power yet also interdependent partner in a regional forum that it created to tackle an inherently transboundary policy problem. Keywords: metagovernance, regional governance, transgovernmental networks, Bali Process, migration.

Cybersecurity and Political Information

Tim Aistrope, ADFA

While United States (US) cyber security policy has made serious advances over the last decade, the US government appeared largely unprepared to counter Russian interventions in the 2016 presidential elections. This situation can be better understood by tracing the development of US cyber policy across time. This paper focuses

on two policy contexts: the US National Security Strategy (NSS) from 1987-2015; and cyber security policy statements from 2008-2015. In doing so it captures the way the issue of cyber security emerged out of a broader discourse on information. Under the Regan Administration, information was understood in terms of Soviet active measures and influence campaigns. From the early 1990s, information became associated with an account of liberal markets, economic dynamism and global interconnectedness. As cyber security became a pressing policy concern for the US government, it was shaped by these broader circumstances. The policy focus was on protecting critical infrastructure, proprietary knowledge and personal information: in short, network security. I argue that current approaches underplay the political dimension of the cyber threat, which rests in its potential to influence publics, often stoking nascent populist movement, and thereby destabilise polities. Missing is an older understanding of information – an understanding clearly articulated in Regan era NSS documents.

Panel 47 – Identity & Environmental Sources of Conflict

Ethnic parties, ethnic tensions? Results of an original survey panel study in Romania

Anaid Flesken, University of Bristol

Ethnic parties are often viewed with concern and have been banned in several countries for fear of polarisation. Some argue, however, that ethnic parties may be valuable vehicles in solving ethnic tensions because they contribute to the integration of diverse ethnic groups into the national political community. Yet few studies directly examine ethnic parties' contribution to societal polarisation or integration and, where they do, cross-sectional data do not allow inferences with regard to the direction of causality. This paper examines original longitudinal data from a fixed panel survey surrounding the Romanian elections in December 2016. Romanian elections provide a fruitful context to analyse the effect of ethnic party campaigning on voters' attitudes due to the presence of established Hungarian minority parties. The panel data captures the attitudes of representative samples of voters with different ethnic backgrounds both before and after the election campaign: i) Romanians in the majoritarian Hungarian provinces of Harghita and Covasna; ii) Romanians in the rest of the country; and iii) Hungarians in both Harghita and Covasna and neighbouring provinces. Within-group, over-time comparisons can establish whether the election campaign has led to changes in political attitudes. Between-group comparisons can show whether the status of the each group as local majority or minority mitigates the size or direction of change. This paper examines differences within and between groups with regard to four key dependent variables covering ethnic relations (belonging to one's own ethnic group and evaluation of the respective out-group) as well as political attitudes (belonging to the national political community and support for the political system). If the polarisation hypothesis is correct, the heightened salience of ethnicity during the elections should increase Hungarians' belonging to their in-group, worsen evaluations of the Romanian out-group, and decrease belonging to the national community as well as support for the political system. Romanians in the majoritarian Hungarian provinces should feel threatened, affecting their evaluations of the Hungarian out-group. If the integration hypothesis is correct, ethnic relations and political attitudes should remain stable or even improve, particularly among the Hungarian minority. Preliminary results indicate strong support for the integration hypothesis: ethnic relations and political attitude improve among all sub-samples. They hence challenge accounts of the inevitability of ethnic tensions in electoral competition.

Does Consociationalism Entrench Ethnic Divisions? Evidence from Bosnia, Northern Ireland and South Africa

Jon Fraenkel, Victoria University of Wellington

One of the most frequently encountered criticisms of the 'consociational' approach to constitutional design in divided societies is that it entrenches or 'reifies' ethnic divisions. Political settlements in Northern Ireland, Lebanon, and Bosnia are often seen as reinforcing communal alignments, even if the benign objective is to mitigate tensions. This verdict has been embraced by the consociationalists themselves, not only their critics. Arend Lijphart, for example, writes that the objective of consociational arrangements is 'not so much to abolish or weaken segmental cleavages but to recognise them explicitly and to turn the segments into constructive elements of stable democracy' (Lijphart, *Democracy in Plural Societies*, 1977, p42). What does the evidence from Northern Ireland, Bosnia and elsewhere tell us about these influences? Why does South Africa have similar debates about post-Apartheid ethnic affinities despite its non-consociational constitutional arrangements? Should the 'consociational' package be considered as a unified whole, as Lijphart himself offered this (& as his critics apparently accept), or should we differentiate its components and consider their impact separately? After all, (i) proportional representation systems

alone do not necessarily 'entrench' ethnic divisions, (ii) there is much inconclusive debate about the impact of federal or devolved arrangements on identity, and (iii) minority vetoes come in many different shapes and sizes. This paper suggests a fine-tuning of the discussion on the impact of these 'consociational' arrangements, and a greater focus on risks associated with 'proportionality' in public sector jobs and cultural autonomy in education.

Climate Security and Complex Crises in the Middle East and North Africa

Kumuda Simpson, LaTrobe University

There is a growing body of literature linking the several years of drought in Syria's Fertile Crescent and the subsequent mass movement of people from rural to urban centres, with political instability in Syria in 2011. The drought is regarded as a catalyst for farmers leaving the land and moving to the major cities in Syria, leading in turn to rising levels of unemployment, pressure on already stretched resources and infrastructure, and growing anger at a political system seen as corrupt and unable to respond to the hardships faced by a new class of people displaced by environmental hardship.

While the evidence presented so far does not establish a causal link between these factors and the Syrian Civil War, it demonstrates the troubling trend aspect of complex cascade effects caused by climate and environmental change that can lead to insecurity and crisis. The Syrian Civil War, which is now in its sixth year, is an important example of how complex systems interact in unpredictable ways that have the potential to lead to violent conflict. The Middle East and North Africa region is particularly vulnerable to the effects of food insecurity, and water and resource scarcity. This paper will examine the links between climate change and the impact it will have on human and national security in the region over the coming decades. It will argue that the current US Administration of Donald Trump is particularly unprepared to deal with the complex challenges that will likely result as the region undergoes unprecedented social, environmental and economic transformation.

Panel 48 – Gender Politics & Populism

Australian Political
Studies Association

A Tale of Two Women: A comparative media analysis of UK Prime Ministers Margaret Thatcher and Theresa May

Blair Williams, ANU

Women in politics have long experienced misogynistic media representations throughout their terms. Furthermore, evidence suggests the more authoritative the position a woman occupies, the more denigration she receives. Hence, we can expect that women political leaders will endure more negative and often gendered media representation. This was the case for the United Kingdom's first woman Prime Minister, Margaret Thatcher, and it appears to be the same for the current UK Prime Minister, Theresa May. This paper will compare the ways the media represented each of these women for the first three weeks of their prime ministerial term. The aim is to discover if the media representation of women Prime Ministers has changed and, if so, has it changed for the better? Comparisons will also be made to see if newspapers from the 'left' and the 'right' differ in their treatment of these two Prime Ministers. To do this, I will focus on four prominent newspapers, two of which are broadsheets (The Guardian and The Daily Telegraph) and the other two are tabloids (The Mirror and The Sun). The paper will be based on content and discourse analysis of articles mentioning Thatcher and May during each time period (May 1979 and July/August 2016), to unpack the gendered ways in which the media represent these women. Currently, little has been written on the media comparison between Thatcher and May and this paper will address this gap.

Hail Marys: Female Candidates as Reactionary Populist Strategy in Election Periods

Joanna Richards, Institute for Governance and Policy Analysis, University of Canberra

The rise of populism has produced a slew of atypical political leaders over the recent years who have experienced varied success. A large portion of these newcomers are female, and while their presence is encouraging, the circumstances which may have led to their ascension is cause for concern. Building on research examining the "glass cliff" phenomenon (Ryan & Haslam, 2004), this paper explores the psychological processes that underpin the decision to promote women into political leadership. The motivations behind appointing women to the role of opposition leader close to an election is a particular focus of this paper. It is hypothesised that the motivations for female appointments are less related to a preference for female leadership in times of uncertainty, and more likely

a strategic digression away from the status quo in an attempt to feed populist appetites. Crises have been shown to facilitate risk-taking (Kahneman & Tversky, 1979) allowing for groups, in this case political parties, to try something new or question the status quo (Boin & Hart, 2003). It is suggested that the loss of an election or poor performance in the polls constitutes a political crisis. Research has argued that non-prototypical leaders are often promoted to signal change to stakeholders or constituents (Kaplan & Minton, 1994; Lee & James, 2007). Political parties are potentially promoting women to the top job in order to signal change to voters. The effectiveness of this strategy is examined using data from opinion polls before and after changes to leadership. Official party election materials and election results will also be examined where possible. Divergent male politicians have had political success; Canada's Justin Trudeau and France's Emmanuel Macron are clear examples of this. Curiously, the outcomes for female politicians has not been as favourable. Election results are also examined, in an attempt to understand this anomaly.

Resurgent right-wing populism in Bosnia: What does it mean for women?

Elliot Dolan-Evans, Monash University

This paper analyses the influence of the resurgent politics of ethno-nationalism on women's human rights in post-conflict Bosnia Herzegovina (Bosnia). The aim of this paper is to explore how women's rights to economic and political participation in Bosnia are still affected by not only the gender insensitivity of the Dayton Peace Accords (Peace Accords), but also the ethno-nationalist divisions that were entrenched in the Bosnian peace process and are now exploited by political leaders.

Populism in Bosnian politics is understood in this paper as policies and discourse that symbolically construct 'the people' through defined ethnic lines, allowing the populist 'strong' leader to trump all other sources of legitimate political authority.

This paper will analyse the Peace Accords to demonstrate the argument that contemporary populist discourse and policies disproportionately affect women. The gender-blind, ethnically-motivated decentralisation process in the Peace Accords caused a divided society and entrenched women's political and economic exclusion. Further, the absence of women from the peace process has resulted in the Peace Accords failing to unite contemporary Bosnia and hindering any meaningful departure from identity politics.

This paper will establish a link between the rise of ethno-nationalist populism employed by the Bosnian political elite and the resulting stagnation of women's political and economic rights in Bosnia. The paper will outline how certain Bosnian politicians, such as Republic Srpska President Milorad Dodik, are pandering to populist, nationalist impulses and engaging in identity politics and, in doing so, re-opening old wounds in society that erupted during the Bosnian War and were solidified by the Peace Accords.

Panel 49 – Realising the Anglosphere in the Wake of Brexit

Realising the Anglosphere in the wake of Brexit

Since 2010, Conservative-led governments in the UK have expressed determination to reform and diversify the UK's foreign relations by strengthening relations with the Anglosphere, while also seeking to rejuvenating the Commonwealth by developing trade links with emerging economic 'powerhouses' such as India. Interest in the Anglosphere concept intensified during the referendum leading to Brexit, leading Conservative politicians, such as former Foreign Secretary William Hague and Mayor of London Boris Johnson, sought to exemplify the potential of the Anglosphere as a counterweight to Europe by seeking to intensify links with conservative-led governments in Australia, Canada, and New Zealand.

The political appeal of the Anglosphere is both ideological and geopolitical. Proponents argue that an Anglospheric union would afford opportunities to reject European social democratic values and norms, such as large welfare states, strong trade unions or high taxes, in favour of shared ascription to the central tenets of Anglo-Saxon neo-liberalism. Geopolitical aspirations reveal a desire to loosen continental ties with mainland Europe and (re)establish and intensify British economic and political links both with former colonies and other non-European states. British foreign policy aspiration would, it is argued, similarly be reinforced by a closer union of those states who ascribe

to foreign policy informed by the central tenets of liberal interventionism.

The aim of the panel is to interrogate the historical continuities and contemporary manifestations of the Anglosphere concept. The papers will offer timely and original critiques of some of the Anglosphere's advocates' core assumptions about the coherence and unity of its civilization foundations and identities, and its political, economic, and cultural agency. The papers will explore the importance of identity politics, policy networks, and post-colonial histories and memories in shaping contemporary visions and manifestations of the Anglosphere.

'Brexit, the Anglosphere and the Emergence of Global Britain'

Andrew Mycock, University of Huddersfield

The departure of the United Kingdom (UK) from the European Union has encouraged the re-imagining of existing and new international diplomatic, trade, and security relationships. In January 2017 UK Prime Minister Theresa May sought to frame this outward-looking post-EU vision as a 'truly Global Britain', thus building on a national history and culture which is 'profoundly internationalist'. Central to the 'Global Britain' narrative has been the potential to reaffirm and strengthen ties with the Anglosphere and Commonwealth, with proponents arguing that shared values, language, and culture provide the basis for new post-EU relationships. Proponents of 'Global Britain' have however typically framed and articulated this new narrative centrifugally, with scant consideration of the extent to which the UK's international reputation may well be historically contended and contentious. For critics within the UK and elsewhere, the post-Brexit 'Global Britain' vision is akin to 'Empire 2.0', founded on a monochrome and overly-positive vision of the former British Empire and its legacies. Moreover, 'Global Britain' highlights the extent to which a post-imperial 'amnesia' persists with nostalgic advocates' peripheralizing or overlooking completely the need for the UK to come to terms with and/or atone for its colonial past.

This paper will explore the theoretical and empirical origins and manifestations of the 'Global Britain' narrative both prior to and after the EU referendum of 2016. It will explore how proponents segment and layer the Anglosphere and the wider Commonwealth within such narratives, assessing the extent to which the 'Global Britain' vision seeks to impose a unilateral view of the UK's colonial past and post-EU future. The paper will also discuss how other states within the Anglosphere and Commonwealth has responded to Brexit and attempts to strengthen and recalibrate relationships with the UK. It will conclude that 'Global Britain' is not informed by a post-imperial 'amnesia' but instead a 'selective myopia' founded on a nostalgic and largely uncritical versions of the colonial past which overlook that Brexit has stimulated a 'post-colonial anamnesis' both within the UK and across its former empire.

The New Politics of the Anglosphere

Tim Legrand, ANU

Conceptually and normatively, the Anglosphere is disruptive in contemporary political science. For some it connotes the era of British Imperialism, and so provokes a profound suspicion of an underlying political agenda to forge a new global Anglo-Saxon politics cast in the mould of post-colonialism: thus it is argued that the Anglosphere is an agenda, not an analysis. This is not without foundation given, for example, the explicit overtures of trade and immigration to the 'Anglosphere' made by conservative UK politicians during and after the Brexit campaign. Yet for a growing cohort of scholars, the Anglosphere coheres conceptually as an object of analysis worthy of investigation in its own right, quite separate to the normative ambitions of its political advocates. This paper sets out these nascent debates and asks: Does the Anglosphere 'exist' in conceptual and/or normative form, and is its political analysis possible? Taking the positive position, the paper proposes that meaningful analysis - and thus critique - of 'Anglospheric' politics is only possible once its conceptual form is posited *from* its normative foundations. The paper concludes by sketching out the contours of a political analysis of the 'New Politics' of the Anglosphere.

EU-Australia Relations in the Shadow of Brexit

Melissa Conley Tyler, Australian Institute of International Affairs and Alfonso Martinez Arranz, Monash University

Australia's historic relationship with the UK has always been a factor in its relationship with the EU. How will the UK's exit affect Australia's relationship with the EU?

This presentation will report on interviews with 23 Australian thought-leaders drawn from politics, business, science, law, civil society and academia conducted in 2017 to assess changes in their perceptions of the EU and identify challenges and opportunities to build EU-Australia relations. While Brexit is viewed as one of many challenges to the EU – at a time of evident pessimism about the EU project – results suggest there may be greater foundations to build EU-Australia relations than might be commonly be supposed.

At a time of global challenges, EU and Australian leaders are stressing their common values and the potential of greater partnership. In September 2016, a new initiative – the EU-Australia Leadership Forum – was launched by Minister for Foreign Affairs Julie Bishop and High Representative of the EU for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy and Vice-President of the European Commission Federica Mogherini.

The presentation will report on results so far in this three-year project, including ideas for greater collaboration to improve EU-Australia relations.

'English Nationalism, Euroscepticism and the Anglosphere'

Ben Wellings, Monash University

The result of the Brexit referendum in 2016 underscored the salience of Euroscepticism in British politics and the place of politicized nationhood in generating the vote in favour of leaving the European Union. Existing analyses of the 'embedded and persistent' nature of what is commonly seen as 'British Euroscepticism' have neglected the place of a resurgent English nationalism that underpins Euroscepticism in the United Kingdom. Drawing on Bevir and Rhodes' 'traditions and dilemmas' approach to decision-making, this paper argues that long-standing national narratives that emphasised British exceptionalism drew Eurosceptic elites to favour the global connections that Britain's imperial past created with today's 'Anglosphere' in preference to membership of the European Union. Building on an older political identity of the 'English-speaking Peoples', the development of the 'Anglosphere idea' since 2000 crucially provided Eurosceptics with the alternative to European integration they previously lacked. This support for the Anglosphere amongst Eurosceptics is both a cause and a symptom of the long-standing tradition in English national consciousness that merges England with two 'wider categories of belonging': Britain and the English-speaking peoples. This paper examines debates about the UK's place in the EU and its relationships with the wider world from 2005-16. It understands English nationalism, not just as a nativist reaction to globalisation and European integration, but as an outwardly connected ideology as well as a reactive defence of British sovereignty. In so doing, this paper provides a hitherto under-explored account of Brexit and Euroscepticism in the United Kingdom by linking it to a newly politicised English nationhood and re-articulated trans-national identities. The 'Anglosphere' is both a cause and a symptom of the 'Global Britain' narrative that finds support within the 'hard Brexit' wing of the Conservative party.

Panel 50 – Understanding the Rise of Populism 1

Populism, Populist or Personality? What is on the rise and how to test it.

Kathryn Crosby, University of Technology Sydney

Surprise election results around the world - surprising largely due to polls being unable to accurately grasp the mood of the electorate - are fuelling debates such as the supposed rise of populist movements. But what exactly is it that is on the rise? Is it populism - the movement intractably associated with right wing nationalism, hatred and bigotry? Is it populist campaigning - a framing tactic of posing the candidate standing as one with the ordinary people, in opposition to the undemocratic and self-serving elite, irrespective of ideology or partisan leaning? Or is it the rise of the personality or celebrity candidate, who appeals personally to voters more than party or ideology or any message? Election results are not always clear, as a particular candidate may attract voters for all these reasons. As such, trying to interpret meaning from vote data is ambiguous at best. To truly know what is on the rise, we must determine vote causality. This paper looks at the difference between Populism, populist campaigns, and personality candidates, examines whether there has been a rise by comparing 2013 and 2016 Australian federal election Senate results, and discusses the best methodological approaches for testing what is driving voters towards these political forces.

Populism and Connectivism: A Comparison of Mediated Communication Logics

Michael J. Jensen, *Institute for Governance and Policy Analysis, University of Canberra*

Harold Innis has shown that, historically, the various means of communication available have decisively become involved in political organization and governing capacities. Today, social media channels have become a critical space for the mobilization of both populist politicians and connective action movements. Connective action movements typically supplant offline spaces and platforms, developing strategies, tactics, and messaging in the absence of formal significant involvement by formal movement organizations. For populist politicians, social media play an important role as they enable politicians to bypass broadcast media. This serves two functions for populist figures: first, social media enable politicians to form a direct connection with supporters which is critical to the creation of an authentic relationship, and second, broadcast media are often framed as part of the establishment which populists seek to overturn. This paper evaluates connective and populist logics examining the organizational forms indicated by the posts and comments on the Facebook pages of both Donald Trump, as an exemplar of a populist politician, and 291 Facebook pages which are associated with the, at least originally, nonpartisan *Indivisible* movement which has emerged as part of the resistance against Trump's presidency. The data analysis focuses on the period of time from the Trump inauguration on 20 January 2017 up through the 3 June 2017 March for Truth which was a nonpartisan protest in support of the investigation into the Trump campaign and potential collusion or coordination with Russia.

The analysis makes three theoretical contributions. First, it helps elucidate the different organizational functions carried out by supporters of populist and connective political movements. Second, it analyses changes in the structure of populist and connective action movements. Critically it investigates the extent to which a populist figure can avoid becoming part of the system s/he campaigned against and the extent to which connective action movements can maintain independence in a partisan space. Finally it draws wider inferences about the relationship of technologies to political logics.

Algorithmic populism, civic technologies, and the building of an e-demos

Marta Poblet, *RMIT*

Contemporary democracies are currently struggling with growing levels of skepticism, if not resentment, towards the role of political institutions and their representatives with regard to complex societal challenges. In this critical junction, democratic malaise may find its expression through voices that tend to oversimplify complex issues, seek external evils to blame, and press for reactive, hardline responses. While the essence of populism remains historically unchanged, it now proliferates across the cybersphere in unprecedented ways. A new version of populism—algorithmic populism—currently leverages sophisticated computational technologies to profile citizens and influence their voting behavior. It also infiltrates the public cybersphere with bots, non-human agents with the capacity to flood debates and conversations with false, inflammatory, derogatory, or nonsensical statements. Algorithmic populism not only manipulates collective preferences and trends, but also weakens the role of citizens as legitimate participants of the public cybersphere by creating a cacophony of non-human, illegitimate participants. Ultimately, algorithmic populism jeopardizes the gradual building of an e-demos capable to develop the collective knowledge needed to address the challenges of the 21st century. How our democratic systems should address the perils of algorithmic populism? The answers are far from simple, but they require a multidimensional approach that includes a combination of agile regulatory frameworks, innovative civic technologies, and new forms of civic action. This paper will explore these dimensions by (i) providing some examples of the use of artificial intelligence and bots in political events (electoral campaigns and debates); (ii) offering an overview of recent innovations in a growing ecosystem of civic technologies and, (iii) proposing a model of 'linked democracy', that is, a model where people are able to interact with digital technologies and open data to create, share, and reuse politically relevant knowledge. The goal is to contribute to an emerging debate on how redefined notions of isegoria (the right of all citizens to have a voice in the public sphere), participation, representation, and citizenship may strengthen our contemporary democracies.

Panel 51 – Voting Patterns & Electoral Campaigns

Western Sydney Voter Attitudes to Asylum Seekers During the 2013 Federal Election Campaign

Kathleen Blair, Western Sydney University

In the lead up to the 2013 Federal Election, Fiona Scott, then Liberal candidate for the marginal seat of Lindsay, linked asylum seekers to overcrowding, "...go and sit in the emergency department of Nepean Hospital or go sit on the M4 and people see 50,000 people come in by boat". Michelle Rowland, Labor candidate for the marginal seat of Greenway also stated, "When you're sitting in a traffic jam on the motorway or waiting for a train that never comes, it's easy to think about the taxes you've paid and the benefits others might get... asylum is right up there". These marginal seats in Western Sydney are often identified as electorates where the asylum seeker issue resonates most. As such, this paper examines Western Sydney voters' responses to asylum seeker boat arrivals in the 2013 Federal Election. A mixed-method approach using both questionnaire and interview data was employed, examining the impact this issue had on the voting behaviour participants.

