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Germany, Italy, and Japan as Awkward Great Powers in the International System

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Contemporary power hierarchies are rapidly evolving, as a result of the ever-changing nature of the international system. Related theories, however, often struggle to match the pace of this process, a condition that is easily observable when considering great power theory (GPT). The latter has seldom changed its definitional criteria over the last few decades, despite some attempts to do so in the post-Cold War period. As a consequence of this theoretical and analytical rigidity, a few countries possessing substantial material capabilities and international prestige have been disregarded by GPT, while not being considered appropriate candidates for middle powerdom either, in consideration of their superior international standings.

This paper argues that Germany, Italy, and Japan are three suitable candidates for "awkward great powerdom", by virtue of their military and economic capabilities, their political and diplomatic rankings, and their cultural influence. Since, as Waltz attested, international hierarchies are constructed with capabilities alone, this paper aims to rethink GPT definitional criteria, in order to include not only traditional hard power parameters, but also a more nuanced understanding of soft power elements, while assessing the international status of three influential and yet understudied members of the global community.

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A political economy of water supply in Nigeria: political change, water access and water infrastructure development

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ENV6: Environment, Education 3.25, September 25, 2019, 9:00 AM - 10:30 AM

Post-colonial political changes in Nigeria has been driven by ideological or international political trends with a major impact on governance and the trajectories of human and infrastructural development. However, the effects of these structural and systemic changes on water access and development remain acutely under-researched. This paper investigates the effect of the structural changes and development discourses of Nigeria's military and democratic governments since independence on potable water infrastructure and access. Using process tracing and a context-based mixed methods approach, I conducted a discourse and content analysis of government, nongovernmental and multilateral agencies documents, and quantitative analysis of relevant potable water infrastructure and access data from Nigeria and Oyo state, to understand the impact at the federal and state level. Specific attention was given to the systemic impact of the 1966

unification decree, the 1999 constitutional provision that places water supply on the concurrent legislative list, and the changes in global water resources management paradigms. The results show that 1) the 1966 unification decree by the military expedited nation-wide water resources development; 2) potable water supply and access dominated water resources development despite the agriculture-focused “national development” narrative underpinning national development plans; 3) political continuity under a democratic government has not resulted in major improvements to potable water access or infrastructure development in comparison to military governments. On the basis of this analysis, this study advances and contributes to the scant political-economic literature of water in Nigeria and provides an opportunity to develop context-based water supply strategies by identifying structural and legislative loopholes affecting water provision.

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Enacting durable public-interest reforms: the case of the Australian 'carbon tax'

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POL7: Policy & Governance, Education 2.08, September 24, 2019, 2:00 PM - 3:30 PM

This paper considers the case of the Gillard-era Carbon Pricing Mechanism (2012-14), sometimes called the 'carbon tax', and asks why the policy did not prove durable. This paper compares Gillard's scheme with the carbon tax implemented in British Columbia, Canada, which remains in place 11 years after implementation. The paper concludes there is no substitute for the approach of winning public acceptance for a public-interest reform, as a strategy to promote its durability. A series of sub-strategies is devised to help achieve this. Patashnik's US-focused approach to enacting durable public-interest reforms is considered in light of the findings, with the conclusion drawn that his work is not particularly relevant for Westminster systems like Australia and Canada.

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Citizen, Elite Trust Gap, and the rise of Populism in Nigeria

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The purpose of this article is to explore the level of citizen's support for policies of populist's leaders as against those of more liberal ones in Nigeria. This is with the view to advance our understanding of why the country has produced two of former military dictators, within the past nineteen years of civil rule in Nigeria. It asks; is there a trust gap between the electorates and the political elites? Could it be possible that Nigerians are more comfortable with campaign promises made by populist leaders as against those promise by political elites? Why was there absolute silence from critics when President Buhari's administration

increased the pump price of fuel to N143, while there were criticisms from the citizens and organized labour movements when president Jonathan increased oil price to just N97? Whereas both President Buhari and Obasanjo had used security rhetoric's for their campaigns none of them were able to deliver on their promises as the security situation under president Buhari has worsened. Nigerians are dying every day without any effort from Mr. President to arrest the situation. Yet the mass population in the country is not complaining. Their support for the president in the last election exhibits their preference for popular leaders even when they cannot perform their duties. Thus any analysis of these and other types of support by Nigerian for populists leaders as against the political elites explains widening trust gap and the consolidation of populism in the country.

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Institutions versus Culture? Mitigating Electoral Violence in Africa

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COMP4: Comparative Politics, Education 3.25, September 24, 2019, 2:00 PM - 3:30 PM

The regular conduct of non-violent, free and fair elections have become the major driving force in the transition to democratic governance in Africa, since the early 1990s. However, the increasing phenomenon of disputed electoral outcomes have led to rampant violent and deadly protests affecting the stability and legitimacy of African states such as Algeria in 1991, Angola in 1992, Ghana in 1992 and 2012, Nigeria in 1993, Benin in 1996 and Kenya in 1992 and 2007. Now, the central question for comparative inquiry is why Ghana, despite many similarities to other African states such as Nigeria, Uganda, Benin and Kenya (in terms of a political history of military coups, failed constitutions, troubled economy and a multi-ethnic state) has nevertheless managed to escape large-scale violence associated with 'intensely' disputed elections. The extant literature on comparative politics focuses more on the institutional and structural factors in their explanations of the success or failure of democratic experiments in Africa. In this sense, the critical role of African (political) cultures or ideologies in the mitigation of electoral violence has been neglected in the literature. As a result, these institutional/structural theories have failed to fully account for the nuances of disputed electoral outcomes in terms of the varying intensity of electoral violence in different national contexts. In order to fill this 'gap,' the present paper critically draws on some of the 'positive' African cultural or ideological elements such norms, symbols and myths in accounting for the variations in the occurrence and nuances of the widespread electoral violence and political decline in the varying national contexts. Empirically, it employs the critical case of the disputed 1992 presidential elections in Ghana to test these assumptions. It also draws some important insights for democracy promoters in their efforts to build sustainable democratic institutions and culture in Africa countries.

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No hard feelings: Japan-Australia relations after 1945

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ASA13: Politics in Asia, Education 4.47, September 24, 2019, 11:30 AM - 1:00 PM

Introduction: There has been a tendency to classify Australian public views of Japan in the wake of the Second World War as angry and stubborn. In fact, when it came Japan, for the most part Australians moved on from the war quickly.

Context: In 1945, relations between the two countries were in tatters and neither appeared interested in repairing them. Yet in 1957, Japanese Prime Minister Kishi Nobusuke visited Australia and the two countries signed an economic treaty, indicating they were now partners. As Australian Prime Minister Robert Menzies put it: there were no hard feelings about the war. The willingness of Australia to repair relations with Japan was facilitated not only by economic considerations but also by Australia's participation in two postwar Allied initiatives: the occupation of Japan (1945-52), and the war crimes trials convened by the Allies across Asia and the Pacific.

Method: I have employed source-based empirical research, drawing on archival sources and press articles from the late 1940s and 1950s.

Findings: Australia achieved few decisive military victories over Japanese forces during the war: justice still needed to be meted out in the postwar settlement and courts, since it had not been on the battlefield. Moreover, during the war and in the months after it ended, Australians viewed Japan as an inherently dangerous nation, with a culture of militarism. I argue that as war criminals were convicted in courts and occupation reforms began in Japan, the country began to appear – at both official levels and to the Australian public - to be transitioning to a democratic future, and very different to the one that had threatened Australian security.

Innovative contribution to policy, practice and/or research: In explanations for the improvement in relations, war crimes trials and the occupation are often overlooked in favour of economic imperatives.

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Interplay of intra-political and inter-political leadership crises in Nigeria: implications for democratic consolidation

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COMP4: Comparative Politics, Education 3.25, September 24, 2019, 2:00 PM - 3:30 PM

The uninterrupted democratic journey embarked upon in Nigeria since May 29, 1999 has no doubt been arduous as is onerous, yet there has been few shining lights in this tunnel of uncertainty. However, considering the high hopes and expectations that greeted the Fourth Republic, it is quite disappointing that political parties looked upon as agents of positive change have failed in their primary responsibility of being a breeding ground for democratic precepts and norms. The role of political parties in engendering leadership adeptness has been substituted for fomentation of power tussle. This paper argues that the endemic state of intra-party squabbles, undemocratic practices, leadership tussle, fragile party relations,

belligerent anti-party actions as well as the rush for largess at the Center as experienced among the two major political parties (All Progressives Congress –APC and Peoples Democratic Party -PDP) in Nigeria, has a bird's eye effect on democratic consolidation. The search for true leadership to drive democratic tenets and aspirations of political gladiators, nay spectators, have kindled unabated crises which has made the development of the parties (and by extension, the country) perpetually obscure. It is on this premise that the paper concludes that growth will remain a mirage and democratic consolidation an illusion if leadership crises remains intemperate.

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Understanding the threat: the Sovereign Citizen movement in Australia

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A7: Australian Politics, LWCM Nth 5, September 24, 2019, 2:00 PM - 3:30 PM

Sovereign citizens exhibit unique threats to law enforcement. So what exactly do sovereigns believe, what are their tactics and is the label 'terrorist threat' appropriately applied?

This paper will explore the extent that anti-government radicals, often labelled as 'sovereign citizens', pose to national security in Australia. In 2015, sovereign citizens had been identified as a potential terrorism threat in Australia by a confidential NSW Police report. Other related crimes have revolved around intimidation of law enforcement officers as well as committing mortgage, credit card, tax and loan fraud, including a recent Australian Taxation Office legal fight against the self-proclaimed royal family of an invented principality in WA's wheat-fields.

Given the ideological origins of this movement began in 1960s in the US, the paper will also identify transnational trends across the Western world related to the internationalisation of the sovereign movement based on individuals or groups who believe that federal authority is unlawful. Finally, it will examine the benefits associated with, and limitations of, conventional responses to extremism and the tools of counter-terrorism in its application to such a self-styled right-wing movement. Problematically, evidence suggests that interactions with police have amplified with a notable increase in threats of violence.

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The Boundaries of Toleration

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THE4: Political Theory, Education 3.19, September 24, 2019, 2:00 PM - 3:30 PM

The question of the boundaries of toleration has been a central concern of political theory for centuries; from at least Locke, through Mill, to Rawls and beyond. It is also a pressing concern of more general political discourse – particularly when majorities wish to assert power over minorities. Questions about the

boundaries of toleration seem to presume a potential binary solution that would allow clear limits to be delineated. In this paper, I want to show that sharp or binary boundaries (or 'limits') of toleration are highly improbable in both theory and practice. This lack of a clear boundary is not because the deeper normative criteria are contested, or even unclear in particular contexts, but because of the very nature of toleration itself. States, or at least those who hold political power - my primary focus in this paper - will be tolerant and intolerant towards the same thing at the same time. This blurriness, rather than being a disadvantage, actually allows a great deal of subtlety and sophistication in dealing with complex cases. When those with power ask whether 'we' should tolerate a particular practice, the better question is to what extent and in which ways should they be tolerant, and to what extent and in which ways should they be intolerant.

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The Singapore School: Technocracy or Less

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ASA6: Politics in Asia, Education 2.08, September 25, 2019, 9:00 AM - 10:30 AM

The key to Singapore's attraction as a model for the developing world is its technocratic system of government. Singapore's form of technocracy is not just a matter of 'rule by experts'; rather it is a system of public policy management that takes a whole-of-society rather than just a whole-of-government approach, founded on notions of meritocracy and high levels of professional administrative competence. It is this system and ideology that has provided the singular point of attraction for the political and administrative leadership of China and other parts of the developing world over the last three decades. Yet Singapore's technocratic system has demonstrably failed. Indeed the period during which it had a good enough track record to be offering Master classes in governance was a window of around a decade and a half, stretching from about 1990 to about 2005. This paper unpacks the mechanics of Singapore's technocratic system and argues that the weaknesses of its technocratic system of governance are intrinsic to the system itself; and that its weaknesses as a long-term system of government and its success as a short-term system of regeneration share a common foundation. This flaw raises serious doubts about the wisdom of treating Singapore as a model for governance.

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Party Quotas and Gender Differences in Pathways to Run for Office in Australia: 1987-2016

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A13: Australian Politics, LWCM Nth 5, September 24, 2019, 11:30 AM - 1:00 PM

The under-representation of women in Australian politics has led both major political parties to adopt different strategies to increase the number of women candidates. The Australian Labor Party (ALP) adopted

various internal party quotas aiming at increasing the percentage of women candidates. By contrast, state branches of the Liberal party implemented candidate training programs in the mid-1990s aiming to provide women with the skills needed to run for office. Yet these programs were short lived and were discontinued by the 2000s. Both approaches have the potential to be unsuccessful if traditional male dominated paths to political office are still favored by political parties. Using the Australian Candidate Survey (ACS) from 1987 to 2016, this paper aims to assess whether the adoption of party quotas by the ALP has influenced the social backgrounds and paths to power of Australian candidates. We found little support for different paths to power among Coalition candidates while, after the adoption of the party quota, women Labor candidates have increasingly more elected and party experience than male Labor candidates. Previous explanations for this gendered pathway among Labor candidates have argued that female candidates need to compensate for gender biases toward them by being more qualified than men candidates. Our qualitative investigation suggests an alternative process. We argue that the over qualification of female Labor candidates when compared to male candidates is not solely due to the response of party elites but the consequence of the institutionalization of the female-centered networks, such as EMILY's list, which provide alternative networks for women to gain political experience for successful selection in the Labor party.

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Developing a Social Capital People Power model to study political activism and protest at the grass-root level

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THE3: Political Theory, Education 4.42, September 24, 2019, 11:30 AM - 1:00 PM

Many informally organised, voluntary, grassroots community groups are politically active in social movements. Such groups usually have limited access to financial resources yet this does not discourage political agency. In Australia a classic example of voluntary activist political agency involves those who have protested against clearfell logging native forests through sustain confrontational blockades that illegally hinder and obstruct native forest logging. Such action relies heavily on the personal and cultural resources of the volunteers blockading. Some protest blockades have persisted for many years and have, at times, generated very significant political and positive environmental policy impacts. Yet, in the study of the resources utilised by grassroots social movement actors, in general, existing theory has been dominated by the Resource Mobilisation Theory. This has placed an emphasis on the role of the financial resources utilised by formally organised social movement organisations. Formally organised advocacy groups generally do not directly engage with political agency that is illegal and confrontational such as blockades.

This paper develops a conceptual framework that places social capital resources, rather than financial resources, as the primary resource of voluntary grassroots networks which are active in social movements. The following develops a 'Social Capital People Power' (SCPP) model where social capital in itself represents a cultural resource potential of shared ideas and understanding that enabled volunteers to work together to give agency to their protest events. This social capital development requires an alignment of both diagnostic and prognostic cultural attributes where the inclusion of bottom-up governance is critical.

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Pervasive Skew in Realist Assessments of the Sino-American Contest

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IR4: International Relations, Education 2.18, September 24, 2019, 2:00 PM - 3:30 PM

Introduction: Does realism contain tools capable of effectively assessing the Sino-American contest? Realist theories traditionally employ extreme parsimony – often exploring behavior within one level-of-analysis using one material and motivational variable. The Sino-American contest, however, spans the global (systemic) and East Asian (regional) levels. Although both levels evaluate behavior similarly, they utilize different material-motivational inputs: systemic-level approaches favor aggregate power and satisfaction with international order; whereas regional-level analyses consider local military power and regional satisfaction. These material-motivational inputs vary distinctly in the Sino-American contest: America holds commanding aggregate advantages; yet, China enjoys an ambiguous but expanding local military lead; and while China remains satisfied with the liberal Western order, it seeks preeminence within East Asia.

Aim: Given realism's inclination towards single-level analyses, this paper seeks to determine if any prominent, off-the-shelf realist approach can effectively consider all four material-motivational variables shaping the ongoing Sino-American contest.

Method: This paper first discusses realism's general model of assessment and how different material-motivational variables are used at the regional and systemic levels. Next, it demonstrates that these material-motivational inputs vary distinctly by level-of-analysis within the Sino-American contest – thereby, indicating that effective assessments require consideration of both levels and all four material-motivational attributes. Finally, it critically reviews seven prominent realist theories to determine if any meet this standard.

Findings: This paper determines that realism lacks an off-the-shelf tool capable of effectively assessing the Sino-American contest. By-in-large, extant approaches can only employ single levels-of-analysis, which preclude consideration of both levels, or contain status quo biases, which inhibit detection of China's regional revisionism.

Contributions: This paper demonstrates that realism requires a custom-built tool for effectively assessing the Sino-American contest. Moreover, it highlights that existing realist assessments of the contest all contain known-unknown skews as a result of excluding pertinent material-motivational variables.

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Transnational, Postnational or Dual Citizenship: Negotiating Identity by Chakmas of India's northeast

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ASA5: Politics in Asia, LWCM Moot Ct, September 24, 2019, 4:00 PM - 5:30 PM

The history of citizenship has been a struggle over how citizenship is to be defined and who should be included and who should be not. While citizenship is often professed in terms of legal status, having a national identity as a member of a nation state, but citizenship is not confined to that alone. As the liberal nation-state model gets more complicated when immigrants of different nationalities enter the territory of a state. In recent decades, global developments have questioned the relevance of the state borders. It has been observed that with increased international mobility, the traditional nation-state boundaries has been increasingly challenged, where one may claim for transnational, extra-territorial, dual and post national identities. It is against this backdrop, the paper attempts to explore the construction and negotiation of identity and membership of a community that was pushed out of one territory in the pursuit of creation of homogenous nations in the wake of modern state building process. The Chakmas make continuous efforts to determine their status, identity, space, and nation. Therefore the paper will investigate identity construction of the Chakmas across borders and also within the borders of the host state. The Chakmas, original inhabitants of Chittagong Hill Tracts, migrated to India from East Pakistan due to religious atrocities and submergence of their land because of the construction of Kaptai Hydel Dam. In India they reside in Assam, Mizoram, Tripura and Arunachal Pradesh. Those in Arunachal Pradesh are still not conferred Indian Citizenship. It is a qualitative research using in depth field interviews. The paper argues that stateless communities like the Chakmas may not claim for post national and transnational identity but they do strive for a Pan-India Chakma identity. This study will contribute in policy formulation on citizenship for stateless communities.

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The Importance of Being Political: recognising the values basis of policy**Professor Linda Botterill¹, Professor Alan Fenna²***¹University of Canberra, ²Curtin University*

POL5: Policy & Governance, Education 2.07, September 25, 2019, 9:00 AM - 10:30 AM

There has been a tendency in policy debate, among practitioners as well as in the literature, to disparage 'politics' in the policy process. This is clear in much of the rhetoric around evidence-based policy making and in the truncation of the political process in the major 'theories' of public policy. This paper argues that the aversion to politics is misguided and, indeed, anti-democratic. It makes the case for grounding our conceptions of policy making in the reality that politics is the process through which democratic communities pursue their vision of the good society — however messy that may be. Furthermore, it suggests that one of the best ways to understand that messiness is as a contest of values. The debates around what competing visions of the good society should prevail are values-based, and disagreements are anchored in the different values priorities that individuals and groups hold. By recognising the values basis of policy debate, we can develop more realistic understandings of policy making and reconnect policy with politics.

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Translating the aspirations and protecting the interests of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Peoples: the search for capable organisational mechanisms

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IND2: Indigenous Politics, Education 3.23, September 23, 2019, 2:00 PM - 3:30 PM

There are reports of an increase in the membership of Indigenous peoples in existing political parties. While this sounds promising the likelihood of being able to protect the rights and interests of first peoples through these colonial institutions appears to be a very challenging task. Internal factions in Australia's major parties have created instability for governments since the leadership spill that ousted Labor Prime Minister Kevin Rudd from office in 2010. Since Labor Prime Minister Paul Keating's (1991-1996) stewardship of the Native Title Act 1993 both Labor and Liberal governments have either stripped away Indigenous rights and/or created policies that undermine Indigenous peoples' human or civil rights. This paper considers the possibility and potential of an Indigenous political party or parties and their potential candidates, members and supporters. This paper will present a critical reflection of the contemporary history of Indigenous-Settler relations and an evaluation of parliamentary representative models utilised in other countries. Focussing on the origins and functionality of the Sámi Parliament of Norway and the designated Maori seats model in New Zealand and considering what makes them viable in their settler states and what would be required to address the needs of Indigenous peoples in Australia.

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Developing a critical discourse analyse model for national security.

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POL2: Policy & Governance, Education 2.07, September 25, 2019, 1:30 PM - 3:00 PM

It is a long tradition of the Hobbesian realist view of politics that the most important duty of a government is the 'protection of their citizens'. Since 2001 a dominant mantra in Australian federal politics has been protection of the community from 'threats to national security'. However, is the response proportionate and necessary to the risk posed or is it a moral panic?

One of the key concepts of a moral panic is that of the 'moral entrepreneur' who is responsible for harnessing public opinion. Such examples of 'politics in practice' have been measured through the examination of political speeches and media reports. Discourse analysis is particularly relevant to this type of critique of politics according to Dunmire (2012, p. 736) as "... political 'statements' do not represent 'cool,' 'objective,' and 'comprehensible' utterances but rather function as a 'screen, a false scent, a safety net' designed to achieve political goals, create alliances and oppositions, and present an image of national unity."

Despite the utility of discourse analysis in conducting such an analysis there is a need for consistency in what is asked of the data. To achieve this, Gee (2011) developed a toolkit which consisted of a series of questions which should be asked of the particular piece of discourse under analysis. Based upon the principles outlined by Gee this in his book, and reflecting upon the theoretical interplay between nationalism, moral panics and the ethical approaches of intelligence, a tool has been developed which can be used to quantitatively assess such material..

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Federalism, constitutional recognition and Indigenous Peoples: How can an identity-based federal state be established for Indigenous Peoples in Australia?

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IND2: Indigenous Politics, Education 3.23, September 23, 2019, 2:00 PM - 3:30 PM

The path towards the constitutional recognition of Indigenous Australians has been long and shows little sign of a resolution. There has been considerable division between those who argue for conservative or symbolic change and those who demand more substantive reforms. One argument has been for a new federal state to be established for Aboriginal Australians (Mansell 2016). More recently, the consensus Uluru Statement from the Heart (2017) that reasserted sovereignty requested that the constitution establish a voice to the Australian Parliament, as well as an agreement-making and truth-telling process. These matters can be understood in federal terms (see also Lino 2017). Internationally, the establishment of federalism or other forms of autonomy is an increasingly prevalent response to self-determination claims. But is the establishment of federalism really a viable and appropriate response to the claims of Indigenous Peoples in Australia? And how can an identity-based federalism be established, given the complexities of traditional ownership, dispersed communities and the constitutional framework itself? This paper seeks to answer these questions by demonstrating how federalism links to the Uluru Statement and how an identity-based form of federalism, which does not rely residency or territorial control, can be established in Australia. It considers key design issues that would need to be addressed, such as identity-based voting and whether or what kind of constitutional changes might be required. Finally, the paper concludes by noting how the establishment of an Indigenous voice can act as one step, even a stimulus, towards a more fulsome federal future.

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Australian Aboriginal Political Ordering: Autonomy and long-term human socio-political stability

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IND3: Indigenous Politics, SSS014, September 24, 2019, 11:30 AM - 1:00 PM

Aboriginal Australian peoples have produced continuous socio-political order for tens of thousands of years through an unparalleled human experiment. This paper considers how ideas of personal autonomy, as one dimension of Aboriginal ordering, configure human being to realize behaviors and forms of personhood that help to secure long socio-political stability. Contrary to assumptions that Aboriginal people are collectivist or group-oriented, personal autonomy is a highly valued relational-social capacity. While this formulation may appear paradoxical in the terms of dominant scholarship, we show how it is consistent with Aboriginal logic that draws upon the land and accompanying ecological relationships as a template for political ordering. We argue that the accompanying forms of self-regulation, in which each individual is his or her own 'law-bearer', solves a key human political problem by simultaneously enabling personal freedom and the pursuit of public goods. At the broadest level, binding individuals with a relatively enduring landscape and accompanying relationships and phenomena generates a grounded tradition that guards against anthropocentric hubris and the instability that arises when humans are disconnected from others and their environment.

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Putting identity on and off the agenda: prime ministers representing gender and sexuality on Australia Day and Anzac Day, 1990-2019.

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GEN2: Gender & Sexuality, Education 2.07, September 23, 2019, 2:00 PM - 3:30 PM

Introduction: Australia Day and Anzac Day, held on January 26 and April 25 annually, are key moments where Prime Ministers share, mould, and reproduce their understanding of what and whom is representative of a unique Australian identity and nationalism. Prime Minister's speeches push or ignore particular representations of gender and sexuality on these two days and police their expression in national agendas.

Context and Aim: We analyse this agenda setting process by examining all Prime Ministerial speeches on Australia Day and Anzac Day between 1990-2019 using a conceptual framework of gendered regimes and states, and heteronormative masculinity.

Method: Content analysis and qualitative textual analysis.

Findings: Quantitative and qualitative analysis of these speeches demonstrates the way that masculinity dominates both days in differing manners. There is also an assumed heteronormativity reinforced in association with the hegemonic construction of Australianness. Despite the presence of outliers to these patterns – highly indicative of specific events across the time period of the corpus – we find little variance in these heteronormative masculine gender regimes and rhetorical paths, regardless of party affiliation, or individual Prime Minister's ideological positioning and social location.

Innovative contribution to policy, practice and/or research: This paper is part of a wider project that examines the prime ministerial representation of Australian identity via class, gender and sexuality, and race on Australian national days. These conclusions will be of importance to researchers in the fields of identity politics, nationalism, and political rhetoric, as they demonstrate the patterned responses of political elites like Australian prime ministers.

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Imperial Brexit: The Diplomacy of Border-Making at the End of the British Empire

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IR9: International Relations, Education 2.08, September 25, 2019, 3:30 PM - 5:00 PM

Introduction: This paper explores how the dynamics of “migration diplomacy” between the British State and its former colonies in the Caribbean, South Asia, Sub-Saharan Africa and the Pacific were transformed during the 1950s and 1960s through overlapping negotiations on decolonisation and migration control.

Context and Aim: While migration policy has largely been seen in political science as constructed within the domestic politics of the nation-state, increasing research is exploring how states engaged with global networks, relationships and diplomacy to shape migrant flows (Adamson & Tsourapas 2018; Hollifield, Martin, & Orrenius 2014).

Method: Drawing on archives from the Caribbean, Britain and Australia, this research emphasizes the multi-polar nature of border-making and the contrasting policy frames and strategies of emigration states and immigration states.

Findings: Charting the global negotiations that marked the formulation and aftermath of the Commonwealth Immigrants Act, the paper focuses on a series of inter-government delegations that were deployed by British authorities and post-colonial states to mobilise support or opposition to migration-

control projects. Culminating with the 1965 Mission of Inquiry to Commonwealth Countries on Immigration led by Lord Mountbatten, these diplomatic efforts were shaped by the limits of border-making projects, debates over imperial soft power, and the transition from old colonial relationships to new international engagements with the United States and Europe.

Innovative contribution to policy, practice and/or research: Revisiting the migration diplomacy of the 1960s is particularly timely given the current Brexit crisis as it provides a long-term vision of the international transaction costs of border-making that is rarely visible in the current debates. Providing a historical analysis of the development of this migration diplomacy emphasizes the extent to which state projects of border-making were rarely the unilateral zero-sum interventions imagined by nativists politicians or national collective memory (Gabaccia 2012).

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What is this thing called public value?

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POL6: Policy & Governance, Education 2.07, September 23, 2019, 11:30 AM - 1:00 PM

What is considered to be 'public value' (Moore, 2013) influences the policies that are advocated, and the solutions that are considered. As such, it pervades the work of public managers and is the subject of increasing academic and practitioner interest. However, this interest is more in public value governance, or how public value is realised (see for example Alford, Douglas, Geuijen, & 't Hart, 2017), than in how it is understood and defined in the first place.

In this paper we summarise the outcomes from an APSA funded workshop at the University of Queensland which explored issues including: Who determines public value? Has what is seen as public value changed over time? How are definitions of public value legitimised? What is the 'public' in 'public value'? What are the consequences of different ideas about the public value?

We conclude with some general observations on the consequences of a lack of clarity around the term, and set out a future research agenda.

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Unpopular party leaders in Australia: Candidate quality or voter expectations?

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A6: Australian Politics, Education 1.01, September 25, 2019, 9:00 AM - 10:30 AM

In recent federal elections Australia's political leaders have been very unpopular with voters. Elections have been won by unpopular leaders, up against even more unpopular alternatives. This can be contrasted against earlier elections when election winners typically enjoyed a good degree of popularity among voters. Australia has not had a Prime Minister that enjoyed a good degree of popularity with voters since Kevin Rudd's 2007 election win. What explains leader unpopularity in Australia? Are the leaders chosen by the major political parties becoming objectively worse than they used to be? Or are citizen expectations changing so that leaders with similar qualities are perceived more negatively? This paper examines these questions with Australian Election Study data covering elections from the last 30 years. The paper investigates the impact of voter education levels, social media use and partisanship on attitudes towards leaders over time. Additionally, the paper examines how leader characteristics affect their evaluations. The paper will shed light on why Australia's political leaders have become so unpopular, is it the candidates themselves, or is it voters?

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The production of neoliberal environmental citizens in Singapore

Dr Benito Cao¹

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ENV1: Environment, Education 3.26, September 23, 2019, 11:30 AM - 1:00 PM

The scale and severity of the environmental challenges we face are quickly becoming apparent. The growing preoccupation with the state of the environment has overlapped with a renewed interest in citizenship since the 1990s. This convergence of environment and citizenship has led to an increasing focus on the development of environmental citizenship. Indeed, environmental citizenship is an idea whose time has come, and there is little question that environmental challenges and our response to them will shape what it means to be a citizen in the 21st century. This presentation explores some of the ways in which environmental citizenship is been constructed in Singapore. Singapore provides an example of a state in which environmental citizenship is fostered through pedagogies –both in formal educational settings and through media representations- that reflect a neoliberal conception of what it means to be a good environmental citizen. The author argues that pedagogical techniques are primarily being used to manufacture neoliberal environmental citizens capable of functioning as self-governed citizens. This, in turn, reveals how neoliberal governmentality is a key technique in the production of Singaporean citizens, environmental or otherwise.

22

Colonialism, conflict and contradiction: Putting the economy back into the political economy of Southeast Asia's development

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ASA1: Politics in Asia, LWCM Moot Ct, September 23, 2019, 11:30 AM - 1:00 PM

This chapter presents a political economy of Southeast Asia's development trajectory from independence to globalisation, detailing dynamic state strategies in relation to evolving and conflictual relations of production. Crucial here is the shift from various developmentalist agendas following colonialism – including import-substitution industrialisation, export-oriented industrialisation and central planning – to neoliberalism within the context of a world market in formation. Both single-party states and democracies now face ever-intensifying competitive pressures from hyperglobalisation that narrow the development policy suite considerably. This said, the large politico-business complexes established under national development agendas have often been able to consolidate their positions within the context of globalisation and neoliberalism, leveraging new patterns of growth and investment and mediating neoliberal reform. In this context, organised labour and the left generally have seen their power further eroded and corruption has continued to be a perennial problem. After much hubris regarding “industrialisation” and growth, the recent demise of the commodities boom and the rising economic importance of China have once again revealed the highly contingent position of Southeast Asian countries within the global political economy. Many countries in the region remain mired in low-value added economic activity (having failed to move up value chains), “middle income traps” and exhibit increasing inequality.