Xenophobic vote seeking logic: a geography of Coalition swing voting at Australian federal elections

Luke Mansillo, University of Sydney

When an electoral system enforces compulsory voting parties must persuade voters rather than mobilise its core voters to build voter coalitions. When an electoral system employs multiple single member constituencies parties attempt to maximise seats rather than votes. These two features of Australian electoral law create a logic for the Liberal-National Coalition to seek the most persuadable votes in the most marginal constituencies. Affective political issues organised by a latent dimension of xenophobia within Australian political ideology are consequential for the Coalition's vote share. Vote transfers to the Coalition in the 2013 federal election and from the Coalition in the 2016 federal election are estimated by electoral geography using Vote Compass data with multi-level modelling and post-stratification. Attitudes towards asylum seeker boat turn backs and deficit reduction are used to predict Coalition transfer votes by geography.

GoKimbo2016: A political philosophical auto-ethnographic exploration of politics in Canberra

Kim Huynh, ANU

From July to October 2016 I campaigned to win a seat as an independent in the ACT Legislative Assembly. I lost, but not too badly. I received 5% of the primary vote and did the best out of the all independents and the micro parties (other than the Sex Party). I was inspired and informed by the following: two decades of studying and teaching politics at the ANU; the example and assistance of my creative and courageous students; Plato's *Republic* and a concern that discontent and disillusionment had fallen over my hometown, my homeland and the Western world along with a desire to do something about this. My goals were to give people something to think about, something to smile about and something to believe in. More specifically, I wanted to achieve the following: raise and address major party collusion relating electoral funding; increase political accountability; question the cost of poker machines; formulate and put into effect positive forms of populism and disruption in a post-truth context; have some fun; and share and interrogate what was one of the most thrilling and privileged experiences of my life with fellow scholars via highly rated academic journals and forums like APSA2017.

Panel 52 – Time, Justice & Economy

Author Information

Time, Change and Comparisons: Temporality in Comparative Political Theory

Hamza Bin Jehangir, University of Melbourne and Adrian Little, University of Melbourne

Comparative political theorists have brought into question the Eurocentric focus of political theory. This questioning of political theory's overt reliance on the western canon has resulted in efforts to rethink the concept of tradition, construct cross-cultural dialogues by neutralizing the normative power of western political thought, and engage with issues of radical alterity in a global context. However, despite the implicit operationalization of time as a crucial variable in discussions of dialogue amongst civilizations, otherness and globalization, and the vibrancy of non-western intellectual traditions, comparativists rarely locate temporality at the center of their comparative inquiry. In

this paper, we forward a case for understanding temporality, and implications of temporal change, as central concerns of comparative political theorizing. We argue that this shift towards taking temporality, and temporal change, seriously entails treating time as a constituent element of cultural difference and undertaking temporal comparisons. Temporal comparisons involve understanding how different phenomenological perceptions of political concepts, such as the state, might exist agonistically across, and amongst, various cultural contexts and timeframes. Temporal comparisons also consist of exploring how time is organized methodologically in different traditions of political thought and the relationship of this treatment of time with processes of imagining political futures beyond the western canon. We argue that temporal comparisons provide comparative political theorists with the necessary analytical tools to enrich their understandings of cultural and civilizational difference and the historical relationship of this difference to the present. They also move comparative political theory beyond a discussion of text and alterity, towards constructing a problem-driven response to Eurocentric preoccupations of traditional political theory.

Hegel's influence on Alfred Marshall's economics: The family's role in reproducing liberal economic institutions

Miriam Bankovsky, LaTrobe University

The use of Hegel by British Idealists in opposing evolutionary biology and utilitarianism in the second half of the nineteenth century is well-documented. However, the quite different impact of Hegel on Alfred Marshall (the founding father of the Cambridge School of Economics and one of Britain's most influential orthodox economists) has been relatively neglected. This paper extends a small body of work on Marshall's neo-Hegelian ethics to include the impact of Hegel on Marshall's account of the family's role in reproducing liberal economic institutions. Marshall's broadly utilitarian economics is shown to be framed by a teleological ethics of social good, which also reinstates a naturalised account of idealised familial roles. Marshall's neo-Hegelianism is thus shown to be very different to that of the British idealists, for it is entangled with the very schemes of thought (secular utilitarianism and evolutionary biology) that the British Idealists themselves sought to criticise. The study also reveals that Marshall's economics cannot easily be reduced to the form of deductive rational-choice supply-demand economics of the Chicago price theorists, who claim to inherit his work.

Temporal-Strategy: Restoring the role of time in strategy

Andrew Carr, ANU

Strategy is the conduct of action in space and time. While the impact of geographic space on strategy is both widely and well-studied, the same cannot be said for time. This paper shows that while the concept of time is integral to the field from classic works to several cutting edge studies, its importance has not been explicitly recognised. The paper seeks to bring together these disparate streams and identify the main concepts such as Time Horizons, Windows of Opportunity, and Warning Time which inform how time operates as a strategic concept. The paper argues that temporal-strategy, like geostrategy should be developed as a distinct element of the contemporary strategy literature and identifies some of the first steps towards that objective.

Panel 53 – ANZAC, the Great War and the Politics of History

This roundtable brings together a combination of scholars with a particular interest in the role of Anzac and the centenary of the Great War. Exploring the contemporary politics of commemoration; the relationship between Australian history, identity and politics; the politics of memory; and the role of Anzac in contemporary conceptions of Australia, this roundtable brings together scholars ultimately interested in the politics of history. Presenters have recently published works on these themes in *Australian Journal of Politics and History*, have manuscripts on these themes forthcoming in the journal, or are members of the journal's editorial board with expertise on the politics of Anzac in the context of the centenary of the Great War.

Panel 54 – Australian & Comparative Voting & Electoral Trends

Separate Bicameral Elections: A comparison of Japan and Australia

Masahiro Kobori, Ritsumeikan University

Of the five OECD countries with two elected chambers (Italy, Spain, Belgium, Japan, and Australia), only Japan has held separate elections for each chamber. Although there are significant studies on bicameralism, this question of simultaneous/separate elections in bicameral systems has not received sufficient attention. This paper examines the reasons why simultaneous elections have been dominant in most of these countries, and the bases for the Japanese preference for separate elections. It does so by a comparative examination of Japan and Australia, focusing on the reasons Australia held separate upper house elections in the 1950s and the 1960s (and why it has since returned to simultaneous elections), and on the Japanese post-war electoral practice that has consistently relied on separate elections, except the elections in 1980 and 1986.

My core argument is that there has been a clear contrast of ideas between the two countries about the practice of simultaneous/separate elections in bicameral system. In Australia, there has been a kind of consensus among leading politicians for simultaneous elections between two chambers because of efficacy while in Japan it has been taken granted among drafters, politicians, and even leading researchers to hold separate elections between two chambers because of avoidance of the “tyranny of the majority”.

What are the implications of changing forms of voting in Australia?

Martin Drum, University of Notre Dame and Stephen Mills, University of Sydney

The electoral landscape in Australia is changing, with increasing numbers of voters choosing to vote early, by post or in some cases electronically. There is a need to better understand the implications of this for the various stakeholders in the electoral process. The paper will present preliminary findings from interviews with campaign directors and candidates from major parties, minor parties and independents who have participated in several recent electoral events, including the WA state election in 2017 and two waves of by-elections in NSW in 2016 and 2017. These findings indicate that various participants in the process have had to change their campaign tactics in order to better target the different types of voters they were hoping to reach. It is also clear that some parties and candidates have adapted to these changes more effectively than others. The research was conducted as part of a broader multi-disciplinary study of voting change funded through the Electoral Regulation Research Network.

Pauline Hanson's One Nation Then and Now: Modeling the Socio-economic and Demographic Characteristics of the One Nation Party Vote in 1998 and 2016.

Damon Alexander, Swinburne University of Technology

Pauline Hanson's One Nation stunned political pundits in 1998, winning eleven seats and almost a quarter of the primary vote in the 1998 Queensland State election and following this up with 8.43 per cent at the 1998 federal election. Though generally regarded as a failure, due largely to Hanson's defeat in the seat of Blair, One Nation's ability to attract over 900,000 votes at the 1998 federal election represents a clear high water mark in terms of the electoral impact of right-wing populism on Australian politics. Bitter and prolonged internal party conflict; the impact of external events such as 9/11 and the Tampa incident; along with a strategic rethink on the conservative side of politics, saw electoral support for One Nation fall to just under 500,000 votes at the 2001 poll, with Hanson herself narrowly missing out on a Senate seat in Queensland. The intervening years were marked by a string of electoral failures at both state and federal levels, with One Nation in its various guises rarely breaching 2 per cent of the popular vote, and Hanson herself standing as an independent and later as the head of Pauline's United Australia Party, faring only marginally better.

Given the significant trail of electoral disappointment following One Nation's meteoric rise, Hanson's return to federal parliament (along with three Senate colleagues) and political relevance following the 2016 double-dissolution election represents a further and somewhat unexpected twist in the One Nation story. Against this background, this paper will use polling booth level election results aggregated to the postal area level, to map and compare the party's electoral performance at the 1998 and 2016 federal elections. Having develop a clear picture of the geographic distribution of the party's vote at both polls, election results will then be linked to census data to

examine the socio-economic and demographic characteristics of the party's support base and to explore any changes across the intervening period.

Panel 55 – Financial Regulation & Government Decision-Making

Financialization, financial regulation and voter attention: Explaining the post-crisis regulatory cycle in advanced economies

Andrew Walter, University of Melbourne

What determines the trajectory of post-crisis financial regulation? Standard theories predict industry resistance to regulatory tightening will be strongest in the most financially developed countries, with regulators compelled to seek international regulatory harmonisation to achieve domestic legislative support. However, these expectations have not been borne out since 2008: acting against industry preferences, regulators in Switzerland, the UK and the USA sought *more stringent* regulatory solutions than in other major jurisdictions, and they have exceeded some important new international regulatory standards in practice (“overcompliance”). To explain this puzzle, I explore how processes of financialization and associated increases in the wealth and leverage of middle and upper income households generate a sustained upward shift in the cycle of political salience of financial regulation. I investigate how this rising salience of regulation for voters incentivises politicians of varying partisan affiliations, particularly those in the most financialized systems, to support more regulatory tightening than in less financialized systems. Finally, since this regulatory overcompliance is contested in these jurisdictions, I assess the factors that shape its political sustainability.

BITs and FDI: Credible Commitments and Interdependent Choices

Chungshik Moon, ANU and Dale L. Smith, University of North Carolina at Charlotte

Under what conditions do Foreign Directed Investment (FDI) inflows increase? How do different commitment mechanisms, domestic property rights and international investment treaties, jointly affect FDI inflows? We answer these questions by examining the preferences of two key actors, host governments and foreign investors. Host governments will calculate their expected costs of signing a BIT and these costs will be much higher for those with weak domestic institutions. Thus, we predict that host countries with good domestic institutions are more likely to sign BITs. At the investment stage, the foreign investor's preferences shape investment decisions. Given the lack of a strong domestic commitment device, foreign investors may find the role of international commitment institutions more useful in signaling the host government's intention to protect its property and profits. This leads us to expect that the effects of an international commitment device will be stronger among those who have weak domestic institutions. The empirical results covering non-OECD countries from 1970 to 2008 clearly support these two propositions – countries with strong domestic institutions are likely to sign BITs, and the effect of Bilateral Investment Treaties (BITs) on FDI inflows is greater among host countries with weak domestic institutions. This finding is robust with different measures of the key variables as well as estimation techniques.

Federalism, Social Policies and Multi-Level Cooperation: The Evolution of Cash Transfer Programs in Brazil

Helder Ferreira do Vale, Hankuk University of Foreign Studies

This paper analyzes the institutional innovations in federal Brazil and builds a relationship between federal institutional robustness and the strengthening of state capacity. Focusing on the process of institutional changes in the intergovernmental arena, the paper sheds light on the institutional transformations that led to the emergence of federal cooperative dynamics in the country since 1988. This mode of intergovernmental relations will be assessed with the comparison of two federal programs to alleviate poverty, namely Bolsa Familia and Bolsa Verde. These programs are considered innovative due to their approach to poverty reduction and the intitutional-organizational aspects of the program. Through the comparison of these programs it is possible to note changes in intergovernmental coordination in Brazil. The article reaches several conclusions. First, Brazil engineered a complex and yet flexible intergovernmental system that can accommodate different degrees of conflict. Second, this system has been largely built by developing cooperation in sector-specific policy areas. And lastly, the cooperative institutions have become more institutionalized, inclusive and predictable.

Panel 56 – Varieties of Populism; Varieties of Approaches

Kanishka Jayasuriya, Murdoch University; Carol Johnson, University of Adelaide; Priya Chacko, University of Adelaide; Garry Rodan, Murdoch University and Tiziana Torresi, University of Adelaide

This roundtable addresses the varieties of populism and the theoretical approaches to the explanation of such populist movements and in particular right wing populist movements and parties. The roundtable is specifically directed against those understandings of the emergence of populism as a product of political and institutional failure. The roundtable addresses the role of economic and political crises in fueling such right-wing populist movements and will explore the relevance of the concepts of authoritarian statism and authoritarian populism in explaining the rise of populist movements. It also examines the role of transitional migration in driving populist movements. . We ask: What is it about the changing nature of capitalist development and representative democracies that have fueled or alternatively prevent the emergence of populist movements. Is there a more generalized anti-political sentiment across the polities of the global North and South that help explain rise of populist movements and parties .

Panel 57 – The Governors, the Governed and Others: Re-examining Political Actors and Relationships in Britain

This themed session will examine three key actors in the British political system: Members of Parliament (MPs), voters and think tanks. All three papers seek to examine existing understandings of the role played by these actors within the British political system; paper #1 reassesses the concept of the "political class" in Britain and the governor-governed relationship, paper #2 will examine why some British and Australian voters do not vote in accord with their 'natural' class interest and paper #3 will reassess the relationship between the Adam Smith Institute, a British think tank, and the Conservative Party in light of the rise of the "opinion maker" in public policy debates . Through this panel, we hope to shed new light on the roles played by these actors in the British political system during a time of uncertainty and conflict between the public and political elites.

From Big Ben to Basic Values: what makes MPs tick

James Weinberg, University of Sheffield

The existence of a gap between governors and governed is now well documented in political science literature and the theme of democratic disaffection has been demonstrated as a challenge both in the UK and beyond that urgently requires a theoretically informed, empirically driven, and policy-relevant response. Appealing to the best traditions of psychological political science, this paper will apply the theory of Basic Human Values devised by Shalom Schwartz to reassess the concept of the 'political class' in the UK.. As axioms by which to understand motivational drives and human behaviour, Basic Human Values provide a generalistic point of comparison for understanding differences between individuals in particularistic contexts. As such this paper will compare data collected from UK MPs with data collected from the British public in the 2014 wave of the European Social Survey. This comparison will focus on the supply-side characteristics of democratic politics through close attention to elite values, revealing more about 'who' actually becomes an MP and the extent to which they are similar or different to the general public. In doing so this paper will offer a fresh perspective on stereotypes of MPs such as their greed, careerist attitudes and self-serving interests - rote claims that are psychological in nature but have not received psychological analysis from political researchers. This paper not only goes beyond previous remote studies of political elites but opens the space to reconsider the governor-governed relationship and reconceptualise the contested use of the term 'political class' in future research.

Unnatural selection: drivers of 'unnatural' class voting in the UK and Australia

David Jeffery, Queen Mary, University of London

The centrality of the value concept has a rich history in psychology (e.g. Rokeach 1973), sociology (e.g. Williams 1968), and anthropology (e.g. Kluckhohn 1951). At a base level theorists across the social sciences have operationalised values, albeit in varying forms, as the criteria by which individuals decide upon, justify, and evaluate their own and others' behaviour. However, compared with research into policy opinions or political ideals, survey research into personal values in politics, and especially of elites, has been distinctly lacking. Applying the socio-

psychological model of Basic Human Values devised by Shalom Schwartz, this paper will specifically scrutinise the behavioural implications of individual value differences among a recent sample of over 100 Parliamentarians, drawn from both the House of Commons and Lords in the UK. This paper presents the first application of the theory of Basic Human Values to national politicians as a feature of behavioural analysis and it is unique in presenting quantitative survey data on MPs' values drawn directly from the actors themselves. Focusing on overtly political behaviours - from policy choices to selective participation in political processes - this paper makes distinct contributions to the fields of both psychology (in advancing the application of an integrative model of personality analysis) and political science (in moving beyond the overreliance on political values and -ism ideologies in studies of elite agency).

"Ideas are not enough": the strategies of the Adam Smith Institute (1977 - 2015)

Keshia Jacotine, Monash University

Existing think tank literature is fixated on assessing the relationship between think tanks and governments. In the case of the Adam Smith Institute (ASI), this literature placed the ASI firmly in the middle of the "Battle of Ideas" as a New Right institution with social and political connections to the Thatcher Government. While over time the ASI has maintained its primary goal of advocating for Neoliberalism in Britain, towards the end of the second Thatcher Government, it became apparent that the ASI began to move away from directly approaching policy makers in government and the civil service. This paper will examine the modern strategies utilised by the ASI, with a focus on its shift from approaching governments and the civil service, to "opinion makers" (referred to as "technocrats" by ASI staff). It will discuss how the think tank has conceptualised this group of individuals as being the true drivers in policy change, and argue that this approach represents a broader shift within discourse in the British political system as reflected in recent case studies such as the lead up to Brexit. It will conclude by suggesting that its findings point to further opportunities to examine the role played by think tanks and other institutions in light of these shifts within policy networks in Britain

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Panel 58 – Political Economy in Developing States

Nationalism and public support for international flows: Evidence from Indonesia

Diego Fossati, Griffith University

Research in international political economy suggests that nationalism is negatively correlated with support for international flows of goods and capital. Nationalists and ethnocentric individuals are more inclined to see international economic engagement as a zero-sum game, and thus less likely to support trade and foreign investment. This finding resonates with the recent surge of public opposition to globalization, which in many countries is coupled with nationalist and nativist sentiments. In this talk, I explore if this theory applies to Indonesia, the largest economy in Southeast Asia and an important economic partner for Australia. By analyzing original data collected with face-to-face interviews on a nationally representative sample of 1,600 Indonesian citizens I find that, in contrast with expectations, nationalism is *positively* associated with support for trade, foreign investment and foreign aid. To understand this puzzle, I emphasize the importance of the historical process through which national identity was constructed in this country. While nationalism and economic isolationism have been intertwined in some periods of Indonesian history, nationalist rhetoric has at other times promoted an outward-looking, FDI-friendly model of economic development, most notably during the authoritarian New Order. I discuss the implications for the comparative literature on public support for globalization.

Interrogating Resource Politics and Rentier State- Evidence from the Coal Economy in Jharkhand

Nikas Kindo, Tata Institute of Social Sciences

Abundance of natural resources is significant for the development of any country or region. However it is striking to learn that many times resource abundance has played havoc for a country and community. A number of analyses confirm that there is a strong nexus between resources and corruption. This nexus includes powerful politicians, ruling elites, bureaucrats and dominant section of community. As a result, larger community is unable to benefit from the resources. This study is located in North Karanpura region- a resource rich tribal dominated region in Jharkhand which produces a very significant amount of coal to feed the burgeoning needs of the energy sector. As has been the experience in other part of the world where resources have become a curse for the local

population, similar phenomena are being experienced in the state of Jharkhand. Findings suggest that state is using insurgent groups for negotiations and securing resource for energy generation. State led violence and social injustice is in everyday practice where insurgent and dominant class can classify as agencies of 'reinter capitalism'. It follows the theoretical lines of the 'Resource Abundance', 'everyday state structural violence' and 'Rentier State'. Through ethnographic fieldwork carried out in 2015 and 2016 at Karanpura, this research will investigate the State-Society relationship, State-Capital motive for resource extraction and the peoples' fight with State Institutions as extremists. This research will also explore the fragmentation of society and extremist movements to gain control to extract rents from resources. This research will be a contribution in 'Resource politics' theorisation, it will challenge the existing 'Reinter State' theories as finding shows that State violate social justice and its practice when it comes to secure environment for market demand e.g energy and associated investments.

The Failure Of Developing States To Engage With The Private Sector In The Implementation Of The Trade Facilitation Agreement.

Chris Arnel, Monash University

Red tape, opaque regulations and inefficient revenue collection all cost developing world economies billions of dollars per year. The current systems leave food rotting at borders, delay vital goods and propagates a culture of corruption. A 2010 study by the World Bank found that a one-day reduction in inland travel times translates to a 1.5% decrease in all importing-country tariffs. These delays are most pronounced in developing states, which has led to the cost of trade for developing economies on average being 1.8 times higher than developed states. To address these issues, WTO Members concluded negotiations on a landmark Trade Facilitation Agreement (TFA) at the 2013 Bali Ministerial Conference. After just over three years, the TFA has come into force with the final number of required members ratifying the agreement on 22 February 2017.

The TFA contains provisions for expediting the movement, release and clearance of goods, including goods in transit. It lays out measures for effective deepening of integration between customs and other relevant authorities. It also comprises technical assistance and capacity building provisions. Full implementation of the TFA could reduce world trade costs by an average of 14.3% bringing with it a rapid reduction in poverty, facilitate the involvement of smaller companies on the international trading scene and support the increased participation of developing countries in global value chains. The WTO and UNCTAD have stressed the importance of private sector participation and leadership in the TFA's implementation as vital to reaching its maximum potential.

This paper finds that, to date, engagement with the private sector has often been fragmented and local business awareness of the TFA remains weak in developing regions. Whilst structural implementations such as, National Trade Facilitation Committees, have been somewhat beneficial, this article finds that much of the weak engagement is a symptom of governments in the South lacking the institutional capacity to effectively engage their private sector. However, in some states, there is still an ideological unwillingness to surrender any trade reform power to the business community.

Panel 59 – Australian Foreign & Security Policy

Australian foreign policy and relations with the European Union: Reconceptualising the significance of the EU as an international actor

Edward Yencken, University of Melbourne

Australian foreign policy is dominated by a focus on major states in the Asia-Pacific region, most notably the US and China. Due to this emphasis this paper will argue that Australian foreign policy has a tendency to neglect relations with other international actors. This has been evident with regard to Australia's approach to relations with the European Union (EU) which have historically received little attention. Indeed, when the bilateral relationship has received attention it tended to be related to issues of disagreement, most notably the Common Agricultural Policy (CAP). A more recent manifestation of this tendency has been the Eurozone crisis and Brexit which have seen the cultivation of further negative narratives regarding the EU.