81

Level of Personal Security and the Degree of Support for Social Protests: Empirical Evidences from Bangladesh

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IND3: Indigenous Politics, SSS014, September 24, 2019, 11:30 AM - 1:00 PM

There are a large volume of cross-national and case studies (e.g., Power, 1972; Gurr, 1971; Schatzman, 2005; Day, et al., 2014) on why people join social protests across contexts and time. Despite there are evidence-based political, economic and cultural explanations of social protest, this investigation is important to understand the protest behaviour of indigenous peoples of Bangladesh from a different perspective: level of personal security, which has been measured with 16 indicators such as land dispossession, lack of safety at home, abduction, murder, communal violence, intra-group gun fight and detention in the army camps etc. On the contrary, this research has operationalized protest behaviour with the use of two distinct groups of indicators: non-violent social protest (e.g., advocacy and street protest) and violent social protest (armed struggle). This survey research (N=384) has been carried out in the Chittagong Hill Tracts, Bangladesh last year to cover subjective perceptions of indigenous peoples who are

trapped in a decade-long ethnic conflict and join different modes of social protests on different issues such as land grabbing, rape and state repression. The results of binary logistic regression models demonstrate that several indicators of personal security such as the lack of safety at public places, robbery, murder, trafficking, communal violence and detention are statistically significant for estimating the degree of support for both violent and non-violent social protests while land dispossession, lack of safety at street, abduction, indiscriminate search operation of the army and many other indicators are not statistically significant determinants of protest behaviour in the context of this research.

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Immigrant's political preference to social-democratic parties in Australian elections

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A16: Australian Politics, LWCM Nth 5, September 23, 2019, 2:00 PM - 3:30 PM

Immigrants' participation in politics is a significant part of western democracies. Immigrants voting preference has been associated by many scholars with social-democratic parties attributing to their low social-economic status. However, some argues that immigrants in Australia vote similarly like the rest of the population, holding no preference toward social democratic party, namely the Labour Party.

To empirically examine whether there is a causal mechanism functioning between immigrants voting behaviour and party preference for the ALP in Australia, this paper will analyze the data from 2007-2016 Australian Election Survey by conducting quantitative research, more specifically, the tabular analysis with chi-square test. It aims to make contributions to better understanding of changing dynamics of Australian immigration and immigrants' political preference.

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Gambling on a good outcome. Examining regulatory theory, policy and practice within the Queensland gambling context.

Mrs Lorraine Cherney¹

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POL4: Policy & Governance, Education 2.07, September 24, 2019, 4:00 PM - 5:30 PM

This paper examines the impact of contemporary regulatory environments on policy actors. The paper draws upon PhD research that examined gambling regulatory policy change in Queensland. By using a case study of Electronic Gaming Machine regulation (the 'pokies') in Queensland, that draws on primary data collection, the paper highlights the practical impact of regulations on different stakeholders. It will be argued that what might be proposed within regulatory theory as 'best practice' does not necessarily translate into practice. Regulatory theory needs to accommodate other variables that are often unique to a

policy domain, with gambling regulation exemplifying this argument. Some of the themes being explored in this paper include: risk, red-tape reductions, resourcing, regulatory relationships and the contested meanings of compliance. This paper draws on a unique data set comprising interviews with political representatives, regulators, industry participants, community representatives and ex-gaming commissioners.

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Social Media and the Counter Public Sphere in an Authoritarian State: Exploring Political Discussion on Facebook in Cambodia

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M3: Media, Education 2.08, September 24, 2019, 11:30 AM - 1:00 PM

This study seeks to understand how social media facilitates the creation of a counter public sphere in politically repressive Cambodia. Drawing from Mouffe (1995)'s agonistic sphere theory and Dahlgren (2005)'s model of an online public sphere, this study examines political discussion by Cambodian citizens over a 2019 traffic accident on Facebook, the most popular social media platform in the country. Based on a thematic and critical discourse analysis of 5,000 Facebook comments generated from 150 public posts, the study uncovered a number of recurrent themes emerging from the online interaction, most of which are critical of the authoritarian establishment. The study also identified several key discursive strategies employed by Facebook users to discuss and question the status quo, including the use of poems, satire and offensive language. The analysis, in addition, shows that through online political expression, new social identities, such as an online public, are constructed. The study concludes that Facebook can foster the emergence of a counter public sphere which has the potential to alter the power relations between citizens and the state. This study contributes to literature on the role of social media in political participation in authoritarian contexts, by providing a nuanced account of this relationship.

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Stopping Xenophon: How the Liberal and Labor parties campaigned to preserve their duopoly in the 2018 South Australian election

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A8: Australian Politics, Education 1.01, September 25, 2019, 1:30 PM - 3:00 PM

Introduction: Although electoral support for minor parties and independent candidates has increased in Australia it remains difficult for them to overcome the dominance of the major parties' duopoly and win lower house seats in parliaments. High-profile third-party candidates can expect to face intense

campaigning from the Liberal/National and Labor parties seeking to thwart their chances of success, particularly if they are perceived to pose a broader electoral threat.

Context and aim: In the lead up to the 2018 South Australian state election there was significant media hype and public attention on former federal Senator Nick Xenophon and his party SA-Best with speculation that they could become a major force in the state's parliament. This paper focuses on understanding the dynamics at play in Xenophon's unsuccessful tilt at the House of Assembly seat of Hartley with a case study examining the campaign to prevent his return to state politics and, thereby, preserve the major parties' duopoly.

Method: The study undertakes a content analysis of the direct mail marketing campaign, among other primary sources, to understand the campaign tactics and messages used.

Findings: This paper (still a work-in-progress at the time of abstract submission) offers an insight into how the Liberal and Labor parties overwhelmingly targeted Xenophon rather than one another, and how Xenophon became the major focus of the campaign.

Contribution: Although the circumstances of this election were unusual in Australian electoral history, the findings still provide a valuable insight into election campaign tactics in three-cornered lower house contests and demonstrate that changes in electoral support are yet to significantly challenge the continuation of the major parties' parliamentary duopoly.

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Is it all gas and wind? Examining conflicts in Australian energy politics

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¹*University of Southern Queensland*

A9: Australian Politics, LWCM Nth 5, September 24, 2019, 4:00 PM - 5:30 PM

Energy generation has become a major policy issue in Australian politics, with parties trying to manage internal differences on the issue and establish and highlight points of difference from competitors. In general, the parties to the right of centre are more strongly associated with support for conventional, carbon-based energy and wariness of, and in some cases even hostility towards, renewable energy. This is despite generally strong public support for increasing the share of energy generated from wind and solar production systems. This paper first traces the increasing visibility of energy policy in Australian politics, the range of policy positions across time and parties and the politicisation of energy generation as an issue. Some possible explanations for both the heightened attention to, and increasing polarisation around energy generation are then considered. Contributing factors might include threats to corporate interests, concerns about the costs of electricity to consumers and business and the difficulties of managing a mixed energy system. Another perspective is that there is a general tendency to distrust of new technologies and systems, especially where the representations of the technologies are visually evident. We will however, present arguments that these are logically insufficient in fully explaining the polarisation and report on some empirical studies of attitudes to two forms of 'new' energy: coals seam gas and wind power. The results from a sequence of surveys from 2012 to 2016 suggest that preferences for each of these forms of energy

vary according to party political orientation and core personal values. We conclude with some reflection on what this might mean for the mobilisation of sentiment around energy policy, especially in targeting particular populations, such as people in regional areas where extractive industries are relatively important.

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Young people, climate policy and politics in Australia

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ENV2: Environment, Education 3.24, September 23, 2019, 2:00 PM - 3:30 PM

In 2018, three school students from Castlemaine, Victoria, organised their classmates in a protest about the political in-action of governments on climate change. Their actions have spurred a movement – known as #schoolstrike4climate – that has grown to an international network involving more than 1.5 million strikers in over 2,100 sites in 132 countries around the world (<https://www.fridaysforfuture.org/events/list>). For many this mass mobilisation of school students came as a surprise and generated much debate about ‘appropriate’ youth engagement in democracy and contemporary processes of political socialisation. Drawing on multiple quantitative and qualitative data sets, this paper traces the emergence of climate change and sustainability as major issues of concern for young people in Australia over the past decade – a period in which engagement of political institutions with young people’s politics has been at an all-time low. Reflecting on this analysis through the case study of #schoolstrike4climate the paper identifies the macro (policy), meso (organisational) and micro (individual) relations through which a youth political movement for action on climate change has become possible - and the implications of this for future climate politics and policy.

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Authoritarian power in space, time and exile

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COMP5: Comparative Politics, Education 3.25, September 24, 2019, 4:00 PM - 5:30 PM

The relationship between governments and oppositions in authoritarian climates has attracted significant scholarly interest. Although the balance of power between regimes and oppositions most often favours regimes, scholars have identified a symbiotic ‘dynamic of contention’ that shapes both regimes and oppositions. However, research thus far has focussed largely on those oppositions that exist within the formal boundaries of a state. Spatial and temporal distance is seen as unshackling those outside the physical political theatre from the authoritarian structures and dynamics that define political contestation inside that state, even though exiling has been employed by autocrats for millennia to manage and neutralise political challengers. This paper applies a topological theory of power to a case study of the Syrian Muslim Brotherhood, a political organisation that has operated from exile since 1980. It finds that the Syrian Muslim Brotherhood has remained inextricably tied to the Syrian regime and its authority throughout its exile

because the dynamic of contention has acted as a mediating force that has shrunk space and reproduced power structures that exist inside the confines of the Syrian state.

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The economic marginalisation of youth: Policy attitudes and age-based inequality in Australia

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POL2: Policy & Governance, Education 2.07, September 25, 2019, 1:30 PM - 3:00 PM

Introduction: Demographic factors and structural economic change have led to growing inequality between age groups in advanced industrial societies, with young people bearing the brunt of labour market restructuring, increasing social risks and the costs of an ageing population.

Context/Aim: Using Australia as a case study, the first part of this paper argues that instead of spreading the impact of demographic and economic change across society, government redistributive policies tend to magnify the negative effect these changes have on the young, while protecting older citizens.

Method: The second part of the paper discusses the results of surveys and interviews with a group of young adults and seniors comparing their attitudes towards Australian Government tax and welfare policies which benefit some age groups substantially more than others.

Findings: This fieldwork found that, contrary to their own self-interest, the young participants were less likely than the seniors to advocate policy reform in the interests of equality between age groups or future sustainability. This appeared to be the result of several factors. The young participants were more likely than the seniors to feel they lacked political efficacy; they did not hold government or anyone else accountable for unfair economic outcomes; they found it difficult to envisage the possibility of alternative economic policy settings; and they were more inclined to acquiesce to the status quo rather than demand change.

Innovative Contribution: This paper addresses the relative dearth of qualitative research on the economic policy attitudes of young Australians, and comparison of their attitudes with those of other age groups. It points the way to further research on the circumstances in which young adults might be motivated to demand economic policy reform rather than acquiescing to the status quo.

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Gender and Political Survival at the Sub-national Level in Australia and Canada

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A8: Australian Politics, Education 1.01, September 25, 2019, 1:30 PM - 3:00 PM

Political careers are shaped by the interplay of individual factors, institutional design and the less predictable political environment (Jaekle and Kerby, 2018). Over time, we have come to know quite a lot about how women and men compare in their selection and deselection from cabinet (Dowding and Dumont, 2014; Escobar-Lemmon and Taylor-Robinson, 2016). There has also been a growth in the scholarship on the rise of women leaders at the national level (Jalalzai, 2013; Trimble, 2017). However, we know less about the determinants of political survival of sub-national leaders and the success or otherwise of women as premiers. In this paper, we map the duration of premiers at the provincial and state level in Australia and Canada, and develop a model that estimates the effects of the three sets of factors outlined above (individual, institutional and environmental). We do this by drawing on a comprehensive original dataset of premiers in Australia and Canada since 1980 and applying an event history analysis. The empirical evidence in the comparative literature suggests that gender has little effect on ministerial durability. We ask if this is also the case at the premier level by focusing on two countries where there has been a considerable number of women subnational leaders over the past 20 years.

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How 'Invisible' Democracy leads to Poor Environment Policy for Indigenous Australians and How Deliberative Forums can help.

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IND4: Indigenous Politics, LWCM Moot Ct, September 24, 2019, 2:00 PM - 3:30 PM

There are over 250 Indigenous nations in Australia. This plurinational reality challenges the idea of the singular 'Nation' and of the unitary Australian nation state. In settler colonial societies such as Australia, both the British colonisers and the Indigenous colonised are here to stay. The ongoing problem for the 'Nation' and for democracy is, how do you recognise the political authority of the colonised as well as the coloniser?

Deliberative democracy can help address this problem in several ways. First, by recognising Aboriginal democracy as a distinct deliberative system and its 'invisible' democratic contribution to the larger system. Second, system wide policy failure, in this case, diverse Aboriginal environment policies, can be understood as a weakness in transmission within the system stemming from the 'invisibility' of Indigenous empowered spaces in the system. Third, Indigenous deliberative forums linked to the state can help recognize Indigenous political authority, amplify Indigenous narratives and counter pervasive settler state narratives in environment policy without resorting to the false binary of assimilation or self-determination. Using the Murray-Darling Basin Plan as a case study and an analysis of Indigenous environment policy literature, I argue such Indigenous empowered spaces throughout the deliberative system contribute to

better policy making in the system and these are necessary with or without formal constitutional or treaty arrangements with Indigenous peoples and the settler colonial Australian state.

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Indigenous representation and constitutional development in settler democracies

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IND2: Indigenous Politics, Education 3.23, September 23, 2019, 2:00 PM - 3:30 PM

How have democratic constitutions adapted to deal with the specific situation and concerns of Indigenous peoples? Much has been written about an expanding common law approach to the rights of Indigenous peoples (including “land rights” of various forms) but considerably less scholarly attention has been given to the ways that the constitutions of settler societies have developed to provide more effective political representation for Indigenous citizens in the democratic institutions of the nation-state. In several sub-national jurisdictions in Canada and in the USA, in New Zealand/Aotearoa and in the Scandinavian countries, these developments are not insignificant; moreover, several jurisdictions in Australia are now seeking to create new institutions to provide for more effective representation of Indigenous peoples in democratically elected assemblies.

With that focus, two approaches to providing for better Indigenous participation are visible: the first varies the procedures which determine the composition and/or operation of national, democratically elected bodies, to ensure some measure of Indigenous voice or values is represented. A second approach has been to create additional representative bodies exclusively elected by and composed of Indigenous citizens, which in turn represent the Indigenous polity as a whole by interacting with national (or sub-national) representative institutions on specific issues of concern.

We know relatively little about whether and how these variations influence the nature of the relationship between the state and the Indigenous polity. Indeed, much remains to be understood about how such constitutional reforms may be bringing new forms of Indigenous polity into existence. This paper seeks to determine how different representative arrangements create opportunities for Indigenous peoples to advance their agenda. It does so by examining common issues in each country, specifically in relation to the implementation of the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples which has been endorsed by all relevant nation-states.

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Beyond policy domains: Governance architectures as a theoretical framework for understanding challenges facing Syrian refugees in Jordan, Lebanon, and Australia

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IR5: International Relations, Education 2.18, September 24, 2019, 4:00 PM - 5:30 PM

Forced migration is necessarily an international problem as refugees seeking security outside of the country of origin interact with jurisdictions both within and beyond the borders of sovereign nation-states. Although several principles outlined by the United Nations inform the global framework in relation to refugees, the framework is fragmented by various other levels of governance and only applies (at international law) to signatories to the Convention. In the cases of Jordan and Lebanon, this framework does not apply. However, intervention and funding by the United Nations and other international non-government organisations can impose conditions on host nations in an attempt to comply with international human rights law or contemporary ideas about human rights in relation to the treatment of refugees. As refugee status typically requires the individual to be outside of their home country, the various jurisdictions that a refugee may encounter represent a fragmented field of policy, including the global, international, regional, national, municipal, and local levels. Further, in addition to their families and social circles, individuals are influenced by the rules and regulations of non-government organisations and community-based organisations. Given the absence of sovereignty outside the nation-state, the policy domain for refugees is necessarily fragmented and complex, and state-based theoretical approaches to understanding the institutional frameworks that Syrian refugees encounter tend to produce results that reproduce the bureaucracy, rather than address the longer-term needs of refugees. This paper develops the concept of 'governance architectures' as a theoretical lens for analysing complex policy problems that relate to refugees existing outside the traditional nation-state. The concept has been developed to analyse data collected from semi-structured interviews with approximately 100 Syrian refugee women and 30 humanitarian workers in Australia, Lebanon, and Jordan from 2018 to 2019. The paper also discusses the theoretical concept's usefulness in understanding peace-building in a post-conflict Syria.

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Place identity and major project advocacy: the contribution of local governments in Australia

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ENV3: Environment, Education 3.26, September 24, 2019, 11:30 AM - 1:00 PM

Introduction : The East-West Link, a tunnel proposed for Melbourne, and the Coal Seam Gas projects of Northern NSW, are major projects that were to have significant impacts not desired by their communities – both are examples of major turn-arounds by state governments in Australia in response to community and local government advocacy.

Context and Aim: Local governments sit at a critical intersection between communities and higher levels of government. While not legally empowered in relation to major projects, the resources and legitimacy of their organisations and the degree of their connection with their citizens can make them powerful allies for communities seeking to influence or stop major projects.

Method: In-depth interviews and document analysis.

Findings: Identity and place attachment were found to be key reasons for the mobilisation of these communities and local governments. This is consistent with, and provides additional richness to theory developed by Lewicka relating to place attachment and advocacy for place (Lewicka 2005).

Innovative contribution: One of the primary reasons these local governments contributed to these campaigns was due to their position as receptacles of community identity. Local governments are influenced by the culture and values of their communities. Their continuity can then maintain that identity over time and reinforce it within the community. This was particularly evident during heightened advocacy - a dynamic time for identity strengthening, formation and change.

Reference: Lewicka, M 2005, 'Ways to make people active: The role of place attachment, cultural capital, and neighbourhood ties', *Journal of Environmental Psychology*, vol. 25, no. 4, pp. 381-95.

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The Drivers of Regional Proliferation in Indonesia: Case Studies from West Java and Banten

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ASA7: Politics in Asia, Education 2.07, September 25, 2019, 11:00 AM - 12:30 PM

Regional proliferation (pemekaran) is still a major agenda in the policy forums in Indonesia. In this essay, I investigate the factors that contribute to pemekaran and analyze whether the quality of institution can play an important role in the number of regional proliferation in Indonesia. By applying a mixed method analysis on yearly observation between 2007 and 2014 in Indonesia, I find that institutional quality, proxied by social capital, is positively and significantly correlated with the number of regional proliferation event. Such finding is closely related with Kimura's (2010) result on territorial coalitions in Indonesia that include a variety of actors situated at different government layers. These coalitions have been the driving force behind the creation of several districts/cities in West Java and Banten. I also find that fiscal transfer and income cannot be a motive for regions in Indonesia to proliferate. In addition, there is a significant and positive association between ethnic fractionalization and the number of regional proliferation in Indonesia.

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Violent gendered ethnonationalism and the War in Donbass

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GEN4: Gender & Sexuality, Education 2.07, September 24, 2019, 2:00 PM - 3:30 PM

Introduction: The Ukrainian state-building project has developed through two major narratives. One is a pluralist view of the country as a melting pot of varying ethnicities, religions and cultures, with a shared history and interests. The other is a monist perspective of Ukraine as a country built for a sharply defined concept of the 'Ukrainian people', diametrically opposed to Russia and continually fighting for independence. This latter perspective has gained tremendous ascendancy in Ukrainian politics since the Orange Revolution, which has seen the resurrection of fascist icons and de-communisation, erupting in the violence of the Revolution of Dignity and the subsequent War in Donbass.

Context and Aim: This paper seeks to explain the dominance of the ethnonationalist, monist Ukrainian state-building project through a feminist global political economy framework (GPE).

Method: The feminist GPE perspective prioritises an understanding of the Ukrainian nation-building mission as a movement of opposition and violence towards women and ethnic/cultural minorities and investigates how gendered violence has been the main driver of the reimagining of Ukraine after the dissolution of the Soviet Union.

Findings: The paper argues that the consequence of the gendered, ethnonationalism of the Ukrainian state has been the War in Donbass, which erupted out of the violence of the Revolution of Dignity, and a curtailing of women's political and economic participation. Notions of masculinity and femininity are fundamental drivers of the conflict, and created a highly gendered crisis of poverty, displacement, and violence.

Innovative contribution to policy, practice and/or research: The feminist GPE perspective deployed in the paper will demonstrate how Ukrainian masculinities and femininities have fundamentally defined the dominant concept of the Ukrainian nation as it perpetuates violence on the frontlines of the War in Donbass.

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Early voting at the 2019 Federal Election

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A11: Australian Politics, Education 1.01, September 25, 2019, 11:00 AM - 12:30 PM

The 2019 Federal election has provided further evidence that Australia's voters are drastically changing the way they cast their votes. This paper builds on previous work on early voting in Australia, in order to examine how the Federal data for 2019 fits with recent trends at state and territory level. In particular, the paper will address the impact which the comparative regulatory frameworks have had on the takeup rate for early voting, postal voting and other forms of voting such as e-voting.

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He Who Must Not Be Named: Constructing and contesting the political meanings of far-right terrorism

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M4: Media, Education 1.01, September 24, 2019, 4:00 PM - 5:30 PM

Introduction: How are political meanings constructed and contested in online spaces? What is the relationship between these meanings and IRL politics? This paper explores how actors have pursued political aims by constructing meanings around 'The Great Replacement', the manifesto of Brenton Tarrant, the alleged perpetrator of the March 2019 Christchurch massacre.

Context and Aim: Politics is increasingly contested through mediated, hyper-connected technological processes. This paper aims to understand how both state and non-state actors use these processes to manipulate public meanings for political ends.

Method: This paper uses a intertextually focused critical discourse analysis, modified to apply to the online environment.

Findings: 'The Great Replacement' asserts a relationship with several other texts to produce a 'canon' of far-right terrorist manifestos. The purpose of constructing this canon is to establish a narrative in which the massacres are interpretable as spectacles of inter-racial hatred. The express political intent of establishing this narrative is to provoke IRL inter-racial hostility.

Additionally, the Great Replacement employs cybernetic strategies that direct reception of the text to different audiences. Its content indicates the primary audience is the online community of far-right extremists. However, Tarrant's positioning of the manifesto within cyberspace shows he sought multiple audiences for it, including the New Zealand government and members of the general public.

The NZ Government's primary response to the massacre and the manifesto, supported by prominent institutions, was to stop the process of meaning-making asserted by 'The Great Replacement' through strategies deployed in the mainstream media, such as refusing to name Tarrant publicly. The Government then used verbal and visual symbolism to assert a counter-narrative of racial harmony in NZ.

Contribution: This paper is an innovative, intertextually-focused analysis of online far-right political activism. It also extends theory of critical discourse analysis by applying it to the online production of texts.

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What does Article 9 mean for Japan-Australia Relations?

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ASA2: Politics in Asia, Education 3.19, September 23, 2019, 2:00 PM - 3:30 PM

What does Article 9 mean for Japan-Australia Relations? Does Article 9 limit Japanese commitment to security relations between Japan-Australia and will proposed amendments to Article 9 have an effect?

Geopolitical conflict in the Asia and Pacific region puts Japan's alliance with the old-world political sphere at odds with their largest neighbours, China and Australia. With mounting tensions in the Indo-Pacific and limitations of Japan's Article 9 have called politicians and scholars to question whether constitutional amendment is necessary for forming or maintaining new alliances. This paper examines the effect Article 9 has on Japan-Australia bilateral relations, particularly concerning security cooperation. Whether or not the constraints of Article 9 effect existing or future Japan-Australia cooperative strategies will also be explored. Given the ever-changing geopolitics of the Indo-Pacific region, the importance of continued security relations between Japan-Australia will also be examined.

Qualitative and theoretical research methods are applied in the analysis of past and existing bilateral security agreements, cooperative operations and security policies from both Australia and Japan. Analysis surrounding these documents reveals much about historical and cultural complexity that frames the debate today. This paper will demonstrate that despite possible limitations on Japanese involvement from Article 9, Japan-Australia relations have continued within the region. Furthermore, changes to Japan-Australia relations during the time of Article 9's amendment in 2015 and possible effects further amendment to the article may have will also be discussed.

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Laswell and Lawyers' role in the Policy Process

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POL5: Policy & Governance, Education 2.07, September 25, 2019, 9:00 AM - 10:30 AM

What is the role of lawyers who advise government officials on politically contentious decisions? Conventional explanations suggest lawyers' place in the policy process is primarily to provide legal advice to public officials that can guide the legally accountable "decision-maker" to act within the law, regardless of the political context. These accounts rest on a rational model of government decision-making that is confined within the formal structures of government and views law, policy and politics as separate domains.

In 1943, Laswell and McDougal began developing an alternative account of lawyer's role in government decision-making. They identified lawyers as the "one indispensable advisor of every responsible policy-maker in our society."* Their account envisages policymaking as a complex web of social and inter-personal interactions between a wide cast of participants in a political community who must resolve disagreements about values. Laswell and McDougal were optimistic that lawyers could use the authoritative language and procedures of the law to assist policymakers make decisions that would advance the communities' preferred values. In this paper I discuss why these authors' ideas are relevant to my research about the role of lawyers in the policy process, with reference to a case study about the Howard government's controversial decision to de-regulate Australian Air Traffic Control in 2002.

*Harold D. Laswell and Myres S. McDougal, 'Legal Education and Public Policy: Professional Training in the Public Interest' (1943) 52 (2) Yale Law Journal 203, 208-209.

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Indigenous cultural-patrimony: the political content of a concept in the agonal relation between liberal state and indigenous peoples

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IND3: Indigenous Politics, SSS014, September 24, 2019, 11:30 AM - 1:00 PM

Since the end of the Second World War, the Indigenous vindication process incorporates new struggles and resistance strategies. These allow to them become a strong international political actor. Since then, the Indigenous concept describes a common experience of colonialism, precariousness, and dependence through which indigenous peoples sue to liberal state the retrieval of own sui iuris condition. In the same period, the cultural patrimony concept acquires centrality as a descriptor of world cultural diversity, shaping a conservationism discourse on no-occidental cultures.

In the post-Second World War scenario, the cultural-patrimony concept seeks to get away from any approach involving evaluation in terms of racial supremacy. Its sedimentation on national and international policy gave a new moral value to the Indigenous peoples associated with environmental protection as much as conservation of world cultural diversity.

Notwithstanding the foregoing, the literature has been focused on studying this process from descriptive and evaluative approaches, hidden an understanding of the structure and semantic changes of society implied in the Indigenous patrimony concept. This paper aims to contribute to understanding of the process of Indigenous patrimonialisation by a genealogically reconstruction of the Indigenous cultural-patrimony concept.

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Indigenous political party participation and leadership

Dr Michelle Evans

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IND1: Indigenous Politics, Education 3.23, September 23, 2019, 11:30 AM - 1:00 PM

How do Aboriginal and Torres Strait islander members, candidates and elected representatives conceive of their roles within the major parties? This is one of the research questions driving a major national ARC funded Discovery project seeking to understanding Indigenous political party participation and leadership. Led by Dr Evans and Professor Duncan McDonnell, the project is now in its third year of fieldwork. Michelle will overview the project and discuss emerging insights arising from the fieldwork.

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The End of Bipartisanship? Voting Patterns and the Policy Agenda of the Australian Senate, 1996-2018

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A16: Australian Politics, LWCM Nth 5, September 23, 2019, 2:00 PM - 3:30 PM

Contemporary Australian politics is said to be more vitriolic than at any other point in the 21st century. Similar claims have been made across Western democracies, with the issues of ‘hyper-partisanship’ and political polarization dominating popular discourse about legislative politics. Absent from this scholarly literature is an analysis of bipartisanship and polarization in Australia’s Federal Parliament. This is surprising given that Australia has experienced an intense period of political instability with six Prime Ministers in less than ten years. Support for the major political parties has fallen to record lows for the postwar era, and an array of independents, minor-, and micro-parties have been a common feature in the Australian Senate. Thus, Australia provides an interesting test case because of this recent instability and unique institutional features, including ‘washminster’ federalism, proportional representation, and compulsory voting. Our paper uses longitudinal empirical data to first assess whether bipartisanship in Australian politics has declined and, secondly, using the Comparative Agendas Project (CAP) coding scheme, whether bipartisanship varies across policy domains. Drawing on existing research, we develop a new measure to evaluate partisanship and polarization in Australia. Our measure uses voting (i.e. divisions) data for the Australian Senate on bills and non-bill items for the years 1996 to 2018. We examine how often the major parties vote together in these divisions and how the independents and smaller parties use divisions to accomplish their political objectives. In doing so, we engage with claims made in the literature about the stability of bipartisanship in certain policy areas, including foreign affairs and trade policy. As the first empirical study of bipartisanship in the Australian Parliament, this study fills a major gap in the scholarship on Australian politics and contributes to the broader literature on political polarization in Western democracies.

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Electoral Classification: Revisiting the Michigan School and McCraw’s Classification Systems

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A2: Australian Politics, Education 1.01, September 23, 2019, 2:00 PM - 3:30 PM

Introduction: Australian politics has witnessed newer political parties achieve notable vote share. In 2019, a third of voters in the Senate and a quarter of voters in the House of Representatives cast a vote for non-major parties. This contrasts earlier elections such as 1975, where major parties received over 95 percent of the vote.

Context/Aim: The Coalition or Australian Labor Party regularly form government, but this dichotomy masks the impact non-major parties can make in electoral contests. This paper revisits two different electoral classification systems to identify the impact minor parties have in electoral contests.

Method: To test the impact of partisanship in electoral contests, the paper evaluates the Michigan School electoral classification system developed by Campbell et al (1960) and Pomper (1964) for federal Australian elections between 1987 and 2016. It builds on previous studies that classified elections with limited survey data and links voting patterns to available Australian Election Study survey data. The paper also revisits a classification system developed by McCraw (1985) based on lower house net vote movements between 1949 and 1984 to identify which parties benefit from changing votes and applies this framework to recent electoral contests.

Findings: McCraw's classification system uncovers noticeably different electoral classification patterns in 1990-2019 compared to 1949-1987.

Innovative contribution to policy, practice and/or research: Applying these two electoral classification systems to classify recent Australian election results demonstrates two ways minor parties have affected historic voting patterns in Australia.

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Vox Populi?: newspaper narratives of English identity during the 2016 Brexit Referendum

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¹*Central Queensland University*

M2: Media, Education 2.08, September 23, 2019, 2:00 PM - 3:30 PM

Introduction: The growing body of research on voter motivation since the Brexit Referendum is evidence of the continuing interest in the result of this momentous moment in British political history. The image that emerges from the literature is largely negative, suggesting Euroscepticism, xenophobia and disapproval of Globalisation encouraged many to vote to leave the European Union.

Context and Aim: Little is known about the extent to which English identity was portrayed in newspaper rhetoric before the Referendum. This study considers the complex interplay between media forms and audiences in the construction of national identity by presenting examples of agenda setting, priming and news framing by English newspapers in the 4-month period before the 2016 Referendum.