Despite a focus on issues of disagreement it will be contended that Australia, particularly over the past two decades, has been able to forge an increasingly close relationship with the EU. This has been due principally to

major reform of the CAP but also the emergence of the EU as an increasingly coherent economic actor due to the implementation of the single market and the Euro's status as a currency of global significance. Australia's recognition of the importance of these developments is evident in the completion of a number of significant bilateral agreements over the past 15 years including a treaty-level Framework Agreement in 2016. This has been followed by the formal commencement of negotiations for an FTA in 2017. These developments are particularly significant in view of events such as Brexit, which while receiving significant attention, have not detracted in a substantive manner from bilateral cooperation. Consequently, this paper will argue that while the predominant focus of Australian foreign policy is likely to remain the US alliance and Asia-Pacific engagement, important EU internal developments has seen it emerge as actor of significance.

Balancing economics and politics: Critical factors in Australia's foreign policy towards China during the Howard government

David Fitzsimmons, University of Sydney

Recent studies regarding Australia's foreign policy attitudes towards China have argued that international factors and domestic political factors have created a pragmatic and diplomatic balancing act in the Australia-China bilateral relationship. This paper tests this argument by exploring the Howard government's role in policy making and policy implementation of Australian foreign policy towards China from 1996 to 2007. It argues that there were also "other" factors - such as - public diplomacy and leadership styles that drove and influenced Australia's China policy in the Asia-Pacific region. This highly interactive process had profound continuing effects for Australia's foreign policy towards China in the years to come.

International Law and International Relations: Australia's Approach

Melissa Conley Tyler, Australian Institute of International Affairs

How states behave is key to understanding the intersection between international law and international relations. One way to analyse the perennial question of the interaction between international law and international relations is to analyse the divergence between the two in states' actual behaviour.

This paper will focus on Australia's international law practice as a case study to draw conclusions about the relationship between its approach to international law and international relations. It will use a recent restatement of Australia's international law practice - the Australian Institute of International Affairs' third edition of *International Law in Australia* released in 2017 - as a base for understanding Australia's behaviour in international law. With 23 chapters by some of Australia's most authoritative experts on topics from international dispute settlement to refugee law, from international environmental law to international trade law, it is an ideal resource to use to analyse Australia's practice in these diverse areas against its stated foreign policy goals.

The paper will identify areas of concordance and discordance between Australia's international relations aims and its behaviour on international legal issues and attempt to identify any unifying themes in Australia's practice of international law. It will look at defensive and offensive uses of international legal arguments and whether this reveals a pattern in Australia's use of international law to achieve its international relations goals.

The case study will have wider application in showing the linkages between international law practice and international relations aims as shown in a specific example.

Identity and the Construction of Australian Maritime Security Policy

Maria Rublee, Monash University

Panel 60 – Policy Making 4

Policy Learning Post-Crisis: In Defence of the Public Inquiry

Alastair Stark, University of Queensland

A common commentary in political science, public policy and organisational research is that the public inquiry is an ineffectual policy learning mechanism. This conventional wisdom has also found its way into studies of crises

and crisis management, underpinning a view that governments repeat the mistakes of the past because of their inability to learn in the aftermath of disaster. This paper contends that this view is incorrect and that it is a result of the academy failing to learn rather than the state. Drawing upon four international case studies of inquiries, operationalised via 100 interviews with ministers, policy officials, inquiry personnel and associated policy actors, this paper shows unequivocally that post-crisis inquiries do regularly produce forms of policy learning that enhance our safety from future threats. We therefore need to re-evaluate our judgements about the public inquiry. Revaluations need to consider the strong likelihood that post-crisis inquiries are much more influential than we currently believe and the possibility, which now needs to be explored properly, that inquiries generally may be more effective than our current knowledge insinuates.

Government Corruption: How Abuse of Office Undermines Popular Support for Democratic Values

Zareh Ghazarian, Monash University and Michael Mintrom, ANZSOG / Monash University

Government corruption is a common phenomenon worldwide – both among political elites and among bureaucratic staff. In this paper, we restrict our attention to government corruption in democracies, with the goal of establishing a sound analytical framework through which to assess government corruption and its effects specifically in the Australian context. The paper proceeds in four sections. First, we survey international research findings on how abuse of office undermines popular support for democratic values. Second, we discuss the phenomenon of government corruption in Australia, noting salient recent cases and how they have been addressed. Third, we review the role of anti-corruption agencies operating at the state level in Australia, doing so with the purpose of assessing their effectiveness in addressing corruption. Here, we explore what is known of the link between instances of abuse of office in Australia and how this affects public trust in government and popular support for democratic values. We apply an inductive methodology grounded in discrete analyses of historical and contemporary events and institutional responses. Process tracing is used to reveal connections between specific episodes of corrupt action, discovery of corruption, and resultant changes in public sentiments, including trust in government, and support for democracy. While the common types of corruption in Australian government are well understood, little is known about how the revelation of such cases and efforts to address them affect popular support for democratic values. By exploring selected Australian cases and documenting commentary around them (guided by insights from international research), we suggest fruitful future steps for improving our knowledge of sound practice in addressing corruption and, by extension, strengthening popular support for democratic values in Australia.

Exploring the evidence ecosystem: Use and access of information and research for policy and practice

Amanda Lawrence, Swinburne University of Technology / RMIT

The notion of evidence-based policy has been widely adopted but there has been a lack of analysis and strategies for understanding and managing the diversity of sources and resource types that may make up this evidence. While many consider peer-reviewed academic journals to be the most credible source of evidence, the reality is that evidence is produced by and derived from a huge range of organisations and many kinds of resources circulating the public sphere, much of it grey literature. Grey literature is a term used to describe publications and other resource produced by organisations and in politics, policy and practice is a key tool used to achieve influence, advocate for a cause, or have impact. It is therefore essential that we take a better look at what resources are actually being used for public policy research, decision-making and practice work and the issues faced by researchers, policy makers and others in finding and evaluating policy material. Through online surveys and interviews with respondents in government, education, civil society organisations and industry we have found that grey literature is heavily used and highly valued but is highly problematic due to the lack of production standards and effective management practices. This paper will explore what are the most important formats and sources of information for policy and practice in Australia and how they are evaluated by those undertaking policy work. The role of APO (Analysis and Policy Observatory) as research infrastructure for public policy will be considered and through an economic analysis of the research results an estimate of the economic value of grey literature use and access is provided.

Panel 61 – New & Old Populisms: Duterte & Strongman Leadership in the Philippines

This panel discussion examines the case of Philippine President Rodrigo Duterte (2016 – present) to unpack the legacies and future trajectories of populism in the Philippines and in Asia Pacific more broadly. It asks, why and in what ways Duterte's 'strongman leadership' reflects new and old forms of populism in the context of a developing country. The presentations in this themed session will specifically identify historical and contemporary processes that enable populist leaders in the Philippines in order to understand Duterte not simply as an 'exceptional' phenomenon but also one whose presidency is situated within broader political, economic and socio-cultural structures. Moreover, the presenters explore the consequences of populist politics under Duterte for three main issues: regional foreign policy, terrorism and domestic peace processes, and gender equality.

New Directions in Terrorism and Strongman Rule in the Philippines: The ISIS-inspired siege of Marawi, Martial Law and Foreign Policy Pivots

Charles G.L. Donnelly, ANU

Even by the standards of conflict-ridden Muslim Mindanao, the Marawi siege of May 2017 demonstrated the seriousness and resilience of Islamic State affiliates in the southern Philippines by establishing a Mosul-styled, self-proclaimed regional caliphate. Coinciding with growing uncertainty in the region, the Marawi siege also enabled President Duterte to add martial law to his strongman credentials and shake up the traditional US alliance in favour of stronger ties with China and Australia. This paper examines the Marawi siege in and around the themes of: (1) the new tenacious breed of terrorism in Mindanao; (2) the ever-increasing authoritarian tendencies of the Duterte administration; and, (3) new directions in bilateral foreign military assistance. The paper will conclude with reflections on how this most recent flashpoint is likely to impact the ongoing, decades-old peace process with the Moro revolutionary fronts.

Duterte's Peace: Promising Start, Bloody End?

Dennis Quilala, University of Canterbury

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Philippine President Rodrigo Duterte raised hopes during his first State of the Nation Address (SONA) in 2016. He promised to provide a "peace not of the dead but a peace of the living". This paper examines the different dimensions to how Duterte has navigated his peace strategy amidst ongoing political tensions between the government, different Moro armed groups, and with the Communist Party of the Philippines/New People's Army/National Democratic Front (CPP-NPA-NDF) respectively. It argues that Duterte's approach to peace has thus far cemented a bloody solution to armed conflicts in the Philippines. There are no signs that the communists and the administration will be returning to the negotiating table and there is little progress in the Bangsamoro bill. Filipinos have been supportive of the peace process but would Duterte be able to change their minds?

"Penile Populism": The role of hypermasculinity in enabling populism in the Philippines

Maria Tanyag, Monash University

'Strongman leadership' have had historical and contemporary significance in Southeast Asia and in the Philippines particularly. However, scant policy and scholarly attention has been given to explicitly drawing the connections between populism in Southeast Asia and the political and economic conditions that engender hypermasculinity among male political leaders. This paper examines the case of the Philippines under President Duterte to unpack the ways in which his populist leadership is underpinned by the harnessing of hypermasculine narratives and symbols. It argues that hypermasculinity is crucial for legitimating as well as solidifying Duterte's authority in key issues areas such as the 'War on Drugs' and regional security. By examining strongman leadership in the Philippines, this paper underscores the need to pay greater attention to the gendered dimensions of deepening populism in Southeast Asia more broadly.

Panel 62 – Environmental Policy & Reform 3

Can Australia Become an Alternative Energy Superpower? Political Economy and International Relations Impacts of Australia's Potential Alternative Energy Exports to Asia

Natalie Ralph, Deakin University; Linda Hancock, Deakin University and Doug Macfarlane, Monash University

Australia holds great promise as a leading 'superpower' in renewable energy and technologies innovation; in a world shifting to a new global renewable energy system and economy. Renewable/alternative energy generation by Australia for its Asian neighbours could boost future Australian trade and foreign policy performance, and both energy and national security. Yet, polarised debates and intractable confrontations over energy and climate change policy, have created a slothful meandering towards alternative energy domestically, and in energy exports. Australia risks falling behind in global energy relations; intensified by carbon-intensive energy companies influencing Australian domestic policy and restricting alternative energy development. If policy levers supporting alternative energy are re-prioritised following the 'Finkel Report', how can Australia grasp its 'superpower' potential, via strengthening alternative energy exports? Can this protect Australia's future position in the global economy? How might this strengthen Australian trade and foreign policy in Asia? We analyse two empirical examples of potential alternative energy exports: generating liquid hydrogen for shipping to Japan's new hydrogen economy, and solar-generated electricity cabled to Indonesia and possibly, the Association for South East Asian Nations. How might such energy relations impact on Australia's energy and national security? Finally, will these cases, which will increase seabed cables and shipping for energy transport, best support (human) security in terms of sustainable development and carbon emissions reductions or are there better ways? These might include exporting more nimble, distributed energy technologies for generation and storage – such as cutting-edge batteries, micro-grids or solar panels. This is where Australia's alternative energy superpower position could emerge.

The Elusive Global Governance of Climate Change: Comparing Nationally Determined Contributions

Justin Leinaweaver, Drury University and Robert Thomson, Monash University

The international community has been working on a response to the existential threat of climate change that would be adopted and implemented widely enough to "prevent dangerous anthropogenic interference with the climate system" (UNFCCC 1992, Art 2). Policymakers have recently shifted away from the convention-protocol system, which had involved attempts to formulate and impose legally binding obligations on states, to embrace a bottom-up approach in which states determine their own commitments. This system of soft governance is embodied in the Nationally Determined Contributions (NDCs) in the Paris Agreement (2016). Given that NDCs with self-determined commitments and weak to non-existent monitoring and enforcement mechanisms is presently the main approach of the international community to addressing climate change, we require greater understanding of what NDCs mean to the states that submit them.

Drawing on several areas of scholarship in national and international governance, we examine distinct ways of conceiving of NDCs. Firstly, NDCs may be thought of as commitments to the international community and/or domestic actors. Second, they may embody states' negotiating positions in an ongoing process of national and international interactions. Third, drawing on scholarship on the emergence of soft law and policy transfer, NDCs may be conceived of as states' attempts to coordinate with and influence policymaking in other jurisdictions. Fourth, NDCs may be purely symbolic rituals that are designed to protect present and future governments' autonomy while appearing to address the problem. Any particular way of defining NDCs may be more applicable to some governments than to others, and different definitions may apply to different aspects of the same NDCs to at least some extent.

We develop a measurement procedure based on the observable implications of these distinct ways of conceiving of NDCs and apply it to a sample of the NDCs that are currently available (114 at time of writing). This measurement procedure draws insights from a range of studies that involve human coding of political texts, including national election programs of political parties, national government coalition agreements, national legislation and international treaties. Part of the procedure involves the development of a framework of themes and subthemes that captures the universe of discourse on the global governance of climate change. This allows us to compare systematically the emphasis that different states place on the broad themes of mitigation and adaptation, as well

as more detailed subthemes. We categorize the different ways in which NDCs frame overarching issues such as the differentiation of responsibilities between developed and developing countries. Our measurement procedure also identifies specific pledges, which are verifiable commitments to take specific actions or bring about specific outcomes. Finally, we draw on previous research on delegation in national laws and international treaties to systematically code the discretion and ambiguity contained in NDCs. This theoretically informed measurement procedure allows us to compare different states' NDCs systematically and to derive inferences about the conditions under which different ways of conceiving of these documents are most applicable.

Paradigm shift and rural water reform in Victoria

Ben Rankin, Swinburne University of Technology

The passage of the Parliamentary Committees (Public Bodies Review) Act 1980 by the Victorian Parliament saw the creation of a bi-partisan joint-select parliamentary committee for the purposes of reviewing the structure and operation of public bodies referred to it by the Governor in Council. The subsequent Public Bodies Review Committee (PBRC) was afforded significant resources and provided with the capacity to review the broad domain of Victoria's statutory authorities commencing with the rural water sector.

The PBRC's investigations preceded the realignment of Victoria's rural water governance arrangements through a comprehensive process of restructure and reorganisation, which ultimately facilitated a significant shift in the institutional sphere of rural water governance.

The extended period of reform that followed included a distinct policy focus on sustainability issues and the embrace of economic rationalist and efficiency-based policy devices. The latter stages of this process also coincided with a series of intergovernmental water reform agreements pursued through the Council of Australian Governments.

Confronted with policy failure across multiple inputs, existing institutions may be forced to accept alternative options. This paper considers the Victorian rural water reform process as a deliberate and comprehensive approach towards institutional reform engineered into the mainstream political agenda.

Using the theoretical base of "paradigm shift" this paper argues that three institutional shocks disrupted the existing paradigm encompassing rural water governance in Victoria. Each of these shocks contributed to the development of a greater focus on sustainable and economic efficiency approaches to water management: the economic limits of rural water expansion; the increasing financial burden of existing supply systems; and, the rapidly expanding environmental costs of existing structures.

The robust institutional structure that had underpinned rural water governance in Victoria shifted as a consequence of these shocks, ultimately forcing a process of institutional "reform" and "realignment".

Panel 63 – Classical Stoicism & Modern Political Thought

Classical Stoicism and Locke's Theory of Self-ownership

Lisa Hill, University of Adelaide

The most important parent of the idea of property in the person (self-ownership) is undoubtedly John Locke. In this paper we argue that the origins of this idea can be traced back as far as the third century BCE to classical Stoicism. Stoic cosmopolitanism, with its insistence on impartiality and the moral equality of all persons, lays the foundation for the idea of self-ownership which is then given support in the doctrine of *oikeiosis* and the corresponding belief that Nature has made all human beings equal, self-preserving and self-regarding. Self-ownership (or our preferred term 'self-guardianship') for the Stoic is a natural correlate and consequence of *oikeiosis* and the urge to self-preservation. It is also a function of the belief that individuals are the best guardians of their own interests. In recognising that people are separate and individual and entrusting each individual's welfare to herself, Zeus appears to make everyone a self-owner.

Locke was well-acquainted with Stoic teachings and esteemed them highly. He agreed that personhood begins with self-consciousness and an awareness of individuation, which in turn leads to a cognisance of our own interests and therefore the desire for self-preservation. Because self-preservation is something that every person has an original 'right to' everyone 'has a "property" in her own person'. Locke agrees with the Stoics that Nature has made all human beings equal, self-preserving and self-regarding and he seems to have a theory of consciousness about ourselves as individuals with interests that seems like the Stoic theory of *oikeiosis*.

Stoicism and Proto Feminism in the Enlightenment

Astrid Lane, University of Adelaide

In this paper I will examine the influence of ancient Stoicism on Proto Feminist writers of the enlightenment period in Europe. Stoicism erroneously earned the reputation as a philosophy of fatalistic resignation. Misunderstanding the Stoics as hard-determinists who preach only forbearance in the face of misfortune, many have rejected that Stoicism has anything to offer an active political emancipatory project. And yet, the Stoics theoretically insisted upon universal natural equality; justice was counted amongst the highest virtue; they strove for appropriate relationships between self-determining individuals and society; and saw the relentless pursuit of moral freedom as part of the ultimate life goal.

This paper will discuss the appearance of Stoic and stoicising ideas, in the works of authors such as Mary Chudleigh (1656 – 17010), Mary Astell (1666 1731), Lady Mary Wortley Montagu (1689 – 1762), Elizabeth Carter (1717 -1806), Catharine Macaulay (1731 – 1791), and Mary Darby Robinson (1758 – 1800). I assert that notions of natural equality, pursuit of virtue, self-determination and self-reliance which were utilised by these proto feminists, were consciously Stoic in origin and flavour. Further I contend that these literary women display a deep understanding of Stoicism, as they deploy the philosophy both for emancipatory and consolatory purposes.

On the Coherence of Cosmopolitan Humility

Luis Cabrera, Griffith University

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Cosmopolitanism, which espouses universal moral principles and grants no ultimate moral significance to the state, has become increasingly central to normative political theory. Yet it also has faced persistent claims that it disdains local attachments and cultures even while – in what is said to be its most coherent form -- it seeks to bind all persons within global political institutions. This work argues that, while such critiques raise important concerns, retreating to a 'moderate cosmopolitanism' which resists the development of democratic political institutions beyond the state is not a viable response. More defensible is support for a cosmopolitanism committed to addressing endemic global injustices while also being structurally oriented to humility, in promoting equal moral standing and openness to input and exchange. This orientation is exemplified in a variant of institutional cosmopolitanism which puts global citizenship at its core, aiming to formalize equal standing, participation and challenge mechanisms within regional and ultimately global democratic institutions. Insights are drawn from recent work in social psychology to detail the claims for cosmopolitan humility and reinforce its plausibility.

Panel 64 – Political Violence, Extremism & Foreign Fighters

Pashtun radicals, identity issues and extremism

Farah Naz, University of Sydney

Weak Pashtun identity fuels extremism in Pakistan. One of the core causes of extremism is a weak democratic system. This study aims to explore in depth the concept of Pashtun identity and extremism; fill the gap between the quest for identity in a weak democracy that leads towards extremism in society. This paper will closely investigate: how weak identity is linked to weak democracy? Do these weaknesses fuel extremism? Does it have an impact on the Pashtun women's identity? For drawing analysis, Martha Crenshaw's three-level account of terrorism that involves: Individual motivation and belief systems; Decision-making and strategy within a terrorist movement; The wider political and social context with which terrorist movements interact, will be closely observed. It will observe Martha's individual factor from the lens of Securitisation theory and will focus more on the individual motivation factor than the other two. To contribute to the existing scholarship, this research is based on some primary and secondary data. Semi-structured interviews are conducted with the government employees including

lawyers, academics, journalists, militants and local men and women. Secondary data is collected from various institutions of the Government of Pakistan, academics and UN reports. Discussion of this study illustrates that a weak democratic system is at the core of Pashtun identity. This study concludes that weak identity contributes to Pashtun's extremism.

Micro-Geopolitics and conflict hotspots in Eastern Mau forest, Kenya (1967-2014)

Raphael Kweyu, Kenyatta University

This paper examines land cover changes and conflict hotspots in the Mau forest complex of Kenya. The paper maps land cover changes quantitatively by Remote sensing and inter-ethnic conflict by use of geographical information systems (GIS), and presents conflict hotspots spatially and thematically, including ethnicity in the period 1976-2014. Conflict mapping is based on spatial data and observation points derived from a combination of qualitative interviews, geocoded transect walks and informal conversations with local residents. The conflict hotspots were mapped and thus related in space to the land cover changes. These changes in land cover are analysed in the light of post-independence land use policy history of Kenya. Conflicts are categorized in terms of their substance, procedural and relationship dimension and connections between conflict hotspots and land use changes are discussed. The study documents spatial drivers of conflict (e.g. resource scarcity) as well as drivers related to political practice and competition among ethnic groupings. Political patronage seems to be a key characteristic of the political culture in Kenya, and considered a key driver of land use conflict, as *land* has over time become the main currency of patronage in independent Kenya.

Examining the roles of non-combatant foreign fighters

Samantha Kruber, Monash University

The term foreign fighter is commonly used to represent all those who travel to join conflicts in states in which they are non-citizens and it is assumed that their participation is characterised by their engagement in violence. Consequently, little attention has been paid to those foreign 'fighters' who serve in non-combat roles within an insurgency. Cerwyn Moore identifies that the term foreign fighter has subsumed all foreign volunteers – or 'activists' – who may take on a variety of roles, including but not limited to roles in medical, financial, theological and technical support. Applying Moore's more nuanced understanding of foreign volunteerism to the case of Iraq and Syria - which has since 2011 seen over 30,000 foreign fighters travel to join groups such as Islamic State - this article will consider the non-combat roles carried out by some of these foreign volunteers. By examining the roles played by foreign fighters in both the marketing of, and recruiting for, the self-declared caliphate, as well as in developing and enforcing social and political standards, this article will argue that non-combatant foreign fighters have contributed to the Islamic State's expansion and overall functioning as a pseudo-state.

This paper will first look at some of the definitional issues that have led to foreign volunteers being largely overlooked within the foreign fighter literature. It will then turn to Islamic State's foreign volunteers that have travelled to serve as doctors, as ideologues, and as wives and child-bearers. Next, the use of foreign volunteers – both male and female – to recruit others via social media, particularly targeting recruits from Western countries, will be explored as perhaps the most significant contribution of non-combatant foreign fighters. Through an examination of these foreign volunteers, this paper will assess the contribution of non-combatant foreign fighters to the broader insurgency efforts of the Islamic State.