Method: Employing Nick Couldry's Media Meta-Capital theory (2003), this study explores the potential newspaper media had to influence perceptions of Englishness. The study employs two major research strategies: 1. A qualitative content analysis of English newspaper articles referencing English identity and 2. A quantitative statistical analysis of the circulation and financial data of the newspapers.

Findings: While this study acknowledges the growing influence of big data analytics and technology in the socio-political arena, it will argue that newspaper media continue to offer a unique form of knowledge construction and alternative discourse.

Innovative contribution to policy, practice and/or research: This study addresses an understudied element in the extensive literature on the Brexit Referendum, that is, how newspapers engaged their readers as collaborators in a narrative of English nationhood and the impact that had on the result.

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Role of shrimp farm owner on local politics; A case study in Sawohan Village, Buduran Sub District, Sidoarjo, East Java

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ASA9: Politics in Asia, Education 3.25, September 25, 2019, 3:30 PM - 5:00 PM

Ideological orientation, charismatic public figure, and economic factors are the factors that influence the voters' behaviour in Indonesia. Local politic such in village leader election case well known that the role of "money politics" play significantly. In this piece of writing demonstrate the role of shrimp farm owner in influencing local voters. This writing develops base on community observation in Sawohan Village and a semi-structured interview with keys informants and shrimp workers. There are four reasons, the shrimp owner in Sidoarjo play a significant role in local politics. First Shrimp farm owner in Indonesian categorised as a high-income group that earn approximately \$ AUD 300 thousand annually. Moreover, a shrimp pond owner employs 29 workers on average. The more employees they have, the more social influences they have. Second, the patron-client model relationship between shrimp farm owners and shrimp pond workers. Pond owners provide most of the workers' needs during production process stages in the shrimp production/cultivation process. And the owners permit workers to utilize the land around the ponds for creating additional income outside the income from shrimp culture. Third, the shrimp pond owner is known as a religious leader known as al-Hajj. Al-Hajj means as Moslem who has adequate knowledge in Islam and had conducted pilgrimage in Makkah. As al-Hajj, they tend to lead the worships in a local Mosque. Within those three reasons, when there was a head of a village election, the shrimp pond owner has a special trick to lead his employees to vote certain candidate. When he put his pointer finger in his mouth regularly when the owner communicates with his workers interpreted as a support to vote for the candidate number one. In short, the shrimp pond owner has a significant role in influencing the voters' decisions in the head of village election.

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"It wouldn't work': Australians Talking about the prospect of a borderless world

Professor Farida Fozdar¹¹*The University of Western Australia*

A4: Australian Politics, Education 1.01, September 24, 2019, 2:00 PM - 3:30 PM

Academic debate about the anachronism of national borders is extensive. The general population, however, has been less keen to embrace the idea of a 'postnational' world. Using Critical Discourse Analysis, this paper offers evidence from 26 focus groups (n=223) with Australians suggesting that in some quarters talking beyond the nation is occurring. However, the ideology of the nation-state remains strong, and such talk is quickly shut down using a particular rhetorical device. This is 'the principle/practical' dichotomy, which insists that dropping national borders is impractical for a range of reasons, despite it perhaps being a valuable idea in principle. The paper explores the ways this occurs. Perhaps surprisingly, practical objections are generally framed in terms of governance, and civic nationalism, rather than cultural issues. However, resistance does occur, with practical examples of existing 'no borders' situations used to make the counter-argument that a postnational world is possible. Implications are discussed.

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The Causes of Election Violence: A Systematic Review**Dr Richard Frank¹**, Mr. Ernest Akuamoah¹¹*Australian National University*

COMP3: Comparative Politics, Education 3.25, September 24, 2019, 11:30 AM - 1:00 PM

What causes election violence? A growing literature describes myriad causal mechanisms underlying the use of violence during the election cycle. As a research area, the study of election violence has reached a size and maturity where it is useful to take stock. This paper presents findings from the first-ever systematic review of the causes of electoral violence. We identify sixty-five peer-reviewed articles that focus on the causes of election violence published between 1991 and 2018; and we synthesize and evaluate these articles' causal mechanisms, perpetrators, and targets. We also discuss typologies of election violence, and its the spatial and temporal distribution.

31

Challenging the Orthodoxy: Finding the 'Demagogue' in Australia's 'Populists'**Mr James Frost¹**¹*Australian National University*

A7: Australian Politics, LWCM Nth 5, September 24, 2019, 2:00 PM - 3:30 PM

According to many prominent Australian political scientists, 'populism' and 'populists' have been part of Australian politics since British colonial rule. Len Hume (1994), for one, identified the emergence of 'populist' writers in NSW and burgeoning Australian 'populism' as far back as 1819-1860. Hume's analysis

appeared to confirm that a unique brand of Australian populism is one of the many bedrocks of Australian history which shapes Australian political culture to this day. Hume's analysis – and many other Australian-centric analyses – is, however, problematic. The word 'populism' was not coined until 1890. Pre-1890, another evaluative-descriptive set of terms would, perhaps, be used to describe the actions of these first colonial agitators: 'demagoguery'. Hume's example merely illuminates a larger problem that this paper intends to sketch out. That is, Australian political science, and, indeed, some international scholarship, focused on identifying and examining, so-called, 'populist' leaders, movements, and 'populism' in general, has eroded boundaries between two distinct concepts within the same genre. Thus, I argue that, perhaps unknowingly, the evaluative-descriptive concept, 'demagoguery', has been mined and appropriated over-time by scholars and redefined as 'populism'. In making this case, this paper examines Aristotle's Politics as the source of 'demagoguery' as a practical concept. I then discuss its adoption into English, finally setting out a definition with two key features (in rhetoric and motivation) that, I will show, overlap with several Australian-based formulations of 'populism', and the characteristics that define so-called Australian 'populists'. The paper concludes by arguing that a clear demarcation between these concepts, and their evaluative-descriptive meanings, serves only to strengthen 'populism' as an analytical category by bringing into focus the complementary role 'demagoguery' plays alongside populism' as a conceptual framework for contemporary political analysis.

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An analysis of ASEAN Strategic Cultures: The case of South China Sea Dispute

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IR4: International Relations, Education 2.18, September 24, 2019, 2:00 PM - 3:30 PM

The ASEAN strategic cultures are products of politicized national identities which, in turn, have been shaped by the defense ministries. The security policies of Brunei, Malaysia, the Philippines, and Vietnam diverge into two different approaches in dealing with China in the context of South China Sea dispute. The Philippines and Vietnam foster a strategic culture of assertiveness, while Malaysia and Brunei exhibit a culture of discretion. Unilaterally, the Philippines and Vietnam have been posturing a norm of rivalry by publicly insisting Chinese intrusion regarding the disputed area, while Malaysia and Brunei have been downplaying and avoiding the issue. Multilaterally, the Philippines and Vietnam constantly call for collaboration to operationalize the ARF from a confidence-building platform into an inclusive preventive diplomacy avenue; although in principle, Malaysia and Brunei accommodate the call, in practice, they deny non-state actors to be involved in the discussions and negotiations regarding security matters. These strategic cultures are not neutral or impartial. The defense ministries resort to such mechanisms to complement their material interests by politicizing national identities of sovereignty and national prosperity, which are accepted and internalized by their respective countries. With all things constant, the contribution of strategic culture in the analysis of Sino-ASEAN relations regarding South China Sea dispute lies in the ability to provide an additional diagnostic tool in further understanding the internal factors of decision-making processes by providing a space for ideational explanations in order to have a holistic understanding of the issue.

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Democratic Reform for Sustainability in the Anthropocene

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THE4: Political Theory, Education 3.19, September 24, 2019, 2:00 PM - 3:30 PM

In 2015, world leaders launched an ambitious agenda that included ending world hunger, achieving education for all and tackling climate change, all by 2030. Yet, the ink was barely dry on the Sustainable Development Goals and the Paris Climate Agreement when a wave of populist nationalism began sweeping across the globe commencing with the Brexit referendum and Trump's victory in the United States and continuing with the success of Eurosceptic parties in the recent 2019 European Parliament elections. The rise of populist nationalism in a sustainability-constrained world is calling into question the structure and operation of modern democracy. This is because, despite sustainability's contested nature, few doubt it requires broad and deep global cooperation in the Anthropocene. This is the new geological epoch we are entering when, for the first time, human activity shapes Earth's biophysical processes and liveability. In stark contrast, modern democracy is delivering governments promoting policies that are nationalistic, xenophobic, protectionist and anti-science. This paper therefore asks: 'Is liberal democracy fit for purpose in the Anthropocene?' What reforms to it are required to ensure it delivers sustainability?' This theoretical paper is structured as follows. Firstly, I introduce the contested concept of sustainability, analyse the concept's meaning in economic value terms, and contrast this meaning with alternative conceptions embedded with liberal, nationalist, socialist and ecological thought. Noting that implicit in sustainability is a new 'molecular' conception of economic value, I investigate how modern democracy brokers competing conceptions of economic value. Using the case of Australia, I highlight how territorial, winner-take-all, party-political and personality-dominated forms of democracy explicitly put governments in power that are partisan in economic value terms. I conclude the paper by examining the adequacy of existing proposals for democratic reform in Australia from a sustainability value perspective.

140

The Membership of the Australian Labor Party

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A10: Australian Politics, Education 2.08, September 24, 2019, 4:00 PM - 5:30 PM

This paper presents the key findings from a membership survey of the Australian Labor Party (ACT Branch). It analyses who the members of the party are, in terms of their demographic characteristics and ideological profiles, how they engage with the party and the types of participatory activities they undertake, their motivations for taking political action, and how they conceptualise politics. The paper explores the extent to which members of the ACT Branch might be considered unique among Labor members in Australia, and how they compare to members of other social democratic parties in European democracies. The results

have important implications for our understanding of political parties as arenas for political engagement, participation and campaigning.

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Norms, institutions and freedom of speech in the US, the UK and Australia

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POL7: Policy & Governance, Education 2.08, September 24, 2019, 2:00 PM - 3:30 PM

It has become accepted in the public policy literature that norms can act in institution-like ways. Yet a norm that has not been examined to date in this literature is free speech. Can free speech be conceptualized as acting in institution-like ways? If it can, what does this tell us about processes of policy change? In this paper, I analyse policy change in the decade 2001 and 2011 in the United States, the United Kingdom and Australia, a period during which significant new limits were introduced on free speech in the context of national security imperatives. I will show that free speech acted in institution-like ways during this period. I will also show what this analysis reveals about how norms act in institution-like ways, and their effects, in relation to this highly valued norm.

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Female Combatants in Maoist Insurgency (Nepal): Conflict after the End of the War

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IR8: International Relations, Education 3.26, September 25, 2019, 11:00 AM - 12:30 PM

Promise of 'liberation' from the patriarchal discrimination drew many women in Nepal out of domesticity into the Maoist fold during the insurgency (1996-2006). Many women braved breaching strict patriarchal codes to become combatants with the hope of dignity, equality, and better opportunities of education and gainful employment. Maoists achieved their main objective of republicanism after reaching peaceful settlement with government. Some female combatants managed to achieve extraordinary success in the post-war Nepal. Some even managed to get elected as a member of parliament and occupied ministerial portfolio to become success story of Maoist insurgency. However, for many, the transition from war to post-war period replaces war fighting the visible enemy with the war fighting despair and frustration. The paper asks, why many female combatants feel defeated and failed in the pursuit of dignity, equality and better opportunities despite the success of the Maoist insurgency while few succeeded? This paper uses a triangular intersectional theoretical framework to answer the question drawing from the 'matrix of domination' (Collins, 2009); Mohanty's false universalism of Western feminists (1988); and the decolonial theoretical framework (Shilliam, 2017). I use feminist critical discourse analysis (CDA) and narrative approach informed by feminist methodology to explore the question.

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Introducing the Targeted Mass Killing Dataset for the Study and Forecasting of Mass Atrocities

Mr Sascha Nanlohy¹, Professor Benjamin E. Goldsmith², Dr Charles Butcher³, Professor Arcot Sowmya⁴, Dr David Muchlinski⁵

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IR7: International Relations, Education 2.18, September 25, 2019, 9:00 AM - 10:30 AM

This paper describes a new dataset for the study of genocide, politicide, and similar atrocities. Existing datasets have facilitated advances in understanding, and in policy-relevant applications such as forecasting. However, they have been criticized for a lack of transparency and replicability, and for omitting failed or prevented attempts at genocide/politicide. More general datasets of mass civilian killing do not typically enable users to distinguish between situations in which specific groups of civilians are deliberately targeted, and those in which civilian deaths are incidental or collateral to other goals or tactics of states or armed groups. The Targeted Mass Killing (TMK) dataset provides data on 205 TMK episodes for the period 1946-2017 with annualized information on perpetrator intent, severity, targeted groups and a host of additional variables. We also provide a pre-coded ordinal indicator of TMK that aggregates evidence of intent and severity into a 7-point scale, and a new binary indicator of genocide and politicide that can serve as an alternative to existing measures. Users are able to easily construct their own indicators from the dataset, based on their research questions or preferred definitions. In this paper we discuss existing datasets, describe the concept of TMK and its operationalization, and highlight some of the strengths and new capabilities of the dataset.

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Public Diplomacy and Global Public Opinion: A study of major-power high-level visits

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IR5: International Relations, Education 2.18, September 24, 2019, 4:00 PM - 5:30 PM

Introduction: A state's soft power - its ability to shape global affairs through attraction- is increasingly crucial to achieving international goals, and leaders invest significant resources into international public diplomacy campaigns to this end.

Context & Aim: Yet, we have little well-identified evidence that can tell us when, or if, these campaigns are effective. Do leaders' foreign visits mobilize public support?

Method: We combine a novel data set of leader travel from 11 countries with individual-level surveys in 167 countries from 2005 to 2017. Using the date of interviews recorded in the survey data, we examine how much respondents' approval of a foreign leader (US, Japan, Russia, etc.) change after the leader's visit to the respondents' country. Specifically, we apply a sharp regression discontinuity design to numerous cases in which a survey sampling period includes a foreign leader's visit. By comparing respondents who were interviewed just before the visit and those who were interviewed just after the visit for each case, we make a causal interpretation of the effect of each visit. Since there are many applicable cases for many leaders' visits, we also undertake meta analysis to explore conditions under which high-level visits produce positive or negative impacts on foreign public opinion.

Findings: We find a positive effect of high-level visits on public opinion about the visiting leader's country. We assess several further theoretically derived hypotheses. We also examine country- and leader-specific effects.

Innovative contribution: This design allows us to precisely measure the degree to which leaders are successful in attracting positive public opinion with their public diplomacy campaigns, furthering our understanding of when and how soft power can influence international outcomes.

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Malaysian Indians under the Pakatan Harapan government: first year assessment on issues and challenges

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ASA8: Politics in Asia, Education 3.26, September 25, 2019, 1:30 PM - 3:00 PM

The surprise defeat of the ruling Barisan Nasional coalition in 2018 Malaysian General Election paved the way for the opposition coalition known as Pakatan Harapan headed by the former Prime Minister Mahathir Mohamad to take over the Malaysian federal government, the first since independence. On 9 May 2019, the Pakatan Harapan government successfully completed its first year in office. For the Malaysian minorities such as the Chinese and Indians, the change of the government in 2018 symbolised a win against the ethno-centric policies; they greatly anticipated more inclusive policies under Pakatan Harapan. Specifically, for the minority Malaysian Indian community, where nearly 80% had voted for the Pakatan Harapan coalition parties, the victory signifies a major shift from supporting race based political party under Barisan Nasional to embrace multicultural politics under Pakatan Harapan. In fact, there was a high expectation among the Malaysian Indian community that the new Pakatan Harapan government will allocate more state resources to uplift the socio-economic situation of the Malaysian Indians. This paper, therefore, explores various socio-economic issues that were critical to Malaysian Indians during Pakatan Harapan's first year in office. More importantly, this paper closely examines how the Pakatan Harapan government policies and actions were different from the previous Barisan Nasional government in dealing with issues pertaining to Malaysian Indians.

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Going public? The calibration of electoral reform advocacy strategies

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A11: Australian Politics, Education 1.01, September 25, 2019, 11:00 AM - 12:30 PM

In their mission to influence public policy outcomes, advocacy groups may combine the pursuit of direct interactions with policymakers ('inside lobbying') with the mobilization of public opinion via news media and public actions ('outside lobbying') in complementary ways. This paper expands existing scholarship on the calibration of public interest groups' advocacy strategies by testing the determinants of outside lobbying among a globally comparative sample of electoral reform groups. It draws on an organizational survey of 300 NGOs in 70 countries to demonstrate that election monitors – much like other human rights advocates – need to strike a balance between their principled stance for human rights, the imperatives of organizational maintenance, and their country's legal and political opportunity structures. In concert, these factors explain why election watchdogs predominantly follow a logic of 'outside lobbying', and why their success and failure hinges crucially on garnering public attention. By bringing in previously ignored macro-institutional factors such as media freedom and regime type, this contributes to interest group studies beyond established democracies. It also adds to research into electoral authoritarianism, which has thus far neglected the importance of the advocacy-media interface in examining impacts of election monitors.

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Citizenship regimes in the discursive context of settler-colonialism: a comparison of Australia and Turkey

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¹University of Sydney

COMP5: Comparative Politics, Education 3.25, September 24, 2019, 4:00 PM - 5:30 PM

Introduction: This article examines how citizenship regimes, which withhold citizenship from key domestic populations, become legitimated in settler-colonial societies, and examines their effects on consolidating territorial claims, national identity, and re-population. The two case studies used are Australia and the policies applied to its Indigenous population (1788-2019), and Turkey to its Armenian and Greek populations inside its extant borders (1915-2015), as well as recently to Kurds in the newly annexed city of Afrin in Syria's north (2016-19).

Context and aim: Both Australia and Turkey have historically labelled domestic or Indigenous populations as "aliens" and "foreign nationals", denying them citizenship. I show that this is a strategy commonly employed by settler colonial societies, which hinges on othering representations that make the policies possible.

Method: The method adopted by this article is narrative process tracing, or genealogy, as the focus is on how representational practices are consistently vital in vitiating claims of indigeneity made by pre-existing populations. It uses original translations and documents.

Findings: My goal is to link these citizenship policies to their outcomes, showing how the following become authorised: territorial claims; state-building, through constructing identity around a single nationalist core, that of the settler population; and the exiling of people from the states' borders through forced resettlement and deportation.

Contribution: This will interest researchers in border studies, who examine the role of discourse in shifting borders, and IR scholars who are interested in exploring the practices of societies who occupy an ambivalent space between post-colonial and colonial identity, as Australia and Turkey do.

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The global permaculture movement as an engine for sustainability transition: A critical appraisal

Dr Benjamin Habib¹

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ENV1: Environment, Education 3.26, September 23, 2019, 11:30 AM - 1:00 PM

Introduction: Permaculture is a design system that aims to re-create human agricultural, social and economic systems to mimic and harmonize more intimately with ecological systems, such that they become fully sustainable. The permaculture design system was developed by Bill Mollison and David Holmgren in Australia during the 1970s and since that time, has grown into a global community of practice and social movement.

Context and Aim: Permaculture is a holistic sustainability transition praxis and one of a number of emergent new regenerative social and ecological methodologies that provide a vision to fundamentally restructure production and consumption systems in agriculture and beyond.

Method: This study draws on perspectives from global food systems, sustainability transitions, political ecology, and political geography, to argue for the regenerative potential of permaculture design and the permaculture movement as a community of practice and engine of grassroots economic and political change.

Findings: However, this paper offers a critique of some of the shortcomings of the permaculture movement that are holding it back from fulfilling its transformative promise, including the parochialism of its localised politics of place, nagging issues with diversity and inclusivity, and the difficulty of combining the anarchic nature of the movement's decentralised structure into a rigorous epistemic community.

Innovative Contribution to Policy, Practice and Research: This paper will be among the first social movement analyses of the transnational permaculture movement.

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Adapting to environmental shocks in North Korea: Networks, geography and resilience

Dr Benjamin Habib¹

¹*La Trobe University*

ASA3: Politics in Asia, Education 3.19, September 24, 2019, 11:30 AM - 1:00 PM

Introduction: The geography of North Korea influences the degree to which different parts of the country are linked together with infrastructure networks. If we divide the DPRK along a northwest-southeast axis, we see that the area south of this axis is more heavily networked with infrastructure connections.

Context and Aim: This difference in the level of networked connections between the northeast and the southwest has implications for local-level adaptive capacity and resilience against environmental shock events.

Method: The ability of groups or communities to cope with climate-related stresses and disturbances is known as resilience. Resilience is not evenly distributed across populations. Cleavages such as class, ethnicity, gender, and disability intersect with vulnerability to environmental shocks in complex ways. This study explores some of the key political implications of this regional variation in resilience to environmental shocks by overlaying key infrastructure networks with damage reports from DPRK state media related to typhoons that have tracked over or near the Korean Peninsula since 1995.

Findings: It finds that the adaptive responses in the aftermath of typhoons of both the state and affected individuals have evolved since 1995, as the nature of networked connections in different provinces within the DPRK and between the DPRK and China have developed.

Innovative Contribution to Policy, Practice and Research: Despite an enormous literature on the political economy of the DPRK, this paper aims to add to the relatively few studies on the role of environmental factors and geography in the governance-economy-security nexus.

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Domestic Socio-Legal Structure and International Cooperation: The Case of Regional Professional Service Integration

Dr Shintaro Hamanaka¹

¹*IDE-JETRO*

POL4: Policy & Governance, Education 2.07, September 24, 2019, 4:00 PM - 5:30 PM

Introduction: Earlier studies on international cooperation have primarily focused on one aspect of domestic structure, namely, democracy. This paper deals with another domestic factor that seems to have a significant implications to international cooperation: domestic socio-legal structure.

Aim: This paper demonstrates that domestic socio-legal structure significantly affects the countries' preferred form of international cooperation.

Method: To demonstrate the hypothesis that domestic socio-legal structure significantly affects the form of international cooperation, we will analyze international cooperation on professional services, because the way in which the sector is regulated is deeply rooted in countries' socio-legal structure. We will conduct comparative case studies of regional professional services integration projects (3 cases).

Findings: Civil law countries place value on written rules and certainty, and paper examinations serve as a core of competency assessment for professionals. Their preferred approach to cooperation is international harmonization of paper examinations. In contrast, common law countries value continuous assessment. Their preferred approach to cooperation is mutual recognition of experienced foreign professionals. Cooperation among civil and common law countries is possible when one critical condition is met: both types of countries are willing to converge their domestic qualification system, mixing the two traditions.

Contribution: We believe this study has not only academic value but also practical policy contributions, especially for policies on integration and disintegration of international cooperation. For example, there is a possibility that the incompatibility of socio-legal structure between UK and continental Europe could be one of the reasons for the Brexit.

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Between Ocean and Continents: Regionalism Policy of (Pivotal) Rimland States

Dr Shintaro Hamanaka¹

¹IDE-JETRO

IR1: International Relations, Education 2.18, September 23, 2019, 11:30 AM - 1:00 PM

Introduction: Between ocean and continents, there is a space called "rimland". The behavioral patterns of oceanic states (e.g. UK) and continental states (e.g. Russia) have been theorized to a degree. Oceanic states tend to establish "liberal" institutions to facilitate commercial transactions while continental states often establish "exclusive" institutions in their "backyard".

Aim: While the rivalry between oceanic and continental power is critical in understanding global geopolitics, we also should not forget the significance of rimland. However, the behaviors of rimland states are understudied. In this paper, we will theorize the behaviors of rimland states and test our hypotheses by three case studies.

Method: We will first theorize the behavioral patterns of rimland states, combining the behavioral patterns of oceanic and continental powers. Then, we will examine the behavior of three rimland states: Turkey, Thailand and Japan. We will compare the three countries' regionalism policy and try to find commonalities as well as differences.

Findings: Rimland states sometimes behave like oceanic states, and sometimes behave like continental states. There is also a time when rimland states attempt to organize a cooperation in a larger scale, bridging both oceanic and continental powers.

Contribution: While the current debate on global geopolitics concentrates on the behavior of oceanic powers (e.g. US) and continental powers (e.g. China), it is critically important to bring rimland into the picture. Knowledge on the behavior of rimland states is necessary to understand the fate of great power politics between oceanic and continental powers.

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The Survival and Tenure of Australian Attorneys-General

Mr Edmund Handby¹

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A9: Australian Politics, LWCM Nth 5, September 24, 2019, 4:00 PM - 5:30 PM

Policy outcomes in parliamentary systems can be affected by the characteristics of those appointed to executive positions. Research into the survival of ministerial appointments emphasise institutional factors, personal, and professional characteristics. There is, however, less attention paid to how the specific features of a portfolio affect ministerial survival. I address this gap by examining Australian Attorneys-General, to highlight how the duration of ministerial appointments depends on the features of the position. I find that a specific understanding of a portfolio can affect ministerial survival, and that the survival of Australian Attorneys-General is shaped by the specifics of the portfolio.

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Microcredit, Financialisation and Class Formation: NGO/MFI Employees as New Middle Class

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ASA1: Politics in Asia, LWCM Moot Ct, September 23, 2019, 11:30 AM - 1:00 PM

There is a growing literature on the role of microfinance (mainly microcredit) in marketisation and financialisation (Carroll 2015, Mader 2014, Rankin 2001, Marron 2013, Bateman 2015, Soederberg 2013, Weber 2014, Gerard and Johnston 2019). Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) doubling or acting as Micro-Finance Institutions (MFIs) are not just financial intermediaries per se, they are also class actors.

If microcredit is enabling financial accumulation by NGOs and their funders and potentially creating a new proletariat in the form of innumerable borrowers (Mader 2014), it is also contributing towards new middle class formation. In their day-to-day professional functions as Financial Intermediaries (FIs), NGO/MFI employees are playing distinct political and ideological roles. This middle class formation is an uncharted dimension of the emerging political economy of development/microcredit.

The paper analyses class formation process of NGO/MFI employees in Bangladesh, first by analysing the class role of NGO/MFI employees in terms of their professional role as FIs through dissecting financial intermediation and its significance in shaping the borrowers as ideal microcredit clientele, and, then by understanding the class identity of NGO/MFI employees by examining them as a professional group.

The paper is based on in-depth interviews of NGO employees and document review as part of my PhD research. Twelve NGO/MFI employees were interviewed from large and medium to small MFIs operating in Dhaka and Chittagong regions of Bangladesh. The documents reviewed include strategy papers, organisational reports and training materials. The analytical framework of the paper draws upon Wright's (1985) concept of skill and organisational assets exploitation in conjunction with Poulantzas' (1975) concept of political and ideological roles in a bid to expand further on a Marx-Weber synthesis in class analysis (Burris 1987).

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Re-imagining communities? The continued relevance of nationalism and the national audience in the digital media landscape

Dr Tael Harper¹

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M2: Media, Education 2.08, September 23, 2019, 2:00 PM - 3:30 PM

In his landmark work 'Imagined Communities' Benedict Anderson develops a thesis that the boundaries of the nation-state are largely determined by the geographical limitations of printing press capitalism. My own previous work, drawing on Anderson, has theorised the decline of the national community in light of shifts toward digital news distribution and new categories of salience for media audiences. In this paper I investigate whether the decline of broadcast media is leading to a decline in the 'national' audience and a subsequent decline in nationalism in general. In order to draw conclusions on this topic I will examine competing arguments about the development of fragmented publics (articulated, for example, by Couldry and Turow) or the emergence of massively overlapping publics (as articulated by James G Webster), with reference to the spread of national digital news and the diffusion of local, national and global audiences. My early research suggests that nationalism retains the ability to be a salient defining feature for media audiences during national political events, albeit one that is slowly losing legitimacy against other markers such as interests and purchasing.

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Japanese language politics in Southeast Asia – a case study in Vietnam

Dr Kayoko Hashimoto¹

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ASA5: Politics in Asia, LWCM Moot Ct, September 24, 2019, 4:00 PM - 5:30 PM

This is part of a large project “Japanese language, employability, and mobility in Southeast Asia and Japan”, which explores how teaching Japanese as a second foreign language has been shaped by social, political, and economic factors and how it has contributed to employability and mobility in the region and Japan. It is built on my edited book, *Japanese Language and Soft Power in Asia* (2017), which argued that Japan needed to adapt to local context in order to exercise its influence through the language in the region. Inside Japan, due to the population decline, the necessity for increasing the foreign labour intake has become inevitable, and the government has changed entry requirements of foreign workers including Japanese language proficiency. Although the numbers of Vietnamese workers and students in Japan has been rapidly increasing, the phenomenon has not been fully understood in relation to Japanese language education within Vietnam. Studies on foreign language education (other than English) at higher education is relatively new in many parts of the world including Australia. In Vietnam, the so-called 2020 National Foreign Language Project, started in 2008, has been a vehicle for promotion of foreign languages. Based on the online questionnaire and individual interviews of university students and teachers in Japanese programs in Vietnam, this paper explores the gap between educational policies and practices, expectations and assumptions in terms of learners’ proficiency and employability, and argues how both Vietnamese and Japanese governments have addressed the issues.

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Women in STEM: Policies, Programs and Initiatives by the Coalition and Labor Governments

Miss Kirsty Haynes¹

¹*University of Adelaide*

GEN2: Gender & Sexuality, Education 2.07, September 23, 2019, 2:00 PM - 3:30 PM

This paper examines policies, programs and initiatives developed by Australian Coalition and Labor governments which, aim to increase the participation rates of women in science, technology, engineering and mathematics (STEM). Historical, cultural and social factors have played a role in establishing STEM as a masculine area of both study and employment. Subsequently, such beliefs have led to disparities and inequalities such as gender pay gaps. This has, and continues to contribute to low rates of Australian female participation in STEM educations and careers. Australian governments of both political persuasions now aim to encourage higher levels of female participation in STEM both for economic and equity reasons. This paper will explore the historical, social, ideological and economic contexts that shaped and influenced policy framing with regards to policies and programs for women in STEM. It will also identify flaws with federal and state past, present and future policies and initiatives for women in STEM. It will be argued that neoliberal ideology has significantly impacted both Labor and Liberal governments’ commitment to policy regarding women. The popularisation of neo-liberal principles has meant that policymakers have often

promoted the belief that women are responsible for their own political, social and economic empowerment and have rejected policies that rely on greater government intervention and regulation. In addition, government policy often reflects an inadequate understanding of the multiple factors contributing to women's underrepresentation in STEM which, is an issue that policymakers have yet to address. Other challenges that have undermined Coalition and Labor governments' ability to increase participation rates of women in STEM include the lack of solid evidence bases for programs and initiatives, insufficient federal and state funding, and limited promotion for existing policies and initiatives.

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Youth Attitudes to Urban Sustainability, Activism and Political Agency

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ENV2: Environment, Education 3.24, September 23, 2019, 2:00 PM - 3:30 PM

This paper reports a significant attitude-action gap between often quite reticent everyday attitudes of urban youth about sustainability and the recent evolution of youth led environmental activism. Drawing on qualitative focus group interviews and photo-elicitation exercises with young people aged 12-24 years, in Christchurch New Zealand and Dhaka Bangladesh, discussion examines how the barriers to understanding the political dimensions of everyday sustainability can be overcome. In both contrasting cities, youth leadership fuelled remarkable political activism— in Christchurch through the school strikes of 2019 and in Dhaka with the youth led urban transport protests of 2017. Discussion identifies the significant impact of peer to peer political learning in particular, which enables the scaffolding of activism skills and political insight, and supports the capability of young citizens to move beyond fear or incremental individual action often associated with environmental challenges, to imagine and enact, collective, transformative action.

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Improving public policy by nudging? The promises and limitations of Behavioural Economics and Behavioural Insights in government agencies

Professor Brian Head¹, Dr Stephen Jones¹

¹University of Queensland

POL6: Policy & Governance, Education 2.07, September 23, 2019, 11:30 AM - 1:00 PM

This paper provides an overview of a research project comparing the use of Behavioural Insights (BI) and Behavioural Economics (BE) approaches to policy innovation in four Australian jurisdictions. We explore the perceived strengths and limitations of BI-BE approaches to policy design and service delivery in Canberra, Sydney and Melbourne. Data for this research project include 38 interviews with personnel engaged in BI-BE projects, together with extensive documentary analysis. Some brief comparisons are made with New Zealand where the impact has been less pronounced.

There has been increasing interest in using BI methods to tackle a range of policy and administrative issues within the OECD group of countries. Many service programs and communication channels are being refined or redesigned, in the ongoing search for cost-efficiency, improved compliance, and behaviour change. Building on cognitive psychology, BI-BE approaches are seen as providing a deep understanding of how citizens respond to different styles of information, to different incentives, and to tailored messages based on positive social norms. BI-BE approaches have been adopted in many public agencies internationally, with the assistance of expert consultants and researchers.

The early years of BI-BE units in government have been characterised by 'methodology-driven' approaches, addressing relatively simple problems of administrative efficiency and client communication that can be readily analysed through rigorous field trials. We examine the application of BI-BE approaches to policy, regulation and service examples. We find that, with a few noteworthy exceptions, major policy issues have not yet been the central focus of BI-BE initiatives in these four jurisdictions. But we also show how such approaches could make important contributions to tackling more complex problems – in conjunction with broader approaches to analysis, design and deliberation.

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Location does matter: Impacts of (convicted) corruption cases on fiscal outcomes in Indonesian districts

Adrianus Hendrawan¹

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ASA9: Politics in Asia, Education 3.25, September 25, 2019, 3:30 PM - 5:00 PM

Similar to other developing countries, corruption has been major problems in Indonesia. Largely undetected under the Soeharto era, the advent of democracy and decentralisation in the past two decades changed the dynamics and prosecution of corruption crimes, particularly through the establishment of the corruption eradication commission (KPK). Responding to these evolving circumstances, this paper assesses the determinants of prosecuted corruption cases in Indonesian districts since 2001 to 2016 and analyses their impacts on fiscal outcomes. Applying Poisson regressions, the paper finds that urban and more populated districts have higher convicted cases. Interestingly, the district location has a strong role in corruption prosecution, as districts that are farther from Jakarta and closer to the provincial capitals have significantly more convicted corruption cases. Using this geographic proximity as instrument, these convicted corruption cases led to higher personnel spending, lower capital spending, and poorer audit opinions. Utilizing a newly developed database of corruption cases, the findings of the paper provides novel contribution in existing qualitative and empirical corruption studies in developing countries.

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The implementation of 13% revenue derivation principle and militancy activities in Nigeria's Niger delta.

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¹*Federal College of Education*

COMP4: Comparative Politics, Education 3.25, September 24, 2019, 2:00 PM - 3:30 PM

The implementation of the 13% Revenue Derivation Principle has become a recurring issue in Nigeria's fiscal federalism. The paper established that, the issue bordering on the implementation of revenue derivation has only overshadowed the most imperative problems of resource management; institutional weaknesses; and governmental corruption which have greatly financed the power elites through graft and mendacity while contributing immensely to the poor state of development in Nigeria's oil rich Niger Delta culminating in the upsurge of militant activities. The paper also establishes that Revenue Derivation Principle is subject to changes and amendments as society responds to challenges. Also, the equity enhancing gesture of the federal government over the years are far reaching and that the increased waves of unrest, violence, agitations for fiscal restructuring have not only affected national development but have also seriously undermined the very basis of Nigeria's federalism. This paper therefore recommends as a matter of policy, the continuous fine-tune of the process of inter-governmental fiscal relations through dialogue, fairness and equity as an inescapable necessity which will in turn reduce Militancy activities currently experienced as a result of the Implementation of the 13% Revenue Derivation Principle. This will no doubt result in the much needed all-round development craved for in the oil rich Niger Delta States of Nigeria to take place unhindered.

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The power of colours: women highlighting disparity in political representation

Dr Jo Coghlan¹, Ms Angelika Heurich¹

¹*University of New England*

A5: Australian Politics, Education 1.01, September 23, 2019, 11:30 AM - 1:00 PM

Colours have been used by women to make powerful statements and stand for change, since the Suffragettes of the early twentieth century lobbied for women to gain the vote. In 2018, recently elected women in the United States Congress stood in unity, wearing Suffragette white. In Australian politics women were also noted for their choice of colours of clothing in recent times. Julie Bishop, former Liberal Deputy Leader and Foreign Minister, notably donated the red Rodo shoes she wore at the press conference announcing her resignation from her party positions, following the leadership spill, to the Museum of Australian Democracy. Highlighting the the low number of Liberal women in Federal Parliament, conservative women chose to stand out from their male colleagues by wearing red in parliamentary sittings. At her speech to Parliament announcing she would not re-contest her seat at the 2019 election, Bishop chose an outfit of Suffragette white, exiting from the Lower House without waiting for a reply from the Prime Minister. Dr Kerryn Phelps, in her campaigns for the seat of Wentworth, chose the Suffragette colour of purple, as did Senate hopeful Hetty Johnston and Labor's Tanya Plibersek, a colour she has used for fifteen years. The power of colours is subtle, yet profound, symbolic of the need for change, as in the case of women advocating for equality in politics and society.

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The voice of independent women: a shifting involvement of women in contemporary Australian politics

Ms Angelika Heurich¹

¹University of New England

A2: Australian Politics, Education 1.01, September 23, 2019, 2:00 PM - 3:30 PM

Women in Australian federal politics are under-represented today and always have been. At no time in the history of the federal parliament have women achieved equal representation with men. There has never been an equal number of women in any federal cabinet, or the executive of either major party. Following the 2019 federal election, the representation of women remains unchanged. Neither major party has a woman in a leadership position, with Tanya Plibersek declining to stand as leader of the Labor Party. This raises the question whether parties offer women a voice at the table of power. It may be the reason a number of prominent women at this election decided to stand as Independents, including Dr Kerryn Phelps (Wentworth), Hetty Johnston (Queensland Senate), Zali Steggell (Warringah), Helen Haines (Indi) and Julia Banks (Flinders)

In light of this phenomenon, this paper offers a view from inside the campaigns of Dr Kerryn Phelps and Hetty Johnston, providing a first-hand perspective of the machinations of running as an Independent in Australia. This paper presents the findings of a participant observation study conducted by the researcher of these two campaigns, to provide insight into the resilience, resolve and resourcefulness required to change the face of a political structure that continues to be founded in the patriarchal two-party system.

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Adam Smith's New Science of Welfare and Happiness.

Professor Lisa Hill¹

¹University of Adelaide

THE1: Political Theory, Education 3.24, September 23, 2019, 11:30 AM - 1:00 PM

This paper explores Adam Smith's 'political oeconomy' which was radical in the context of how political science was approached in his time. It was a call for government to shift its attention from the fortunes of economic, political and military elites to those of the people more generally and especially the poor. It was also a protracted diatribe against elite manipulation of the state; against mercantilism, crony capitalism, prejudice, enthusiasm and blind nationalism. Smith uniquely asked his readers to think of the wealth of nations, not in terms of gold, a favourable balance of trade or the extent of conquered territory, but in more human terms: did the people enjoy sufficient freedom, security and social and political stability? Was everyone 'tolerably well fed, clothed, and lodged'? Was the population growing or declining? Had infant mortality rates risen to unconscionable levels? Were people paid enough? Were they enabled to live with

dignity? Most of all, were they happy? The latter question was, Smith insisted, a perfectly legitimate one for a political economist to pose and he repeatedly came back to it in his work.

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Federal Duplication and Overlap Reconsidered.

Dr Robyn Hollander¹

¹Griffith University

POL7: Policy & Governance, Education 2.08, September 24, 2019, 2:00 PM - 3:30 PM

We have long regarded duplication and overlap as one of the unavoidable weaknesses of federalism. Duplication exists by definition and overlap is seemingly unavoidable despite the best efforts of constitutional drafters who have found varied and innovative ways of accommodating it. Long criticised for being a source of inefficiency and ineffectiveness as well as a barrier to accountability, the time has come for a reassessment. This paper takes a fresh look at the counterarguments by reconsidering the virtues of redundancy, inefficiency and the multiple opportunities to engage politically by bringing together theoretical and empirical literature to assess the contribution of federalism to effective governance.

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Women's Voices and the Australian Financial Review in the 1984, 1998 and 2010 Federal Election Campaigns

Ms Meghan Hopper¹

¹Monash University

M1: Media, Education 2.08, September 23, 2019, 11:30 AM - 1:00 PM

Introduction: This paper embraces the conference theme of political change by examining the changing print media discourse around the role of women in Australian politics over a timeframe spanning a quarter of a century. It will specifically examine election coverage appearing in the national specialist business and financial newspaper, the Australian Financial Review, drawing on case studies of the 1984, 1998 and 2010 federal election campaigns.

Context and Aim: Applying framing theory, this paper will explore questions including, to what extent are women's voices heard in the specialist coverage of hard news policy issues such as business and the economy? how has this changed over time as the representation of women in the Australian parliament has increased? and what difference does it make when women comprise greater numbers, and take up more senior roles in the newsroom?

Method: This study references 993 articles published in the Australian Financial Review during the first, and final weeks of the 1984, 1998 and 2010 Australian federal election campaigns. The articles are analysed using a combination of quantitative content analysis and qualitative thematic content analysis.

Findings: The study does indicate a substantive increase in the number of times women appear as protagonists and article subjects across the timeframe considered. However, this is more significantly influenced by the presence of specific key female actors in the 1998 and 2010 campaigns than it is by a diversity of expert voices. The study also suggests an interesting anomaly in the number of stories published by women journalists during the 1998 campaign, when the newspaper happened to have a female editor.

Contribution: This paper makes a unique contribution to the body of research around the under-representation of women as expert news sources in election coverage, particularly within the context of specialist business and financial publications.

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Whom to Punish for Non-compliance? : Clarity of Party Responsibility and Judicial Compliance

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COMP2: Comparative Politics, Education 2.09, September 23, 2019, 2:00 PM - 3:30 PM

Introduction: Why and when do politicians comply with a judicial decision? How often do governments comply with decisions of high courts varies even within developed democracies. By Examining cross-country data, this paper found that clarifying of responsibility ensures judicial compliance.

Context and aim: Previous studies have found that with public support for high courts, threat of voters' punishment against non-compliance incentivize governments will be motivated to comply with judicial decisions due to the risk of being punished for non-compliance by the public through voting. The claim on about electoral backlash requires an assumption that voters can identify who is responsible for non-compliance. If not, the public cannot know whom to punish. What determines clarity of responsibility? A cohesive party is a clear informational cue for voter's decision-making. With this then, voters can easily attribute responsibility of non-compliance to the party and penalise them unish it. We hypothesize, therefore, that a national high court's decision is more likely to complied with when political parties act within cohesively.

Method: Using V-dem time-series cross-national data, which is collected implied by the University of Gothenburg, we estimated the effect of party unity on judicial compliance through regressions with country -fixed effects.

Findings: Party unity increases the extent to which national high court's decisions are complied with. This implies that the high court's decision is more likely to be complied with where clarity of responsibility is high and electoral officials are more likely to be punished for non-compliance.

Contribution: Our research explains the variation of judicial compliance within democracies, which has been little- examined, through cross-nationally comparison. We found that For democratic practice, we found united parties, – which are is often attributed to ignorance of judicial independence –, is are actually necessary for judicial compliance.

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Tweeting about Pork Barrel: From an analysis of MP's tweets in the 2019 Election

Dr Hideo Ishima¹

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A2: Australian Politics, Education 1.01, September 23, 2019, 2:00 PM - 3:30 PM

Introduction: What kind of interests do politicians represent? What does determine politicians' appeal on pork-barrel instead of programmatic policies? This presentation will examine this question through an analysis of MPs' tweets during an electoral campaign.

Context and Aim: Some researchers claimed that MPs are not constituency representatives but party representatives. Therefore, previous research examined pork-barrel from a partisan politics viewpoint. However, they lack perspectives of personal representation. In this presentation, we examine the relationship pork-barrel and personal votes using data of election of 2016 and 2019.

Methods: We employed quantitative text-analysis in order to examine MPs' activities in their constituencies. Quantitative text-analysis enable us to estimate unobservable MPs' activities. In addition, utilizing above-the-line votes in Senate election within an electoral division, we construct a variable of MPs' personal basis. Then, we conduct regression analyses about MPs' tendency of pork barrel and personal basis.

Findings: According to tentative results, Australian MPs send 15 ~ 20 percent of tweets about distributing particularistic benefits. The 2016 election and the 2019 election showed the same tendency. In addition to this, regression results showed that irrespective of their electoral strength of personal basis, MPs tweeted about pork barrel.

Contribution: MPs elected from SMD tend to represent not only party policy but also local interests. Also, our tentative results imply that the surprising victory of the Coalition in the 2019 election might attribute to their electoral strategies to represent local interests.

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Theorizing Green party failure in the Asia Pacific

Dr Stewart Jackson¹

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A14: Australian Politics, Education 2.07, September 25, 2019, 3:30 PM - 5:00 PM

While Green parties have been very successful in Northern industrialised economies, particularly in Western Europe, they have had limited success outside of these democracies. A variety of rationales for failure might be hypothesised in relation to this failure, such as party registration barriers, violence, recent democratisation, and lack of funding, but these reasons are no different for any other small or emerging party. The lack of success of Green parties, however, despite the parties having a clear ideological foundation, may be posited on the parties failure to successfully link existential environmental threats to material conditions of these nations citizens.

This paper posits that, in contrast to Green ideologies that although couched in the language of collective action have their roots in liberal individualism, south east and northern Asia political traditions emphasise collectivist human outcomes, and are therefore unsuited to Green political parties. As can be noted in a variety of countries where Green parties have attempted to form, it is not that environmental issues are not critically important, or that citizens are not aware of them, but their concern is directed to fundamental rights issues, where the environment is important but apolitical.

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In the Frame: Constructing Gender Equality Policy

Professor Carol Johnson¹

¹*University of Adelaide*

GEN2: Gender & Sexuality, Education 2.07, September 23, 2019, 2:00 PM - 3:30 PM

This paper is part of a larger project that analyses how gender equality policy is discursively framed by governments and political parties and how that framing has developed over time. It draws on, and engages with, broader literature on policy framing and on the politics of identity. The major focus of this paper is on Australian material, although some brief international comparisons will be made. Historically, Australian public policy was gender biased, with the identity of the citizen being constructed in largely masculine terms. However, both of Australia's major political parties, the Liberal and Labor parties, now claim to be committed to gender equality. Nonetheless, this paper will argue that there are significant differences in how they conceive gender equality and the methods they propose for achieving it, with major implications for policy outcomes when they are in government. The analysis covers a range of policy areas from education and employment to taxation and welfare. It also analyses the influence of more recent conservative debates over issues of gender fluidity, so-called "gender ideology" and transgender identity that have potentially impacted upon policy debates in areas ranging from same-sex marriage to teaching around gender and sexuality in schools. The paper notes that such issues, reflecting the insecurities arising from changing gender relations, have been mobilised by right-wing populists in Europe and elsewhere to reinforce traditional constructions of masculinity and femininity and to critique the need for gender equality policies.

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Nicknames and political branding: 'ScoMo' and the re-branding of Scott Morrison

Professor Jim Jose¹, Dr Alicia Kulczynski¹, Associate Professor Stacey Baxter²

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A6: Australian Politics, Education 1.01, September 25, 2019, 9:00 AM - 10:30 AM

Following his accession to the Liberal Party leadership and hence to the position of Prime Minister, Scott Morrison sent an email to his Liberal Party supporters signed "Scott 'ScoMo' Morrison". The inclusion of his nickname signalled a more informal persona, someone who was down to earth and not given to putting on airs. It was an integral move to re-brand himself as a politician who was not just an elected representative of the people, but was an ordinary person just like them person (i.e. an 'everyman'). 'ScoMo' was to be the marker of Morrison's re-branding, his attempt to reorient perceptions of his political authenticity. Using an experimental design, this paper examined the effect of political nicknames on voter perceptions of political persona (i.e. the 'everyman' rebranding), and in turn judgements about political message authenticity and intention to vote in favour of the namesake. The effect of political knowledge on the relationship between the exercised political name (nickname versus formal name) on perceptions of political persona, and in turn message authenticity and voting choice was also considered. Results indicated that the use of a political nickname increased voter perceptions of message authenticity and voting choice. This result was explained by the ability of nicknames to create perceptions that the politician was the 'everyman', that is, the exercised nickname ScoMo created perceptions that Scott Morrison was ordinary, typical, an average person. This perception increased judgements of message authenticity and voting choice. The effect, however, was only significant for those with lower levels of political knowledge. For those with higher levels of political knowledge the use of a political nickname did not influence perceptions of the 'everyman', and in turn message authenticity and voter choice.

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Sinhalisation of Sri Lanka's North-East: A new project in the making?

Miss Roshni Kapur¹

¹*Institute of South Asian Studies*

ASA5: Politics in Asia, LWCM Moot Ct, September 24, 2019, 4:00 PM - 5:30 PM

Sri Lanka is home to many ethnic groups such as the Sinhalese, Tamils, Sri Lankan Moors and Sri Lankan Malays that form the social fabric of its society. However, its ethnic contestations are deeply embedded in its socio-political structures since the colonial period (Silva, 2005). Modern politics in Sri Lanka is dominated by many Sinhalese Buddhist nationalists who believe they have preferential rights. Some Sinhalese Buddhist political and religious leaders have publicly articulated nationalistic agendas through public speeches. This is also evident in the government's imposition of Sinhalese Buddhist hegemony into Tamil-dominated areas of the North-East provinces (Seoighe, 2016). There is an increasing Sinhalisation of the North-East provinces

through militarisation, changing demography and securitisation of development. For instance some development programmes, such as agriculture and reconstruction initiatives, are being run by the military.

This paper will argue that Sinhalisation has taken an aggressive form since the end of the civil war in 2009 as part of a new political identity and nation-building project. The state's victory over the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) has emboldened many Sinhalese Buddhist nationalist groups and the government wants to eradicate the Tamil nationalist sentiment. This paper will examine the historical changes leading up to Sinhalese Buddhist revival in order to understand the majoritarian mindset. It will also explore the new efforts to proliferate Sinhalese-Buddhist hegemony in the North-East provinces to understand the changes and continuities.

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Success and failure in Australian Foreign Policy

Dr Conor Keane¹

¹Macquarie University

A9: Australian Politics, LWCM Nth 5, September 24, 2019, 4:00 PM - 5:30 PM

How do we determine when foreign policy endeavours succeed or when they fail? This paper challenges the assumption that Australian foreign policy can be examined exclusively as a series of rationale, value-maximising choices and thus questions the extent to which definitive objective analysis is possible. As an alternative, it develops a heuristic framework that aims to encourage a more encompassing and systematic examination of how success and failure can be qualified. A blend of foreign policy analysis and public policy theory is employed to produce a spectrum of success/failure that considers the perspectives, politics, and power dynamics of relevant institutions and actors. Policy documents, third-party reports and articles, and qualitative interview data will be utilised in applying the framework to contemporary Australian foreign policy initiatives in the realm of defence, economics, state-building, and development. It is hoped that this approach will encourage a more sophisticated understanding of what constitutes success and failure for the benefit of observers and practitioners.

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Field Campaigning by Australian Political Parties: Inside the Blackbox

Dr Glenn Kefford¹

¹Macquarie University

A10: Australian Politics, Education 2.08, September 24, 2019, 4:00 PM - 5:30 PM

The field campaigns that Australian political parties wage, it has been argued, are increasingly sophisticated, data-driven and critical in persuading undecided voters. While the Labor Party are often viewed as at the forefront of party-based 'ground wars', the Greens have invested heavily in these campaigns, and the Liberal Party recognise their competitive disadvantage and have tried to respond. Despite this, we still know very little about the strategies, methods and sophistication of these operations. In this paper, I outline the

findings of research into party-based field campaigns during the 2019 federal election. Built on completely original data, and unparalleled access into two field campaigns, this paper argues that field campaigns are important and useful for political parties, but this is in ways that are different to what is often assumed.

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Social Cybersecurity, Trust, and Democratic Resilience

Dr Maryanne Kelton¹, Dr Emily Bienvenue², Dr Zac Rogers³, Sian Troath⁴, Dr Josh Holloway¹

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IR10: International Relations, Education 2.08, September 25, 2019, 1:30 PM - 3:00 PM

New state and capital threats in an increasingly debordered digital world challenges the integrity of the societal fabric and democracy in ever more exploitative ways. With the convergent rise of AI technologies and weaponisation of social media, the waning bonds of intermural trust and the weakening fiduciary relationship between the people and government, democracies and civil society are drained and debilitated by these disruptive forces. Influence, interference, and manipulation originate from foreign and non-state actors but also as generated by the extractive and behaviour modification practices of surveillance capitalism. Here, the liking, clicking, sharing of exhaust information is captured and curated to micro target populations and shape behaviours for commercial and political profit. So too, these new digital socio-cognitive pressures are enabled as they cascade down on the disenfranchisement and alienation engendered by ever increasing economic and social inequity. In Australia too, the aspirational project as underpinned by the economic relationship with China provides the obverse space for the threats to evolve.

The Social Cybersecurity, Trust and Democratic Resilience Roundtable panellist canvass and examine these new social cybersecurity threats and in conjunction examine the decline in trust and legitimacy of traditional sources of authority. Finally, we consider the prospects for the reinvigoration of trust: in the domestic space; in Australia's international relations; and in its key developmental role in digital and democratic resilience. The multidimensional nature of trust is explained together with the importance of reciprocal and positive interpersonal relationships enacted over time.

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The evolution of state power in East Asia: the rise of 'hybridized industrial ecosystems' in the green energy sector

Dr Sung-Young Kim¹

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ASA3: Politics in Asia, Education 3.19, September 24, 2019, 11:30 AM - 1:00 PM

A new type of development strategy is emerging in East Asia centred on 'hybridized industrial ecosystems' (HIEs) in the green energy sector (Kim, 2019). This paper probes the nature of the state's power in these new organizational structures, testing claims over the state's apparent shrinking role evident in recent

studies of the developmental state. I show why a 'governed interdependence' (Weiss, 1998) approach avoids the conceptual pitfalls of the shrinking state school, helping advance the debate. Governed interdependence is a dynamic concept, which can accommodate changing forms of state and industry collaborations. In some instances, states play a leading role, in other times and sectors, business may be delegated to lead. The concept also articulates institutional mechanisms to resolve the normality of political contests and conflict in the policymaking process. A Weissian view of state power enables us to side-step the methodological weaknesses noted above, allowing us to view HIEs as institutional mutations of existing forms of public and private collaboration. Seen in this light, HIEs reflect the expanding, not shrinking, capacity of East Asia's developmental states in the green energy sector.

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Developmental Environmentalism in Action: Understanding the drivers and obstacles to East Asia's clean energy shift

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ENV6: Environment, Education 3.25, September 25, 2019, 9:00 AM - 10:30 AM

Governments in Korea and China are driving some of East Asia's (and the world's) most ambitious strategies to green their economies. What is less well understood, however, is why these states have embraced this goal, and the factors that might enable or constrain the effectiveness of their efforts. To this end, we examine these countries' efforts to build domestic industries around smart grids (SGs) and electric vehicles (EVs): two critical technology platforms that can facilitate new and renewable energy transitions. Utilising the concept of 'developmental environmentalism' (Kim & Thurbon, 2015) – an extension of the ideas and institutions associated with 'developmental states' – examine the role of: (1) high levels of fossil fuel import dependence, (2) a strong developmental tradition, and (3) high levels of (latent or manifest) bureaucratic centralization in driving and shaping national efforts. Our analysis reveals strong continuities with earlier forms of state involvement, but also points to significantly new development strategies at play.

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Awkward or Aspiring? Nigeria's Rise and Its Implications to the Indo Pacific Powers

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IR3: International Relations, Education 2.18, September 24, 2019, 11:30 AM - 1:00 PM

This paper explores the dynamics in Asian-African relations through the lens of rising Nigeria and the nature of its ascent. Nigeria is the most populated country in Africa with the highest GDP over the last years

followed by South Africa. Some studies suggest Nigeria as a potential African country to act as a hegemon and the consequential changes in the future security order in the African continent. This paper is structured around one research question: Is Nigeria an awkward power that enforces interim policy changes of its regional neighbours and external actors, or, an aspiring global power that affects the current dynamics in Asian-African relations? To answer this the paper primarily probes and explains, first, Nigeria's national strategy to engage with its Asian partners, and second, the current strategy of major Indo Pacific powers towards Nigeria. The paper particularly compares strategic approaches of China and India towards the rise of Nigeria. This paper seeks to build up a clearer picture of Nigeria's rapidly changing status that will aid scholars and analysts in Asian studies in better understanding the potential impact of Nigerian power in the Asian-African relations in general.

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Lost in Australia? Reporting the 2019 Australian federal election in Japanese

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M1: Media, Education 2.08, September 23, 2019, 11:30 AM - 1:00 PM

We know how Australian federal elections are reported in Australia, and are also familiar with how they are covered in other English speaking countries such as the UK, US and New Zealand. However, how much do we know about coverages in non-English speaking countries? How do they report?

As a stringer of the newspaper Mainichi Shimbun, a Japanese national broadsheet daily, I have been involved in Japanese language reporting of the last four federal elections. In May this year, I was with a senior Mainichi journalist, who was visiting Australia from her bureau base, Jakarta, to assist her assignment, which included organising interviews with academics, doing translations and interpreting, applying for media accreditations, and providing information relating to Australian political, cultural and economic systems and affairs. For Japanese reporters, it is typical practice to find and hire a local specialist when they visit countries where they have no corresponding office. Most Japanese major newspapers closed their Australian bases after the Sydney 2000 Olympics because of the high cost. Without my role, the Mainichi, for example, would be in a difficult position to comprehensively report on Australian elections.

This was most evident at the 2019 election as there was an unexpected winner. In this presentation, I will deliver an anthropological perspective of how my presence has contributed to the Mainichi's reportage of the last election – introducing stories behind Japanese language reporting to Australian political scientists.

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Rentier State: Resource extraction, micro-politics and the developmental state in the making of everyday exclusion

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IR4: International Relations, Education 2.18, September 24, 2019, 2:00 PM - 3:30 PM

An 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. The aspect of the rentier state shows that the main political-economic impacts of resource dependence rest on how the state handles windfall resource rent. Moreover the nexus between powerful politicians, ruling elites, bureaucrats and the dominant section of community control resources for rent seeking. This study is located in the 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. The finding shows that various forms of exclusion practised by different state institutions and local politics are the historical challenges for a developmental state. Tribal communities resisted the different forms of violence and exclusion by dominant communities and state against their expanding control of land, forest and natural resources. Today state often uses insurgent groups for negotiations and securing resources for energy generation. State rentier role and social injustice are in everyday practice where insurgent and dominant section can classify as agencies of 'rentier capitalism'. This research follows the theoretical line of the 'micro-politics', 'developmental state' and 'Rent-seeking'. Through ethnographic fieldwork carried out between 2015 and 2018 at Karanpura, this research will investigate the State-Society relationship, everyday exclusion of tribal communities and the state rentier role in its development practices. This research will also explore the fragmentation of society among tribal and other groups that lead to extremist movements to gain control and extract rents from resources. This research will be a contribution in 'Resource politics' theorisation, and will critically examine the role of rentier agencies, its collaboration with the state that violates social justice to tribal communities in everyday life.

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The U.S.-Australia Alliance under the "Indo-Pacific Strategy"**Mr Weiguang Kong¹**¹*Shandong University*

IR4: International Relations, Education 2.18, September 24, 2019, 2:00 PM - 3:30 PM

As the United States and Australia have both increasingly used the term "Indo-Pacific region" rather than "Asia-Pacific region" in their official documents, this change means that the perceived national interests of the two countries in Asia have also changed. This change has an important impact on the future development of the US-Australian alliance and the "Indo-Pacific region". Therefore, this paper attempts to analyse the reasons why the United States and Australia shifted from the "Asia-Pacific" to the "Indo-Pacific" from the perspective of their national interests. Then, this paper will compare the commonalities and differences between the two countries perceived national interests in the "Indo-Pacific region". Finally, this paper will analyse how this change is likely to affect the future development of the US-Australian alliance, especially with the different attitudes of the two countries towards China being of particular importance in this regard.

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Agents of the State? Iranian Sponsorship of Foreign Fighters

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IR5: International Relations, Education 2.18, September 24, 2019, 4:00 PM - 5:30 PM

It is difficult to point to an instance of foreign fighter mobilization that has not received some form of state support, yet the prevalence of this support has thus far only received limited attention in the existing foreign fighter literature. Through sponsorship of foreign fighters, states are able to influence a conflict through means other than, or in addition to, direct intervention. The relatively clandestine nature of these relationships also allows states to distance themselves from the activities of the foreign fighter 'agents' they have enlisted, thereby securing a degree of plausible deniability for the sponsor. Given the enduring and increasing presence of foreign fighters in civil conflicts, it is essential to consider how and why states sponsor foreign fighters, how this can influence conflict dynamics, and what purposes sponsorship serves.

Using principal-agent analysis to conceptualize relationships between principals (sponsors) and agents (foreign fighters), this paper offers insights into state sponsorship of foreign fighters through an exploration of Iranian sponsorship of foreign Shi'a militias in the Syrian civil war. Iran has been directly involved in the recruitment, organization, mobilization and funding of Shi'a militias in Syria, resulting in the mobilization of more than 20,000 Shi'a foreign fighters from Lebanon, Afghanistan, Iraq and Pakistan. This paper finds that on balance, Iran's sponsorship of foreign fighters has served its interests in Syria well. Furthermore, although Iranian support for these militias has been no secret, Iran has faced few repercussions for this sponsorship and has not been held accountable for the actions of these agents.

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Structural Violence experienced by women and its impact on child malnutrition: Case Study from Southern India

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GEN4: Gender & Sexuality, Education 2.07, September 24, 2019, 2:00 PM - 3:30 PM

The normalized violence is a form of structural violence that (Bourgois, 2001) refers to is an adaptation of the concept of everyday violence this concept of normalized violence recognizes the indifference in broader society and identifies mechanisms by which violence becomes an inevitable part of daily life for its victims. The term refers to the social relation that becomes embodied as individual experience (Farmer, 2004) and are embedded in large-scale historical process of social and economic inequality that combine to constrain agency. This study seeks to understand the relationship of structure violence experienced by women and its impact on the nutritional status of children. The women are considered as the most important determinant of child health and nutritional status and therefore her life experiences can have both positive as well as

negative impact for the child. Child Malnutrition in term of undernutrition, micronutrition deficiency and malnourishment being an important issue in the Indian society. Child malnutrition has always been of concern in Asia and now obesity is also a concern. The study uses 20 case studies collected in Gulbarga district of Karnataka in India in June 2018. Gulbarga is one of the most backward districts of India with the lowest female literacy rate and high rate of domestic violence. The women who experience structural violence are more likely to have discriminatory behavior in the allocation of food towards her daughter. This behavior stems from her everyday experience of structural violence which establishes the superiority of male over the females socially and within a household in terms of nutritional allocation. This also contributed to obesity among male children due to excess allocation of nutrition and nutrition deficiency among female children in the same household.