Panel 65 – Populist Mobilisation & Globalised Politics

Populism and Globalization

Syed Javed Maswood, American University of Cairo

The populist phenomenon in Europe and America has set its sights firmly on globalization. The British decision, in 2016, to leave the European Union was a clear indicator of a growing sentiment to disengage from international economic engagement. In the United States, election of Donald Trump to the presidency, also in 2016, reflected broad support for his message that the US should disengage from globalization to focus on national economic priorities. I argue that this surge in nationalist and populist sympathies stem from a misunderstanding about

globalization, that it is to blame for problems that beset national economies and, more importantly, that globalization can be scaled back, that de-globalization is a viable course of action.

The misunderstandings that underpin the populist sentiments stem from a conception that just as nineteenth century globalization was wound back by protectionist resurgence in the nineteenth century, contemporary globalization can also be undone. The basic flaw is in assuming that there is nothing unique in contemporary globalization, a view that there has never been anything but globalization, at times thin and at times thick. This flawed understanding of globalization has a myopic focus on only one aspect of market economics, that of consumption. Earlier periods of globalization were essentially periods of 'globalization of consumption' but where contemporary globalization is unique is that it has an additional layer of 'globalization of production'.

Globalization of consumption, in earlier times and today, can be traced to economic liberalization after the Second World War, but globalization of production dates to the 1980s and was catalyzed by the brief, but significant, period of neo-protectionism. The origins of globalization of production can be traced to defensive reactions to protectionism and its ubiquity today, in the form of global production networks, has essentially removed any easy resort to protectionism by national governments. Consequently, states have limited capacity to de-globalize.

In my paper, based on a forthcoming book, I will show that neo-protectionism and the outflow of Japanese foreign direct investment led to the development of global production networks based on Japan's own networked production strategies. To the extent that it is impossible to disentangle from GPNs, de-globalization is impossible and populism is premised on false promises. In the paper, I will also explain that solutions to some of the problems we face, lie elsewhere and not in de-globalization.

The Symbiosis of Populism and Crisis

Octavia Bryant, Australian Catholic University

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Studies Association

If we are to truly develop a better appreciation of populism's essential nature, and as such develop a more thorough understanding of its role within contemporary democracies, we must drastically re-think its relationship to an often-cited partner—crisis. Traditional accounts often posit the relationship between populism and crisis as one-way and causal—they remain concerned with how specific crises have impacted the electoral success of populist parties. This approach underestimates two important aspects of the relationship: firstly, it conceptualises crises as existing outside of the populist; secondly, the scope in which we envisage crisis itself is too narrow. In other words, not only do crises exist as external, objective events like a financial recession, they are also atmospheric, subjective and intangible, and importantly, require active participation and acknowledgment from the community in which it impacts.

Through a discussion of the role of crisis as a normative experience, and the ways in which populism's 'people' play a role in crisis consciousness, this paper puts forward a framework for understanding populism that includes crisis as a constitutive defining feature, one which posits crisis as being in a symbiotic relationship with populism itself. In other words, I submit that the participation and mediation of crises, and the utilisation of the language surrounding crises is a core feature of populism, and that crises enable and facilitate the functioning of populism itself through the forming and maintaining of its 'people' and the antagonistic relationship between those 'people' and an 'other.' Through conceptualising crisis as both an objective event and a normative experience and judgment, and as something that requires active participation both to acknowledge and experience it, we can envisage crisis as something that underpins the populist ideology generally.

This paper will utilise the work of Benjamin Moffitt, Cas Mudde and Brian Milstein to unpack these ideas, and aims to contribute to the development of a more robust appreciation of populism's nature, ultimately so we can better understand how these actors strategise and operationalise their specific programs to position themselves advantageously within contemporary democracies.

The Politics of Anger: Perception vs. Fact

Makoto Usami, Kyoto University

From the Brexit vote and Marine Le Pen's appearance in the runoff of presidential election to Donald Trump's new presidency, some advanced democracies have recently observed the populist backlash that shows hostility against globalization and immigration. This backlash is characteristically supported by male voters who are less-educated and less-incomed whites, living in local cities or rural areas. Such people express, by voting, their anger and disgust at the wealthy who seemingly obtain benefits from the globalized economy and at the real or possible immigrants who allegedly "steal" their jobs. In this sense, the rise of far-right populism can be called the politics of anger. It is obvious that the politics of anger is morally problematic and dangerous. For instance, the anti-immigration claim will severely restrict the foreigners' right to move and can induce racial discrimination and hate crime within the borders. On the other hand, anger-based political demands are occasionally taken as understandable and even excusable because they are thought to reflect the dissatisfaction of those who have been forgotten and left behind.

This paper seeks to challenge such a sympathetic reading of anger politics, by showing how misguided populists' discourse is, given their prudential perspective. Two characteristics of such discourse are identified. The first is perceptual error: contrary to claims frequently made by right-wing politicians, for instance, in many industrialized societies the share of immigrants in the population has no significant impact on crime rates or does have significantly negative impact on the rates. The second feature is myopia: one of the most common arguments for restricting the relocation of businesses' production processes abroad is that offshoring will bring about the hollowing out of industry, resulting higher unemployment rate. But this line of argument neglects the long-term causes of unemployment, notably the transformation of industry and the development of automation. Considering the extensive and erosive influence of industrial transformation and automation will reveal that the unemployment-invoking argument is in fact less plausible than it appears. In examining the two characteristics of far-right discourse, the paper suggests that the reconciliatory approach to anger-based populism does not serve the public interest in each advanced economy or help the angry population to improve their situation. It concludes by suggesting an alternative approach, which advances informed participation of citizens.

Panel 66 – The Oxford Handbook of Australian Politics

The Oxford Handbook of Australian Politics

Jenny M Lewis, University of Melbourne; Anne Tiernan, Griffith University; Kath Gelber, University of Queensland; Daniel McCarthy, University of Melbourne; Siobhan O'Sullivan, University of New South Wales and James Walter, Monash University

The editors of the in-progress *Oxford Handbook of Australian Politics* (Jenny M Lewis and Anne Tiernan) will present an overview of their framework to deliver an innovative, inclusive and rigorous account of the study and practice of politics in Australia. They will be joined by the other four section editors – Kath Gelber, Daniel McCarthy, Siobhan O'Sullivan and James Walter – for an interactive discussion.

The handbook is intended to entice a new generation to study Australia's distinctive politics at all levels of practice. Concerned about the discipline's failure 'to excite the imagination of a new generation', successive presidents of the Australian Political Studies Association (APSA) have exhorted the discipline to develop more creative analyses of Australian politics, moving beyond the cultural cringe to take a more self-confident stance. This is our central aim.

The first of our themes addresses Australia's unique *inheritances*. Chapters in this section will examine the ways the experience of the indigenous peoples, the settlers and the successive waves of migrants who followed, have shaped a distinctive Australian politics. Our second theme is *improvisation*. It addresses the pragmatic, but often also innovative institutions that were created to govern Australia. It considers how these have been adapted in their implementation, or perhaps, how they have drifted from the principles and arrangements from which they evolved. A third theme is *place making*: the land, geography, patterns of settlement, distance and isolation and questions about Australia's place in the world, its vulnerability to exogenous threats and shocks continue to loom large in our national politics.

A fourth theme is the *recurrent dilemmas* that beset our politics: What is the unfinished business that our politics needs to deal with? How can we characterise Australia's political culture? And how resilient has it been, or might it continue to be, in the face of globalising trends and the 'shrinking' of the world? A fifth theme examines *politics, policy and public administration*. We consider areas in which Australia has been at the forefront of theory and practice, and policy sectors that have unique characteristics in Australia. Our final theme is explicitly *methodological*, asking the question: How do we study Australian politics? Political research methodologies in Australia are extremely varied: this is a strength that will be celebrated in this book.

This Handbook will serve as a corrective – to all that has been overlooked or misunderstood. It will encourage others to see Australians as we see ourselves and to understand, from our perspective, why we do things as we do, and what has made this country – for all its imperfections, democratically innovative, highly cohesive and mostly successful. We hope you will join us for a discussion of our plan for this handbook. Your comments, debate and critique are welcome and will contribute to its final shape.

Panel 67 – Health Policy

The autism epidemic, autism prevention, and the failures of western liberal democracy

Toby Rogers, University of Sydney

Autism rates have risen every year for the last thirty years. This paper focuses on the United States but Australia and the U.K. are experiencing a similar dynamic. An estimated 1 in 45 children in the U.S. have an autism spectrum disorder. This is an enormous increase from the first known autism prevalence study in the U.S. in 1970 which established an autism prevalence rate of less than 1 per 10,000. Several studies have shown that changes in diagnostic criteria account for only a small fraction of the increase. The costs of autism are catastrophic. A recent study from the UC Davis School of Medicine estimates that autism cost the U.S. \$268 billion (1.5% of GDP) in 2015. They project that if autism continues to increase at its current rate, autism will cost the U.S. over \$1 trillion (3.6% of GDP) in 2025. By comparison, the budget for the Department of Defense represents 3.1% of GDP. A growing body of evidence suggests that autism is caused by various toxicants and may be preventable. In 2016, a group of 48 of the leading epidemiologists in the United States signed a consensus statement declaring that autism and a range of other neurodevelopmental disabilities are caused by six toxicants in the environment. This builds on the CHARGE study launched in 2003, a consensus statement by the Collaborative on Health and the Environment in 2008, and a summit organized by the Mount Sinai Children's Environmental Health Center in 2010 that reached similar conclusions. Yet, no western liberal democracy, including the U.S., is currently engaged in autism prevention as a public health strategy. Given the size of the problem, what explains the failure of the U.S. government to take effective steps towards autism prevention? This paper will argue that autism is not just a public health crisis it is also a crisis of political economy. Many of the suspected environmental triggers are produced by the most powerful industries in the world. These industries have so completely captured elected officials and regulatory institutions that effective policy responses have thus far been stymied. The paper will also explore the question of what is to be done?

Examining quality of interaction and learning in public agencies

Amanda Smullen, ANU

This paper sets out a conceptual framework for examining the relationship between quality of interaction and learning from performance measures. Two contrasting visions characterize scholarly accounts about the growth of performance measures in health governance. One points to their capacity to provide momentum for continuous learning to enhance performance, and thereby promote trust. While the other cautions of their strategic deployment to give the *appearance of* enhancing the system's performance, thereby undermining trust. These dynamics can have consequences for future interactions. Pragmatist governance scholars identify performance regimes as facilitating mutual learning about shared performance problems, while public management documents a catalogue of dysfunctional micro logics, such as myopia or gaming, inherent to performance measurement in organizations. Key to their diverging foci is concern with the degree to which they foresee *formal* agreements and designs of performance measures becoming connected to *informal* knowledge and action. For both perspectives, there is the recognition that when performance measures capture the collective imaginations of policy actors they can inform

complementary joint action. Yet pathways to learning through ongoing interaction require both specification and empirical testing.

Mutual learning in this paper is defined as present when dialogue between cross-jurisdictional actors about performance measures concurs with adjustments in actor perceptions and policy actions. It is distinct from repetition in problem solving or interest based strategies of blame avoidance, such as appearing to learn (symbolic learning). The discussion identifies a range of theoretical conditions that likely contribute to or constrain pathways to learning and identifies cases for testing these claims over time. It is argued that where social learning occurs before efforts to develop national systems of performance, and such bottom up groups of actors are incorporated in dialogue about performance, then mutual learning among policy actors is a more likely outcome. The paper provides empirical examples from the national hospital performance and national mental health service and policy measures to illustrate and interrogate the different theoretical claims.

Medicare, democracy and populism

Paul Mackey, Deakin University and Linda Hancock, Deakin University

Using health policy as a platform, this paper argues that populism has been harnessed by the major Australian political parties in a number of ways since WWII, resulting in a rewriting of the health policy landscape. Core social institutions such as Medicare could not exist without two key populist interventions—the 1946 Constitutional referendum and a series of Prices and Incomes Accords (the Accord), commencing in 1982.

Since Federation, only eight of 44 proposals to amend the Constitution have been carried successfully. Increased powers have been ceded to the Federal policy sphere as a result of these successful Constitutional referenda, which have relied on bipartisanism to stimulate populist support and enable societal change. A significant example is the successful 1946 referendum which, in part, conferred on the Commonwealth a new head of power to legislate with regard to pharmaceutical, sickness and hospital benefits and medical and dental services.

Successive Accords were negotiated by the ALP from 1982-1991, with the Australian Council of Trade Unions. The appeal of the Accord was built around its inclusion of non-wage components intended to improve the standard of living of the working population. This became known as the social wage, with public health provision through Medicare as its centrepiece.

The paper traces the ways in which populism has been utilised by mainstream parties to stymie reform, which the Menzies-led conservative Opposition successfully engineered in return for its support of the 1946 referendum proposal. This ideological exercise led to the addition of a phrase to the proposal which subsequently established a protected right to private medical practice.

Later, John Howard recognised that the conservative side of politics could not defeat Medicare at the ballot box. Instead, he embarked on a series of policy reforms to private health insurance as a populist stalking-horse, adding to Medicare's central tenet of "equity" a new aspirational goal of "choice". Populist stymieing of reform is not solely the province of the political right, as was illustrated by the ALP's so-called "Mediscare" campaign in the 2016 Federal election.

In each of these examples, consumers have been held hostage to the interests of the mainstream parties, entrenching their ongoing role as "repressed interests" in the health system.

An expanding brief? Engagement of multi-jurisdictional ministerial bodies in the paradox of regulation

Fiona Pacey, University of Sydney

Regulation (can be) a dirty word. It may be something which governments are called on to both reduce and to strengthen. As Haines suggests for governments above all, it is a paradox. And no more so, (as in the case of the National Scheme of the Registration and Accreditation for the Health Professions), when regulatory/governance obligations fall to a multi-jurisdictional arrangement.

A case study has been undertaken on the development of this significant health workforce regulatory change which came in effect in July 2010 drawing on documentary analysis and key stakeholder interviews. One of the key outcomes has been an articulation of the (seemingly) unique governance arrangements between the Scheme's two operational elements (the Australian Health Practitioner Regulation Agency and profession-specific National Boards) and the collective of Commonwealth, State and Territory health ministers.

Taking the case study of the National Scheme, which was formed via an inter-governmental agreement and enacted through a National Law model across the States and Territories as a starting point, this paper will explore government(s) as regulator, and specifically the role of ministers from different governments tasked with a collective responsibility extending beyond their respective parliaments' oversight. The paper will canvass some of the regulatory arrangements undertaken in health and other market contexts (e.g. energy/water). As these are overseen by multi-jurisdictional arrangements, terms including that of Carney's description of 'joint executive authority' will be considered as a means of articulating whether there is an expanding brief by governments, or an existing phenomena in search of re-branding.

Panel 68 – Australian Migration and Asylum Seeker Policy

Inequality, Social Heterogeneity, and Attitudes towards Migrants in Australia

Woo Chang Kang, ANU and Emily Look, ANU

How do levels of inequality and ethnic heterogeneity affect public attitudes towards immigration? In recent years, and following the Global Financial Crisis in particular, inequality has been the subject of increasing scholarly attention. Works such as Piketty's *Capital* (2014) have commanded significant interest internationally, while debate has stirred in Australia as well. Despite some noting that Australia 'has not been immune' from global trends of increasing inequality, scholars differ on the extent to which this may be true. In this paper, we therefore aim to explore the political consequences of inequality in Australia. We take attitudes towards immigration, a policy area that is highly politically salient, as our dependent variable. To our knowledge, no study has examined the ways in which local economic and social context affect attitudes towards immigration in Australia. Using the 2013 Australian Election Study data, we examine how the effects of income and being Australian-born vary with different local contexts; namely, whether inequality and ethnic heterogeneity at the local level alters the effect of the individual-level variables. Our multi-level modelling analysis shows that poor and Australian-born people hold more negative attitudes towards increasing immigration in general. Interestingly, local context affects the effect of being Australian-born, but not the effect of income. The native-immigrant difference disappears in the electoral districts where the level of inequality is lower than average and/or the ratio of non-Australian born population is greater than average.

Self-represented witnessing: the use of social media by asylum seekers in Australia's offshore immigration detention centres.

Maria Rae, Deakin University; Rosa Holman, Deakin University and Amy Nethery, Deakin University

The act of witnessing connects audiences with distant suffering. But what happens when bearing witness becomes severely restricted? External parties, including the mainstream news media, are constrained from accessing Australia's offshore immigration detention centres. The effect is that people seeking asylum are hidden from the public and excluded from political discourse. Some detainees have adopted social media as a platform to communicate their experiences to a wider audience. This article examines the ways in which social media has facilitated what we call self-represented witnessing. We analyse two public Facebook pages to assess how detainees use such social media networks and observe the interactions between detainees, other social media users and mainstream media. Significantly, these social media networks enable detained asylum seekers to conduct an unmediated form of self-represented witnessing that exposes human rights abuses and documents justice claims.

Pragmatism, Not Idealism: Overcoming Australia's Punitive Approach to Asylum Seeker Policy

Florim Binakaj, University of New South Wales

This paper argues that pragmatism, rather than idealism, may enable refugee advocates to engage productively with concepts such as minimising irregular migration by boat, to engender positive policy change and gain the support of those politicians and citizens who agree with the narrative of the current Government.

Coalition (LNP) governments in Australia have, over time, convinced crucial sections of the electorate that the key to stopping large-scale boat arrivals from South-East Asia is deterrence. Policy practices such as mandatory detention, offshore detention, and the denial of any settlement within Australia to those arriving by boat after 19 July 2013, are premised on this notion, with the common claim that these punitive policies stop deaths at sea. The success of this narrative is further highlighted by its influence on the opposition Labor party, which has supported and in some instances, even implemented similar policies.

With this rhetorical position so firmly entrenched within both political parties, and large sections of the electorate, alternative policy positions are becoming increasingly marginalised. My paper discusses how refugee advocates may gain political traction by advocating for policies that are *consistent* with this narrative while also progressing human rights and international obligations. These policies would ultimately remove asylum seekers from detention, stop future asylum seekers from being placed in detention, and argue for greater region-wide protection, but they can only succeed with support of the mainstream electorate.

Mainstream advocacy for refugees has focused on highlighting the human cost of such policies, particularly the health ramifications of long-term, indefinite detention. Such advocacy, as seen in the 'Bring Them Here' campaign, relies on emotive, moralistic arguments which while effective within some parts of the electorate, fails to resonate with the many.

In this context, my paper takes a distinctive approach in explaining how targeting conditions in transit countries such as Indonesia and Malaysia, can help to persuade asylum seekers to refrain from attempting to arrive by boat. It will also discuss the capacity for Australia to act more proactively with its Asian neighbours through burden-sharing policies to again provide alternatives to irregular migration. These measures are associated with the economic benefits of moving away from long-term detention, and the relative benefits of moving towards more sustainable, multilateral approaches to protection.

Panel 69 – Gender Politics & Security Policy

The Queer Logic(s) of Reaper Crew Masculinities

Lindsay C. Clark, University of New South Wales

Derided by fellow members of the military as 'armchair killers' and 'cubicle warriors' because of the lack of physical risk involved in their roles, this paper explores how new forms of warrior identity are being constructed by drone crews (Asaro, 2013). I argue that the experiences of drone crews are inherently queer, the peculiarities of their lives and roles best understood as simultaneously (re)inscribing *and* destabilizing their warrior masculinity/ies, which I explore through an adaptation of Cynthia Weber's queer logic. Drawing queer theorising into conversation with feminist thinking, this paper explores how being *both* masculine and feminine creates an uncomfortable dislocation in the lives of these crews. Crew who are simultaneously warrior(s) and not, intimate and distant, at home and at war. Through a '(pluralised) *and/or*' (Weber, 2016) logic the paper argues that these individuals can be read as fluid, contradictory and complex, that is, as noted before, as simultaneously (re)inscribing *and* destabilizing warrior masculinity/ies.

Zombie Feminism: The (Un)Dead Radical Theory Haunting Feminist International Relations

David Duriesmith, University of Queensland and Sara Meger, University of Melbourne

Feminist international relations (IR) theory has radical feminist inheritance. Enloe's suggestion that the personal is both political and international is often seen as the foundation of feminist IR. Though this sentiment directly references the second-wave, radical feminist rallying call and is a core aspect of feminist IR theory, there is little

direct dialogue between the radical feminist thinkers who popularised it and feminist IR theory. Rather, since its inception, the field has undergone a shift away from its radical roots and seems to reflect a deeper engagement with contemporary liberal or poststructuralist thought and active disengagement from radical feminist theory. What we're left with in feminist IR is a haunting of radical feminist roots and the (un)dead theoretical baggage that feminist IR has unreflectively carried from second wave feminism into its philosophical traditions. Simultaneously, there has been considerable ongoing theorization from radical feminists on issues that are often understood to be part of the discipline of International Relations. From MacKinnon's work on international law, Pateman's exploration of the State, and Jeffrey's critique of harmful cultural practices, radical feminists have been theorizing issues of the international. However, feminist IR scholars rarely engage these contributions. Considering the convergence of scholarship between radical feminists and feminist IR theory, this lack of engagement is conspicuous. Thus, we ask: why has feminist IR's radical inheritance persisted without sustained or reflective engagement of the core philosophies of radical feminism; and, is there room for a radical feminist theory of international relations?

The inherent masculinism of drone warfare: gender, order and hierarchy in unbordered security practices.
Christine Agius, Swinburne University of Technology

Whilst drone warfare has been the subject of intense debate in recent years, few studies have examined drone warfare through a gendered lens (Daggett, 2015; Wilcox, 2017, 2015; Manjikian, 2014). This paper examines drone warfare as a masculinised security practice that reinscribes forms of order and security across subjectivities and spaces. It focuses on the discourses and rationality that drive drone warfare, particularly justifications for its use as a 'humane' weapon, and the techno-rationality that underpins support for drone deployments. Extending perspectives of masculinism and gender to drone warfare also requires consideration of how ordering and hierarchies work within a system of sovereign states, where practices of drone warfare involve an inherent *unbordering* of warfare. This unbordering has gendered implications beyond sovereignty, nonetheless. Drone warfare reinscribes masculinist logics of protection and hierarchy that have significance for understanding subjectivity. From the portrayal of drone piloting to the effects of drone warfare upon targets, the masculinist logics of warfare take on new forms and perform gendered binaries in new ways. Furthermore, the extension of the use of drones to the domestic realm in western liberal democracies to police and maintain order likewise has problematic gendered dimensions and outcomes. Through an exploration of the discourses and rationality that underpins drone warfare, a range of distinctly masculinist security practices and logics can be brought to the fore, particularly in terms of the (neo-colonial) ordering of geopolitical space, the recasting of militarised and civilian subjectivities as gendered and hierarchical, and the imbrication of liberal militarised security practices at the domestic and international levels.