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Language, contact and cross-group trust in the former Yugoslavia

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COMP1: Comparative Politics, Education 3.25, September 23, 2019, 11:30 AM - 1:00 PM

Existing trust research often fails to account for the possibility that communication impairments brought on by language divides can explain low trust levels both within and between countries. Even less clear is the effect of 'semi-communication' on trust. We might expect that speaking languages which are distinct but still similar enough to enable basic communication (such as Spanish and Italian, or Serbian and Slovenian) would generate trust at a faster rate than no communication at all, but less than if both groups spoke the exact same language. However, this has never previously been considered in quantitative trust research.

To test whether this is the case, I examine patterns of cross-group contact and trust between Serbia and the six other countries which made up the former Yugoslavia. Using panel data collected from 504 individual survey respondents, I demonstrate that greater communication potential is associated with higher cross-group trust, even after controlling for a range of confounders including shared religion and the intensity of prior conflict.

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Stepping Away from the Familiar: Risk, Ethics, and Challenges of Fieldwork as a Lonely Researcher

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COMP3: Comparative Politics, Education 3.25, September 24, 2019, 11:30 AM - 1:00 PM

Field research is a common undertaking in most social science disciplines. But conducting field research in an unfamiliar environment can be expensive, time-consuming to plan, and risky in terms of physical

security. Often, the risks and ethical challenges are beyond the scope and anticipation of universities' research ethics boards. Institutional research ethics review protocols are designed primarily to minimize any conceivable risks to the research subjects. But who concerns themselves with the risks to the researcher?

This study focuses on the practicalities of conducting fieldwork as a lonely researcher in unfamiliar terrains. It draws on the author's research experiences in Mauritius, South Africa, and Zambia to discuss research risks (both foreseeable and unexpected) as well as ethical challenges that can be encountered during field research. I will also discuss ways that risk and ethical challenges can be minimized when undertaking fieldwork. The importance of this study is two-fold: first, it offers a discussion of research ethics issues that are generally beyond the scope of institutional review boards; second, the study will be relevant to anyone planning to undertake field research in another country, and who may be concerned about the risks entailed.

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Accounting for interviewer effects in public opinion surveys under authoritarian rule

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COMP3: Comparative Politics, Education 3.25, September 24, 2019, 11:30 AM - 1:00 PM

Introduction: The possibility of conducting public opinion surveys in authoritarian regimes has led to increasing criticisms about their reliability given the risks of political pressure on respondents, including on the part of interviewers who--even implicitly and against training protocols--may entice respondents to offer opinions in line with the regime's purported objectives.

Context and Aim: The aim of this paper is to establish the degree to which these concerns are justified and offer suggestions on how to mitigate interviewer effects in authoritarian contexts.

Method: We rely on a probability sample of over 3000 Chinese citizens selected for a survey on media usage and access to information conducted in the summer of 2018. In order to evaluate the possibility of interviewer bias, all 55 interviewers recruited for this project also took the survey during training as if they were actual respondents.

We test for the possibility of interviewer bias by modelling responses to survey items while controlling for the difference between a respondent's own answer and her interviewer's views on the particular item. In the context of authoritarian rule, the possible congruence between the interviewers' political views and regime objectives is likely to contaminate the data collection process, even when interviewers are carefully trained not to signal their own preferences.

Findings: We test these arguments against a variety of items on the questionnaire that vary by political sensitivity as well as cognitive difficulty. We find that interviewer effects are worryingly large on politically

sensitive items and suggest an econometric treatment to adjust point estimations that mitigates such effects.

Implications: Our estimation solutions point to the importance of the political context in which opinion surveys are being conducted. Raw results should not be taken at face value and point estimates must account for interviewer bias explicitly.

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Innovation and progress: queer analytics, rights regimes and digital governance.

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¹Flinders

A14: Australian Politics, Education 2.07, September 25, 2019, 3:30 PM - 5:00 PM

The international human rights regime has in recent years seen remarkable change in relation to matters of sexuality and gender identity. Most recently, the UN has appointed an Independent Expert in this area; many other regional and national human rights regimes have seen similar developments. Scholarly engagement with these and related developments has used sexuality politics as a lens for international analysis, leading to innovative and interdisciplinary theoretical literatures in a critical vein, tracing how sexual norms and logics are imbricated in the exercise of international power. This paper will apply those literatures to the question of digital governance within human rights regimes. With a regional focus on ASEAN, the paper will trace a research agenda produced by examining the (actual and potential) impact of digital governance techniques and practices on the lives of individuals and groups within sexuality and gender diverse populations. Queer analytics are applied to digital governance in rights research, advocacy, compliance, data management, risk, accountability and political economy, to tease out practices of political formation and the ways in which digital governance interacts with questions of normality, contingency and normativity.

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‘Like opening a can of worms’: the policy problem of unlicensed brothels

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POL4: Policy & Governance, Education 2.07, September 24, 2019, 4:00 PM - 5:30 PM

The Australian state of Victoria has one of the most established systems of legalised brothel prostitution in the world. However, in the urban spaces of Melbourne, it is estimated that for every licensed brothel, there are five unlicensed premises operating, the majority of which pose as massage businesses. Unlicensed brothels eschew all legislation and regulations that apply to licensed brothels, placing women at greater risk of harm and exploitation. The quantity of unlicensed venues suggests there are gaps, inadequacies, or

enforcement issues with current legislation and policy relating to the sex industry and planning in Victoria. The study analyses interviews with key stakeholders in order to identify how, through what policy frameworks, unlicensed brothels are able to persist. Relevant policy is examined through a feminist analytical framework to bring a gendered lens to policy formation and implementation. I argue that current Victorian legislative and policy frameworks do not adequately consider gender and that there are problems with both the policy and its enforcement. Further questions for local government, police and anti-trafficking organisations are considered.

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Analysing online backlash against “identity politics” and “political correctness” through an “alt lite” YouTube star.

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M1: Media, Education 2.08, September 23, 2019, 11:30 AM - 1:00 PM

Introduction: The internet has given rise to a distinct brand of backlash against feminism, anti-racism, multiculturalism, and LGBT rights activism. These social movements are often rejected online as “identity politics”. Progressive attitudes concerning gender, race, citizenship, and sexuality are dismissed as “political correctness”. Reactionary ideas are championed. Content-creators who spread this worldview are often branded “alt-right”. The term “alt-lite” is used to distinguish less extreme voices from the white nationalists who first labelled themselves “alt-right”.

Context and Aim: Scholarship about the alt-lite provides conflicting accounts of its origin. Some researchers contend that the alt-lite was summoned into existence by bizarre and illiberal behaviour among left-wingers in the English-speaking world. According to this argument, the alt-lite, however objectionable its tone and conclusions, has perceived genuine problems within mainstream versions of progressive social movements. Other researchers insist that the alt-lite backlash is an wholly unjustifiable attempt – on the part of straight white men – to cling onto their unearned privilege. The relative merit of these theories will be explored.

Method: Carl Benjamin, better known by his username, “Sargon of Akkad” is a prominent British alt-lite YouTuber. Benjamin’s videos have amassed over 428 million views. He rails against progressive social movements while espousing reactionary views (for example, that women are biologically unsuited to leadership). Taking examples from across the English-speaking world, Benjamin positions progressive activists as illiberal, irrational, ridiculous extremists. He frames his own commentary as a response to their behaviour. Benjamin’s output will be assessed as a case study using the techniques of political discourse analysis.

Findings: This research demonstrates that the alt-lite backlash is not necessarily dependent on a valid critique of social movements.

Innovative contribution to policy, practice and/or research: Better understanding the nature of the alt-lite backlash can inform strategies to counter the spread of radical reactionary ideas.

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Vietnam's media diplomacy in the 2014 oil rig standoff

Ms Danh Le¹¹*University of Waikato*

M2: Media, Education 2.08, September 23, 2019, 2:00 PM - 3:30 PM

According to Gilboa (1998, 2001, 2002, 2008, 2009), media diplomacy occurs when a government sends its diplomatic messages to its target audiences through speeches, press conferences, interviews, visits, media events, or even leaks. In order to succeed, a government needs to have the ability to predict how its message will be consumed by different stakeholders and how its target audiences are likely to respond. The HD 918 oil rig crisis between China and Vietnam in 2014 in the South China Sea holds symbolic value to the peoples in Vietnam, and the claims from the Vietnamese states have been recounted to the domestic and overseas audiences some recent years via the media. As the way that the government have utilized the national media outlets to cover the standoff turned the maritime territorial controversy to the violent protests, deteriorating the bilateral relations not only at the government-to-government level but also at the people-to-people one, the demand to understand to what extent and how the media narratives could impact on the issue has increased. This study aims at fulfilling the demand by examining Vietnam's media diplomacy over the oil rig standoff, especially in the anti-China protests in 2014 in Vietnam.

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Our Land Rights is your Native Title

Ms Tabitha Lean¹, Mr Colin Herring¹*University of South Australia*

IND2: Indigenous Politics, Education 3.23, September 23, 2019, 2:00 PM - 3:30 PM

The 2007 Northern Territory Intervention legitimised the nation-state's sovereignty based on original colonial violence and Hanson's One Nation Party's extreme (settler and pioneer) views being normalized. This was supported by John Howard imploring us to move forward as one nation. The weakening of Aboriginal law and culture by transferring power to Federal concerns was a land grab for resource exploitation and development. These actions leave a negligible decolonized space for Australia's First Nations peoples to manage their cultures in favor of a homogenized, neo-colonizing code of behavior modelled on the colonizers' norms. These actions confirm a sense of homelessness, as a cognitive state of mind within the Aboriginal mindset, due to an increasingly absent decolonized space. A decolonized space should be established before First Nations peoples are further overwhelmed by a new wave of globalized colonialism. In this presentation, we explore the evolution of title from cultural expression (Land Rights) to political claims (Native Title). The politics of our day is obsessed and consumed by an era of relentless resource exploitation, and the continual march towards "progress". Facing the impending global climate

catastrophe, is a sun setting for us all. As First Nations people we can't close our eyes, we must stay awake. There is an opportunity for us to provide some answers, drawing on ancestral wisdom, combined with the old and new paradigms on guardianship. This presentation will centre and privilege Aboriginal voices and knowledges. We will use storytelling, and Aboriginal ontologies of knowing, being and doing, exploring how we might walk together into a sunrise of a united, reconciled country.

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BRI and railways in Latin America: how important are domestic politics?

Mr Diego Leiva¹

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COMP5: Comparative Politics, Education 3.25, September 24, 2019, 4:00 PM - 5:30 PM

In the past 20 years, China has significantly increased its economic presence in Latin America, especially in terms of bilateral trade. China's investment in the region, however, remain modest and highly concentrated in few countries and sectors (mining and hydrocarbons). Beijing's invitation to Latin America to join the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) in 2018 could be seen as an opportunity to increase China's investment in the region, particularly in infrastructure. Yet, only one of four Chinese potential railway projects in Latin America have materialised so far. Building on the scholarship on political risks and foreign direct investment (FDI), this paper analyses the challenges faced by the Chinese companies' investments in the Tinaco–Anaco and Querétaro–Ciudad de México high-speed trains, the Brazil–Peru Bi-oceanic railway, and Argentina's Belgrano Cargas railway modernisation, posing the following research question: how important were domestic politics in the outcome of the projects? The main findings suggest that domestic politics played a major role in all four cases: changes in government played a significant role in the Brazil – Peru and Argentina's cases; political instability was the key explanatory factor in Venezuela's failed project; and democratic accountability/corruption influenced Mexico's project outcome.

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The Rising of Direct Democracy in Asian Nations: The Challenges of A Universal Basic Income Referendum in Taiwan

Professor Chang-lin Li¹

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ASA8: Politics in Asia, Education 3.26, September 25, 2019, 1:30 PM - 3:00 PM

In recent years, the Universal Basic Income (UBI) has become a frequently discussed issue around the world. Swiss citizens voted in June 2016 in referendum about the introduction. But, would such a referendum be possible in Taiwan and what would be the outcome in Taiwan? The amended Taiwanese Referendum Act passed by the Legislative Yuan was enacted in January 2018. It facilitates the referendum process and lowered the preconditions for citizens to launch a proposal. Currently only 1,879 supporters in the first and

around 280,000 signatures in the second phase are required to support an initiative. And the acceptance quorum was lowered to 4,890,000 citizens voted by national referendum.

This article focuses on the public and empirical discussion of a Universal Basic Income in Taiwan, a possible referendum and what can be learned from the Swiss experience. The paper is divided into four parts supported by most recent research and surveys. I. In the first part, we elaborate if Universal Basic Income could become a valid initiative under the Taiwanese Referendum Act. II. Secondly, we examine what to learn of the Swiss Referendum held in 2016. III. Thirdly, we discuss if the supporters would be able to collect 280,000 signatures in the legally required time. IV. Lastly, we predict how such a proposal could successfully mobilize enough citizens to reach the election quorum.

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Air Pollution Governance and Public Participation in China

Mr Jiasheng Liu¹

¹University of Sydney

ENV6: Environment, Education 3.25, September 25, 2019, 9:00 AM - 10:30 AM

Since China began its reform and opening up policy in 1978, the focus of the Chinese government has shifted from class struggle to economic construction. Economic development has become the primary goal of the Communist Party of China (CPC) and the Chinese government. Forty years after China's reform, China's economy has grown tremendously and become the world's second-largest economy. Rapid economic growth leads to great improvements in people's lives. Meanwhile, it causes severe environmental pollution throughout the country, especially air pollution. Currently, air pollution is still a major problem that the government urgently needs to solve. In China, only those who can influence policymakers can truly improve China's air pollution. Although the government provides channels for citizens to participate in environmental governance, it is more formalized. As the air pollution problem becomes serious, citizens began to participate more actively in air pollution governance. Under such circumstance, public participation plays a crucial role in air pollution governance. On the one hand, environmental non-governmental organizations (ENGOS) have obviously improved the government's environmental governance as an important means of public participation. Through environmental education, ENGOS raise citizens' awareness of environmental protection. Through supervision, they improve local environmental governance. Through lobbying policymakers and proposing solutions, they successfully affect environmental policies. On the other hand, the emergence of the Internet has greatly increased both the scale and depth of public participation, so that more and more public opinions can raise the attention of policymakers. The Internet is another important platform for the public. By involving celebrities, scholars, and citizens, the Internet has greatly enhanced the breadth and depth of public participation, thereby raising the attention of policymakers and improve air pollution. There is no denying that public participation makes enormous contributions to improving China's air pollution.

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Incubating Democracy with Civic Technology: The Case of GOV.tw Community in Taiwan

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M3: Media, Education 2.08, September 24, 2019, 11:30 AM - 1:00 PM

This paper aims to evaluate the achievements, contributions, and limitations of public engagement via civic technology by looking at GOV.tw, a community of civic hackers in Taiwan. By using discourse analysis and semi-structured interview, this paper argues that this highly creative, collaborative, and decentralised community has been reshaping strategies of political participation, restructuring ways of political mobilization, and redefining the government-society relationships in Taiwan.

Collaboration, share, and collective action can be summarised as the open culture widely adopted by the community of civic hackers. Civic hackers build infrastructure, install platforms, and invite participants to contribute what they can as forms of public engagement. Due to the connection with the development of information technology, civic hackers focus on requesting open data from the government and making the best use of government data. Their strategy of public engagement via civic technology is aimed to enhance government transparency and responsiveness as well as increase public participation. In the end, the quality of democracy can be improved with data and user interface that are easily accessible, well-informed, and interactively communicable.

GOV.tw is an online community and platform formed at the end of 2012. According to their website, their mission is using “technology in the interest of the public good, allowing citizens easy access to vital information and power to shape the civil society.” Based on the open source culture, participants can join and create their own projects and make the best use of government data.

Successful projects of this community include Government Budget Visualization, Campaign Finance Crowdsourcing, Legislator Voting Guide, and so on. This paper will talk about the developments of this platform and some crucial projects in relation to the broader context of Taiwanese politics. Later, I will assess the impact of GOV.tw on Taiwan’s democracy and its expansion to the Asia-Pacific region.

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Green place branding: An analysis of prospects for Australian cities

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ENV3: Environment, Education 3.26, September 24, 2019, 11:30 AM - 1:00 PM

Environmental policy challenges often come with public pressure on urban and local governments to be ‘doing their bit’ at a time when global responses are viewed as inadequate. These challenges create opportunities for green place branding, a process where management principles of promoting products and corporations are adopted by cities, regions and nations with a focus on their environmental policies and credentials. Local and urban governments undertake green place branding to ratchet environmental

policymaking, attract tourists, and boost economic investment (Andersson 2016). One way this plays out is through cities and towns competing for 'green' prizes, such as the European Union's Green Capital and Green Leaf awards. Yet, the impact of green place branding as a means for building local shared identities remains underexplored as does the role competitions play in building such brands.

This paper introduces a new framework to analyse green place branding and its potential to be leveraged in Australia. In doing so it draws on McCann's (2013) policy boosterism literature and Hankinson's (2004) work on relational networks brands and critiques assumptions within the green place branding literature.

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"We are a Christian nation": Tracking the emergence of an Australian political myth

Professor Marion Maddox¹

¹*Macquarie University*

A5: Australian Politics, Education 1.01, September 23, 2019, 11:30 AM - 1:00 PM

Introduction: Christian nationalism, a set of beliefs about the Christian origins and identity of the nation, is a rising strand of ethno-nationalist populism. A growing literature analyses the European and North American versions; but the Australian variant has so far received little attention.

Context and Aim: In 2011, Human Rights Commission hearings revealed 'A strongly held sentiment ... that Australia is a Christian nation ... whose values and culture are based on Christian teachings'. Four political parties in the 45th parliament—the National Party, One Nation, Katter's Australian Party and Australian Conservatives—referred in their platforms or policies to the idea of Australia as a 'Christian nation' or founded on 'Christian values'.

This paper aims to trace the emergence, and assess the significance, of an Australian tradition of Christian nationalism, and to analyse it in the context of international literature on Christian nationalism and right-wing populism.

Method: The longitudinal study tracks the frequency of references to Australia as a 'Christian nation' or a 'Christian country', or founded on 'Christian values', in speeches in Hansard since Federation. It also analyses the shifting meanings attached to 'Christian nation' rhetoric.

Findings: Parliamentary 'Christian nation' talk became more frequent at particular points in the twentieth century, and is once again on the rise. Early association with social justice and equality has given way to more frequent ethnonationalist references.

Innovative contribution to research: This is the first study to analyse Christian nationalism as an Australian political discourse. It will propose an explanation for the shifts in meaning attached to Australian Christian nationalism talk and situate the Australian version in relation to Christian nationalist movements and rhetoric internationally.

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The Return of the Master? A Lacanian analysis of the potency of Trump's populist discourse

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THE2: Political Theory, Education 3.26, September 23, 2019, 2:00 PM - 3:30 PM

Since Donald Trump announced he was running for President of the United States, the Trumpian populist discourse has dominated the American political landscape. Both supporters and opponents of Trump are emotionally invested in his discourse in a manner rarely seen in the post-war era. Previous works attempting to account for the appeal of Trump's discourse have either relied on extra-discursive factors, such as relative economic decline, or else have merely traced the emergence of the discourse in a Foucauldian manner. In this paper, I ask what is it about the Trumpian discourse in particular that makes it so appealing and polarising, and has allowed it to 'hook on' to its subjects so powerfully.

My central claim is that the theory of the four discourses, developed by Jacques Lacan, is the most useful tool for understanding the potency of Trump's discourse. According to Lacan, modern political discourse typically takes one of four forms; that of the master, the university, the hysteric or the analyst. Prior to the rise of Trump, American political discourse was largely characterised by the university discourse, a form of discourse which presents its claims in the form of supposedly objective, neutral knowledge. In contrast, I argue that Trump represents a return to the discourse of the master, a discourse which is explicitly partisan and centred around a transcendent master signifier, in this case 'American greatness'. I illustrate the structure of Trumpian discourse through a comparative discursive analysis of the State of the Union addresses of President Obama, an exemplar of the university discourse, and those of President Trump. I demonstrate that Trump is constructing a radically different form of American subjectivity to Obama, one that relies not on objective facts about the world, but rather on an explicit libidinal engagement with a partisan construction of American greatness.

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Urbanisation and Democratic Consolidation in South Asia

Ms Medha Majumdar¹

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ASA5: Politics in Asia, LWCM Moot Ct, September 24, 2019, 4:00 PM - 5:30 PM

Introduction: Modernisation theory argues that socioeconomic development leads to democratic transitions and democratic consolidation. A central tenant of socioeconomic development noted in modernisation theory is urbanisation. However, the effect of urbanisation on political development is understudied in political science literature.

Context and Aim: This paper tests the role of urbanisation in democratic consolidation in South Asia. It argues that urbanisation has not strengthened democratic values or consolidated democracy in South Asia. Urbanisation in the region has been rapid, messy and hidden. Due to ineffective governance, public infrastructure and service delivery are lacking. This negatively effects citizens' perceptions of the political system and their attitudes towards democracy.

Method: The South Asian Barometer Survey is analysed using logistic regression and ordinal logistic regression models. The survey is a comprehensive study of political attitudes in Bangladesh, India, Pakistan, Nepal and Sri Lanka, in 2005 and 2013.

Findings: This study finds that urbanisation has not supported democratic values in South Asia. Firstly, living in an urban area, such as a town or city, decreases the likelihood of being satisfied with democracy. Secondly, living in an urban centre has no effect upon a citizens' level of political engagement. In contrast, education has a strong positive effect on political engagement, whilst being female has a significant negative impact.

Contribution to policy and research: Firstly, these findings indicate that urbanisation does not automatically strengthen democratic values. Citizens' experience of governance, including access to public services and infrastructure, shape their attitudes towards democracy.

Secondly, urbanisation has little impact on a person's ability to politically participate. Development which reduces social barriers, such as literacy and gender equality, has a stronger impact on political engagement.

Thirdly, the future of democracy in South Asia is questioned. If urbanisation is transforming the region but not consolidating democracy, democratic systems will become vulnerable.

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Workers in the borderlands: public servants in ministerial offices

Dr Maria Maley¹

¹ANU

A14: Australian Politics, Education 2.07, September 25, 2019, 3:30 PM - 5:00 PM

Australia is one of the few countries in the Westminster tradition which permits its public servants to take leave to work as ministerial staff – in other words, to join the political cadre working in ministers' offices - and later to return to the public service. Their movement across the borderlands between departments and ministers' offices is controversial, risky and also important. It raises issues about impartiality, politicisation and patronage. Yet it is also seen by the public service as crucial in addressing some of the problems in the

political-administrative relationship, which arise from the institutional and physical separation of ministers from their departments. These problems include lack of policy knowledge and competence in ministerial offices, and more distant relationships between ministers and departments leading to a lack of mutual understanding and trust. Noting the benefits of the practice, the current APS Review has suggested we need to greatly increase the number of public servants who make these transitions, amid fears it is declining.

The paper reports on an empirical study of the patterns of employment of public servants as ministerial staff in Australia over the period 2001-2017, particularly focusing on the period 2010-2017. The paper analyses changing patterns over time and explores demand side factors by drawing on qualitative data from interviews with ministers who worked in these governments. They reveal a range of different attitudes and approaches to employing public servants as political staff. The paper discusses the many issues raised by the practice, both for individuals and institutions.

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The Boats: it's not your grandfather's racism

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A4: Australian Politics, Education 1.01, September 24, 2019, 2:00 PM - 3:30 PM

Asylum seeker politics has dominated Australian politics since the mid-1990s changing political discourse with consequences for how Australians vote. So far studies frame the asylum seeker issue within a rational choice voting model whereby voters opt for parties with policy positions that are most proximal to their attitudes towards asylum seekers. How do voters form these policy preferences? What elements of voters' racial belief structure explain attitudinal formation? To answer this, I use data from the 2019 Australian Cooperative Election Survey. I employ a confirmatory graded item response model to construct three racial belief components. I then use Bayesian ordinal regressions to estimate each component's explanatory power for people's attitudes towards turning around boats carrying asylum seekers and their preferred refugee intake level. I find deficit character racism has a greater effect on asylum seeker attitudes than discrimination denial racism. Controlling for these two racial beliefs, overt racism does not affect attitudes. Furthermore, need for affect as a personality trait does not affect the results. This implies that voters' asylum seeker policy preferences are both rationally formed by racial attitudinal predispositions and are formed without affective thought invoking emotions. These results confirm that attitudes towards 'the boats' are not based on overt racism and that deficient character attitudes towards racial out-groups primarily explains attitude differences. A more subtle racial prejudice explains asylum seeker policy preferences and its role in Australian politics.

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Lawyers and the Transformation of Domestic Legal Space

Ms Jessica Manulong¹

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POL4: Policy & Governance, Education 2.07, September 24, 2019, 4:00 PM - 5:30 PM

The changing character of international trade arrangements provides access for multiple actors to engage with the implementation of international trade and new legal infrastructure, including new forums for dispute resolution. However, state and business actors still dominate the current discussion. Little attention has been given to understanding the role of lawyers in transforming and internationalizing legal space. As regulatory intermediaries and private transnational authorities, lawyers have the expertise to support the implementation of international trade arrangements in domestic space through their ability to construct hybrid legal spaces. Using the sociology of Bourdieu, this paper investigates how lawyers mobilize their expertise, networks and symbolic capital to increase the legal capacity of decision-makers both in public and private sectors. In elaborating on these processes, this study contends that lawyers use their expertise to establish a political platform for the legal profession to govern the practice of international trade and establish new legal infrastructure. It also emphasises the importance of lawyers as political actors and initiates new discussion on the role of transnational private authority and their contributions to the politics of international economic law.

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(Re)Constructing power in the Australian Federation: Untangling the decision making to a national regulator

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A3: Australian Politics, Education 1.01, September 24, 2019, 11:30 AM - 1:00 PM

Introduction: In 2013 the National Heavy Vehicle Regulator (NHVR) was established using Queensland Law, bringing with it an unusual governance architecture for Australia in that it is a multi-jurisdictional single agency. The NHVR was the culmination of over 20 years of decision-making within the federation involving hundreds of people ranging from prime ministers to technical officers.

Context and Aim: To untangle this complex decision-making history, Actor-network Theory (ANT) was deployed using a particular technique of Spatio-temporal moments to trace and understand some of the most significant translational moments that highlight how power tensions within the Federation are managed.

Method: Through interview with almost 40 people directly involved in the process and review of various reports and communiques, the 'voices' of the numerous human and non-human actors formed a narrative to explore how decisions were made, power deployed and dissidence manifested.

Findings: COAG, despite being the apex of political power in Australia, confronted Clegg's central paradox of power through needing to delegate power down but then being subject to agenda control by subordinate hierarchies to organise issues in or out of the decision-making. The constant redeployment of power had a significant influence on the outcome.

Innovative contribution to policy, practice and/or research: The use of ANT allowed exploration of power issues, often not obtainable through personal or structural power theories which are often unsuited to consideration of collaborative governance issues. These discoveries will benefit understanding a possible new power organising trend in Federation and highlight the importance of these power sharing conceptualisations and dynamics for other national issues.

Clegg, S. R. (1989). *Frameworks of Power*. London; Newbury Park: Sage Publications.

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Nascent Party or Community Sponsors? Exploring the Rise of Independent-aligned 'Voices of' groups

Mr Patrick James Godfrey Marple¹

¹*Monash University*

A16: Australian Politics, LWCM Nth 5, September 23, 2019, 2:00 PM - 3:30 PM

Independent candidates have become a significant feature of the Australian political system in recent years. While the national legislature is still dominated by the established political parties, there has been a shift in the way independent candidates have presented themselves and mobilised electoral and campaign support. This paper charts changes in the way independent candidates have contested national elections in Australia. The often low-key and loose network of community-to-grassroots groups common in the campaigns of independents elected earlier have been joined by more structured, party-like organisations seeking to preselect, or 'sponsor', independent candidates in more latter elections. This transition has been most keenly felt in the recent federal election, where a sponsored independent succeeded in defeating a former Prime Minister in an inner city seat, while in rural regional Victoria an independent succession was successful in the seat of Indi. Both these phenomena are an Australia-first, and in both these contests the candidates were preselected by electorate-specific, community-centric 'sponsoring' groups. By examining this phenomenon in Australia, and utilising research done on similar phenomena in local elections in the UK, the paper constructs an analytical framework to help assess the significance of independents standing for, and winning, parliamentary representation.

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When do parties change a losing candidate? Why do losing candidates run? Evidence from Australia

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A16: Australian Politics, LWCM Nth 5, September 23, 2019, 2:00 PM - 3:30 PM

Candidates and political parties face a difficult situation in some seats. Political parties field candidates continuously to contest elections. In some districts, parties and candidates do not stand a chance of being

elected and, still, parties field candidates continuously. This paper relies on two main perspectives. The view of the parties that it aims to answer when and how often do parties change the candidates they are fielding in a given district? Beyond being losing candidates, is there any pattern associated to candidate change? Do all parties behave equally? From the perspective of the candidates, why do they run if they know they are going to lose? The paper will build in current candidate selection theories to derive some testable hypothesis. To address them I will mainly rely on official data from the Australian Electoral Commission and the Australian Election Study surveys on candidates. Some of the conclusions may offer hypothesis to test in future comparative studies.

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Digital democracy for the 21st century

Mr Dion McCurdy¹

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POL6: Policy & Governance, Education 2.07, September 23, 2019, 11:30 AM - 1:00 PM

Introduction: Never before, in all our recorded history, have there been such low trust in government as an institution or such low confidence in democracy as the best form of government.

The current democratic model has failed to keep pace with changes in society and is unresponsive to the needs of citizens.

Democracy has become a problem; some call it a crisis.

Context and Aim: The UQ Student Union has agreed to use NewVote exclusively, as its engagement tool on topics for issues on campus.

On 1 July 2019, we launch an official 12-month pilot of NewVote at the University of Queensland, for its 52,000 students. NewVote empowers the people directly on an issues-basis (direct democracy), rather than a party-basis. NewVote is a nudge towards the future of democratic governance, a purer democracy, and a better world.

Method: In collaboration with the promotion efforts of UQ Union, NewVote provides its app to the student body with the following features:

- Verified users, so one person equals one vote.
- Browsing issues, solutions and actions that really matter to people.
- Issue context with factual summaries and crowd-rated 3rd party links.
- Co-design and crowdsourcing of issues, solutions and actions with all verified users able to post suggestions.
- Voting real-time on solutions and actions.

Innovative contribution to policy, practice and/or research: NewVote offers a secure app, an online digital engagement platform that addresses the disconnect between the people, our leaders and (eventually) the

government decision-making process. NewVote fuses cutting-edge technology with representative democracy and offers a system that genuinely attempts to uncover the informed “will of the people”.

Findings: As the launch is set for 24 July 2019, the findings will be revealed at the presentation.

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From Agenda-Setting to Institutionalization: National Responses to Climate Security

Dr Matt McDonald¹

¹*University of Queensland*

ENV5: Environment, Education 3.26, September 24, 2019, 4:00 PM - 5:30 PM

States around the world have recognised the security implications of climate change. Indeed by one assessment (Scott 2015), over 70% of countries developing national security strategy statements or strategies identify climate change as a threat to national security. But how exactly do these different countries define the threat itself, locate responsibility for addressing it within particular (or multiple) arms/agencies of government, or orient their practices towards maximising climate security? This paper- the start of a broader comparative research project- outlines the rationale for examining points of similarities and difference across countries in their approach to climate security, and presents preliminary findings from this comparative analysis.

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Indigenous candidate selection in Australia’s major parties

Associate Professor Michelle Evans, Professor Duncan McDonnell

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A10: Australian Politics, Education 2.08, September 24, 2019, 4:00 PM - 5:30 PM

While no territory, state or federal parliament has ever included a quantity of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander (ATSI) representatives proportional to their share of the population, there are now more ATSI elected representatives now than at any previous time. However, we know little about how ATSI citizens become candidates and how their pathways compare to minority groups in Australia and other western democracies. Based on interviews conducted with successful and unsuccessful ATSI candidates at state, territory and federal level in the two major parties across Australia from the past decade, along with relevant party officials and non-Indigenous representatives, this paper presents the first results from a major research project investigating ATSI participation and representation in Australian politics.

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Municipality size, political efficacy and political participation in two Australian states. The powerlessness of the inhuman scale?

Mr Joshua McDonnell¹

¹*University of Western Australia*

A8: Australian Politics, Education 1.01, September 25, 2019, 1:30 PM - 3:00 PM

A nation's political culture, tradition goes, is built at the local level. Local government's proximity, simplicity and human scale ensures that it is amenable and responsive to the active input of its citizenry. Where politics is the art of the tangible and the achievable, rather than the abstract and seemingly interminable, involvement in local affairs can instil a belief in the possibilities of collective action and a broad commitment to democratic values. Yet, with amalgamation looming as a constant spectre in the state-local government political dynamic, the question emerges: can larger local government still elicit an efficacious and participatory citizenry? Drawing on a recent survey of over 500 citizens from across the Perth and Adelaide metropolitan regions, this study seeks to answer this question, exploring the relationship between municipality size, political participation and political efficacy – a belief in one's own competence to participate (internal efficacy) and a trust that participatory attempts will be received and responded to (external efficacy). Participants from the full gamut of municipality sizes were asked questions regarding their participatory habits, as well as a suite of questions tapping their subjective sense of political efficacy. The findings, including any implications we may glean to advance our understanding of the democratic effects of municipal amalgamation, will be discussed.

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Exploring the resonance of storylines used in activist campaigns against the Carmichael coal mine with the public on social media

Ms Gabrielle McKinnon¹

¹*University of Sydney*

ENV3: Environment, Education 3.26, September 24, 2019, 11:30 AM - 1:00 PM

Introduction: Despite increasing levels of environmental degradation, and a concerted effort on the part of environmentalists to increase salience in the public realm, environmental issues rarely generate the widespread public concern that is needed as a pre-condition for political change. This problem has been referred to as the “resonance dilemma,” which is reinforced in public opinion research that highlights that people are concerned about environmental issues, but that these issues are not a high priority.

Context and Aim: This case study investigated the “resonance dilemma” by examining activist organisation Facebook campaigns against Queensland's Carmichael coal mine, and the public's interaction with these campaigns. This research aims to identify the storylines and frames utilised in activist campaigns against the mine, and shed light on the public's responses to these campaigns.

Method: The content of activist campaigns and public identification with storylines and frames was measured through qualitative content analysis of the Facebook posts of activist organisations and the associated public comments. Qualitative analysis was supplemented by quantitative analysis of engagement with posts.

Findings: The paper finds that many of the chosen framings or storylines of activist organisations on social media showed a low level of identification and resonance.

Innovative contribution to policy, practice and/or research: This research suggests that the public are not identifying with storylines focused on climate change protection and are instead identifying with criticisms of politicians and more locally based concerns around the protection of land, water and farmers.

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What the Cult of Ruth Bader Ginsburg Means for the Future of Feminism, Judicial Decision-Making and Legitimacy of the Courts

Dr Kcasey McLoughlin¹, Professor Renee Newman Knake

¹Newcastle Law School

GEN3: Gender & Sexuality, Education 2.07, September 24, 2019, 11:30 AM - 1:00 PM

Ruth Bader Ginsburg's status as a global cultural icon is unparalleled. She is widely-known not as Justice Ginsberg, but as the Notorious RBG, a title drawn from the rapper Biggie Smalls' nickname Notorious B.I.G. In this paper we explore RBG's place in history both as a justice and as a feminist in a world that increasingly resists the very rights for women she devoted her career to pursuing. The politics of gender and judging has long occupied feminist legal scholars as they have theorized the potential for feminist judges to disrupt the law's gender order. Whereas women judges were once seen as panacea to the law's gender bias, it is now more commonly accepted that feminist judges might have more potential to transform the law. Yet, perhaps unsurprisingly, there's been a paucity of judges who have embraced feminist identities. It is therefore significant that Ginsburg's feminism informs much of her iconography and in this paper we are interested in understanding how Ginsburg and others have sought to craft her jurisprudential and cultural legacy. What does this tell us about the relationship between gender, feminism and judging? In recognizing that a traditional measure of judicial authority has been framed from a masculinist perspective, the paper seeks to determine to what extent these gendered notions continue to inform understandings of judicial authority, legitimacy and legacy. We interrogate why Ginsburg is the only justice in the world to achieve such cult-like fame, and what her status means for judicial decision-making, the legitimacy of courts, and the future of feminism.

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Negative Campaigning in the 2019 Indonesian Presidential Election

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ASA7: Politics in Asia, Education 2.07, September 25, 2019, 11:00 AM - 12:30 PM

Introduction: It has been received wisdom that Indonesia's political culture is especially averse to explicit political attacks. Candidates have often avoided directly criticising each other, and have made a show of unity following polls. The divisive 2014 presidential election eroded this norm; in 2019, both presidential candidates directly attacked each other throughout the campaign, and both camps maintained arms-length social media smear campaigns against their rival. Additionally, the ultimately unsuccessful Prabowo camp maintained a persistent negative campaign against electoral authorities with the aim to delegitimize the process and result of election.

Context and Aim: Such negative campaigning has been extensively researched in the context of North American and European elections, where negative campaign tactics are widespread and—according to some studies—increasing in prevalence. In Indonesia, very few studies discuss this phenomenon. In this paper, we analyse the form issues (personal or policy based), drivers and political impacts of negative campaigning in the 2019 Indonesian presidential poll, with reference to this international literature.

Method: We drawing on qualitative interviews with members of each presidential campaign, officials and observers, as well as big data analytics, conducted during the election campaign period and in the aftermath of the election.

Findings: Findings are preliminary as fieldwork and analysis are ongoing at the time of submission. We find attacks to be personal even when they touch upon policy, drivers to include both societal dynamics and election design, and belief in both camps that attacks were effective. Post-truth politics and attacks on electoral institutions both pose challenges for the democratic quality of future elections.

Innovative contribution to policy, practice and/or research: We expect this paper contribute to understandings of the current shifting of political culture in Indonesian politics and to enrich comparative discussion on the prevalence of negativity in political campaigns.

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Online Networks and Digital Organisation: Far-Right Parties at the 2019 Australian Federal Election

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A7: Australian Politics, LWCM Nth 5, September 24, 2019, 2:00 PM - 3:30 PM

This paper examines the use of digital technologies by far-right parties such as Pauline Hanson's One Nation at the 2019 Australian federal election. It poses the question: How does the use of digital technologies

reflect the organisational preferences of far-right parties? Through social network analysis (SNA) and qualitative content analysis, the paper compares the digital practices of these new party challengers during the 2019 campaign period.

Lacking the party infrastructure of larger Australian parties, the far right has relied primarily on the Internet - in particular social media - to organise in (Fleming & Mondon, 2018). The presence of such networks provides parties with opportunities for recruitment and increase mobilisation capacity while creating new ways for supporters to participate. Reliance on digital technologies fosters organisational experimentation (Pirro & Gattinara, 2018) and provides an insight into a party's overall organisational preferences (Bennett, Segerberg & Knüpfer, 2018)

It is anticipated that that pathways of recruitment and mobilisation will be identified, as well as significant variation in the use of digital technologies across PRR parties in terms of the degree of coordination, engagement and professionalisation. Moreover, despite commitments to democratising the political process, the technology-enabled practices of these parties are expected to reinforce vertical organisational structures, limiting the capacity for substantive engagement for supporters.

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Is social media helping women to communicate difference?

Dr Jessica Megarry¹

¹*University of Melbourne*

GEN3: Gender & Sexuality, Education 2.07, September 24, 2019, 11:30 AM - 1:00 PM

Liberation movements such as feminism face a particular challenge in mobilising their constituencies: before women can collectively act to change their situation, they must first recognise the extent of their common oppression. Historically, oppressed groups have been able to do this by carving out autonomous spaces of resistance away from their oppressors. For example, in the Women's Liberation Movement, consciousness-raising groups provided a vehicle for women to share their personal experiences, analyse each account, and discover commonalities underwriting diverse manifestations of male dominance. Sharing deeply with women from diverse class and racial backgrounds enabled activists to bridge difference in a way that lessened its threat and enabled collective political projects to develop.

In the current moment of deep pessimism about social media's revolutionary properties, one strand of optimism has remained a stalwart of digital feminist scholarship: the idea that social media provides a useful new tool for facilitating intersectionality. This claim centres specifically on the idea that social media enables women of colour to challenge white feminists immediately and transparently, rupturing traditional hierarchies amongst activists and making feminism more inclusive of diverse voices. Thus, the argument goes, social media can be credited with helping feminists to deal with differences between women. Drawing on interviews with intergenerational feminist activists from Australia, Canada, New Zealand, the UK and the USA, this paper explores how the commercial and patriarchal imperatives of social media's architecture contribute to further dividing women from each other. I argue that social media limits women's ability to communicate difference productively, and to develop revolutionary organisational forms that directly challenge male dominance.

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A power flying outside its pigeon hole: Conceptualizing Israel's regional and global ascent

Dr Gil Merom¹

¹*University of Sydney*

IR3: International Relations, Education 2.18, September 24, 2019, 11:30 AM - 1:00 PM

Since her independence, Israel has steadily climbed the international ladder of power and status. By almost any material and perceptual standard, she has become a regional power with significant global reach, be it military, economic, or diplomatic. What makes Israel a regional and global player? How should we understand her regional and global role? What theoretical implication are born from her ascent and expanding role? To answer these questions, the paper defines and traces contextual, material, and intersubjective indicators of Israel ascent, her 21st Century global status, and the causes responsible for all. Finally, the paper points towards possible theoretical insight concerning the paths relatively small states take in their climb to prominence in world politics.

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African union and peacekeeping operations; a case of darfur-sudan.

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IR7: International Relations, Education 2.18, September 25, 2019, 9:00 AM - 10:30 AM

The African union mission in Sudan [AMIS] was active in Darfur from 2004 to late 2007. This paper has evaluated AMIS, looking at its contribution to the peace process in Darfur, its efforts with protecting civilians, and protection of humanitarian agencies. It also covers the impact of the AMIS experience on the African stand by force and not withstanding, UN support at the international level. It concludes AMIS was too small to reach its objectives. The mandate included protecting civilians, but this task was formulated

ambiguously. Thus AMIS commanders were forced to decide on interpretations of the mandate through the rules of engagement, and acted more passively than allowed by the mandate. Where deployed, AMIS prevented murder and displacement. However, because of its limited resources, large-scale violence and displacement continued, and the mission could do little to support the Darfur peace process. AMIS was dependent on donors, especially the EU. However, the design of the support made long term planning difficult for AMIS. Keynotes: AMIS, African Union, Darfur, peace operation and peacekeeping.

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An evaluation of the counter insurgency and counter terrorism operation in the north east zone of Nigeria

Mr Aaron Mijinyawa¹

¹*Federal University Kashere, Gombe State, Nigeria*

COMP4: Comparative Politics, Education 3.25, September 24, 2019, 2:00 PM - 3:30 PM

Nigeria as a country has experienced acts of insurgency and terrorism with varied degrees of devastation on the socio-economic, political and psychological wellbeing of the people and infrastructure. These twin evils with international connection or dimension continue to pose significant threat to Nigeria's National Security. Starting from the Movement for the Emancipation of Niger Delta (MEND) insurgency, Movement for the Actualization of the Sovereign State of Biafra (MASSOB), Oodua People's Congress (OPC) and to the recent but dreaded and vicious Boko Haram Terrorist group in North-East Nigeria. The Nigerian Government has over the years employed diverse methods or strategies to combat these menaces, ranging from military containment, multilateralism, dialogue, and legislative methods. Although these methods have impacted positively on the counter-insurgency and counter-terrorism efforts of the Government, some loopholes were however noticed. Thus, this paper examines the limitations of these methods, as well as proffers some vital recommendations on the way forward.

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Of Mountains, Rivers, and Oceans: Territorial Effects on Military Expenditures, 1961-2012

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IR1: International Relations, Education 2.18, September 23, 2019, 11:30 AM - 1:00 PM

While much work has been completed analyzing the role of geography and territory's effects on conflict, less work has demonstrated how geography affects military budgets. I construct models to analyze the role of geographic measures, along with other explanations, and their impact on defense budgets. I argue that a state's defense spending is subsidized by clearly defined geographic focal points. Using geographic data, I show that states clearly defined by rivers and oceans spend less money on defense budgets as a proportion of GDP because the prospects of conflict are lower and internal social cohesion is higher, decreasing the

need for large standing militaries for either repression, expansion, or defense. I find that this effect is exogenous to threat. On the other hand, more mountainous states spend greater amounts on defense due to increased costs of defense and decreased sense of identity among local populations. Situating this debate within the state development literature helps us answer important questions regarding state formation and consolidation and the move to peacefully interact with neighbors, as well as the social identity of individuals located inside geographically rugged states.

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Crisis of Identity: The Role of the US Drone Program in Transforming Ideas of Sovereignty

Miss Jane Minson¹

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IR5: International Relations, Education 2.18, September 24, 2019, 4:00 PM - 5:30 PM

One of the selling points of unmanned aerial vehicles (more popularly referred to as 'drones') is that they can be used without putting the lives of soldiers at risk – that they are the perfect solution for a war-weary public such as the United States. As such, new technologies such as drones have been utilised heavily by the US in their targeted killing program over the last decade, completely transforming the nature of warfare in the process. These weapons have been utilised in conventional battlefields such as Afghanistan and Iraq, but also in undeclared battlefields such as Pakistan and Yemen. The rise of drones has made warfare a seemingly painless task for those nations using them, but has contributed to the rise of perpetual surveillance and perpetual war for those nations affected. The use of drones has made the war on terror truly global in its scope, and the sovereignty of nations has been affected as a result.

This paper will explore shifting identities, political change and nationhood through the lens of the US drone program, looking particularly at the use of drones in nations such as Pakistan and Yemen. It will look to how their use challenges traditional Westphalian understandings of sovereignty, and how this can shift the identities of those learning to live under their presence. It will highlight just how radical the newfound acceptance of targeted killing is, and mark concerns for further change in the future.

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Why Cabinet Manuals? The Changing Regulation of Cabinet Government in Westminster Democracies

Dr Nicholas Barry¹, Dr Narelle Miragliotta², Dr Zim Nwokora³

¹*Monash University*, ²*La Trobe University*, ³*Deakin University*

POL7: Policy & Governance, Education 2.08, September 24, 2019, 2:00 PM - 3:30 PM

Constitutional conventions are the crucial “software” that support the operation of political institutions. They are, as a kind of rule, different from constitutional laws because they are relatively informal. However, such conventions can transform over time and thus become more or less informal. In this presentation we explore the dynamics of constitutional conventions through an analysis of the rules surrounding the operation of cabinet government in Westminster democracies. We focus on the growing number of Westminster democracies that are opting to formalise cabinet conventions in cabinet manuals, which are then made publicly available. Drawing on evidence from the Australia, Canada and the United Kingdom, we develop two lines of argument to explain this development. First, we suggest that the specific properties of cabinet conventions, which distinguish them from other types of conventions and mean they correspond to what Andrew Heard describes as meso-conventions, makes them prime candidates for a change toward greater formalisation. Secondly, to explain the specific timing of this transformation, we highlight the confluence of institutional forces and changing societal norms in the Westminster democracies. Finally, we identify the lessons from this case study for our understanding of convention dynamics more generally.

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Associated entities: A new research agenda

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¹Flinders University, ²Macquarie University, ³Monash University

A11: Australian Politics, Education 1.01, September 25, 2019, 11:00 AM - 12:30 PM

Associated entities are organisations recognised under electoral law as having a significant relationship with one or more registered political parties. While such entities operate in plain sight and to the benefit of a particular party or parties, we know little about the inter-organisational dynamics between these entities and their related parties, including an understanding about the challenges and opportunities that these relationships present for both groups. In this presentation we share our preliminary findings and thoughts on our recently launched study on associated party entities, as well as outline the various methodological issues this research presents.

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Portugal's unique national identity as a buffer against populism, anti-EU sentiment

Mr Alexandre Monteiro

IR9: International Relations, Education 2.08, September 25, 2019, 3:30 PM - 5:00 PM

Portugal represents a special case in national identity research as it has long demonstrated what can be described as an “excess of identity” or “hyper-identity”, which can antagonistically be confused with a lack of national identity. We argue that this identity was moulded through an early (pre-modern) distinction

between the “self” and the “other”, which, given Portugal’s geography, would have naturally been Spain (or its political predecessors). Terrestrially sequestered from the rest of continental Europe by Spain, Portugal has historically developed in a manner out-of-step with the former, focusing instead on its ultramarine empire and consequently compounding its relative marginalisation. Nevertheless, Portugal is a product of Europe’s common cultural heritage and has, in its turn, contributed towards shaping European identity in profound ways (e.g., sea navigation, colonialism). These factors resulted in the development of Portugal’s uniquely contradictory European identity throughout the centuries: unquestionable, yet not central. Joining the European Economic Community (EEC) on 1 January 1986 represented a major confirmation of Portugal’s fundamental “European-ness”, putting it on equal footing to the European nations that had been outperforming it in the preceding decades and serving to gradually strengthen the centrality of its European identity. Understanding Portugal’s historical national identity is key to understanding its behaviour within the EEC (and later the European Union), which earned it the “good student” label in the 1990s and again in the years following the 2008 recession. It also helps to explain why, in the current Euro-critical political climate, the Portuguese remain faithful to the European project. Keywords: national identity, populism, European Union, Portugal, European politics

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Democratic Socialism in Pictures

Tod Moore¹¹*University of Newcastle*

M3: Media, Education 2.08, September 24, 2019, 11:30 AM - 1:00 PM

Democratic socialist ideology has now returned to the mainstream of political discourse in the West, after decades of invisibility. This is happening at a time when computer mediated communication (CMC) offers new opportunities for researchers. This study interrogates a curated cache of about 2,000 political image macro memes found in circulation on the Twitter social media platform. All of the subject material is from supporters of US politician Bernie Sanders. Using both semiotic theory and Michael Freeden’s ideological textual analysis, the study will attempt to visually profile the latest iteration of democratic socialist ideology.

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Anti-Vaccination Movements & the State: Post-Rationality in Policy-Making

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POL2: Policy & Governance, Education 2.07, September 25, 2019, 1:30 PM - 3:00 PM

Since vaccinations were introduced in 1797, there have been those who oppose them. Despite the scientific consensus that vaccines are a safe and effective means of protecting society against disease, anti-vaccination movements are gaining traction and becoming more active in many nations, causing drops in

vaccination coverage. Successfully addressing the challenge presented by anti-vaccination movements is crucial to a state seeking to re-affirm its legitimacy on matters of evidence-based policy making in the field of public health. Because anti-vaccination movements challenge evidence-based policy making and the relationship between science and the state, approaching the matter through scientific rationality and evidence-based arguments alone is likely to prove unsuccessful. Traditional methods of policy-making are designed to handle evidence-based and rational concerns, with the challenge presented by anti-vaccination movements containing elements of post-rationality and emotionality rather than a purely evidence-based objection. This paper investigates how legislators respond to community concerns of this nature by examining the development of the Australian 'No Jab No Pay' policy. It examines the concerns presented to the Senate Hearing through submissions from the public as well as the interactions between committee members and witnesses at the 'No Jab, No Pay' Bill 2015 public hearing held in Brisbane to determine if and how the objections raised by anti-vaxx movements were examined and responded to by policy makers. This is important because it provides insight into the capacity of policy makers to address both the emotional and rational dimensions of policy making.

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Decolonising and Feminising Sovereignty: Tri-cultural praxis from Southwest Colombia

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GEN4: Gender & Sexuality, Education 2.07, September 24, 2019, 2:00 PM - 3:30 PM

Latin America is witnessing the vibrant articulation of different strands of feminist praxis which offer deep gifts that can contribute towards a re-imagining and enfleshing of a progressive politics for our times. In this piece I offer a decolonising feminist/feminised mapping of some of these strands of feminised/ist emancipatory praxis. I dialogue with Decolonial, Black and Indigenous popular feminisms and feminist/ised subjects emergent in the Valle de Cauca, Colombia that often remain under-visibilised or invisibilised in much discussion and analysis of contemporary political theory/practice. I hope this will contribute to our collective struggles to articulate a politics, theory and practice of transformation which decolonises and feminises sovereignty and in so doing offers ways to re-enchant our worlds beyond the political, ecological, and existential crises we are facing.

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Framing as the Art of Social Movement: Comparing Two Anti-Government Movements in South Korea

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ASA3: Politics in Asia, Education 3.19, September 24, 2019, 11:30 AM - 1:00 PM

The first presidential impeachment in constitutional history has brought remarkable changes in the socio-political environment in South Korea. People's grievance and anger on maladministration by President Park's government led two large-scale social movements. This paper aims to examine how framing processes appear in two anti-government movements, The Minjung General Uprising and the Emergency People's Action for the Park Geun-hye Administration's Resignation, in South Korea and how they affect to the mobilization of participants. These two movements have seemingly organized for the same purpose to fight against the incompetent government and resist social irregularities, but their detailed framing strategies have differed. This paper answers research questions as follows: How did the Actions for Park's Resignation movement accomplish the intended goals, while the other didn't receive widespread support from the people and lead to any tangible results despite longer preparatory period and duration?

This paper utilizes qualitative content analysis on official statements and slogans of two anti-government movements. Based on these analyses, this paper argues that the different framing strategies affected not only social mobilization but also the success of the movement. To explain these differences, this paper categorizes four types of framing strategies: goals, representativeness, identity, and attitudes. This attempt can be meaningful in the way that the analysis on the patterns of framing strategies in these two movements may offer a new understanding of the dynamics of social mobilizations.

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The tyranny of the colony: the politics of making 3% count

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IND1: Indigenous Politics, Education 3.23, September 23, 2019, 11:30 AM - 1:00 PM

In 2016, 649,173 Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders were counted in the national census. This is estimated to be 3.3% of the Australian population. Representative democracies have long-struggled with how to make minorities matter in electoral processes that are premised upon majoritarian, aggregative forms of political decision-making. But for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders this minority status has more complex and substantive character due to geography, age demographics and our foundational role in the making of this nation. In all, Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders are less likely to be enrolled to vote and less likely to turn out. It turns out that making 3% count in a representative democracy is exceptionally difficult indeed. Here, I explore the kinds of problems and problematisations this should raise for the practice of the social and political sciences in Australia.

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Geopolitics and Genocide: The role of external patrons in permitting and restraining genocide onset.

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IR7: International Relations, Education 2.18, September 25, 2019, 9:00 AM - 10:30 AM

The study of genocide has largely sought to understand its causal mechanisms with reference to only domestic factors that escalate risk. Excluding external factors and factors that may restrain risk. This potentially overestimates risk and obscures the causal mechanisms. This paper explores the role of patron states in genocide onset in cases where the client state is considered high risk. This relationship is an asymmetrical alliance defined by a weak state, the client, and a powerful state, the patron. The mechanism being observed is the position of patron and their effect on the client state's determination to use genocide as a strategy. While in some situations where state or regional stability is the core patron interest a patron may seek to restrain their client to avoid the spread of conflict or spill-over. In other cases where onset serves geopolitical or material interests of the patron, they may facilitate, shield, or protect a perpetrating client state. Specifically, the study assesses how large external patron states effect the decision-making process of weak client states at risk of using genocide as a strategy to achieve their aims. It examines the motivations of patrons, how they come to their decision, to permit or restrain, and the effect of their position on their client. The study uses four case studies to interrogate the effect of the patron-client relationship on genocide onset. It compares cases of genocide onset: Rwanda and Sri Lanka with cases of high risk but non-genocide Nagorno-Karabakh and Nepal.

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Counter Violent Extremism programs and women

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GEN4: Gender & Sexuality, Education 2.07, September 24, 2019, 2:00 PM - 3:30 PM

Women's involvement in violent extremism (VE) in Pakistan is an under-researched topic. Research into reasons for the radicalisation of Pakistani women and their involvement in extremist activities has received little attention (Naz 2019). However, some prominent extremist incidents in Pakistan spotlighted the importance of this investigation. These incidents include students of Jamia Hafsa becoming vigilantes by burning CDs, DVDs and raiding brothels in their neighbourhood in the capital of Pakistan, Islamabad. This led to a direct confrontation between the state and the new wave of Talibanisation of students (Naz 2019:82). Another case of Mullah Fazulullah leader of the Tehrik-e-Taliban Pakistan (TTP) who used illegal FM radio channel to radicalise local people, especially women, in Swat (Ahmed 2009). He used women to spread his extremist agenda in the region. A recent example is of a young female medical student, Naureen Leghari, from Hyderabad who was captured by the police in Lahore before travelling to Syria to join the so-called Islamic State (Imran and Khan 2017). From the Jamia Hafsa episode to Mullah Fazalullah mission and the allegations on Al Huda, there is evidence to suggest that women's radicalisation to extremism in Pakistan is a growing phenomenon. However, the state focuses primarily on men when it comes to radicalisation programs and counter violent extremism (CVE) policies. The paper will discuss that women have been exposed to extremist ideologies but have also been recruited to carry out fundraising, recruitment and terrorist activities. This paper aims to examine the extent to which the state considers women in the CVE

programs and argues that when women are not considered in the CVE programs has an impact on the overall security of a state. Based on the primary data collected through interviews of CVE experts in Pakistan, this study examines CVE policies and its approaches, and the causes and consequences of women's recruitment by violent extremists. The analyses of civil society and state-run approaches show the neglect of women in terms of vulnerability to VE and potential in CVE measures.

Keywords: violent extremism, radicalisation, women, polices.

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Great Barrier Reef: Australia's climate politics and the media

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ENV3: Environment, Education 3.26, September 24, 2019, 11:30 AM - 1:00 PM

The Great Barrier Reef is a global icon and its future health is a metaphor for Australia's environmental politics. A weakened climate change policy, unprecedented back-to-back-bleaching (2016/2017), port development to feed expanding terrestrial mines, plastics and poor water quality are all adding to the declining health of the world's largest eco-system. Despite the Great Barrier Reef Marine Park Act (1975), that formally seals shared stewardship between the Queensland and Federal governments, there remains clashes between state and federal politics that are as old as the Act itself. Whilst political ambition and advocacy drove the first campaign to Save the Barrier Reef (1967-1975). The federal governments' thwarting of Queensland Premier Joh Bjelke-Petersen plans to mine the Barrier Reef, set up a contentious relationship between the state and federal government that remains today. Today, conflict between the Queensland coal lobby and the 'environmentalists' continues to drive much of Australia's climate policy. In the last ten years, the Liberal dismantling of four federal climate change programs, new Queensland legislation and a joint attempt to temper UNESCO worries, are yet to show solutions. UNESCO made the Great Barrier Reef one of its World Heritage properties (1981) and Australia guardians of the world's largest eco-system. Another bleaching event could do irreparable damage, and UNESCO has concerns over whether enough is being done. Australia has an environmental plan – the Reef 2050, but is it enough? This paper explores two fundamental environmental politics questions,

1. Why did the Great Barrier Reef become a trope for Australia's environmental politics?
2. What political influences do lobbyists and the media exert on national policy?

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What Factors Encourage Jobseekers to find a job or move off benefits? Modelling street level bureaucracy

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POL1: Policy & Governance, Education 3.25, September 23, 2019, 2:00 PM - 3:30 PM

The reform of welfare services in many OECD nations has had major impacts on what happens at the frontline or street-level, where services are delivered to jobseekers. Numerous policy, organizational, and operational factors affect the way staff orient themselves to this work and to achieving the desired outcomes of helping them find a job or moving them off benefits. Based on theory, many mid-range factors are expected to be positively related to outcomes, yet there has been limited attention paid to these. In this article we use a modelling approach to examine the impacts of seven sets of factors on outcomes. Using a large dataset (n=3390 complete responses) collected in Australia, the UK and the Netherlands, and partial least squares (PLS) models, we show that outcomes improve when frontline staff have more of a work-first approach, but a range of other factors are also related to frontline staff perceiving that they have helped jobseekers to either find a job or to move off benefits.

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Virtual humanitarianism: awareness-raising through digital games

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A12: Australian Politics, LWCM Nth 5, September 23, 2019, 11:30 AM - 1:00 PM

Apps, digital games, and virtual reality experiences are increasingly being used to raise awareness of human rights abuses and humanitarian challenges. We collectively term these efforts 'virtual humanitarianism' as they seek to promote an interactive element to learning about a range of issues including human trafficking, asylum seeking, and environmental disasters. The introduction of virtual mediums as a tool for advocacy groups poses a new dimension to ongoing research into the impact of humanitarian appeals, and raises questions about the implications and ethics of virtual platforms for humanitarian advocacy.

This paper takes the issue of human trafficking as a case study through which to examine the use of virtual humanitarianism as an awareness-raising tool. The paper analyses three online games released in the last five years: Balkans ACT Now's Ban Human Trafficking game for desktop or smartphone; (Un) trafficked desktop and smartphone game promoted by the Kailash Satyarthi Foundation in India; and Missing: Game for a Cause for smartphone and tablet devices, created by artist and anti-trafficking activist Leena Kejriwal.

In analysing these games, we consider the narrative structure, representation of key figures, and the role of the player or audience in the games. We argue that despite utilising digital technologies to creatively depict the problem of human trafficking, the narratives presented reinforce tropes persistent in other forms of more traditional awareness-raising. However, there is clear potential for greater nuance in storytelling through digital games that may bring complexity to over-simplified issues. Furthermore, the interactive element of digital games may contribute to greater responsibility-taking by the player, elevating the call to action of awareness campaigns.

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Marketisation and individualisation in employment services delivery: comparing Australia and the UK

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POL1: Policy & Governance, Education 3.25, September 23, 2019, 2:00 PM - 3:30 PM

Market accountability instruments have become increasingly prevalent tools used by governments to drive innovation and efficiency in employment services. At the same time, many governments increasingly recognise the need for services to be personalised and 'user-centred' in that the exact 'mix of services individual jobseekers get should be tailored to their needs' (DoJSB 2018).