Panel 70 – Youth & the Politics of Participation

This panel brings together scholars interested in the participation of young people in formal and informal politics, leadership, and citizenship and civic engagement. Young people under 30 make up half the world's population (UNFPA 2016), yet many face significant obstacles in seeking to participate in institutions and spaces where decisions are made about their lives. The exclusion of youth from peace, development, and democracy has negative consequences for societies broadly. Young women and girls face additional barriers to participation, and suffer disproportionately from violence and violations of rights. While increasingly the importance of youth participation is being recognised at the international level, through achievements like the UN Security Council's Resolution 2250 on Youth, Peace and Security; the UNDP's Youth Strategy 2014-2017; and the appointment of a UN Youth Envoy, the significant challenge is in finding ways of translating high-level recognition of the value of young people's participation into the local level in countries around the world.

Human rights, knowledge about sexual and reproductive health, access to education and employment, and broader questions of citizenship and participation are experienced differently by young people globally. There are a range of questions to consider in this context. Are young people informed about politics? Do they have opportunities for participation? What is effective in providing leadership and skills training to young people? How can the unique needs and capacities of young women be better met? What are young people doing themselves to become involved? This session considers the multiple dimensions of young people's participation.

The papers recognise that young people are increasingly participate in diverse ways in the political and social issues relevant to their lived experiences; however, more can be done to build knowledge and capacity of youth in these spaces. Through explorations of youth-led advocacy around youth rights in Guatemala, youth participation in Truth and Reconciliation in the Solomon Islands, programs designed to enhance young women's leadership skills and potential in the Asia Pacific region, and research into civics and political knowledge and engagement in Australia, this panel explores young people's political participation and advocacy.

Youth-led Advocacy in Guatemala: Campaign, dialogue, division and the proposed Youth Law

Helen Berents, Queensland University of Technology

In Guatemala 68 percent of the population is age 30 or under (while half is under age 18), making it the youngest country in Latin America (INE 2011; PBR 2011). A large youth population alone is not necessarily a cause for concern, but the large number of young people in "social limbo" (Reimers and Cardenas 2010: 144), out of school, or un-or-under-employed, presents particular challenges for the country. Gang related violence disproportionately affects young people, and social exclusion and underrepresentation marginalises youth from civic and political life. Within this context, there is however, a lively and diverse scene of youth-led advocacy organisations in the country.

This paper explores the attitudes and engagements of several youth-led organisations in Guatemala in relation to a particular series of events in 2016 to highlight the diverse ways in which young people position themselves, and advocate for change in their country. In February 2016 fierce debate was ignited in the country around a proposed Youth Law (*iniciativa 3286, Ley de la Juventud*), which would enshrine specific rights and social and political participation for young people. However, the inclusion of requirements for sexual education and access to contraception, provoked a strong and mixed reaction by youth advocacy groups in a country with strong roots in Catholic and evangelical traditions. For some this was a hugely significant moment, while others felt it distracted from larger issues facing youth. Through public dialogues, collaborative roundtables, public statements, and presentations to Congress, various youth organisations mobilised and engaged in providing feedback and raising public awareness of the debates. Based on participant observation and interviews with young people involved in both conservative and progressive youth organisations, this paper explores the motivations of youth advocates; and how they envision the role of youth participation in Guatemala.

Civics, citizenship and political knowledge in Australia

Zareh Ghazarian, Monash University

Citizens' knowledge about their nation's system of politics has significant implications for government and society. Debates about political knowledge in liberal democratic countries is often based on the argument that society functions best when its citizens understand how and why the political system works the way it does. Recent work has also shown that the degree of political knowledge influences how citizens receive, retain and process information about government and are therefore better able to keep them to account. This paper explores the political knowledge of recent school leavers. In particular, it examines how students from Melbourne, Australia learnt about civics, citizenship, politics and government with specific focus on how these areas were taught at high schools under a national framework. The results provide insight into the pedagogical approaches and opportunities for young people to develop political knowledge and the multiple dimensions of how they may participate in the political process.

Maintaining the spotlight on youth empowerment following conflict: The Solomon Islands Youth at Work program

Caitlin Mollica, Griffith University

In 2012, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) report was handed over to the Solomon Islands Government. Contained in the report were sixty- three pages of recommendations from the Commission designed to facilitate reconciliation, solidify peace and establish a strong foundation for continued development. Amongst these recommendations was a series of reforms designed to facilitate capacity building and community engagement amongst the youth demographic. Indeed, youth were identified as key stakeholders in the reconciliation and reforms process as high levels of unemployment and disruptions to their education were identified as potential spoilers to the peace process. To date however, there has been no action on these

recommendations, and as such many of the root causes of the conflict remain unresolved. In particular, many of the institutional grievances that motivated young people's participation in the conflict continue to be significant obstacles to youth empowerment and development. In response, youth-led advocacy has become increasingly important for ensuring that the post conflict development needs of youth remain on the national agenda. With this in mind, this paper argues that youth-led advocacy is essential in the final stages of transitional justice to ensure that youth empowerment remains a priority. This is particularly important in transitional contexts where governments lack the political will and capacity to pursue the long-term development agendas often associated specifically with youth. In the Solomon Islands, youth employment programs have played a critical role in promoting and implementing the empowerment initiatives identified by the TRC process. Specifically, these programs have enabled youth advocacy by ensuring that young people are not only visible, they are also increasingly integrated into a wide cross section of the Solomon Islands community. Drawing on the case study of Youth at Work this paper demonstrates that young people's participation in these programs gives their voices a unique and broad public forum, which ensures that their post conflict needs remain a central part of the national conversation regarding reconciliation and development. In doing so, this paper reveals the unique relationship between youth-led advocacy, reconciliation and development following conflict.

Paper 4: Youth Leadership: Focus on Young Women

Lesley Pruitt, Monash University

How do young people understand and practice leadership? How are youth understood by traditional leaders? How might young people be redefining leadership for a new age? What are the challenges they face and the opportunities they might seize? In this paper I engage in a critical review of existing literature to consider these and related questions about youth as leaders.

Moreover, given that gender has been well established as an important aspect for understanding who leads or is accepted as a leader, this paper goes further to explore gendered dimensions of youth leadership. It does so both through critical analysis of existing literature but also by offering a preliminary analysis of data collected as part of our research partnership with the Global YWCA on the project, "Mobilising Young Women's Leadership and Advocacy in Asia and the Pacific." In this 3 year, 9 country study, we engage in research and evaluation using participatory methods to engage young women in understanding their lives as potential, current, and future leaders in their homes, communities, countries, and globally.

Panel 71 – Policy Making 5

Redesigning policy innovation: is Nudge the answer?

Brian Head, University of Queensland

This presentation traces the rise and diffusion of new "behavioural" and experimental approaches to policy design and choice of policy instruments. The aim of these approaches is to provide low-cost innovative approaches for targeted "behavioural change". These behavioural approaches, mainly anchored in cognitive psychology and behavioural economics, are increasingly being applied to public policy design and evaluation. The intellectual pedigree of these ideas can be traced back several decades. The 'behavioural' social sciences and more recently the evaluation sciences (in psychology, economics, sociology and political science) have developed rapidly since the 1960s.

A recent wave of policy diffusion has gained momentum, encouraged by consultants, government policy units, and university-based Policy Labs in several countries; while the OECD itself has sponsored several conferences and surveys of international experience. Many of these behavioural initiatives in the last decade have been associated either with 'choice architecture' (*Nudge*, or 'liberal paternalism') or with experimental methods and controlled trials ('test, learn, adapt') advocated by Behavioural Insights Teams in the UK, Australia, and several other countries. The behavioural policy design movement generally focuses on applying techniques of experimentation to specific challenges. By focusing on the individual-level 'micro-foundations' that underpin how actors select information and make choices, it is assumed that institutional-level programs can be better designed and managed, and especially, that managers can better design processes which encourage desirable individual behaviours. The 'value proposition' underlying the recent expansion and diffusion of this approach is that behavioural-experimentalism

promises to provide rigorous information for managers through which low-cost and effective outcomes will be produced.

The paper critically analyses these claims to novelty and impact, and suggests that the 'big' policy issues still require a full range of regulatory and collaborative techniques.

21st Century policy co-ordination in the Australian Federation: The emergence of Multi-level Governance and independent national regulators

Paolo Marinelli, Queensland University of Technology

At the core of the Australian Federation is a grand bargain to share power over taxation and regulation. This allows the Australian Government and each of the Australian state and territory governments to operate with a significant level of autonomy to develop independent laws and governing institutions. The result however has been significant differences in regulatory approaches and policy across the country.

More recently, growth in the number of businesses operating in or across jurisdictions has seen an increasing call for a consistent national approach to their regulation in areas like industrial relations, environmental approvals, and workplace health and safety.

Each shift in power has required a new way of organising the bargain of federation and organising the agencies of the bargain. Generally governance responses have tended toward a centralisation of power to the Australian Government; often resulting in the creation of new Commonwealth agencies with exclusive jurisdiction.

However, in 2011 a major disjuncture to the overall centralising trend occurred with the establishment of three independent federal transport regulators focusing on rail, heavy vehicle and maritime transport. These new institutions, which offer a single national jurisdictional approach to transport regulation, are neither Commonwealth nor state agencies but rather represent a new hybrid model of governance which combines agency-based regulation with regulatory networks.

As such these new regulators are emblematic of an emerging Multi-level Governance (MLG) approach to power sharing in Australia where governments are required to operate in more co-operative ways. Combined with the more traditional transport policy co-ordination problems in Australia arising from managing multiple issues and multiple actors the new MLG dimension provides a more complex governance challenge for Australia.

This paper will draw on research and preliminary analysis of data collection currently underway as part of a PhD candidature due for submission in 2018 to develop a comparative case study approach using Actor-network Theory (ANT) to analyse this new organisation of power in the federation.

Through documentary analysis and interviews with key public servants and other non-government decision-makers, this research will interrogate the decisions leading to the creation of one of these new national bodies, the National Heavy Vehicle Regulator, to understand how this specific form of organising emerged, how it works to challenge or reinforce traditional power relations between the states and the Commonwealth and the implications for future policy co-ordination in Australia.

Policy Entrepreneurs and Collective Action: Pursuit of the Sustainable Development Goals

Michael Mintrom, ANZSOG / Monash University

Achievement of the United Nations' 17 Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) by 2030 will require significant work. These goals range from ending world hunger, responsible consumption and production, and reducing inequalities. A critical question is, how do the SDGs transform into on the ground action? We argue that a key component of this answer are policy entrepreneurs. Policy entrepreneurs are energetic actors who work in and around policymaking venues to promote significant policy change. Here, we present an illustrative example, the Green Commodities Program, an initiative of the United Nations Development Program, to demonstrate how policy entrepreneurs are working to achieve the SDGs. The Green Commodities Program was chosen on the basis that the United Nations categorized it under 'Goals in Action', that it has been employed across multiple countries and targets multiple SDGs, and its connection to entrepreneurs and change agents. Through this analysis, we seek to demonstrate how carefully coordinated political work, spanning formal and informal institutions, might support the attainment of all the UN Sustainable Development Goals.

Panel 72 – Early Career Researchers Publication Workshop

Adrian Kay, Australian Journal of Public Administration; Matt McDonald, Australian Journal of Politics & History; John Parkinson, Australian Journal of Political Science and Rose Williams, Wiley

Early Career Researchers are invited to attend panel of journals editors from the Australian Journal of Public Administration, Australian Journal of Politics & History, Australian Journal of Political Science and Wiley, to discuss tips and tricks for getting articles published.

Panel 73 – Politics and Populism in the Local Government Systems of Australia

Politics and populism in Australian local government systems: An historical and theoretical overview

Bligh Grant, University of Technology Sydney

Conceived as an element of Australia's federal polity, local government has comparatively – although not exclusively – been bereft of party politics, particularly in non-metropolitan areas. However, this by no means implies that it has been devoid of ideational politics *writ large*. On the contrary: Both long-standing and contemporary scholarship has documented 'rate-payer ideology', 'localism' and 'non party-political' claims attached to Australia's varying local government systems. Moreover, contemporary reforms, that would be considered radical in any other tier of Australia's federation, including the reintroduction of plural voting in some capital cities, legislative requirements for community participation in decision-making, a growth in the use of participatory budgeting and continuing debate about the suitability of a 'Presidential' model of council leadership all indicate that contestations about politics at the local *and* regional levels continue to ferment. This paper presents an overview of these ideational forms and recent reforms set against a backdrop of contemporary discussions of populism.

Driving change in democracies: The heresthetic of local government amalgamation

Joseph Drew, University of Technology Sydney; Takahiro Endo, Kobe University and Masayoshi Noguchi, University of Melbourne

The study of heresthetic is a quest to explain how potential political losers might, somewhat unpredictably, become winners: Its focus rests on the strategy employed rather than the popular appeal of the actor. Local government amalgamation is invariably hotly contested and has contributed to the downfall of many popular Premiers – it thus represents the ideal context to locate a pedagogical discourse on the importance of control of dimensions, for driving change in democracies. Specifically, we examine two common dimensions through which amalgamation debate is commonly prosecuted: efficiency (optimizing the ratio of inputs to outputs) and scale (which can be defined according to a number of parameters but which is instead generally discussed in terms of its asserted attributes such as capacity to deliver major infrastructure and integrated strategic planning, improved quality of leadership, and enhanced regional advocacy) from the perspective of the heresthetic value to proponents of amalgamation. We conclude that in this new age of extremes, heresthetic remains crucial to the success of executing disputatious public policy.

The Price of Populism: Directly Elected Mayors and Expenditure in Local Government

Dana McQuestin, University of Technology Sydney ; Joseph Drew, University of Technology Sydney and Bligh Grant, University of Technology Sydney

It would seem that directly elected Mayors have indeed become fashionable. Proponents for this electoral innovation cite improved leadership, the ability to get things done, enhanced democratic legitimacy, greater community engagement, greater freedom from the yoke of party politics, and even improved operational efficiency as reasons for adopting the directly elected mayor political model. Opponents of the directly elected mayor experiment fret about the potential for personality to dominate over policy, the capacity of a single person to take on such formidable representational leadership (particularly in the absence of the party political machinery), the potential for abuse of power when so much is invested in a single person, and the impasse which might occur where the council is dominated by an opposition political party. However, it seems that few have paused to ponder the pecuniary impact of this latest 'fashion'. We analyse a five year panel of data for New South Wales, Australia

to estimate the pecuniary effect of directly elected mayors on local government. What we find is evidence of strong and statistically significant increased unit operational expenditure in the quarter of local governments that employ the directly elected mayor model. We conclude by outlining the effect that this apparent political capitalisation might have on local government sustainability, ratepayer imposts and ultimately the institution of democratic local government.

Participatory governance or local tokenism? Community engagement practices of Australian local governments

Helen Christensen, University of Technology Sydney

The facilitation of public input into local decision-making has become a widely-accepted and legislated responsibility of Australian local governments. At any moment in time, councils are leading submission processes, workshops and online surveys on a multitude of projects, ranging from long term community strategic plans to local area land use plans to public art projects. The growth of these practices – and their increasing commercialisation – has been exponential, leaving little time for critical reflection of its development, inclusive of considerations of populism at the local level. Until now it has been difficult to undertake any sector wide reflection, as there has been no empirical data to illustrate how community engagement is understood and practiced in different councils. This paper presents the findings of the 'Local Government Community Engagement Census', a survey of 175 – approximately half – of all councils from Australia's eastern seaboard states. The data includes: the quantity of community engagement being undertaken; its position in the organisation; those responsible for leading the engagement as well as the main drivers and challenges in delivering community engagement. This sectoral snapshot provides a picture of how councils understand, prioritise and practice community engagement allowing for some much needed critical reflection.

Panel 74 – Digital innovation in policy and participation: Material Practice to normative effect

The rise of digital platforms and new ways to describe and explain social movement theory has revitalised research into organisational structures of activism, paths to policy innovation and intervention, and critiques of how connecting leads to action in digitally saturated political process. Bennett and Segerberg's theory of connective action (2013) has been particularly prominent in these debates and provides new ways of thinking about social movements, activist structures and crowd based participation in a digitised landscape. Each paper in this panel acknowledges and critiques the tenets of connective action in its own way to budge the debate forward with both theoretical and empirical arguments towards greater precision and depth of relevant practices in democratic participation. The papers represent both empirical work in refinement and exploratory considerations substantive instances of participative practice. Halupka et al. engage the issue of trust in civic culture in Australia when citizens become more assertive and engaged, contributing to a more mature and critical democracy - if less trustful. Trott uses the notion of feminist leadership to show that individual activists continue to constitute organisations in the digitally connected era, in critique of more determinist approaches to collective, network/systems of connective action. DeeJay's contribution explores how the visuality surrounding #SOSVenezuela as the circulation of, and response to, the images of the protest circulated by activists across Twitter as a form of "mediated connectedness". Relatedly, Heemsbergen also focuses on the mediated nature of participative action, showing how radically open participative political actions still offer forms of algorithmic steering that entice specific political projects through the design of their platforms. Together these papers decipher instances of how the digital actions that weave political connections together in the modern forums of politics offer new forms of power, control and innovation for both citizens and politicians in the prosecution of democracy. Whether through a tyranny of structurelessness (Trott, below), under an emerging shadow of the algorithm (Heemsbergen, below), or the complex relationships of trust evoked through allegiant and assertive models of civic culture, connective politics are seen to offer complex and sometimes contradictory effects to the normatively experimental modes of democracy that they enable.

Trust in digital policy innovation: impact of anti-politics on policymaking

Gerry. Stoker, Institute for Governance and Policy Analysis, University of Canberra; Will Jennings, Institute for Governance and Policy Analysis, University of Canberra ; Mark Evans, Institute for Governance and Policy Analysis, University of Canberra and Max Halupka, Institute for Governance and Policy Analysis, University of Canberra.

The classic civic culture argument is that established democracies require allegiant citizens to function effectively and a decline in political trust could undermine support for democracy, political engagement and the capacity of government to act. A counter view is that in affluent societies citizens are becoming less trusting of government and more assertive and engaged, contributing to a more mature and critical democracy. Using survey and focus group research collected in Australia in 2016 after 25 years of economic growth we explore the issue of whether lack of political trust matters to democratic governance. We show that lack of trust impacts through low public confidence in the ability of government to deliver key policies and perhaps on voting but not on political engagement beyond voting.

The framing of politics by Australian citizens does not match that of a civic culture but equally it does not suggest movement towards an assertive culture. We suggest alternative future trajectories. Of these, the main finding of this study is that we are not in a position to conclude that a decline in political trust is putting Australia's democratic future in jeopardy or that lack of political trust is driving a new assertive accountability from citizens towards government. As Table 4 indicates, we found a mixed pattern of evidence in relation to both the allegiant and assertive models of civic culture. The allegiant model is challenged in that deference to politicians appears absent and trust in institutions has weakened. Yet citizens appear to value the overall stability of their political system even if lack of political trust means they lack confidence in its ability to deliver especially on more challenging policy issues. In Australia's case sustained affluence matched with a decline in political trust has led not to the critical citizens envisaged by the assertive model but rather to a culture of non-engagement and cynicism matching any signs of new levels of voice or forms of political engagement.

Connected Feminists: How individual activists constitute organisations in the digitally connected era - Verity Trott, University of Melbourne

With the rise of digital platforms new social movement theories have been developed to address the organisational structures of activism. Bennett and Segerberg's theory of connective action (2013) has been particularly prominent. Theoretically it presents a fluid typology of contemporary activism that distinguishes between collective action, organisationally enabled, and crowd-enabled connective action. Empirically it utilises big data and network analysis to generate illustrations of large-scale network patterns. In combination, it provides new ways of thinking about social movements and activist structures in a digitised landscape. While their research is undeniably valuable, this paper argues that they underplay the role of individual activists for a few key reasons. First, they argue that the burden of organisation has shifted to digital platforms from traditional, established groups. Second, the network science approach fails to capture the minute relationships and power dynamics that exist between individual activists. This limitation mainly stems from the fact that these dynamics often exist behind-the-scenes and are not expressed in publicly available data. Third, their typology of crowd-enabled protests relies on a misconception of leaderlessness.

This paper challenges Bennett and Segerberg's focus on digital platforms and argues that the organisational shift has been directed toward digitally equipped individuals whom employ digital tools and extensive networks to organise and drive protests. This research draws on 22 interviews with feminist activists to explore how they are performing a similar role to conventional organisations and highlights how they work as driving forces behind seemingly leaderless protests. It focuses on the feminist movement to provide diversity to the discussion as Bennett and Segerberg's research focuses on economic and environmental protests. Furthermore, it draws on Jo Freeman's (1972) conceptualisation of the *Tyranny of Structurelessness* to deconstruct the notion of crowd-enabled and leaderless protest networks. In doing this, the paper problematises Bennett and Segerberg's three-part typology.

This paper examines the role of individuals in contemporary activism by drawing on three particular examples. First, it reveals how friendship networks constitute communication networks in protest organisations. Second, it

focuses on high profile activists and how they can employ their network for activism. Third, it draws attention to digitally equipped activists that engage in a multitude of protests, and in particular the rise of the 'feminist manager'. Ultimately, this paper presents a conceptualisation of contemporary activism that recognises digitally equipped individual activists as performing the role of organisation, as an additional complication and extension of collective and connective action theories.

#SOSVenezuela and the limits of virtual visual protest strategies: Participating in the spectacle of participation

Aleksandar Deejay. Monash University

While protest actors in democracies often only look inward to lobby support, protest actors in illiberal or non-democracies often look both inward *and* outward to legitimize their actions. The use of the internet and social media allows activists in politically restrictive states to formulate communicative strategies to lobby global publics and organisations to increase their numbers of support; and ideally, receive aid in coercing local decision makers. This paper explores the 2013 #SOSVenezuela online campaign and its strategy of connecting to external publics online. Specifically, it is interested in the circulation of, and response to, the images of the protest circulated by activists across Twitter as a form of "mediated connectedness". It looks to analyse not only how protesters within these movements hoped to visually frame their grievances and actions, but how non-stakeholders responded to them, and the meaning and importance of this response. It argues that the limitation of aesthetic virtual protest strategies is that the circulation of modern protest images continues to perpetuate a reductive paradigm of political protest as spectacle. Collectively, this is *effective* though rarely *affective* when it comes to collective contributions, heightening the perception of support while reducing protest campaigns to aggregates of online participation in the dissemination of a superficial visual narrative. Thus, the battle "to be seen" across virtual spaces comes at the expense of the battle "to be heard", creating a spectacle of participation surrounding transnational online connective action, and a potential illusion surrounding the benefits of such high virtual participation numbers on overall outcomes.

'Our' Citizens' Agenda as a case study of digital participation: In the shadow of algorithms

Luke Heemsbergen, University of Melbourne.

This paper considers how open online participation is mediated by platforms that inherit unique forms of algorithmic control, which have direct consequences to both the quality and category of democratic action available. The case explored surrounds an organisation named OurSay that created a participative digital accountability mechanism designed to craft a "Citizens' Agenda" in a recent Australian Federal election to evoke new accountabilities for politicians in a new forums. The project involved activating participation both online and off for citizens in 10 electorates across Australia in a bid to lower the participation costs of the political process and was met with numeric success. This paper considers participation in this digital apparatus by delineating how the constitutive elements, relations between them, and resultant design created specific democratic affordances for citizens and their agents. Its data draws on the design of the platform, interviews with team leads and the thousands of posting from the online platform spread across 10 electorates, which pitted citizens to work with and against each other to have specific interests rise above others and set a new political agenda to hold politicians running for office to account. This intervention was inspired by Jay Rosen's (2010) idea of a citizens agenda. Rosen suggested that election news coverage should be developed around what mattered to citizens, rather than what matters to parties or a media economy.

The specific design choices of OurSay's digital tool afforded specific democratic outcomes. The up/down voting conversation model enabled people to ask questions for politicians to answer and read others' questions to build community conversations around the issues. Many, mostly civic, debates ensued online. However, analysing the number of votes and discussion compared to questions asked provides interesting evidence towards the limits of visibility for participatory actions in the OurSay model. Top tier 'winning' questions all held very similar vote numbers, while the amount of votes for each subsequent question dropped off exponentially, mirroring the "long tail" that is common in co-productive online environments (Anderson 2004). To understand why we consider that over half of the questions submitted did not receive any votes or comments whatsoever. By mid-campaign, these voteless, commentless questions were for all purposes, invisible to the public. This was due, in part, to a vital element of the apparatus: the algorithm OurSay employed to keep the front page of the online question board

easily readable and dynamic. Newer questions, and questions that were receiving votes past a specific frequency were shown to more users than other questions were. The paper expands on this and other design choices of OurSay to tease out the algorithmic management of the citizens' agendas online to show how moments of collaboration and the recognition of others' right to be heard, was also controlled through logics of the control via a platform that reconfigured the visibility of citizen voice through algorithmic steering. More than control the visibility of individual citizens, it steered the participative process away from collaborative models to a liberal 'first past the post' system with losers and winners left to set a specified agenda.

Panel 75 – Foreign Policy in the Asia Pacific

China's Institutional Challenges to the International Order

Kai He, Griffith University and Huiyun Feng, Griffith University

Scholars and policy analysts have debated China's challenges to the international order as well as the implications for world politics. One critical but understudied question is *how* China challenges the international order. By integrating institutional balancing theory in International Relations (IR) and prospect theory in behavioural psychology, this article introduces a "prospect-institutional balancing" model to explain how China has utilized two types of institutional balancing strategies to challenge the US-led international order. We argue that China is more likely to use inclusive institutional balancing to challenge the United States in an area where it has a relatively advantageous status, such as the economic and trade arena. When China faces a security challenge with disadvantageous prospects, it is more likely to take risks to conduct exclusive institutional balancing against the United States. Using China's policy choices in the Asian Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) and the Conference on Interaction and Confidence-Building Measures in Asia (CICA) as two case studies, the project tests the validity of the "prospect-institutional balancing" model and concludes that China's institutional challenge to the international order will be more peaceful than widely predicted.

North Korean nuclear weapons: How the Kim regime use nuclear weapons to maintain its power

Isabelle Guenther, Monash University

The basic defensive realist notion that a state's primary goal is to ensure its security is not entirely accurate for North Korea; the totalitarian nature of the Democratic People's Republic means that without the survival of the regime, it will likely fall to the influences of its regional neighbours. North Korea thus has to invest in securing the longevity of the Kim dynasty, and this cannot be done with only external defences. Maintaining its totalitarian control over the population is crucial to the regime's survival and its nuclear weapons have not only deterred conflict and intervention, but have enabled internal indoctrination and support from the North Korean population. This paper discusses the role of nuclear weapons in North Korea's foreign policy and domestic politics. It argues that North Korea's nuclearisation has not only strengthened its military to the point that intervention is highly unlikely, but has helped gain the support from its people. This paper aims to shed light on the recent tensions between North Korea and Western countries by analysing the role nuclear weapons have on its domestic politics, and how they promote security from both internal and external threats.

The paper is based on a literature review analysing the Kim regime's nuclear proliferation. It also relies on news articles and primary sources, as there is not yet a sufficient amount of peer-reviewed research published on recent events concerning North Korea. While there are certainly limitations regarding access to information from North Korea, I will circumvent this issue by deductively correlating North Korea's nuclear history with external threats, and internal and humanitarian issues. This research allows me to discover patterns that correlate North Korea's apparent level of population support, as well as external threats, with its degree of nuclearisation. In my presentation, I will first outline North Korea's nuclear history, and why the state has pursued nuclear weapons. Finally, I will address the Kim dynasty's use of nuclear weapons in order to protect it from both external and internal threats.

Populism after the Pivot: Trump, Asia and 'transactional' foreign policy

Mark Beeson, University of Western Australia

No one knows what the unexpected election of Donald Trump will mean for the broadly conceived Asia-Pacific region. What we do know, however, is that it is likely to be very different from what has gone before. At the very least it will draw a line under Obama's 'Pivot' to Asia and to specific initiatives like the Trans Pacific Partnership. The familiar basis of US regional engagement that has been in place for half a century may be replaced by a more 'transactional' approach to foreign policy that places 'America's national interest' ahead of all others. This paper considers what this may mean for East Asia in particular by considering some of the deeply integrated geopolitical and geo-economic dynamics that currently drive regional relations, but which seem to have been given little consideration by the incoming administration.

Panel 76 – Comparative Perspectives on Migration and Resettlement

Multi-level governance, institutional dynamics and refugees' labour market participation in Canada and Belgium

Adèle Garnier, Macquarie University

Across industrialised countries, refugees' labour market participation remains comparatively low. Literature on the role of refugees' individual characteristics (such as gender and level of education) for their labour market careers has significantly expanded in the last decade, yet scholarship addressing the significance of political and institutional factors remains limited. To address this, my paper compares the relevance of the local policy environment, and of non-governmental organisations providing labour market support, for the labour market careers of refugees in the province of Quebec in Canada and in the region of Brussels in Belgium. Both Canada and Belgium are federal, multilingual states (with nascent tensions between linguistic communities) and both subnational units (the province of Quebec and the region of Brussels) host a large proportion of refugees and immigrants coming to Canada and Belgium. At the same time, Canada is a traditional country of immigration, whereas Belgium has long struggled to define itself as a country of immigration.

Conceptually, my paper draws on scholarship on the significance of local government for immigrant integration, on the role of the third sector in public policy in a context of budgetary constraints, and on the labour market trajectories of refugees. Methodologically, it relies on deskbound policy analysis as well as more than 40 interviews conducted between 2015 and 2017 in the province of Quebec and the region of Brussels with staff of public administrations and non-governmental organisations involved in refugees' labour market participation as well as refugees active in the labour market.

My paper shows that refugees face similar political and institutional challenges in both cases. Firstly, there is a disconnect between their arrival as humanitarian immigrants and lack of specific consideration for this humanitarian aspect in measures developed to provide support to labour market participation. Secondly, the complexity of the local policy environment often means that supporting organizations are not well networked with each other, which in turn hampers effective labour market support. Lastly, these two challenges are exacerbated by budgetary and managerial constraints.

Economic Sanctions and Afghans' resettlement from Iran

Athar Shafaei, Swinburne University of Technology

This research explores the Afghans' resettlement from Iran through the lens of economic sanctions. Afghans are the largest refugee population in the world. The common language, religion, and geographic location make Iran the second-largest host country for Afghans after Pakistan. Iran has experienced long-term sanctions since 1979, which intensified during 2010 to 2015. This paper reports semi-structured interviews which conducted with Afghans in Melbourne as a pilot study. The paper contributes to the Afghans' resettlement from Iran to Australia. It illustrates that the economic hardship following the intensified sanctions led to increase the Afghans' resettlement from Iran.

Local Immigrant Integration in Japan: Substantial or Superficial?

David Green, Nagoya University Graduate School of Law

As the Japanese population begins to age and concerns grow over the country's continued economic viability, Japan's foreign population has been steadily growing. Seen as a means of at least partially mitigating the economic losses associated with societal aging, Japan's central government has been quietly working to expand the resident foreign population. However, little national guidance has been provided to cities actually experiencing foreign growth. This is particularly true in the major hub cities, including Tokyo, Yokohama, Osaka and Nagoya. Rather, while the national government may bring more foreign residents, cities and local governments have been left to their own devices when dealing with immigrant populations and the various issues that accompany them.

This presentation examines the case of Nagoya in detail, using the city as a proxy for municipalities with relatively large immigrant populations. While conventional wisdom paints Japan as immigrant-averse, making little outreach or effort toward integrating resident immigrants, active cities like Nagoya in fact have a number of policies in place attempting to address the needs of their foreign residents. The question then is how successful are these policies? While immigrant integration efforts in Japan have received some consideration, actual evaluation or assessments of these efforts are surprisingly uncommon.

To gauge the efficacy of immigrant integration in Nagoya, I will examine the dimensions of integration readily identified in the literature, including socio-economic integration, cultural integration, legal and political integration, and the attitudes of the host country residents toward immigrants, and compare them to policies, government actions and public opinion polls in Nagoya city. My findings thus far show that while active municipalities like Nagoya have made some effort toward integration on all four dimensions, the foreign population remains highly separate from the native Japanese population and largely unintegrated.

This project thus aims to consider not only immigrant integration efforts in active Japanese municipalities, but has implications for newer countries of immigration and the integration efforts they undertake on the one hand, as well as the ways integration is commonly measured on the other. Immigrant integration remains a difficult subject to properly operationalize, and this research provides some evidence that the generally-accepted indicators for immigrant integration may not accurately measure whether foreign population are substantively integrated in with host country residents.

Panel 77 – Political Concepts & Practices

Analysing democratic representations of children in contemporary political debates

Daniel Bray, LaTrobe University and Sana Nakata, University of Melbourne

This paper presents an alternative approach to examining children in politics that views representative claim-making, rather than participation which is explicitly emphasis in the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child, as the core activity in democratic politics. When public debate compels us to consider the asylum seeker child allegedly thrown overboard a boat; a drowned Syrian toddler washed to a Turkish shore; an unarmed African American child shot by police in a playground; or an Indigenous Australian teenager stripped, bound and hooded in a prison cell, we are being compelled to consider a *representative claim by adults of children*. In none of these moments, all of which serve to constitute the political and also to affect politics, does the child speak or act or conduct themselves as properly political citizens. So, by analyzing the representative claim-making about children in democratic politics, we are intending to develop a mode for *thinking politically about children* irrespective of their citizenship status.

To do this, first, we turn to Hannah Arendt's notion of natality, and the importance of beginnings in producing the potential for radical pluralism or "newness" in politics. Second, we analyse Chantal Mouffe's radical democratic project and its commitment to deepening and protecting radical pluralism in politics. It is from this perspective that we can abandon questions of who the child is and attempts to evaluate whether the child *is* or *can ever be* a political citizen. By moving on from Kantian liberal ideals of the political actor as someone who is fully rational, mature or autonomous, we are able to view our *relation to*, and not just our participation within, *the political* as constitutive, meaningful and affective. Even without citizenship, this threshold of political life is something that

those “inside” the public realm are constantly negotiating: as adults reflecting upon our own childhoods and lived experiences, or as parents and carers who negotiate this threshold on behalf of children. Having argued for this radical perspective, in the final section we then take up an undeveloped aspect of its oeuvre: *representation*. Here, we make contested representations about children central to our analysis in an effort to preserve the radical commitment to pluralism, but also to highlight the constitutive processes of representative claim-making in which children appear in democratic politics without actually participating.

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Making the case for a practice-based comparative political theory

Hamza bin Jehangir, University of Melbourne

Over the last two decades, comparative political theorists have made the case for broadening the field of political theory by engaging with non-western intellectual traditions to question the assumed universality of western political thought. The defining feature of this engagement with non-western traditions has been a focus on non-western texts and various methodological approaches that are best suited to comparing and analyzing these texts. This paper contends that comparative political theory should not be reduced to a methodological focus on understanding non-western texts and intellectual traditions. Instead, comparative inquiry in political theory must go beyond narrow textual scholasticism by engaging with ‘real’ politics, actions, protests and formations of subjectivity in non-western contexts. Consequently, this paper argues for a practice-based approach to comparative political theory that emphasizes situated forms of theoretical analysis rooted in the relationship between language, meaning, and political actions in non-western contexts. A practice-based focus will expand the scope of comparative political theory beyond texts and binaries of west/non-west towards developing an intersecting mode of analysis. The paper concludes by delineating how such a focus also creates possibilities of fruitful methodological engagements between comparative political theorists, pragmatists and critical genealogists.

Ambiguity and Vagueness in Political Concepts: On Coding and Referential Vacuity

Keith Dowding, ANU

We introduce the distinction between ambiguity and vagueness. We argue that sometimes conceptual dispute in political philosophy can be due to ambiguity. However, that is relatively easy to solve by disambiguation and the subscript gambit. Doing so can reveal any underlying substantive disagreement. We then argue that many political concepts are vague. We introduce two types of vagueness. For the first type, vague terms can be precisified by what we call coding decisions. Again, this can involve a version of the subscript gambit. When precisifying by coding decisions we can find several, different but equally valid versions of the same vague concept. However, those coding decisions are often trivial and so judgements about, say, the relative freedom of individuals or societies would not be affected much by those coding decisions. This is semantic vagueness. The second notion of vagueness is more problematic. Here vague terms are incoherent in the sense that they involve normative judgements or desiderata or we have moral intuitions about what the term entails and these cannot all be satisfied under all conditions. Here the term is referentially vacuous. There is ontic vagueness. Here too the term can be precisified in different but equally valid versions of the vague concept. However, none can be defended as being the best representation of the vague concept and so must be judged on other criteria. We point out that despite incoherence and referential vacuity, there are still advantages in terms of efficiency and rhetorical value in using vague terms in moral and political theory.

Panel 78 – Resources, Infrastructure & Public Policy

Problem windows and changing frames: frame conflicts over the future of coal seam gas ('fracking') in Australia

Paul Fawcett, Institute for Governance and Policy Analysis, University of Canberra; Michael Jensen, Institute for Governance and Policy Analysis, University of Canberra; Hedda Ransan-Cooper, Institute for Governance and Policy Analysis, University of Canberra and Sonya Duus, Institute for Governance and Policy Analysis, University of Canberra

Why do problem windows close? This is an important but under-researched question, which this article examines by looking at the dynamic interaction between frames and frame sponsors within particular problem windows. We develop an innovative methodological approach that combines algorithmic coding, specifically topic modelling, with hand coding to track changes in frames and frame sponsors within and across different problem windows. We apply this approach empirically to examine different actor-frame relationships in a corpus of newspaper articles that pertain to the coal seam gas controversy in Australia – a divisive policy issue where frame conflicts are common. Our analysis produces important insights into: the presence of elite versus mass frames; media norms regarding frames, actors and their representation; and several underlying mechanisms that help explain why problem windows close when they do. Keywords: problem windows, framing, coal seam gas, topic modelling, big data.

Politics of the Unpopular: Rhetoric, Realities, and Road Reform

Michael de Percy, University of Canberra

The word 'rhetoric' is often used negatively to describe promises made by politicians. Yet the Aristotelian meaning of the word is more akin to the art of persuasive discourse. Historically, rhetoric was regarded as an important civic skill for democratic practice. The ability to persuade remains crucial to successful policy implementation today, but rather than the art of rhetoric, marketing methods have become the norm in 'selling' policies. This means that difficult policy choices tend not to be 'sold' to voters, and so-called 'political realities' dictate whether much-needed policies make it onto the policy agenda. One pressing policy challenge is fixing crippling traffic congestion in Australia's major metropolitan centres. Decades of research and reporting all point towards a system of road pricing, including hypothecation of funds for building infrastructure, and congestion-area charging as ways to change transport behaviours. Further, revenues from the federal fuel excise have been in decline since the early 2000s, even with indexation, and motorists least able to afford fuel-efficient or electric vehicles are contributing more than their fair share to road-related revenues. The research indicates that alternative transport modes and driverless cars will not take away the requirement for a road pricing system. Indeed, not acting is a worse-case scenario, where the inefficiency of road infrastructure will begin to reduce living standards. Decades of research and 'significant-person' reports all point to a system of road pricing and charging to replace fuel excise and motor vehicle registration fees as the best way to increase efficiency and sustain road-related revenues. There is also a growing consensus on the need for road-user charging, but voters are generally averse to any form of 'new tax'. Much like the introduction of the GST, introducing road pricing will impact almost every voter, and it is likely to be as politically difficult to get through. Yet the doom and gloom of the GST is a distant memory, and Australians are generally better off as a result. Trying to 'sell' the GST failed for John Hewson, but John Howard doggedly persuaded voters and won the 1998 election to introduce the 'never, ever' GST. Are these lessons from the art of rhetoric? This paper looks to the rhetoric that enabled the GST, and considers how rhetoric, in its classical sense, may be the formula needed to introduce road pricing sooner rather than later.

Panel 79 – Labour, Business & Private Sector Regulation

Power to resist: Services Liberalization in Greece, 2006-2016

Francesco Stolfi, Macquarie University

This paper assesses whether and how services providers have been able to resist the implementation of services liberalization and deregulation in Greece since 2006. Greece's entrenched closed shop system protecting professions against competition has come under attack by the European Union and other international actors, first with the EU's 2006 Services Directive and, since the onset of the country's fiscal and economic crisis in 2010, with

several Memorandums of Understanding the Greek government signed in order to maintain access to credit, all of which included strict requirements to liberalize services provision.

At a time of increasingly bitter conflict between winners and losers of globalization, the paper aims to provide a political economy contribution to the literature on implementation by analyzing the politics and the actors' strategies surrounding the implementation of liberalization.

Although the legal transposition of liberalization measures has been made easier by the immediate pressures facing the country, implementation remains uncertain, as services providers attempt to protect themselves from liberalization. However, interest groups differ in the resources they can muster to resist reform, and this paper aims to assess if, and through which strategies, more powerful groups have indeed been able to defend by thwarting the implementation of liberalization measures.

We have chosen three professions that differ in terms of their political, legal, and technical resources: lawyers, engineers and tour guides. The first two are powerful actors that can draw on their legal and technical expertise as well as on their established links with political parties, a fundamental resource in the Greek system, characterized as it is by a politicized and poorly skilled public administration. Conversely, tour guides are weaker actors in that they lack the legal and technical skills of lawyers and engineers.

Empirically, the paper is based on primary documents and interviews with interest group associations and unions in the four sectors as well as with public administrators and representatives of parties and of the international organizations (European Commission and International Monetary Fund) tasked with overseeing Greece's reforms.

Labour in the Twenty-First Century

Verity Burgmann, Monash University

Thomas Piketty's *Capital in the Twenty-First Century* ignores the power of labour as a factor shaping distribution, but workers' power—or lack of power—is crucial. Globalizing capital's increased bargaining power vis-à-vis labour is the dominant factor causing increased inequality via upwards redistribution from labour to capital. However, any study of working-class responses to globalization should allow for meaningful resistance. Currents within Western Marxism that critique economic determinism and its corollary, fatalism, are pertinent, for example the writings of Jean-Paul Sartre, E.P. Thompson and Antonio Negri. Autonomism disputes the dominance of capital and its accumulative logic as the unilateral force shaping the world; rather, the dynamism of capital is forged in reaction to the power of labour expressed in 'cycles of struggle'. Capital responds to working-class composition and recomposition by seeking to decompose the working-class; capital does not determine economic development.

This paper identifies eight interconnected features of globalization that seriously challenge labour movements. Yet workers have reacted creatively to each of these problems. Responses include normal, traditional forms of labour movement resurgence, but workers have also developed novel ways to confront employer power that are particularly appropriate to the circumstances imposed by globalization. As new expressions of working-class organization and mobilization emerge to better battle with capitalist globalization, aging and less agile labour movement forms decline or disappear. These processes that are forging new labour movements and transforming old labour movements are signs of working-class composition in developing economies and recomposition in developed economies.

After Unity, Autonomy? Monsanto and the Remaking of Corporate Power

Jensen Sass, University of Canberra

Recent scholarship suggests that corporate unity reached its high point in the United States in the early 1980s. But having achieved its primary aims, the American business community lost the will and capacity to act as a cohesive political bloc. The dominant theory of corporate power—the so-called "unity thesis"—predicts that in a pluralistic polity this apparent decline in unity would engender an equivalent decline in business influence. Most students of business and politics, however, observe the opposite trend, suggesting that, over the past three decades, corporations have bolstered their position in American political life. This presents a theoretical and empirical puzzle—how might we explain rising corporate influence alongside declining corporate unity? In this

paper I trace the changing political orientation and action of a single large corporation, namely, Monsanto, from the early 1970s to the mid-1980s. I describe how this firm reconstituted and extended its political capacities in the face of severe commercial and institutional pressures. While corporate unity declined during the period of analysis, Monsanto greatly expanded its organizational autonomy. Monsanto gained the capacity to articulate long-term political aims and to monitor and shape its institutional environment. Importantly, the financial and institutional mechanisms which compelled Monsanto to secure its autonomy were hardly unique to this firm. Indeed, they will form a key element of any full explanation of historical variation in the political influence of business. Research for the paper is based on archival research with the Monsanto company records as well as interviews with former managers, executives, and scientists of the firm.