Australia and the UK are two countries that have historically been committed marketisers. Since 2008, both countries have expanded the proportion of services delivered by private, for-profit agencies while strengthening their use of Payment-by-Results. More services have been contracted-out to commercial providers via payment models that transfer greater risk and responsibility for investing in support onto market agents. Under the Work Programme, the UK even embraced 'black box' contracting, giving providers wide discretion over what services jobseekers received and when. In both countries, a key aim of these reforms was to promote greater individualisation of support in comparison to previous, largely standardised, welfare-to-work programmes.

In this paper, we track how these reforms have shaped personalisation in employment services in Australia and the UK, drawing on surveys of frontline staff conducted in both countries in 2008, 2012, and 2016. We consider whether the reform blend of increased commercial provision and stronger Payment-by-Results has corresponded to an increase in personalisation, and whether differences in the two countries' governance models have motivated varying patterns of flexibility and tailoring. While we find that the UK's 'black box' model is associated with some increase in frontline discretion over policy implementation, we find that this has not noticeably increased service tailoring or individualisation either compared to previous UK programs or Australia's more regulated market. Indeed, frontline practice between the two countries has become increasingly convergent with little evidence that stronger marketisation has motivated agencies to deliver more individualised approaches in either country.

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Universities, knowledge and power

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THE3: Political Theory, Education 4.42, September 24, 2019, 11:30 AM - 1:00 PM

Introduction: Universities have long been sites of political and social contestation. Universities and the knowledges they foster, normalise, inscribe and reflect require deep examination.

Context and Aim: To demonstrate the political constructions operating within universities and the disciplines of knowledge operating within them.

Method: Drawing on visible encounters between Indigenous Knowledges and universities, I explore some of the discourses operating within universities and the stories these institutions tell about themselves.

Findings : The positioning of universities and the 'knowers' within as benign sites of expertise, knowledge production and societal flourishing fails to recognise the ways our institutions recreate and sustain relationships of power, oppression and silencing. In settler colonial societies, like Australia, these relationships perform politically important work to help sustain racialised, colonial narratives about knowledge and progress.

Innovative contribution to policy, practice and/or research: This examination challenges perceptions of universities as neutral, objective sites of knowledge production and requires reflection upon the political work these institutions perform for the settler state.

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Digital Media and Violent Extremism: The Case of Bangladesh

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M4: Media, Education 1.01, September 24, 2019, 4:00 PM - 5:30 PM

Despite the huge population, visible presence of violent extremist groups, and evidence of connection with Islamic State and Al-Qaeda, number of empirical research on violent extremism in Bangladesh is very limited. A search in SCOPUS database reveals that there is no scholarly article addressing the role of digital media in violent extremism in Bangladesh. To fill this gap, my project examines how new innovations, especially digital media communications, brought new challenges by providing novel opportunities to the violent extremists to propagate their ideology. I examine the role of digital media by analysing Bangladeshi violent extremist profiles who either went to Syria as foreign fighters or stayed in Bangladesh for conducting local Islamic State attacks. I investigate how these violent extremists used digital media in the process of turning into an extremist from a "normal" individual. I follow John Horgan's process model of violent extremism and examine the role of digital media in the involvement and the engagement phases in the life-histories of the violent extremists. This study also examines how online contents produced by the extremists construct the narrative that justifies violence to radicalise and recruit violent extremists. The online contents include videos, online magazines, websites and social media accounts.

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Modern Anti-intellectualism

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THE4: Political Theory, Education 3.19, September 24, 2019, 2:00 PM - 3:30 PM

Dismissive references to 'ivory towers', contempt for humanities and social sciences, and celebration of all that is not intellectual, including sport, business and entertainment suggests that modern democracies are anti-intellectual. Yet all praise democracy for its endorsement of deliberation and debate, innovation, dynamism and energy. Can democracy favour the life of the mind and at the same time be anti-intellectual? This paper turns to Tocqueville's *Democracy in America* and his insights into democracy to understand and explicate this puzzle. Tocqueville denies democracy is anti-intellectual, yet he also claims democracy favours a distinctive intellectual life, informed theoretically by a Cartesian scepticism and practically by the dominance of a practical and commercial perspective in the sciences, arts and literature. The paper concludes by examining the implications of this form of intellectualism for democratic stability and legitimacy.

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Cultural appropriation, cultural dialogue and the emergence of the new political tribalism

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THE2: Political Theory, Education 3.26, September 23, 2019, 2:00 PM - 3:30 PM

This paper examines how the institutionalization of the mechanisms that construct and disseminate cultural memory has transformed the context within which cultural appropriation and cultural dialogue take place. This paper will argue that by imposing official memories and by imposing constructed essential identities on the groups and communities concerned, this institutionalization of historical memory has contributed to the growth of the new tribalism that is rapidly and radically transforming the politics of modern states, from India to Europe and North America.

To support this argument, this paper will examine the interplay between the fluidity and porosity of lived cultural constructs, and the essentialist rigidity and professed coherence with which cultural identity is imposed by the modern means of communication and governance.

This paper will further argue that the institutionalization of cultural memory profoundly transforms the relationship of self-identified cultural groups to 'others', as well as their relationship to external objects and to cultural artifacts.

In this context, the 'others' rather than the cultural object, practice or artifact, become the fundamental referent of cultural identity. Finally, since 'constructed' culture, imposed by and through authority, is reified as essential group identity, it ceases to be open to 'mouvance', loses its openness and flexibility, and redefines the participants as warriors for their political tribe.

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Vietnam's capitalist transformation: An analysis of State-society relations in Doi Moi economic reform

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ASA1: Politics in Asia, LWCM Moot Ct, September 23, 2019, 11:30 AM - 1:00 PM

This paper analyses Vietnam's Doi Moi (Renovation) economic policy shift from centrally planned to market-based economy. Adopting a sociological approach, the analysis focuses on the rationale for and workings of Doi Moi at the state level and at the people level by examining State-society relations. The policy shift stemmed from the State's responses to various internal and external factors that led to an economic crisis and political crisis in Vietnam. The paper argues that Doi Moi was designed to restructure economic systems while maintaining political stability and legitimacy of the Communist Party of Vietnam (CPV). The State used mass mobilisation tactics and the vertical political administration system to channel information and manage consent of the public and across levels of governments. The people leveraged the same State structures to reach political authorities to access information and do business. The close State-society relations and blurred boundaries between private and public interests were and continue to be the essential mechanisms in the Vietnamese economy that ensure economic interests of both the State and citizens are met. Economic pragmatism created the conditions for Vietnam's economic development while subjugating any political struggle against the State, thereby contributing to political legitimacy of the CPV. The paper offers insights into the reality of State-led capitalist transformation and broader theme of the political-economic embeddedness of citizen participation.

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Repercussions of the US retreat from the Paris Agreement: national responses and constraints on defection

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ENV4: Environment, Education 3.26, September 24, 2019, 2:00 PM - 3:30 PM

Introduction: The United States' decision to withdraw from the Paris Agreement has prompted robust debate about whether this move will prompt countries to weaken their commitment to global cooperation on climate change.

Context and Aim: Despite senior politicians in several countries threatening to withdraw from the Agreement, no countries have followed the US lead to date. Nevertheless, commitment to promoting the treaty's objectives remains uncertain in a range of countries, particularly those with large fossil fuel

industries and high deforestation rates. This highlights the need for further assessment of national responses and an evaluation of the strength and limitations of the Paris framework in discouraging defection.

Method: Through comparative process tracing based on analysis of official documents, media reports and stakeholder interviews, this paper assesses how governments and opposition parties have responded to the US decision in five countries with low or fragile commitments to action on climate change (Australia, Brazil, Indonesia, Russia and Turkey).

Findings: In seeking to explain how each country has responded, we explore how key design features of the Paris Agreement interact with broader factors that may influence countries' stances on the Agreement, including economic interests, geopolitical positioning, and messaging to domestic constituencies. We find that the flexibility that countries have in framing their emissions reduction pledges under the Nationally Determined Contributions (NDCs) mechanism increases states' incentives to remain within the Agreement. Threats of withdrawal may appeal to domestic constituencies that are sceptical of climate change or of multilateralism, but the costs of formal withdrawal may outweigh the benefits, particularly where trade relationships (notably with the European Union) are placed at risk.

Innovative contribution to policy, practice and/or research: The findings provide insights on shifting national attitudes towards multilateralism and on the ability of multilateral environmental agreements to withstand the defection of a major party.

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Democracy in the Time of Duterte: Popular Support for Authoritarian Politics of Philippine Strongman Rodrigo Duterte from SWS Surveys, 2016-2019

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ASA7: Politics in Asia, Education 2.07, September 25, 2019, 11:00 AM - 12:30 PM

The paper employs SWS public opinion surveys in the first half of the term of Philippine president Rodrigo Duterte to (1) contextualize an enigma of Philippine democracy under Duterte; and (2) explain how this enigma has helped shaped the politics of Duterte in his first three years. On no. 1, an enigma of Philippine democracy is that while the quantitative measurements of rating agencies such as Freedom House, Economist Intelligence Unit, World Justice Project have shown declines in indicators marking the quality of democracy under Duterte, the SWS surveys tell an opposite story where the highest satisfaction rating on how democracy works among Filipinos is recorded under Duterte and where very high ratings of protection of human rights, satisfaction with Duterte's drug war, and other key political indicators are also recorded. On no. 2, the robustness and resilience of the political honeymoon of Duterte have resulted in another paradox under strongman Duterte: his popularity in the surveys has both emboldened and tempered his authoritarianism. It has emboldened Duterte to attack his critics in media, Catholic Church, Supreme Court, and the Senate with negligible political costs to his popularity. But it has also tempered his more

authoritarian ambitions of declaring a revolutionary government or overhauling the constitution by channeling them instead to the more conventional electoral path where he has clear dominance over the opposition. This was demonstrated in the overwhelming electoral victory of his administration slate for the Senate in the 2019 midterm elections. Thus, the formidable popularity of Duterte, of his brutal style of governance as still democratic, and of most politicians associated with him all forebode of the continuation of a Duterte-style brand of authoritarian politics in the Philippines which is reinforced by widespread public approval and renewed through convincing electoral victory in a dysfunctional democracy.

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Malaysia as an Awkward Middle Power

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IR3: International Relations, Education 2.18, September 24, 2019, 11:30 AM - 1:00 PM

The behavioural approach to the middle power concept contends that all middle powers desire multilateral solutions, embrace compromise in international disputes, and strive to be good international citizens. In the aftermath of second world war it was argued politically that states that don't behave in this manner aren't middle powers. Subsequently, states that seemingly held middle power profiles and yet behaved differently were begrudgingly identified as theoretically awkward and labelled non-traditional or emerging; an acknowledgment of the failure of the behavioural approach to contemplate diverse behaviour. This paper submits that scholars employing this approach in the contemporary global political economy have ensnared themselves, and the traditional middle powers, within these policy prescriptions which limit the ability of states to seek progressive policy outcomes through other types of behaviour. Malaysia has been identified as an awkward middle power, but fits statistically within middle-powerdom, and thus study of its behaviour enables an escape from International Relations theory. This paper critiques the behavioural approach as being incomplete and challenged by the changing nature of the international community of states, the rise of the People's Republic of China and the subsequent structural changes to the global political economy. It finds that hybridisation theory may too be employed to create more and varied policy options for all middle powers beyond those historically exemplified by the traditional middle powers.

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Is Free Trade Good for Women? How Trade Agreements Affect Women's Rights

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IR8: International Relations, Education 3.26, September 25, 2019, 11:00 AM - 12:30 PM

The effect of trade liberalization on women's rights has been hotly contested. Some argue that free trade has an adverse impact on women in developing countries by undermining public services, eroding social

protection and deepening gender inequalities. Others claim that free trade generates economic growth, creates economic opportunities and has many positive spillover effects on women's social and economic participation. We argue that the potentially negative effect of trade liberalization on women in the Global South can be offset by trade policies designed to reduce economic and social gender imbalances. Conditionality in North-South preferential trade agreements (PTAs) containing certain labor and human rights provisions, such as gender equality chapters and core labor standards, can lead to a race to the top in women's rights protection in the developing world. We assess this claim empirically using statistical evidence drawn from the analysis of original data on PTAs and their gender clauses. Our study is the first to establish an empirical link between PTA design and women's rights, suggesting new policies are needed to better balance economic globalization with social goals in the current protectionist era.

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Politics and Strategies of the Unspoken: Muthanga Struggle and Crisis of Paniya Identity, Indigenous People of Kerala, South India

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IND3: Indigenous Politics, SSS014, September 24, 2019, 11:30 AM - 1:00 PM

Introduction: The political landscape of the state of Kerala in South India was smeared by a struggle launched by the indigenous people in the beginning of 2003. Paniya, one of the indigenous people belonging to Wayanad participated extensively in the Muthanga struggle.

Context and Aim: They also constitute the largest landless people in the state. The popular and dominant academic perception about the Paniya, are as landless- labourers, ex-slaves and non-forest dwellers (Steur, L., 2009). The state continues to deny acknowledging the cultural association of the Paniya indigenous people with land and forest in Wayanad. However their extensive participation in Muthanga struggle challenged the dominant perception about them as 'landless' and as mere 'labourer', thereby having no association with land and forest. This also exposed the dichotomy of 'being indigenous' people and yet denied having 'cultural relation with land and forest'.

This movement was an attempt to assert their identity as 'indigenous' people of the land. They demanded access to forests and hence chose Muthanga forests as the site for the struggle. The indigenous movements across India reflect a growing sense of 'identity consciousness'. The indigenous movements continue to expose the fundamental lacunae in the discourse of politics of inclusion claimed by the state.

Method and Findings: I intend to argue through this paper that it was not merely a struggle for resources or resistance towards global capital encroachment or for achieving subsistence livelihood but struggle for demanding cultural recognition as indigenous on their ethnic identity because land acts as a determinant of the survival of the community, of their culture and the basis of their identity as Paniyas. Drawing from ethnographical field research, this paper will also attempt to understand how marginalized communities draw upon various strategies to interact, negotiate and bargain with social and political forces of exclusion.

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Australian foreign aid to India between 1949-1966: Recipient's Need or Donor's Interest?

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IR2: International Relations, Education 2.18, September 23, 2019, 2:00 PM - 3:30 PM

Indo-Australian relations during the Cold War years have received significant scholarly attention particularly the Nehru-Menzies relationship and its negative implications on the bilateral relationship. However, Australia's foreign aid to India during these years has not been analysed in the existing literature on this topic in particular the drivers of this aid from the Australian side. This paper tests four existing hypothesis drawn from the existing broader Australian aid literature on Australia's aid to India namely that Australian aid was 1) ad hoc in nature 2) driven by 'enlightened self-interest' 3) driven by commercial interests 4) driven by national security objectives. My paper will conclude that Australian aid to India was not driven by any of these donor's interests, instead, it was based on the recipient, India's, needs. Through process tracing and analysing archival material this paper concludes that Australian aid to India during the peak World War years rejects the Donor Interest Model (DIM) of foreign aid as it aligns more with the Recipient Need Model (RNM). This has broader implications for re-examining Indo-Australian relations as well as analysing the agency of the recipient countries in foreign aid literature.

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A royal dilemma: women as journalists and sources in media

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A13: Australian Politics, LWCM Nth 5, September 24, 2019, 11:30 AM - 1:00 PM

Journalism in Australia has consistently conferred the status of expert on male sources and male journalists have dominated by-lines in Australian journalism. (WLIA 2016). While the Global Media Monitoring Project has seen an improvement in visibility of women as news subjects, men still dominate (Ross and Carter 2011). If journalism plays a role in shaping our perceptions of gender relations, as Carter (2005) argues, then higher visibility of women as experts may impact those perceptions. This paper analyses data collected from 15 Australian news sites over four consecutive Thursdays, using the top five news stories each day, then categorised for gender of author, sources and topic. In addition, opinion pieces were collected for each day over one week in February 2019 and analysed for gender of authors and topic. Female journalists were more likely to use female sources than male journalists; and articles co-authored by male and female journalists were more likely to use female sources. Politics dominated both news stories and opinion articles in the dataset; and male authors dominated both news and opinion writing. Men dominated as sources.

Women were also far more likely to write about the Royal family. It can be inferred that more gender diverse writers have an influence on the gender diversity of sources used in news and in turn, shape perceptions of gender relations.

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Removing Gender from Birth Certificates: Analysing the Media Response

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A13: Australian Politics, LWCM Nth 5, September 24, 2019, 11:30 AM - 1:00 PM

In April 2019 Tasmania became the first Australian jurisdiction to allow the recording of 'gender' on birth certificates only when parents opt in. Advocates for Trans rights see this as an important step in the process of demedicalizing Trans lives and removing formal barriers that inhibit trans people from living as their authentic selves. However, the Tas Liberals and some local groups opposed the changes. This talk will track the online response to this news, focusing on one news outlet, The Australian, and one medium, Facebook, from its first report in October 2018. I shall thematically analyse these responses and will argue that the majority of negative responses are enabled by an unreflective adoption of the belief that sex is naturally dimorphic, and by treating 'sex' and 'gender' as synonymous terms. In order to reframe this issue as one of social justice in the minds of those who object, we must challenge these two areas.

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Comparing multicultural integration policy success: the importance of a strong political centre amidst the influence of far-right parties in Australia and Europe

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A5: Australian Politics, Education 1.01, September 23, 2019, 11:30 AM - 1:00 PM

Although European political discourse has broadly retreated from rhetoric of multiculturalism in response to the so-called 'backlash', multicultural policies continue to feature in all but name. In contrast, the Australian and South Australian governments continue to make use of multicultural discourse that is also reflected in a longstanding policy approach. This paper applies the three-dimensions of policy success developed by

Marsh and McConnell (2010) to compare the relative success of multicultural integration policy in South Australia, the UK, Sweden and the Netherlands. In these four cases, having strong degree of common ground in the political centre is a factor common to the political success of multicultural policy. Likewise, the political success of multicultural policy in these cases is also influenced by the response of the mainstream centrist parties to the challenge posed by populist far-right or anti-establishment parties. In South Australia and Sweden, the strong commitment to the principles of multiculturalism by the centre-left and centre-right parties and party blocs have provided an enduring bipartisanship for the policy area. In contrast, the UK has taken a laissez-faire approach without strong bipartisan leadership. The lack of a firm commitment to multiculturalism has created space for policy decisions and directions that further weaken race equality, including the implementation of the so-called 'hostile climate for irregular migrants' and the Windrush scandal. The Netherlands differs from the other cases because Dutch policymakers have largely abandoned multicultural integration policies in favour of assimilation. There is no strong centrist cross-party alliance in the Netherlands that is advocating for multiculturalism or its foundational principles against populist, anti-immigrant parties.

203

The Influence of Judicial Ideology on Decision Making in the High Court of Australia

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A9: Australian Politics, LWCM Nth 5, September 24, 2019, 4:00 PM - 5:30 PM

A central focus in judicial politics research is the extent to which apex courts are constrained or influenced in their decision making by the ideological preferences of the justices that sit on the court. Yet, in the Australian context judicial scholars by and large reject the hypothesis that preferences can change outcomes in static institutions, and institutions can change outcomes in the face of static preferences. This Australian rejection of foundational political science explanations as they relate to the judiciary and judicial behavior is largely normative, and Australian scholars have largely ignored positive political science approaches to judicial decision-making. This paper provides a foundational study of the impact of judicial ideology on decision making in the High Court of Australia. The paper provides an original exogenous measure of individual judicial ideology of High Court justices sitting on the bench between 1995 and 2018, as well as codes an original dataset of all panel decisions of the High Court for the same period. The paper analyses the impact of judicial ideology on the voting behavior of the justices, demonstrating the extent to which ideology impacts the outcomes of Australia's apex court. By isolating the attitudinal variable and determine its effect we provide a foundational understanding of judicial decision making that will facilitate future empirical examination of decision making on the High Court.

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The Political Economy of Diaspora Engagement in Indonesia

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ASA9: Politics in Asia, Education 3.25, September 25, 2019, 3:30 PM - 5:00 PM

Over the past two decades, international organisations such as the World Bank and UNESCO have encouraged developing countries to adopt policies aimed at utilizing migrants' human, economic and social capital to advance economic and technological development in their homelands (Pellerin and Mullings 2013). In this context, the Indonesian Diaspora Network and other similar organisations have promoted the notion that the Indonesian diaspora is willing and able to contribute to Indonesia's development and pushed for policy changes that, they argue, will maximise their potential contribution in this respect. These changes have included the introduction of dual citizenship and the establishment of a special electorate for the diaspora. The Indonesian government has responded to this situation by expressing rhetorical support for the diaspora's involvement in national development, supporting a series of diaspora congresses, introducing a 'Diaspora Card' recognising diaspora members' connection to the homeland, and engaging in a series of other 'diaspora building' initiatives. But it has so far baulked at conferring significant additional rights on the diaspora such as the right to hold dual citizenship or to be represented via a dedicated electorate. This paper examines the domestic political dynamics surrounding this differentiated response. In so doing, it seeks to contribute to the wider literature on the political economy of state-diaspora relations by illustrating how domestic political and social contestation can shape the nature and evolution of diaspora strategies.

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SIDS and the governance of their large ocean spaces: what role for new technologies and non-state actors?

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ENV4: Environment, Education 3.26, September 24, 2019, 2:00 PM - 3:30 PM

Small Islands Developing States (SIDS) include some of the world smallest states, but also 30% of the 50 largest Economic Exclusive Zones (EEZ). They have the rights to the use of, but also the duty to protect, living and non-living resources present in those large pans of oceans. This includes monitoring those spaces for illegal, unreported and unregulated (IUU) fishing, which is increasingly considered as a transnational crime. Due to capacity constraints, it is difficult for SIDS to monitor and enforce the rules in those spaces. In recent years, the use of new technologies (such as satellite images) and the cooperation with non-state actors has become more frequent. Some of the most relevant examples include a public map hosted by Global Fishing Watch (a partnership between Google, and the not-for-profit Oceana and Skytruth) which allows anyone with an internet access to monitor fishing vessels; and a Large Marine Protected Area established through a debt-for-nature mechanism by the Nature Conservancy which will cover 30% of the Seychelles' EEZ. Building on the literature on transnational governance and governance of the commons, this paper will describe and critically assess the cooperation between SIDS and non-state actors in their efforts to monitor the EEZs, contributing to the growing scholarship on SIDS agency and ocean governance.

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Re-thinking Bangladesh's Foreign Policy on the Rohingya Issue: Dilemma of National Security and Human Rights

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IR2: International Relations, Education 2.18, September 23, 2019, 2:00 PM - 3:30 PM

Forced migration is liable for rampant human rights violation around the world and has become a significant security concern for many countries over the last few years. Since 90s, Bangladesh is facing influx of Rohingya refugees from neighbor Myanmar, and it creates serious threat from the perspective of both traditional and human security. Mass atrocities committed by Myanmar security forces Commencing from March 2017 that is described by the United Nations as 'Textbook example of ethnic cleansing' created new exodus of Rohingyas to Bangladesh. Following the policy of accommodating refugees of 90s, Bangladesh has made substantial efforts with an immediate response to facilitate all these people. However, past experience suggests that Rohingya have created several social and economic problems both at the local and national levels. The huge forced refugees already created pressure on the limited resources of the locality, allegedly engaged in petty crimes and there is a risk of spreading militant Islam. Thus, Bangladesh is facing the dilemma of the dual need for human security and national security, both of which have taken on a new dimension after the recent crisis in Rakhine State. This paper seeks to investigate the nature of the dilemma faced by Bangladesh over the Rohingya issue. Through a case study based on interviews with Rohingya refugees and different stakeholders in Bangladesh, this paper presents both the human rights and national security concerns of the Rohingya issue. At the same time, it argues that Bangladesh must re-think its policy stand and should emphasize on solving the problem internationally. The study's findings suggest that temporary shelter based on the need for human security may enhance Bangladesh's image in the international arena, it could create a long-standing problem if the government continues the rehabilitation program in the same way that was done in the 1990s.

233

Summary graphics in political science: Picturing patterns in Australian Territory elections

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A8: Australian Politics, Education 1.01, September 25, 2019, 1:30 PM - 3:00 PM

Introduction: Science at its best produces simple graphics identifying and summarising patterns, both in empirical data and in theory. In electoral science, proportionality profiles of parliamentary elections across whole jurisdictions are one such summarising graphic technique.

Context and Aim: Developed in the 1980s by physicist turned political scientist Rein Taagepera and his associates, the graphic technique of proportionality profiles has not been greatly taken up. The aim of this paper is to develop proportionality profiles for all Australian Territory elections and to use them for pattern recognition and explanation.

Method: This paper uses publically available data on election results, primarily now accessible through the websites of electoral management authorities.

Findings: Proportionality profile graphics reveal clear and deep patterns in Australian Territory elections, around the number of successful parties and independents. The paper argues that these patterns can be related to electoral system factors, primarily district magnitude. While this finding of clear patterns in electoral and party system outcomes is not itself new, the deeper more perplexing question for research practice and political science methods is: why has so little use been made of such a powerful graphic technique in summarising and presenting these patterns?

Innovative Contribution: This paper argues that Australian politics and electoral science could benefit significantly from greater use of proportionality profiles as a summary graphic technique. Picturing patterns seems an underdeveloped art in Australian electoral science.

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Backstage Coordination: The Problem of the Corporation in the Public Sphere

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THE3: Political Theory, Education 4.42, September 24, 2019, 11:30 AM - 1:00 PM

Since the 1970s, corporations have developed increasingly sophisticated methods to monitor and shape public discourse. Indeed, there is now a vast professional industry which provides services to corporations to achieve such aims. Such activity presents a challenge to normative theories of democracy, especially those which prioritise the role of public deliberation in the formation of legitimate law and policy. Where public deliberation is significantly shaped by corporations and their agencies, it is distorted in some significant but unclear sense. In this paper I describe the kinds of corporate behavior that should be of concern to democrats, as well as its pervasiveness. I conceptualise such activity, in both its promotional and suppressive varieties, as "backstage orchestration". I suggest why such activity is democratically unjustifiable and set out principles which might guide the regulation of corporate political activity in the public sphere.

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Material Participation and the Politics of Sustainable Practice

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ENV1: Environment, Education 3.26, September 23, 2019, 11:30 AM - 1:00 PM

Many of the articulated motivations for action in recent environmental movements of practice include desires for participation and procedural justice. Strong, participatory processes that involve local people in meaningful and substantial ways have been shown to promote positive beliefs and actions around a number of sustainability policies. For activists in many movements of practice – those involved in local food systems, sustainable fashion, and community energy, for example – participation is at the centre of movement concerns. Crucially, however, such notions of participation are material in nature. Classic notions of political participation or procedural justice are mainly instrumental – we vote for a specific outcome, participate toward an end, or protest to get a message across and change policy. The idea of participation in these movements of everyday practice, however, is articulated as a demand for material participation; activists repeatedly emphasise the importance of increasing community involvement in the production and flow of the basics of everyday life, including energy. This is not only a demand for classic political participation, but an insistence on a sense of material participation, social inclusion in the very flows of food, energy, or other goods and things through bodies, communities, and lives. Material participation is about doing – sometimes literally getting one's hands dirty. Such a sense of material participation exists in these movements alongside a more traditional democratic sense of procedural justice. This paper examines this shift toward a more material notion of political participation both theoretically and as articulated by movements. It makes the argument that material participation illustrates a very political implementation of the concept of new materialism – a sustainable materialism. And it explores this notion and practice against the accusations that both new materialism and “lifestyle activism” are apolitical or post-political.

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Contemporary Communal Violence in India: Regionalization of Politics and Violence

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ASA5: Politics in Asia, LWCM Moot Ct, September 24, 2019, 4:00 PM - 5:30 PM

Introduction: While India has witnessed several incidents of large scale communal rioting, the pattern of violence has changed after 2002. Though large scale rioting has reduced, small scale violence, in the form of mob lynching and moral policing have become more common. This study attempts to look at the dynamics of communal violence after 2002.

Aim and Context: The literature on communal violence in India fails to adequately address the changing dynamics of violence since 2002. With Indian politics becoming increasingly regionalized since the 1990s, this study tries to link the regionalization of politics to the changing nature of communal violence. It revolves around the following research question:

Has the regionalization of politics lead to the regionalization of communal violence?

The study aims to look at the role of local organizations in triggering communal violence. With the regionalization of politics, have local organizations attained greater autonomy over the use of violence? By answering these questions, the study hopes to place post 2002 communal violence in a theoretical frame.

Methods: This study is a part of my doctoral research that I am undertaking at The University of Auckland. While the details of the methodology is still being developed, it would involve a mixture of case studies and semi-structured interviews.

Findings: Though the study is still in the initial stage, the broad trends do point towards a link between the regionalization of politics and communal violence. Data on communal violence and elections suggest that the regionalization of politics and the transition from riots to small scale violence took place over a similar time-period.

Contribution to Research: This study hopes to fill the void in communal violence related literature on India since 2002. More importantly, unlike all previous studies, it tries to draw links between the regionalization of politics and communal violence.

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Sources of political distrust in Australia

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A6: Australian Politics, Education 1.01, September 25, 2019, 9:00 AM - 10:30 AM

Declining political trust presents one of the most pressing problems of contemporary Australian politics. However, trust is a multidimensional phenomenon and the causes of its decline are many and varied. In this study, we analyse the Australian Election Study and World Values Survey over a period of 30 years to investigate the predictors of distrust in Australian parties, politicians, and the democratic system over time. We find that generational cleavages have emerged, and that the proliferation of education may be a root cause. In the contemporary context, we find that wealth and income inequality (particularly among those between 25 and 45) is driving distrust. The results provide vital insights to the intergenerational nature of political attitudes in Australia and the importance of (perceptions of) inequality to restoring trust in the domestic political system.

153

Pursuing Peace in the Age of the Anthropocene

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IR1: International Relations, Education 2.18, September 23, 2019, 11:30 AM - 1:00 PM

The age of the Anthropocene challenges the liberal international order. Does the liberal peace agenda have a place in the international relations of the Anthropocene? A state-centric, militarised, and consumption-driven model of the liberal world appears incompatible with the measures required in addressing the global environmental threats in this new geological epoch. This paper is an exploration of the possible avenues to resolve these incompatibilities by outlining the common trajectories of the liberal pursuit of peace and the global pursuit of survival. It presents ways of rethinking and transforming the liberal international order through a greater emphasis on human security, global disarmament, and alternative economic models. The challenges of the Anthropocene create opportunities for the nation-states and the global governance system to demonstrate the relevance of their material and normative foundations amidst views that the liberal international order is now in decline. This paper argues that pursuing peace and security has the potential to complement the actions needed for humanity to survive in the age of the Anthropocene.

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Indigenous research in Australia: an ARC perspective

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IND4: Indigenous Politics, LWCM Moot Ct, September 24, 2019, 2:00 PM - 3:30 PM

This paper will critically review four aspects of how Indigenous research is managed in Australia. It will cover: 1. The history, scope and effectiveness of ARC funding schemes for Indigenous research; 2. The ARC's role in gate keeping around definitions of eligibility for ARC Indigenous research funding; 3. The management of ethics in Indigenous research; and 4. International bench-marking, how does Australia compare with others? New Zealand and South Africa are used as comparator cases.