Corporate Propaganda and the Evisceration of the Australian Union Movement

Tómas Rosa, LaTrobe University^{1}*

The union movement in Australia was at its strongest during the Whitlam era (1972-1975). At that time, wages as a percentage of GDP and the strike rate were both at their highest point in Australian history. The election of Whitlam in 1972 and increasing power of the unions provoked a conservative backlash similar to that which occurred in the United States after the New Deal reforms were introduced during Franklin Roosevelt's Administration (1933-1945). During the 1930s, the violent strike-breaking tactics were being phased out in exchange for propaganda. This method proved to be extremely successful because the US union movement was eviscerated by the 1950s. The growth of popular movements during the late 1960s posed a similar problem for Australian big business. Australian psychologist Alex Carey has written about how Australia adopted the US corporate propaganda model in the early 1970s. This involved launching 'economic education' campaigns such as the one initiated by the Australian Chamber of Commerce in 1973. After the re-election of the Whitlam government in 1974, ex-Liberal minister Allen Fairhall advocated the creation of a propaganda organization that came to be known as Enterprise Australia. By the mid-1980s, the strength of unions had been severely undermined through a multi-pronged propaganda offensive, as well as the passing of anti-union legislation such as the Accord. Using institutional analysis, this paper argues that corporate propaganda was a major cause of the decline of the union movement in Australia. This took place within the context of a neoliberal attack on the social democratic model which has been a dominant global trend since the 1980s. If a social democratic government happens to come to power, it could either find itself a victim of a coup d'état or subverted in one way or another. This is of course what happened to the Whitlam government. Along with Whitlam's dismissal in 1975, the evisceration of the union movement represents perhaps the greatest blow to democracy in all of Australia's post-World War II history.

Panel 80 – Political Justice

The Indefinite Audience of the 'Public'

Sophie Reid, University of Melbourne

There is often a great deal at stake in classifying something as public or not, so it is worthwhile considering the broad contours of this essentially contested concept. This paper does so by looking at the ways that the term 'public' is applied to different phenomena. 'Public' is a description attached to a variety of subjects: interests, goods, services, spheres, communication, reason, and power, to name a few. So it describes some characteristic that can be held in common by things as diverse as concrete or abstract goods, abstractly conceptualised 'spaces', relationships, and activities. So what is this characteristic? I will conclude that despite their variation, uses of 'public' have a loose theme that can be broadly described as 'direction toward or impact on an indefinite audience'. I will then explore the utility of this understanding of 'public' by using it in a reconstruction of the concept of public interest. This reconstruction will take a discursive approach, resulting in a notion of public interest that accommodates the concept's elasticity while illustrating that its elasticity is limited, and why this is the case.

Rethinking justice for the Anthropocene

Jonathan Pickering, University of Canberra

Concerns of justice loom large in the Anthropocene, a new epoch in which humanity exerts a dominant influence on planetary dynamics such as climate and biodiversity. One of the most striking features of the Anthropocene is that some parts of humanity bear far greater responsibility for producing global ecological hazards, while others

are far more vulnerable to their impacts. Climate change is perhaps the starkest example of this predicament: the very existence of some low-lying states is threatened by rising global greenhouse gas emissions, to which industrialised states have made an overwhelming contribution.

More fundamentally, the Anthropocene calls into question prevailing assumptions about the meaning and scope of justice itself. As the intensity and duration of humanity's influence over the Earth continues to grow, it becomes increasingly necessary to rethink what humans owe not only to their fellow members living today, but also to future generations and non-humans.

This paper explores why and how justice needs to be rethought in the light of the unstable conditions of the Anthropocene. I begin by responding to arguments that the Anthropocene concept downplays concerns of justice, and that existing conceptions of justice are already well-equipped to deal with new conditions. I then discuss the need to recast ideas of justice in two important areas of political theory and practice: reconfiguring responsibilities of justice to reflect the extensions of human influence across space and time; and achieving a better integration of the ecological and social dimensions of justice, including the just treatment of non-human nature. Throughout the analysis I draw on examples from multilateral governance of climate change and biodiversity.

Facts, Principles, and Egalitarian Justice

Nicholas Barry, LaTrobe University

In recent work, David Miller has advanced a strong case for the fact-dependence of political principles, arguing that whether such principles are valid ultimately depends on certain empirical facts. Miller's view contrasts with the position adopted by a number of other influential political theorists, most notably, G.A. Cohen, who argued that the validity of political principles is not fact-dependent at the foundational level. In this paper, I critically evaluate Miller's argument, concluding that it is ultimately unsuccessful. I argue that the validity of political principles is, as Cohen suggests, independent of empirical claims. However, this does not mean that political principles are unable to provide guidance when it comes to practical policy issues or questions of institutional design. The paper demonstrates this by outlining the implications of highly abstract, fact-independent luck egalitarian and relational egalitarian principles for welfare policy.

Panel 81 – Democratic Transitions 2

The plot and characters of democracy: activist narratives in Myanmar

Tamas Wells, University of Melbourne

What does democracy mean? Much scholarly attention has been given to the normative project of examining what democracy *ought* to mean. Less attention however has been given to the empirical endeavour of understanding how citizens around the world give meaning to the word democracy. Where attention has been given to this question, research has been largely oriented toward Western nations and toward public opinion survey methodologies. Using the example of Myanmar's democracy movement, this paper argues that narrative theory can help to forward the empirical study of democracy in new ways. Narrative theory brings fresh insights to the study of democracy by revealing how political actors narrate both plot and characters.

Plot is what makes a story a story. A narrative approach reveals how meanings of democracy are about what democracy *is*, but also about what democracy is *not*. Uncovering the plot of democracy reveals contrasting counter-positions or problems that democracy is intended to solve. For example, international aid agencies in Myanmar often emphasised the problem of a personalised form of politics and dysfunction of formal democratic institutions. In contrast Burmese activists and democratic leaders often pointed not to the problem of personalised politics but the moral failures of individual leaders. Between international aid workers and activists there was no consensus on what primary problem democracy was supposed to be solving.

Along with an emphasis on plot, a narrative approach also reveals the ways that characters are constructed within narratives. Whenever political actors tell stories of democracy they serve to position themselves and others in different ways – as part of the solution to democratization, an obstacle to it, or simply as bystanders. For example, the story of democracy told by international aid agencies in Myanmar often placed international actors at the centre

of the story, as bringing necessary liberal ideas and capacity building for the country. In contrast, Burmese activists within the democracy movement often portrayed benevolent democratic leaders to be at the centre of the story, and international actors in the periphery. Meanwhile, other networks of activists characterised democratic leaders such as Daw Aung San Suu Kyi as an obstacle to democracy, as playing a role in reinforcing cultural hierarchies.

A narrative approach can uncover how meanings of democracy are embedded in constructions of plot and character – and that these stories play a political role in reinforcing the voice and influence of certain actors, while undermining others. These insights are crucial in addressing the empirical question of what democracy means to citizens and political actors around the world.

National Resource Ownership Discourse and Community Engagement in Tanzania's Natural Gas Governance

Japhace Poncian, University of Newcastle and Jim Jose, University of Newcastle

Extractive resources politics in many resource rich countries remain contentious due to complex relations between resource owners on the one hand and the investors on the other hand. Regarding resource ownership, recent policy and legal reforms in Africa have, among others, sought to nationalise ownership of mineral and hydrocarbon resources. In the Tanzanian context, the National Natural Gas Policy (2013) states that 'natural gas is National resource that belongs to the people of the United Republic of Tanzania, and must be managed in a way that benefits the entire Tanzanian society, for present and future generations.'

This paper, therefore, examines how national ownership of natural gas impacts on local community engagement in decision making and resource governance processes. Particularly, the paper explores how the government uses this idea of national benefit to shape community engagement in decision making processes in the gas rich regions of Mtwara and Lindi. Drawing on government documents, media reports, interviews with local communities, local government leaders and officials in Mtwara and Lindi as well as with central government officials and civil society organisations, the paper argues that national ownership of natural gas is understood by the government to mean that, at the practical level, the management of natural gas remains the prerogative of the government (and investors). In effect, local communities are marginalised in the name of the national interest.

Somali myths: The democratic experiment in Somalia 2000-2017

Stephanie Carver, Monash University

This paper explores the tensions that exists between democracy and governance in Somalia between 2000 to mid-2017. After years of civil conflict and humanitarian disasters and widespread anarchy, Somalia has entered a new and turbulent period of state-(re)building. Various international and local attempts have been made to usher in a unified national government with limited success. Considering the various models of governance that have existed and still exist within Somalia today, it is evident that popular participation is far from an alien concept to the Somali culture. Yet despite this, democracy still struggles to take root. This paper contends that this struggle is the product of the competing models and actors involved in this process and the tension that results from the various sources of governance, arising from clan structure and practices, local and regional governments and internationally brokered national governments. In doing this, the article builds on the discussions of clan politics and state building literature by proposing that any durable model of democracy will need to operate within the framework of governance that already exist.

Panel 82 – Environmental Policy & Reform 4

Climate Neglect, Power and Democracy in Australia

Robyn Eckersley, University of Melbourne

The reasons for Australia's failure to produce a credible and durable climate policy at the national level are many and varied. However, by the second decade of the new Millennium this failure can be increasingly attributed to the federal Coalition's ineffective climate policies, its disparagement of renewable energy and its support for the continuation of fossil fuel production and use in Australia. Yet this policy stance is deeply out of touch with the demands of the Paris Agreement 2015 and the majority view of Australian voters. This paper seeks to understand

how and why this has occurred and what it tells us about political power and democracy in Australia. It tracks the shift in the Coalition's climate policy that has helped to drive a deeply partisan politics of climate change and, drawing on an expansive understanding of power that combines agential, structural, institutional and discursive dimensions, offers an explanation of how and why the problem of climate change, along with responsibility for climate injustices, has been routinely denied.

'Pushing a lot of open doors': Green Party Influence on Irish Economic Policies during the Global Financial Crisis

Megan Tighe, University of Tasmania.

After joining coalition government in 2007, the Irish Green Party found itself quickly and unexpectedly front and centre for significant and controversial economic policy decisions in response to the worst financial crisis since the Great Depression. Studies of minor parties' policy impact and the nascent literature on 'niche parties' tend to address success largely in terms of these parties' particular policy niches. In contrast, this paper considers how a small, environmental niche party may engage with core economic policy. The case of the Irish Greens demonstrates the pressures that government participation (and economic crisis) places on 'niche' status and strategies, taking into account the Party's policies and strategy prior to entering government; impact on decisions taken in government, and Party leaders' self-assessments of influence and 'success' after leaving government. This paper concludes with reflections on the 'niche-ness' of Green parties in Ireland and elsewhere.

Framing Climate Change: A Study of Conceptual Dynamics

Naomi Wellington, Monash University

Over the course of the last decade conceptualisations of climate change have evolved, shifting from "a gradually intensifying, long-term challenge, into a highly nonlinear danger that threatens national security" (Mayer, 2013). This culminated in an increasing awareness, in recent times, of the consequences of climate change on national, international and human security. The concept of securitization this paper employs is based on the Copenhagen School of thought, whereby *a political issue which is traditionally not part of security debates, is introduced to the dominion of security*, through a constructivist lens. (Hough, 2004)

In March 2017, the combined global average temperature over land and ocean surfaces exceeded a 1.05°C temperature rise. "It was the second highest recorded temperature since global temperature records began in 1880, behind the record year, 2016 by 0.18°C, and ahead of 2015 by +0.15°C." (GCR, 2017) This makes 2017 the third year in a row with record-setting surface temperatures. Changes in weather patterns (including: flooding, erosion, sea surges; droughts, extreme weather events: typhoons, higher intensity storms etc.) are projected to increase the risk of violent conflict in at-risk regions, and work as threat multipliers, "influencing and exacerbating geopolitical risks locally and in the broader international community"(Sturrock and Ferguson, 2015).

These projections have been habitually employed in media and socio-political discourses.

Contentiously, scholars including Swyngedouw (2011) and Rothe (2012), have argued that "the prominence of narratives of a dangerous climate change leads to a steady de-politicization of international climate governance". Swyngedouw identifies two seemingly disjointed themes: 1) *The mainstreaming of the global problem of climate change that presents a clear danger to civilization as we know it, unless urgent and immediate remedial action is undertaken*, and 2) *The debate in political theory that centres around the emergence and consolidation of a post-political, post-democratic condition*. He goes on to argue that the representation of climate change in 1) and its associated policies, is sustained through populist gestures, and further explores how this particular "choreographing of climate change is one of the arenas through which a post-political frame and post-democratic political configuration have been mediated" (Swyngedouw, 2011).

This paper examines the conceptualization of climate change as a threat to security and goes on to establish the connection between this conceptualization on the one hand, and *climate change as post-political post-democratic populism*, on the other.

Panel 83 – Enhancing Political Participation 1

Democratic knowledge and support in Russia, Ukraine and Belarus

Emily Look, ANU

How do citizens living under authoritarian or hybrid regimes understand 'democracy', and how might this affect their support for a democratic system? Despite public support for democracy being a crucial component of a successful transition (Linz & Stepan 1996), the effect of individual knowledge of democracy is understudied. This paper uses the most recent World Values Survey to investigate how citizens in Russia, Ukraine and Belarus understand 'democracy', and the extent to which this affects their support for a democratic system. Over half of the population in each country reports that 'having a democratic political system' is 'good' or 'very good' despite Freedom House classifying Russia and Belarus as 'consolidated authoritarian regimes' and Ukraine as a 'hybrid regime'. Such regimes have been argued to produce 'democratic novices' who may support aspects of democratic and authoritarian systems concurrently (Shin 2015), and a clear understanding of how attitudes towards democracy operate in authoritarian or hybrid regimes is still 'missing' (Pietsch et al. 2015). This paper therefore contributes to two agendas: the effects of democratic knowledge, and public opinion in hybrid and authoritarian regimes.

A Global Survey for Initiative and Referendum of The Direct Democracy

Chang-Lin Li, National Chung Hsing University, Taiwan

This paper focuses on a global survey for initiative and referendum of the direct democracy, divided essentially into three parts:

1. **Governance model on direct democracy** : Zogg and Hamon (2006) made a classification and comparison for 19 countries in West Europe, based on the examinations of the seven standards of initiative and referendum : national referendum into the Constitution, obligatory constitutional referendum, popular initiative, ordinary facultative referendum, extraordinary facultative referendum, democratic system typology, national referendum volume etc. Author would like to do some further revisions and innovations on that classification considering the new changing century with the practice of initiative and referendum.
2. **Comparison on the global national referendums** : Wili divided into 6 voting systems (2007), such as : Demark system, French system, Italy system, Switzerland system, British mixed system, Latin America system. Author will follow and do a pragmatic world survey for innovating more global voting systems like : East Europe system, North and Central America system, Australia New Zealand and Oceania system, Middle East System, Asia system, Africa system etc.
3. **Global survey** : Make one global survey for over 100 countries on their regulations and national referendum volumes, and recount national referendums worldwide etc.

Democratic satisfaction and electoral integrity: explaining widening divides between demographic groups

Andrew Klassen, Charles Darwin University

This article aims to improve our understanding of how national socioeconomic development levels interact with individual level demographic characteristics to affect satisfaction with democracy and perceived electoral integrity. The study first compares public opinion with expert assessments of democracy and elections and then examines widening divides between different demographic groups. The study analyses almost 3.5 million respondents from 157 cross-national surveys covering 150 countries between 1973 and 2015. Aggregated public opinion data is compared against 15 different expert indices of democratic quality and electoral integrity. Results show that expert assessments of democratic quality and electoral integrity are unreliable predictors for the opinions of lower socioeconomic groups and that as human development levels increase, these groups are less likely than higher socioeconomic groups to be satisfied with democracy or view elections as fair. The findings have implications for political stability and public policy to address the growing divisions within many contemporary societies.

Panel 84 – Understanding the Rise of Populism 2

Mainstream conservative party responses to new populist parties in Australia and Sweden.

Amy Nethery, Deakin University and Andrew Vandenberg, Deakin University

Sweden's Moderate Unity Party and Australia's Liberal Party each pursue much the same liberal-conservative ideology, oppose comparable parties of labour with old and comprehensive ties to a union movement, and face recent electoral challenges from emerging populist parties but they have responded to these challenges in quite different ways. The Liberals' strategy has been to allow the spectrum of debate to shift rightwards, as they adopt some of the One Nation party's rhetoric and policy positions. The Moderates' strategy has resisted a rightwards shift in the spectrum of debate, maintaining the mainstream parties' ostracising of the Sweden Democrats along with rejection of their rhetoric and policies. We reflect on conceivable explanations for these diverging responses: 1) differences in party systems and patterns of party competition; 2) differences in the ideological history of the parties themselves; and, 3) differences in the wider political economy of interests groups and voters. Lessons from institutionalism lead us to emphasise the first explanation without entirely rejecting the second and third explanations.

Nick Xenophon: Australian Populist or The Democrats Reborn?

Patrick Marple, Monash University

Populist, anti-system and anti-elite parties have become a prominent feature in liberal democratic states in recent years. As a result, there has been much scholarly interest in populism, its causes, effects and the nature of its political ethos. From the Brexit vote, to the Trump presidency, to the ruling populist parties of Hungary and Greece, there is strong prima facie evidence that populist and anti-system sentiment is shaping the political debate. This could also be seen to be expressed in the Australian case where, in 2016, several populist figures, and their parties, won representation in the Senate. This paper explores the Nick Xenophon Team, Pauline Hanson's One Nation, the Jacqui Lambie Network and the Derryn Hinch Justice Party, which were all elected to the Senate in 2016. The paper considers these parties in light of the scholarship on populist and anti-establishment movements, which are predominantly based on European and American cases. From these reflections, the paper constructs an innovative framework to analyse how these cotemporary minor parties reflect populist, anti-establishment traits and how they may seek to mobilise electoral support in the Australian case.

One Nation and the Heartlands Cleavage: an Explanatory Spatial Data Analysis

Ben Reid, RMIT

The considerable variation in One Nation's 2016 federal election results reflects many social and spatial factors. The party's resurgence follows an international trend of increased support for right-wing populist politics. Some parallels exist between the social and spatial characteristics of One Nation's electoral constituency and these other national contexts. One Nation's increased electoral support during and after the 2016 federal election was proportionately much stronger in heartland areas (especially in regional and outback Queensland). Using methods of exploratory spatial data analysis, electoral geography and geographical information systems (GIS), the paper presents a detailed analysis and visualisation of Senate voting trends on a national scale. A subsequent grouping analysis of Queensland's polling booths presents a typology of five socio-spatial zones based upon variations in levels of support for One Nation.

Panel 85 – Climate and Energy Politics 1

Energy and Democracy under Climate Change

James Goodman, University of Technology Sydney

Climate policy politicises energy, and increasingly poses questions for democracy. Energy has become a key site of political advocacy, controversy and claim-making. As the intensifying climate crisis forces emission reduction into the political process, liberal democratic structures are disrupted, and cascading democratising forces have emerged. This paper explores this changing relationship between energy and democracy under climate change in liberal democracies. First, at one level, climate change is immediately de-democratising, both in terms of negating

living environments and inviting 'emergency' responses. Second, the failing energy transition exposes the limits of liberal democracy. Elected politicians display their incapacity to act for climate stability, in the public interest, beyond the particular interests of the dominant fossil fuel sector. Third, and more dialectically, inadequate climate policy creates a cascading politicisation of national energy policy, and poses new agendas. More participatory, direct or deliberative modes of democracy may be mobilised in claims for 'energy justice' and 'energy democracy' in relation to socialised and distributed renewables, in part to secure the required 'social acceptance' for transition. Fourth, there is a wider structural agenda, centred on the changing socio-ecological relationships that constitute energy. The biophysical logic of energy production and the social power it expresses and generates, directly implicate contending political formations, and whether they take autocratic or democratic form. The paper surveys these emerging themes to address the scope and potential of the emerging agendas.

Delegitimising the moral case for coal: Transnational climate justice narratives against the Carmichael coalmine.

Ruchira Talukdar, University of Technology Sydney

Despite investment withdrawals from major banks and concerted civil society pushback through the Stop Adani movement, successive Australian governments have continued to support the country's largest proposed coal project, the Adani Enterprises owned Carmichael mine. In the face of mounting evidence against the economic viability of the project for Australia's energy future, governments have relied on the moral claim that coal exports will alleviate poverty in India. In India, the destination for Carmichael coal, governments continue to make the same moral case of poverty alleviation for extensively increasing India's coal usage even as climate change worsens. This paper argues that the pro-poor claim for coal is losing ground. With increasing neoliberalisation of India's economic policies, government agencies are extending coal privatisation and national development priorities are increasingly falling captive to the private interests of elites. The scope for providing the benefits of electrification to over 200 million poor through centralised coal-fired grids is diminished under the current model. Even though the 'poverty alleviation' claim carries historic weightage in the Global South, rampant displacement of vulnerable communities from India's last two decades of coal-led high economic growth has raised serious questions about equity and justice. The paper outlines counter-claims emerging from India's civil society debates that can delegitimise the moral case for coal without disregarding critical concerns about developmental equity and justice for the poor. Such emerging agendas in Indian civil-society discourse present opportunities for the growing Stop Adani movement to build trans-national solidarity against climate change which is grounded in concerns for equity and justice. The paper highlights critical climate impacts, adaptation and justice narratives that can forge such a trans-national civil society dialogue for energy transition.

Panel 86 – Local Governance and Identity Politics in a Comparative Perspective

Partisan dealignment and ethnic politics in new democracies: The Indonesian case

Diego Fossati, Griffith University

For about thirty years, Indonesia was ruled by the New Order authoritarian regime. In the first democratic elections in 1999, many voters appeared to rely on partisan preferences that were established long before authoritarianism. Specifically, the geographic distribution of support for Islamic and secularist parties closely mirrored patterns that prevailed in the early 1950s, when Indonesia was a democracy. However, scholars of Indonesian politics have argued that these historical partisan affiliations have been eroding fast in democratic Indonesia. How could these resilient partisan affiliations endure over three decades of repression under authoritarianism, but then dissipate in only a few years of democratic politics? In this paper, I leverage an original dataset with district-level electoral data over four national legislative election cycles to analyze patterns of partisan dealignment in post-authoritarian Indonesia, and I present three key findings. First, while historical partisan affiliations have been eroding since 1999, they are still an important driver of voting behavior for many Indonesians in some regions. Second, institutional changes that occurred in the mid-2000s have substantially weakened the importance of historical partisan legacies by encouraging patronage and ethnic politics. Third, the rise of ethnic politics and clientelism has had an asymmetric effect on parties of different ideological families, as secularist parties have been weakened by this development significantly more than Islamic parties. I discuss the implications of these findings of democratic consolidation in Indonesia and the role of political Islam in new democracies.

Ethno-nationalism travels incognito in Singapore

Michael D. Barr, Flinders University

Since Singapore's independence in 1965 the government has promoted a vision of the nation as a modern society in which citizenship is an almost-contractual relationship between citizens and the state. This relationship gives Singapore the appearance of being an example of a polity based on a civic nationalist identity, but it has never been this simple. Singapore has always mediated the relationship between citizen and state through the prism of the ethnic community through formulae whereby the state and scholars routinely describe the country as 'a multiracial, multilingual, multi-religious' society. In its first decade or so after independence, Singaporean multiculturalism was primarily an exercise in sidestepping the potentially divisive impulses that came with ethnic identification and as such it eschewed, and indeed ruthlessly repressed, any impulses in any community (including the majority Chinese community) that it deemed to be 'chauvinistic', since the government regarded such impulses as existential threats to both the nation and its continued rule. Since the 1980s, however, the government has been more confident and has made being Chinese a central element of national identity – in the sense that Singaporean national identity now builds overtly on Chinese identity – even as the state maintains the trappings of both multicultural and civic nationalism.

This paper explores the tensions inherent in this approach to national identity. It considers both the history of and the current nuances in the Singapore's elite's quest to balance the logic of a 'modern', civic national identity and its ethno-national approach to identity and social control, with a view to identifying the challenges that lie ahead.

Coping with Decentralization: Local Governments in Post-Decentralized Brazil, India and South Africa

Helder Ferreira do Vale, Hankuk University of Foreign Studies

Post-decentralized political and administrative contexts are often insufficiently analyzed. As a consequence, the differences in which local governments respond to intergovernmental cooperation in post-decentralized contexts are over-looked. By focusing on the differences behind the responses of local governments' responses to cooperation in Brazil, India and South Africa this article, analyses the new institutional incentives for a complex process of decision making in cooperative federal democracies. More specifically, the aim of this article is twofold. First, it attempts to explain the different ways which local governments cope with the growing pressures for cooperation in a context of growing policy interdependency in the intergovernmental arena. And, second, it analyses the underlying institutional and structural causes behind different responses to similar problems of intergovernmental cooperation. Based on the assumption that under a more interdependent policy context local governments face problems such as compliance with central and state governments' norms, competition to influence policy at other levels of government, shirking of responsibilities, and failure in service delivery, this article identifies the new challenges of local governments under a less-hierarchical and more diffused mode of intergovernmental interaction between different levels of government. The findings have important implications to the way local governments perform in exercising their functional responsibilities in post-decentralization scenarios.

Panel 87 – Understanding the Rise of Populism 2

The role of scams in populist policy-making: A dramaturgical framework

Adrian Kay, Universiti Brunei Darussalam

The policy-making process is an easy target of populist politics; an emblem of the cosmopolitan elite, the capture of the state by international corporate interests and collective action in the interests of the few and not 'the people'. Of the many problems of populism poses for policy-making, this paper investigates the role of deception in politics, and scams in particular, variously about the size of government, policy capacity and the consequences of, and notably the winners and losers from, public policy. Scams are sequenced and dynamic procedures of manipulation and deceit, or dramas, written in Parts, Acts and Scenes. We know relatively little about how they operate in 'post-truth' politics of policy-making. The purpose of this paper is to introduce a novel dramaturgical framework for analysing the tripartite processual dynamic of scams. Our key argument is that 'subroutines', rather than Scenes, are vital in locating dramatic action in policy time and place. The framework is offered as potentially useful contribution for research investigating deception in the relationship between populism and public policy.

Populism Against Neoliberalism: Is it Time to Write an Obituary for Liberal Democracy?

Henrik Bang, Institute for Governance and Policy Analysis, University of Canberra and Michael Jensen Institute for Governance and Policy Analysis, University of Canberra

The rapid spread of contemporary populism has been prompted by neoliberalism's takeover of the management of the political economy in democratic countries worldwide. Populism today is a complete negation of the neoliberalist establishment. It is: anti-globalist, anti-pluralist, anti-individualist, anti-expertise, and anti-technocratic. We develop an account of populism not as an ideology but as a form of governmentality. We relocate the central problematic in populism from various democratic forms to emphasize focus on the tensions between authorities and laypeople in the authoritative articulation and allocation of values. Populism, we suggest, should be understood politically, as manifesting the ideational and moral conception of hegemony as the core principle of popular sovereignty. The argument proceeds in three parts:

1. Held against liberal democracy, populist political forms emphasize popular sovereignty as well as an anti-pluralist account of "the people" which distinguishes populism as an illiberal form of democracy, emphasizing the consensus of the homogeneous people over the conflict of pluralist groups in society. This account of populism, however, conceals how it approaches the relationship between political power and morality as prior to the formation of liberal democracy with its tensions between left and right, public and private and state and civil society.
2. This refocuses the central conflict as one between hegemony and self-governance rather than liberal democracy and populist deviations. This section is developed through the writings of Ranciere and Wolin who similarly see political authority as a 'super power' closing off the spaces of politics inside political communities. Conversely, on their view, politics occurs in those spaces where it has not been authorized.
3. Both populism and neoliberalism can assume a variety of left/right variations and combinations but common to them all is a conception of hegemony as constitutive of social relations. Neoliberalism identifies pluralism with networks of expertise that operate as a technocracy from the local to the global. Populism counters the neoliberal technocracy model with a nativist politics of experience. It challenges neoliberalism's hegemony by making the nation 'great again' and recover the collective identity of 'we the people'. The problematic of populism here is presented as a political rather than social form. Following from this, the paper concludes by examining the need to find ways to reconnect citizens and political authorities which involve governing with and by the people.

Pretend Populism and Power Politics: The Irony of Brexit and the Triumph of Two-Party Control

Lucas Grainger-Brown, University of Melbourne

On 23 June 2016, 52% of the United Kingdom voted to leave the European Union. Received wisdom counseled against this result. History was also a guide: 67% of British citizens voted to 'remain' in Europe in a similar referendum in 1975. The 2016 EU referendum was expected to operate as its precedent did. Except this equivalence overlooked substantial changes that have reshaped the British electoral landscape in the intervening years. I will argue that the faux populism of Brexit was structured and driven from top down, from the apex of political power. It has been thus in the UK for almost forty years. And, despite the unplanned result, the EU referendum achieved its ultimate aim of solidifying the power of Britain's two major political parties.

Brexit is not a shock result but the product of a political system that suppresses genuine political contest across a range of totemic issues. Between 1973 and 2016, the Labour and Conservative Parties have held referendums with increasing frequency to quiet internal divisions and cleave off growing support for smaller parties. These referendums have been precipitated by three underlying problems: neoliberal economic deregulation, resurgent nationalism, and deeper integration with the EU. Because both parties have converged around a single paradigm of government, voter concern on these and other issues are effectively unrepresented. I chart the rise of anti-European sentiment and its confluence with the three central problems of neoliberalism, nationalism and political centralization from 1975 to 2016, describing how a marginal antagonism grew, via economic austerity, voter distrust and fear of immigration, into a unifying stance across various socio-economic and ideological positions.

UK referendums are exercises in pretend populism. They are management tools used to avoid substantive deliberation on problems that run counter to major party policy. This might appear an argument for a more deliberative model of democracy. But such a conclusion overlooks the structural nature of the two-party duopoly that has framed, conducted and exploited direct democracy in order to nullify conflict. I will therefore conclude by suggesting a synergistic approach to challenging the two party systems that predominate in the Anglosphere – across the UK, America, Australia – and which have occasioned contemporary irruptions such as Brexit, Trump, and One Nation. Despite their differences, deliberative and agonistic democrats should find commonality in opposition to pretend populism and the two-party power structure that underwrites it.

Panel 88 – Practicing Federalism in Nepal's New Constitution

Panel 89 – Enhancing Political Participation 2

Political socialisation in the workplace: the case of trade and technical workers

Emily Look, ANU and Jill Sheppard, ANU

Despite the increasing salience of political issues such as same-sex marriage, abortion rights, and drug liberalisation in Australian political debate, little is known about the structure and limits of Australian voters' social conservatism or permissiveness. In this study, we find that – although education is typically expected to have a monotonic effect on political attitudes, particularly those relating to social liberalism – possessing trade qualifications (net of other factors) decreases support for same-sex marriage and other progressive policies. To address this puzzle, we analyse the 2016 Australian Election Study, applying theories of workplace socialisation (e.g. Mutz & Mondak 2005). We test the hypothesis that workplaces dominated by trade qualifications are more homogenous than others, and that trade workers may therefore be socialised in an environment with a lower diversity of attitudes. To do so, we explore what characteristics distinguish those with trade qualifications, whether they discuss politics in the workplace, and what effect this may have on support for progressive policies. This study will therefore shed light on mediating factors affecting political attitudes.

The Greater Manchester Metro-Mayor elections 2017: New English Regionalism for 'a stronger democracy'?

Andy Mycock, University of Huddersfield

Since the summer of 2014, two interconnected and overlapping political projects, the so-called 'Northern Powerhouse' and a series of 'city-region deals', have sought to redress regional economic imbalances, devolve more powers to local authorities and enhance political leadership via the introduction of 'metro-mayors'. While the Northern Powerhouse agenda has largely focused on developing transport and other infrastructure across the north of England to stimulate economic activity, the development of a patchwork of amalgamated combined authorities across has reordered the governance of England to encourage efficiencies in public service planning and delivery.

Central to devolution to England has been the proposition that it would enhance dynamic civic leadership. Then Chancellor of the Exchequer, George Osborne, declared in a speech announcing the inaugural metro-mayor elections that it would mean "a stronger democracy" as it would provide a single point of accountability – a leader "who takes the decisions and carries the can".

But the portents for radical democratic renewal were more questionable. Turnout in the only combined mayoral elections in England in London were variable, ranging from 34% in the inaugural elections in 2000 to 45% in 2016. Moreover London mayoral elections have grown increasingly bitter and febrile in tone, with personality politics dominating in part because of a lack of significant governing powers available to the winner.

As the vanguard city-region of English devolution, the Greater Manchester mayoral elections of May 2017 were a critical litmus test offering insights into the possibility that metro mayors outside London could stimulate regional democracy. This paper will provide analysis of the inaugural metro-mayor elections, assessing the campaign and how national and the main UK-wide political parties responded to operating in a new regional electoral arena. It will also consider the media coverage of the election and the result itself. Finally it will consider the implications for

local and national democratic politics, and the potential development of regional politics across England more widely.

Does political discourse matter? How citizens' assemblies can help understand the gap between party positions and public opinion

Benjamin Leruth, University of Canberra

In recent years, the gap between party positions and public opinion has consistently widened. In the United Kingdom, opinion polls failed to predict the outcome of the last three electoral events: the referendum on European Union membership and both 2015 and 2017 general elections. This paper demonstrates that citizens' assemblies, i.e. a large group of citizens meeting to share their views and deliberate on various topics, constitute an innovative research method in order to (1) understand the impact of political discourse on public opinion and (2) bridge the gap between elites and the public. Using data from a NORFACE-funded project entitled 'Welfare State Futures: Our Children's Europe' (WelfSOC), the paper compares party manifestos to policy priorities formulated by participants in a citizen's assembly conducted in the United Kingdom in October 2015, in order to determine whether recent party pledges are reflected in people's attitudes towards the future immigration policy in the United Kingdom. The analysis shows that while participants are committed to tougher policies in order to reduce existing levels of net migration, most of the policy priorities formulated do not match those of the two mainstream parties (i.e. the Conservative Party and the Labour Party) but rather those of the UK Independence Party. It also demonstrates that participants' individual political preferences do not seem to match their stances on the future of the welfare state, and there is little difference between left-leaning and right-leaning voters.

Panel 90 – International Intervention, the Peacebuilding Agenda and Patterns of Local Conflict

Responsibility to Protect from 'inappropriate action' to 'appropriate inaction': A reflection on the Rohingya crisis

M Mizanur Rahman, ANU

Responsibility to Protect (R2P) from its adoption, has been subject to debates and discussion at various levels. When most of the critiques of R2P criticise it for its 'inappropriate action', this paper does that for its 'appropriate inaction'. Although several investigations have found element of atrocity crimes against the Rohingya which can justify the application of R2P, there is hardly any action taken by the Burmese government or international community to stop that. This paper analyses the case of Rohingya crisis and scrutinises why R2P has been proved irrelevant for protecting this ethnic minority in Myanmar from atrocity crimes. The analysis paper first, shows how Myanmar, in a normative way, does not accept the notion of R2P, second, it shows how ASEAN as a regional body has rarely any traction of R2P and finally why international actors remains silent on this crisis. This paper argues that if R2P fails to address the Rohingya crisis, it will risk itself being immaterial and will carry no value in international humanitarian protection.

The Crisis of Populism and Lessons from Peacebuilding Policy: The Principle of Local Ownership and Hybrid Approaches to Governance

Eleanor Gordon, Monash University

Local ownership is widely regarded as a core principle which should inform peacebuilding interventions. Taking post-conflict Security Sector Reform (SSR) as an example, there is broad agreement that local ownership is fundamental if the outcomes are to be locally accepted and responsive to local needs and, thus, sustainable.

There is, however, a gap between policy and practice. Furthermore, where the principle of local ownership is adhered to, the concept is often narrowly interpreted in terms of who owns what; locals tends to be security and political elites at the state level who speak the same language, and ownership is often reduced to acceptance of plans already developed by external actors. Moreover, the focus of SSR is often on building state institutions, rather than building the relationship between people and the state, which further limits the extent to which people, particularly at the community level, are engaged in SSR processes.

This paper argues that without ensuring meaningful and inclusive local ownership of SSR programs, public trust and confidence in state security and justice sector institutions will be limited. Of critical importance is that this could leave the state vulnerable to renewed outbreaks of conflict.

In order to build the requisite public confidence and trust in state security and justice sector institutions, and ultimately, the state itself, it is recommended that community security structures are incorporated into SSR programs. This hybrid approach to SSR, which incorporates top-down and bottom-up approaches to building security and justice after conflict, would enable voices beyond the elites to inform SSR programs and, thus, subsequent structures, policies and processes. Post-conflict justice and security would, thus, become more meaningful beyond privileged and elite groups.

The principle of local ownership, critical to the likelihood of success and the legitimacy of peacebuilding interventions, could be equally applied at home. Where confidence in the democratic process has declined and populist leaders take advantage of disaffection and disquiet, creating opportunities for meaningful engagement in the decisions which affect people's lives can help repair the social contract and confidence in state institutions. Opportunities could include community security groups as a forum through which security concerns are raised, grievances aired, information shared, awareness raised, and social capital increased. Indeed, bottom-up and hybrid approaches to governance in those very countries which advocate for such an approach in countries emerging from conflict, could help address the current crisis of political authority and legitimacy.

Globalised peace in the age of populism: the case of the Philippines

Nathan Shea, University of Melbourne

The international peace industry has gone through a similar transition to the aid industry – country-delivered programs have been slowly replaced with contracted specialists, leading to a professionalisation of International NGOs working in inter- and intra-state peacebuilding. While the international liberalisation of 'peace' reached its peak following the Bosnia and Kosovo interventions in the 1990s, the post-2000 agenda has seen a rapid proliferation and growth of non-state based peacebuilding organisations, fuelled by the expansion of state aid budgets and the recognition of the linkages between fragile states and underdevelopment. However, the rise in right wing populism appears poised to challenge the orthodoxy of how international actors might contribute to peace processes, particularly those seeking to address intra-state conflicts.

This is no clearer than in the case of the Philippines. The former Spanish and American colony is no stranger to foreign intervention in its domestic conflicts – the Organization for Islamic Cooperation along with others has been involved in the civil conflict in the Muslim south of the country since the 1970s; and more recently states, international NGOs, and regional organisations have adopted significant responsibilities in the delivery of financial and technical resources in the pursuit of a sustainable peace. However, the first 12 months of the Duterte government has posed significant challenges for the international community, which has struggled to engage with a bellicose leader willing to distance himself from liberal institutions in pursuit of its draconian domestic agenda. With continued resistance to foreign involvement in local politics, concerned agencies and donors have been forced to engage in a new *realpolitik*, whereby moral agendas have been usurped by a narrow necessity to maintain favour with the current leadership.

This paper is based off of two two-month field visits to the Philippines: first just weeks after the change of government in 2016, and a second recent visit in July-August 2017 to mark Duterte's first year in office. It draws upon substantive qualitative interviews with representatives from donor states, international NGOs, regional organisations, as well as Philippine government officials, and reflects the new reality for peace engagement in the country, particularly following the most recent escalation in Marawi. The paper finds that while international actors have been able to negotiate a new role in the peace process, these changes have come at the expense of broader oversight and targeted liberal peacebuilding programming.

Panel 91 – Comparative Political Leadership and Political Change

A Tale of Two Women: A comparative media analysis of UK Prime Ministers Margaret Thatcher and Theresa May

Blair Williams, ANU

Women in politics have long experienced misogynistic media representations throughout their terms. Furthermore, evidence suggests the more authoritative the position a woman occupies, the more denigration she receives. Hence, we can expect that women political leaders will endure more negative and often gendered media representation. This was the case for the United Kingdom's first woman Prime Minister, Margaret Thatcher, and it appears to be the same for the current UK Prime Minister, Theresa May. This paper will compare the ways the media represented each of these women for the first three weeks of their prime ministerial term. The aim is to discover if the media representation of women Prime Ministers has changed and, if so, has it changed for the better? Comparisons will also be made to see if newspapers from the 'left' and the 'right' differ in their treatment of these two Prime Ministers. To do this, I will focus on four prominent newspapers, two of which are broadsheets (The Guardian and The Daily Telegraph) and the other two are tabloids (The Mirror and The Sun). The paper will be based on content and discourse analysis of articles mentioning Thatcher and May during each time period (May 1979 and July/August 2016), to unpack the gendered ways in which the media represent these women. Currently, little has been written on the media comparison between Thatcher and May and this paper will address this gap.

New tensions open up new possibilities for discussion and transformation: Britain, America, Germany, Sweden and Australia in 2017

Andrew Scott, Deakin University

This paper considers Britain's referendum decision in June 2016 to depart from the European Union and then the Conservative Party setback and Labour surge in the June 2017 British election. It draws out the parallels between these events and the economic and party political factors which determined Donald Trump's election as the President of the United States in November 2016. The paper then compares these trends in Britain and America with Germany and Sweden's response to the European and global refugee crisis, through their acceptance of very many asylum seekers. The paper then builds on this analysis to consider how and why German Chancellor Angela Merkel is such a very different kind of 'conservative' leader from Trump. Indeed the paper argues that Merkel is now in effect a more progressive leader than the leaders of nominally Left-of-centre political parties in some other countries. In part this is because of her personal background. In part, however, it is because of the less majoritarian, more coalition-building political culture of Germany and of many northern European nations compared with the English-speaking nations. The paper then considers the likely partial further expression in Australia of similar electoral phenomena to those which produced Brexit and President Trump. However, it argues that this will be in a significantly modified and less negative form, particularly if the Australian Labor Party continues to properly heed the important lessons from the most recent developments in the United Kingdom, America and Europe and takes further policy steps in accordance with these lessons. Such learning will require further deepening of Australia's understanding of – and its relationship with – various continuing member states of the European Union than has happened hitherto.

"Who is Mr Putin?": from Soldier to Statesman.

Albina Kartavtceva, University of Newcastle

This paper presents an analysis of the inaugural presidential addresses of Russian President, Vladimir Putin, from a Political Public Relations (PPR) perspective. It forms part of a larger study that aims to identify PPR techniques used by presidential leaders in the post campaigning period. Through a qualitative analysis of audio-visual and textual data the paper discusses President Putin's political persona and style. It explores the President's use of PPR techniques in his inaugural addresses. PPR techniques are addressed as a wide range of actions that are taken deliberately to achieve desirable political outcome. Particular attention in this study is paid to Putin's use of emotional communication, and how verbal and non-verbal elements work together to create a strong PPR message. The paper explores the extent to which the PPR techniques has changed over the years of his presidency.

Panel 92 – Climate & Energy Politics 2

Problems of Climate Technologies in the Capitalist State

Jonathan Paul Marshall, University of Technology Sydney

The more capitalistic the State, the less it seems able to deal with the problems of climate change, and this sets up problems for democratic action. While evidence suggests that renewables are popular, and people can be motivated to act themselves, this rarely translates into political support. These problems occur for a number of reasons: a) in capitalism technologies are surrounded by lies, exaggeration and hope, as part of the market processes making planning and evaluation difficult; b) faith in markets – for example expectations that as renewables are cheaper than fossil fuels they will replace them, can cause lack of action; c) the ideologies of developmentalism which see poverty reduction in terms of emulating established Western States by embracing fossil fuels and massive increases in fossil fuel use even if renewables are also increasing; d) perceptions of small victories as large victories; e) unequal distribution of emissions which makes significant individual cuts of little importance; f) use of technical innovations to support fossil fuels as much as renewables; g) socio-psychological complexes which discourage acceptance of the consequences climate change amongst people in general. The paper draws on recent research into the dynamics of climate and energy politics to discuss the interactions between these social-technological factors in shaping climate politics.

Climate Change and Armed Conflict: The Cases of Darfur and Syria

Christopher Odeyemi, University of Technology Sydney

In recent years there has been an intense debate over whether there is a link between climate change and armed conflict. In the absence of consensus, this paper investigates how people have discussed the issue, highlighting the terms of the debate over whether such a link exists. The paper centres on debates about the Syrian and Darfur conflicts, cases that have been extensively researched as examples of climate conflict. The paper focuses on how the cases are debated within international organisations, analysing UNFCCC and UN Security Council deliberations on climate and security, and specifically on the relevance of the 'Responsibility to Protect' (R2P) discourse, which is yet to be fully accounted-for in the debate. By analyzing these discourses the paper will extend knowledge on the utility of criteria for R2P intervention on the one hand, and the relevance of security issues for climate policy-making on the other. Its comparison of the case studies will also offer grounded insights into the extent to which United Nations agencies have been framing climate security in terms of R2P or vice versa.

Government and corporate leadership in energy transition - A Comparative Study between Australia and Japan

Amy Lin, University of Technology Sydney

This paper seeks to explore the dynamics between government and the renewable business sector, comparing Australian and Japan and outlining their impact on renewable energy transition. Both Australia and Japan have developed national climate programs, and are, committed, under the UNFCCC, to specific 'Intended Nationally Determined Contributions' (INDC) under the 2015 Paris Climate Agreement. At the same time, Australia and Japan are both industrialised countries that are heavily dependent on fossil fuel for energy, and need to develop renewable and clean energy in order to meet their emission reduction targets. We have witnessed leading examples of technological innovation in wind, solar and hydraulic renewable energy in countries like Germany, Denmark and the United Kingdom. Such energy transformations rely heavily on innovation and technology, energy transition, renewable energy decentralisation, and require consistent top-down (government policy and incentives) and bottom-up (technology development and investment) approaches to ensure sustainable transition. The study examines Australian and Japanese government and corporate leadership in reaching domestic and international targets in this area of renewable energy development. With the comparison of two countries that possess similar dependency on conventional energy resources under different political regimes, social power and government-corporate relationships, the paper aims to contribute to further research into the need for and challenges of energy transition to combat climate change.