Disclosure Statement: The author is a former ARC Executive Director.

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Climate Change, Migration, and Labour Rights

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ENV5: Environment, Education 3.26, September 24, 2019, 4:00 PM - 5:30 PM

Climate change is increasingly being framed by states as a matter of national security. One of the key elements of this framing is the impact climate change may have on future patterns of cross border migration, playing into the often divisive global discourse around border politics and irregular migration. This paper will outline how the impacts of climate change are already affecting patterns of economic

migration and where significant economic disruptions will likely occur as a result of global warming over the coming decades.

While most climate related migration remains internal, there has been an increase in right-wing, economic nationalist narratives using the threat of economic migration to create political division. In this paper I argue that there needs to be a counter narrative and policy response, focused on the economic and labour rights of all people, that is protected by international law. Without this, climate induced migration is likely to contribute to political instability and political division.

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Analysis of Pradhan Mantri Awas Yojana in Punjab (India)

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POL2: Policy & Governance, Education 2.07, September 25, 2019, 1:30 PM - 3:00 PM

The mission of the Pradhan Mantri Awas Yojana-PMAY (Urban & Rural) in India was to provide central assistance to implementing agencies through States and UTs for providing houses to all marginalised and poor families by 2022. However, the program has many inherent limitations and has been labelled as merely an image campaign for the government lacking sustainable elements.

This paper will attempt to analyse whether PMAY scheme has been able to achieve its mission or not. An attempt will also be made to suggest measures to smoothen its implementation so as to bring more beneficiaries under its ambit. Data will be collected from four cities representing of state Punjab, of the country. Random sampling technique and survey method will be used for collection of data and appropriate analytical tools be used to draw the results.

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Young Londoners, Everyday Politics and Sustainability

Dr James Sloam¹

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ENV2: Environment, Education 3.24, September 23, 2019, 2:00 PM - 3:30 PM

Over the past decade, young people have become increasingly politically active. In the aftermath of the financial crisis, they have protested against economic inequalities and the impact of cuts in public spending on their everyday lives. This is particularly true of young people living in urban environments, where a wide range of social and economic problems have become more pronounced. Since 2018, school children across the world have joined a second wave of protest, in the context of environmental crisis, against climate change. This paper investigates the views, values and participatory practices of young Londoners in relation to 'sustainable development'. Drawing upon qualitative data (interviews and focus groups with young people from traditionally marginalized groups) and a N=2,002 survey of 16-24 year olds in London, it highlights the most pressing social, economic and environmental issues and how they express themselves

through civic and political engagement. The research finds that the issues young Londoners care about are driven by poverty and social inequalities, exacerbated by dramatic increases in costs and withdrawal of support on turning 18. Whilst ecological issues have become more tangible (particularly air pollution), deficits in civic education and youth voice provide major obstacles to embedding sustainability in public policy.

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Legislators and Islamophobia: a four-country study

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COMP1: Comparative Politics, Education 3.25, September 23, 2019, 11:30 AM - 1:00 PM

“Islamophobia” is a relatively new and highly contested term. While it is becoming increasingly prevalent in media and political discourse across the English-speaking world, it is yet to achieve the discursive resonance of terms such as “racism” or “anti-semitism”. Like these terms, however, it often generates complaints that it is being used to stifle legitimate political debate. These complaints often take on a populist cast, with politicians and media figures claiming that activists and governmental elites use the accusation of Islamophobia to dismiss the fears of ordinary citizens about Islam. This paper rigorously explores the dynamics of contestation around the term Islamophobia through frame analysis of more than five hundred speeches mentioning the term in the British, American, Canadian and Australian national legislatures. I find widely-varying levels of contestation across the cases, with the most important variable being the extent to which conservatives accept and use the term to denote social problems. In the UK, where the term Islamophobia originated and is most widely used, it is least contested in parliament but also least likely to be used as an accusation. Instead, the institutionalisation of the term, which was widely used in British officialdom before entering popular discourse, allows it to be used by members of all parties to describe structural problems in impersonal ways. In the other cases, to different degrees, Islamophobia is regularly contested by mainstream conservative politicians and also regularly levelled as an accusation by parties of the left. This paper explores the contextual reasons for this variance, as well as important similarities across cases—the use of Islamophobia to refer to problems in civil society rather than the state, the frequent discursive pairing of Islamophobia with anti-Semitism, and the symbolic nature of legislative debate about Islamophobia, which is generally unconnected to concrete political action.

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Climbing the Greasy Pole: Political Advising and Career Trajectories in Industrialized Democracies

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¹*The Australian National University*

A12: Australian Politics, LWCM Nth 5, September 23, 2019, 11:30 AM - 1:00 PM

There is increasing evidence which suggests political advising serves as an important stepping-stone into a parliamentary career in many advanced democracies. Given that political parties are the key gatekeeper for both a career in a political office and elected office, how does political advising shape the legislative career paths of ambitious actors? A range of popular commentary portrays political staff as a potential threat to democracy. Prior research has shown political staff are important gatekeepers and policy actors in their own right, which may give them advantage over other potential candidates. However, most previous studies of political advising and political candidature only look at legislators who have previous experience as political advisors, thereby selecting on the dependent variable. Using elite survey data and an original longitudinal dataset of political staff in Canada and Australia, this study investigates how political advising impacts the subsequent political careers of advisors in institutionalized democracies. In so doing, this study asks: (1) Do political staff run for office? (2) Does experience as apolitically appointed staff member increase the likelihood a candidate will be elected? (3) Do candidates with partisan staff backgrounds approach representation differently than other candidates?

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Decisive or Dictatorial: Strongman-Style Leadership and Democratic Attitudes

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¹*Australian National University*

A7: Australian Politics, LWCM Nth 5, September 24, 2019, 2:00 PM - 3:30 PM

Introduction: Why do some citizens in established democracies prefer 'strongman' leaders? Is this preference really an expression of anti-democratic attitudes?

Context and Aim: Existing research primarily examines the scope and contextual predictors of anti-democratic attitudes; by contrast, we aim to understand what citizens actually mean when they express these attitudes. Most citizens in advanced democracies do not have experience with authoritarian leadership and the desire for a 'strong man' may have different meanings. This might range from a full-fledged preference for a dictator to a wish for a democrat who 'gets things done'. While dissatisfaction with democracy or low perceptions of responsiveness could drive both perspectives, their consequences and antidotes are markedly different.

Method: To examine whether citizens see democratic values and strongman leadership as at odds with one another, we conduct a survey experiment that measures respondents' preferences for 'strongman' leadership. We use vignettes that evoke images of functional and dysfunctional democratic and authoritarian decision making. We then measure agreement to a range of possible underlying democratic and authoritarian ideas and compare their stated preferences for strongman leaders to their revealed preferences for democracy and autocracy

Findings: TBD

Innovative contribution to policy, practice and/or research: Our study builds on an emerging literature on support for democracy and authoritarian regimes, as well as existing literature on input and output legitimacy. The study also informs policy prescriptions for practitioners interested in reducing discontent in the political system.

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Gender, Ethnicity and Politics in South Australia: Towards Enshrining Political Representation of Women from Culturally and Linguistically Diverse Backgrounds

Dr Elena Spasovska¹

¹University of South Australia

A4: Australian Politics, Education 1.01, September 24, 2019, 2:00 PM - 3:30 PM

Australia's nation-building and nation-branding story is based on ideas of equality and fairness. Australia has promoted itself as the 'lucky country' with opened doors and ample opportunities for immigrants from around the world, and it is one of the first countries to grant women the right to vote. South Australia is a pioneer in removing legal obstacles to women's political participation and its population is increasingly diversified. Yet, the cultural and linguistic diversity of our communities is not reflected in the centres of political power. In fact, the political decision-making arena on both federal and state level remains largely homogenous, and it reinforces unequal access to power and privilege along gender, ethnic, and class lines. The aim of this paper is to examine the advances and challenges that South Australian women from ethnically diverse backgrounds face in the pursuit for political representation and decision-making power. It will be argued that women from minority ethnic groups experience intersecting disadvantage and discriminating practices that can shape candidature, election outcomes and political achievements, but this can also present an opportunity for solidarity and resistance. This paper is informed by an analysis of election lists and results in SA's state and in federal elections from 2010-2019, and semi-structured interviews with South Australian women who have political aspirations and/or experience in state and federal politics. The qualitative component is guided by a feminist research methodology and an intersectional perspective. The findings will reveal rampant sexism, racism and political violence, and possibilities for more equal representation through the introduction of quotas. The paper will contribute to policy, practice and research by highlighting the challenges that hinder diversity, and discussing possibilities to enshrine the principles of equality, respect and inclusion within Australian politics.

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Aboriginal men's perspectives on being criminalised.

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IND4: Indigenous Politics, LWCM Moot Ct, September 24, 2019, 2:00 PM - 3:30 PM

Indigenous people currently comprise 28% of the prisoner population nationally. Indigenous men are heavily represented within this cohort, making up 90% of all Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander inmates. Alarming as they are, such statistics only speak to the structural side of the story of Indigenous people being criminalised. Another side to this story is evidenced in a facet of the presenter's research, which explores Aboriginal men's agency as described by the men themselves. By interviewing Aboriginal men and their closest of kin, and using a methodological approach that centers the men in a web of personal relations and life-events, it becomes evident that despite the impact of structural violence, Aboriginal men believe they maintain a form of agency when engaging in events ranging from social exclusion through to incarceration. However, most importantly, the agency that is afforded to Aboriginal men in such circumstances is evidently extremely attenuated. This presentation discusses the perspectives of Aboriginal men whom have been criminalised and forced to exercise an extremely attenuated form of agency in unforgiving socio-political environments.

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Indigenous institutions': How can this term be defined?

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¹Griffith University

IND1: Indigenous Politics, Education 3.23, September 23, 2019, 11:30 AM - 1:00 PM

In political science definitions matter. An academic discipline is regarded by the rigor with which related terms are defined. The quality and impact of academic work can be enhanced with consistent and well explained terminology. Therefore, there is a fundamental reason to get definitions right. Currently, there is no unanimous definition for the term 'institution' nor the more specific term 'Indigenous institution'. Clear definitions need to be established to give researchers the means to accurately describe and identify these systems. Developing criteria to classify Indigenous institutions will help to frame this concept, while also potentially bringing uniformity to how it is characterised.

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Climate justice narratives in Australia - the evolution from climate refugees to just transition

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ENV5: Environment, Education 3.26, September 24, 2019, 4:00 PM - 5:30 PM

This paper charts the evolution of narratives of climate justice in Australian climate politics from 2000 to the present. A significant transformation of understandings of climate justice moved from initial framing as a regionally grounded narrative around Pacific climate vulnerability and climate refugees. The current dominant narrative is focussed on low-carbon transition and economic vulnerability of coal communities.

There are three key drivers of this transformation that demonstrate how broader political battles have shaped and limited the space available to the climate movement to articulate particular understandings of climate justice. Firstly, the impact of refugee policy in Australian politics, the implications of this for foreign policy and regional politics, effectively preclude an international facing conception of climate justice and any advocacy on climate refugees by the mid-2000s. Secondly, Australian conceptions of environmental justice have been increasingly disconnected from international versions that have a focus on people of colour. Australian environmentalism has a poor record of embracing indigenous politics. The rationale for this has included articulation of the poisonous politics of race in Australia. This also limits the opportunities for particular articulations of climate justice. Thirdly, unlike some European contexts, energy poverty as a climate justice issue is not evident. I argue that this framing would not resonate well in the Australian context of the aspirational working class, despite recurrent concerns about energy pricing.

Therefore, the current articulation of climate justice is the result of this shaping. It is also wrought by the historical connection to resource industries and the ability to capitalise on the concerns of mainstream Australians for workers connected to those industries. A focus on just transitions for coal communities enables the movement to talk beyond an environment versus jobs competition and highlight a low-carbon future that is both climate safe, but also economically sound.

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Is Diversity Our Strength? The Three Worlds of Diversity in the Global North

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COMP1: Comparative Politics, Education 3.25, September 23, 2019, 11:30 AM - 1:00 PM

What drives the rejection of diversity in different societies of the Global North? We use multinomial logistic regression analysis of the 2016 PEW Global Attitudes Survey data set to identify the drivers of anti-diversity sentiment in Canada, Germany, Greece, Poland, Sweden, and the UK. Our findings indicate that in all six societies' educational levels, welfare chauvinism, ethnic nationalism, and anti-Muslim prejudice have a strong impact on the likelihood of the rejection of diversity. The evidence is mixed, however, on the impact of age, gender, urban residence, socio-economic vulnerability, and anti-refugee prejudice. The findings lead us to propose that there are currently three possibly stable socio-historical diversity regimes in the Global North: hegemonic mono-ethnic societies (such as Poland or Greece), established immigrant societies (such as Canada), and societies in transition (such as the UK, Germany, or Sweden). We discuss ways to test, develop, and improve the proposed typology, as well as implications for the path to multicultural evolution under different socio-historical diversity regimes.

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Competitive federalism and the taxation of inherited wealth in Australia

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A3: Australian Politics, Education 1.01, September 24, 2019, 11:30 AM - 1:00 PM

Introduction: The idea of reintroducing “death taxes” in Australia can generate heated debate, especially at election time. Nevertheless, the reasons why Australia’s inheritance taxes were abolished in the 1970s and 80s are poorly understood.

Context and Aim: A dominant explanation is that the Queensland government’s abandonment of succession duties in 1977 triggered a panicked response over capital flight from the other State governments, prompting them to abandon their own inheritance taxes. This explanation has not been examined systematically and leaves key issues unaddressed. This paper aims to examine and clarify the relationship between competitive federalism and inheritance tax reform in Australia.

Method: Adopting an historical institutionalist approach, the study draws on a range of archival materials: legislative instruments, parliamentary debates, historical taxation data, and previously unexamined policy and cabinet documents, to reveal the processes underlying State and Federal repeals.

Findings: This paper argues that the dominant explanation is too simplistic and disregards the complex processes that were at play in the decade preceding 1977. These include horizontal competition between the Australian States and Territories, vertical competition between the States and the Commonwealth, and competition between industry, gender and party interests in each jurisdiction. While the Queensland government’s action was a key event in the reform process, the responses from the other jurisdictions varied markedly; fear of capital flight was not the only factor leading to tax reform.

Innovative contribution to research: This paper examines an under-investigated example of tax reform, provides an alternative to the dominant narrative, and furthers understanding of the ways in which federalism can shape public policy in Australia.

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Post-WWII Thai Politics in a New Key: Culture and Social Movements in the 1950s

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ASA2: Politics in Asia, Education 3.19, September 23, 2019, 2:00 PM - 3:30 PM

Introduction. Thai politics in the immediate post-World War II period featured a free-wheeling and short-lived democracy in the 1940s and then a military dictatorship that cemented its power by the end of the 1950s. Most studies of the period assert that elite infighting and US pressure on the country as a Cold War ally were the most important factors in period politics. This paper argues instead that social forces fundamentally shaped both democracy and dictatorship.

Context and aim. Thai democracy's tangled post-war fortunes are best seen in a historical context of an independent state surrounded by European colonies in transition. And like neighbouring societies emerging from colonialism, Thailand had to face its own autocratic legacy. The end of the absolute monarchy in 1932 unleashed a social struggle that was compounded by the war and the changing balance of international power. This paper aims then to understand the post-war socio-political struggle as a changing society's response to the recent past.

Method. This paper uses written documents, including period newspapers, letters to the government from citizens, labour and university student manifestos, and political party tracts.

Findings. My research found that in addition to the legacy of absolute power, post-war democracy was shaped by the profound effect of World War II; the impact of independence movements in neighbouring states; and post-war goodwill towards the United States. In addition, the rapid growth of post-war higher education and the public sphere greatly broadened public participation in politics.

Innovative contribution to policy, practice and research. In addition to better understanding Thai and Southeast Asian history at a crucial turning point, this research can further Australian policy engagement with Southeast Asia. Especially relevant is understanding the pursuit of democracy as a widespread value in Asia-Pacific history; and not the preserve of the "West."

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Section 44 of the Australian Constitution and the question of citizenship

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A4: Australian Politics, Education 1.01, September 24, 2019, 2:00 PM - 3:30 PM

This paper examines the implication and future prospect of Section 44 of the Australian Constitution. This paper also considers what the citizenship means and how it should be dealt with in a multicultural society like Australia. During the course of the 45th parliament whose Members and Senators were elected at the double dissolution election on 2 July 2016, the High Court of Australia found 7 MHRs, 10 Senators and 1 prospective Senator as ineligible to be chosen under the provisions of section 44. Among those 18, 15 were caught because they were deemed to be dual citizens when they nominated for the election. None of them were from ethnic communities. They were disqualified because of dual UK, Canadian or New Zealand citizenship. However, that does not necessarily mean members of ethnic communities are on a safer ground. Perhaps they are extra cautious. It may well mean that section 44 has discouraged members of ethnic communities from contesting the election. This paper will use primary and secondary sources, as well as interviews and conversations including Members affected by the provision. This paper will also examine citizenship records of 242 Members and Senators. Among them, 61 had to abandon dual citizenship at some stage. Further 74 Members and Senators have overseas born parents or ground parents. In addition there are 7 Members and Senators whose records could be interpreted as somewhat doubtful. This paper analyses some of these cases and presents the best way forward to prevent this from happening again.

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Voting from Abroad: Indonesian Migrant Workers and the 2019 Indonesian General Elections

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ASA7: Politics in Asia, Education 2.07, September 25, 2019, 11:00 AM - 12:30 PM

This paper examines the voting patterns and complexities faced by the Indonesian migrant workers during the 2019 Indonesian general elections. It will trace back the electoral trajectories under which the electoral participation among the Indonesian migrant workers started, grew and expanded especially in Hongkong, Malaysia and Singapore. It will address the significant lack of academic interests in analyzing the growing numbers of voters among the Indonesian diaspora over past general elections in the era of Indonesia's new democracy. This paper will also critically used a number of electoral independent observers' reports on the 2019 Indonesian general elections held in these three countries. In conclusion, this paper takes into account the factors such as the accuracy of data on voters, better public education, impartiality of election commission and witnesses, the role of mainstream and social media and transparency of counting the votes in the making of 'a free and fair election' for the Indonesian migrant workers. It also urgently calls for more comparative studies to be done on the rise of voters among diaspora in Asia and beyond.

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Hung parliaments, "Executive-legislative" Relations and Referendums: Political Parties in the UK in the shadow of Brexit

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COMP2: Comparative Politics, Education 2.09, September 23, 2019, 2:00 PM - 3:30 PM

Brexit has ended two prime ministers' political lives. But it seems that there are still no signs of reaching a consensus in parliament. On the contrary, the political divergence in the country has become further intensified. However, the relationship between the three hung parliaments and referendums since WWII, and the changes in the executive-legislative power relationship, provide an explanation for the current political dilemma in Britain. For political parties, their functional decline in aggregating social differences has led to the failure in converging the voters' consensus and thus to a hung parliament, under which the cooperative mechanism has been destroyed and the legislative power of the Conservative party minority cabinet has also decreased. The divergence within the Conservative Party, and the judicial involvement of the Miller's case, have eventually reconstructed the "executive- legislative" relationship. In order to have a more solid - legitimate - basis in negotiations with the EU, David Cameron relied on the popular will to endorse the legitimacy of the executive power and improve the government's capacity, while Theresa May

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called for an early election that actually reduced the Tories' majority. These two failures not only further weakened the government's executive power but also led to a decline in the party's ability to coordinate popular sovereignty and the state's governance. The unexpected result of the Brexit referendum has triggered a contradiction between the legitimacy of popular sovereignty and the sovereignty of parliament, as well as a contradiction between the people and their representatives. Thus the gap between popular sovereignty and governance in a representative democracy has been fully exposed.

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Dam catchment management! Negotiating the path dependencies of public water infrastructure for climate adaptation

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POL3: Policy & Governance, Education 1.01, September 25, 2019, 3:30 PM - 5:00 PM

This paper presents a comparative analysis of catchment management dams in Cork, Ireland and Southeast Queensland, Australia, to better understand the dynamics of path dependency for climate change policymaking. Path dependence is often portrayed as an institutional impediment to comprehensively rational decisions. The analysis presented here describes the complex path dependent interactions that arise between physical infrastructure, its corporate administration and municipal government. These cases highlight how economic rationalism can compound climate vulnerabilities by appropriating public value choice and undermining the important role for expert judgement in public policy and administration. Corporate administration of infrastructure and the pursuit of public disaster management policy can combine in ways that exacerbate rather than alleviate the hazards presented by existing climate variability and advancing climate change. Infrastructure managers in both cases over-rely on operational protocols and invoke the expertise of engineers in their pursuit of economic priorities. When those protocols have proven insufficient in the face of climate extremes, however, blame is assigned to those same experts for breaking protocol when making necessary judgements under pressure in their attempts to avert disaster. The paper discusses the inevitability of infrastructural path dependence and, therefore, a need for more sophisticated approaches to policy, administration and multi-level governance to manage climate vulnerability.

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Institutional change, institutional work and democratic innovations in Australia

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A11: Australian Politics, Education 1.01, September 25, 2019, 11:00 AM - 12:30 PM

Institutionalism generally considers that institutional change happens in two broad ways: punctuated and incremental. Punctuated change is seen to arise from exogenous forces whereas incremental change is

more often viewed as coming from within the institutions themselves. For both types of institutional change, it is generally easier to identify that change has occurred after the fact. The concept of institutional work focuses on how institutional change happens through the work of agents who act aim to either maintain, disrupt or create institutions. Institutional work looks at both the intentional strategies and the unintentional actions of agents and how they interact to change and/or maintain institutions. In this paper, institutions are made up of narratives, practices and rules and argues that changing narratives are an important precursor to changing practices, and changing practices is often a precursor to changing rules (although it can flow in the other direction on occasion). Whilst the concept of institutional work does not replace other explanatory frameworks around institutional change, it can support a closer analysis of the actions of people advocating for change and those resisting change. In this way, institutional work may allow us to explain why some democratic innovations are institutionalised and others aren't. This is of particular interest in Australia where, whilst there is a growing use of the democratic innovation, deliberative mini-publics, the institutionalisation of them lags behind.

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Governing biodiversity in the Anthropocene: A comparative analysis of six national biodiversity strategies

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ENV4: Environment, Education 3.26, September 24, 2019, 2:00 PM - 3:30 PM

The decline of biodiversity can have profound economic, social and environmental consequences which diminish the total quality of the web of life on planet earth. In addition, the disruptions association with the emergence of the Anthropocene create further significant challenges for the conservation of biodiversity now and into the future. In response, under the context of the UN Convention on Biological Diversity, governments around the world have developed national biodiversity strategies as a means for demonstrating their commitment, and approach, to the conservation of biodiversity within their specific national contexts. As Australia has a draft biodiversity strategy in development, it is timely to investigate the strengths and weaknesses of different approaches to the development and implementation of national strategies for the conservation of biodiversity. Using an analytical framework informed by policy analysis literature, we examine existing biodiversity strategies in Australia, UK, New Zealand, Sweden, Canada, and Finland. We explore the ways each strategy: formulates the problem; sets out related goals and measurable objectives; drives implementation; fosters engagement; and monitors and evaluates progress. We also examine how studied nations' biodiversity goals and targets align with Aichi biodiversity targets and the challenges associated with the Anthropocene. Our findings reveal that different countries embrace different approaches to the development, implementation of national biodiversity strategies, and the governance of biodiversity. We also reflect on how well different national strategies respond to the challenges for biodiversity conservation that are associated with the Anthropocene.

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From Threshold to Ceiling and the Missing Formula in-Between: The Institutional “Mis-Design” of the Philippine Party-list Electoral System (1995-2019)

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ASA7: Politics in Asia, Education 2.07, September 25, 2019, 11:00 AM - 12:30 PM

The Philippine party-list electoral system for electing twenty percent of members of its House of Representatives should easily classify as a textbook example in the literature on comparative electoral systems of how not to do a proportional representation (PR) electoral system. It was introduced by the framers of the 1987 Constitution as an explicit reform measure to partly address the infirmities of the elite-dominated, winner-take-all nature of the more familiar single-member district (SMD) electoral system that has marginalized smaller parties or organizations since the American period. The intent was to give the smaller parties an alternative electoral game that would allow them to win seats proportional to the votes they get. A corollary goal was that with their initial electoral gains and experiences in the PR electoral system, the smaller parties will be encouraged to coalesce with each other to form larger parties or coalitions that eventually can compete with the dominant traditional parties not only in the new PR electoral system but also in the old SMD electoral system. However, through the serious flaws in the institutional design of the enabling party-list law, Republic Act (RA) 7941, that was passed by Congress and the series of misguided interventions by the Commission on Elections (Comelec) and the Supreme Court, the original party-list vision of the 1987 Constitution has instead morphed into the current bizarre electoral system that undermines key principles of a PR electoral system and whose perverse incentive structure both strongly encourages the dizzying proliferation of ultra-small parties and strongly discourages the formation of larger parties or coalitions. The paper illustrates this "mis-design" from the passing of the party-list law in March 1995 to the most recent party-list elections this May 2019.

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Family Men and Childless Women: Newspaper Coverage of Australian Premiers

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M1: Media, Education 2.08, September 23, 2019, 11:30 AM - 1:00 PM

Motherhood is often seen as an impediment to women's political careers. Those who have children are asked how they can possibly balance parenting and politics. Those who don't are accused of eschewing a 'normal' family life to pursue their political ambitions, hence unable to understand the concerns of 'ordinary families.' In contrast, political fatherhood is either taken for granted or interpreted as evidence of emotional stability and good character. Do such tropes appear in media representations of Australian government leaders' families? If so, what are the implications for leaders whose family lives do not mirror the archetypal

nuclear family form? To answer these questions in the Australian context, we turn to the subnational level, where seven women have led state governments. Our investigation compares reporting about the five most recently elected women (Anna Bligh, Annastacia Palaszczuk, Kristina Keneally, Lara Giddings and Gladys Berejiklian) and their male predecessors (Peter Beattie, Campbell Newman, Nathan Rees, David Bartlett and Mike Baird) as this group of ten premiers features a range of familial situations, from married with children to single or divorced with no children. We examine articles published by leading national and regional newspapers during the seven days after each individual was confirmed as the jurisdiction's premier. Quantitative analysis measures the extent to which family lives are mobilized when newly minted government leaders are introduced by the press to the public. Qualitative discourse analysis determines whether the reporting offers different perceptions of political legitimacy and authenticity for women and men, parents and non-parents.

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Reclaiming Lesbian Nation? The political power of exclusion

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GEN3: Gender & Sexuality, Education 2.07, September 24, 2019, 11:30 AM - 1:00 PM

There has been recent media interest regarding the issue of lesbian women not feeling included within 'queer' and LGBTQIA+ labels, events and spaces, but this has not been explored in-depth in contemporary academic research. Via the use of an online survey, we aimed to explore the experiences of lesbian women who do not use, or feel included by, the term 'queer' with regard to either theory or practice. We received 200+ responses and a thematic analysis was undertaken by three of the four co-authors. The analysis shows a tension between issues of inclusion and exclusion and raises important questions about the right of minority groups to autonomously self-organise, echoing earlier lesbian feminist debates. More broadly, this points to the potential utility of rehabilitating the concept of exclusion as a valid political claim for minorities. Strategic exclusion allows lesbian women to create spaces where the dominant phallocratic ideology can be rejected and resisted, and new values created. Our data suggest that the centralisation of inclusivity within queer politics negates this possibility.

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The History and Significance of the Concept of Legal Revolution

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THE1: Political Theory, Education 3.24, September 23, 2019, 11:30 AM - 1:00 PM

This paper discusses the history of the idea of a “legal revolution” in the 20th century. This is the idea that there exists an internal relation between law and revolution, so that revolutions before being social or political events, are essentially “legal” ones. First proposed in the 20th century by Eugen Rosenstock-Huussy in his book *Out of Revolution* (title of the later English edition), it was developed by Harold Berman in his classic *Law and Revolution* and, more recently, by Hauke Brunkhorst in *Critical Theory of Legal Revolutions*. The paper argues that the concept of a legal revolution should be contextualized within a discourse of political theology. The hypothesis is that the idea of a “legal revolution” seeks to locate the origins of the rule of law in the development of canon law (starting with the 13th century “Papal legal revolution”) in order to oppose another politico-theological discourse on the origin of the rule of law as stemming from the idea of (imperial, monarchic) sovereignty. The paper will also compare and contrast this idea of “legal revolution” to the “evolutionary” approach to the emergence of rule of law in thinkers like Hayek

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Talking about tax on Facebook in the 2019 Federal Election

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M3: Media, Education 2.08, September 24, 2019, 11:30 AM - 1:00 PM

The 2019 Federal Election involved a lot of talk about tax, from negative gearing to the “retiree tax”. How did online discussions around tax on Facebook demonstrate the differences between different political actors in their framing of the tax debate, and what kind of response that generated from members of the public?

This paper looks at Facebook data from political parties and leaders in the 2019 Federal election campaign period to differentiate between the dominant framings of tax, assess the similarities and differences between different political actors, and compare how these frames provoked different responses by members of the public.

These similarities and differences between actors will then be assessed in terms of partisan differences, to test the discursive coherence of progressive and conservative constructions of tax online.

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Explaining citizenship light in the context of direct democracy

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COMP5: Comparative Politics, Education 3.25, September 24, 2019, 4:00 PM - 5:30 PM

This paper aims to analyse the conditions under which the extension of citizenship rights is successful or unsuccessful in the direct democratic arena. The trend of citizenship rights extension has been defined by Christian Joppke with the concept of citizenship light (CL). Joppke suggests that citizenship is becoming less exclusive towards aliens, given that aliens and citizens have similar or identical rights, and more inclusive towards minorities, due to the attitude of promoting cultural pluralism. However, while the literature on CL contributes to the understanding of the citizenship liberalization, it has an important shortcoming: it does not consider CL trends in decision making contexts other than representative parliamentary democracy. This paper aims to close the resultant gap in CL literature regarding the CL phenomenon in the context of democratic systems where the parliamentary arena is complemented by direct democratic arena. The analysis of the success of referendums reveals that the only sufficient path that leads to the popular vote's success is to insert the sensitive issues into a multi-faceted bill. In contrast, voters oppose CL reforms whenever negative sentiments over CL policies are inflated by the presence of populist parties and by a divided government or whenever CL policies are put into popular vote without the promoter engaged in consensus negotiations with other political actors.

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Private Governance in Action: The Producer Experience of Organic Wine Certification

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POL4: Policy & Governance, Education 2.07, September 24, 2019, 4:00 PM - 5:30 PM

Certification and third-party accreditation schemes are examples of governance based on private-social partnerships. These forms of private governance are free from state or hierarchical influence, voluntary and market driven. Certification and third-party accreditation schemes provide the framework and standards for organic wine certification in Australia. They also fill a regulatory gap in the production of organic wine that the state and market are unable to provide. In this paper we examine differences between the structure and operation of organic wine certification schemes in Australia and the reasons why wine producers select one scheme over another. We also explore the challenges and barriers to being certified organic and why some wine producers decide not to be certified despite using organic or biodynamic principles in their wine

growing and making. We argue that there are cleavages in the sector between large and small organic producers, and between different wine regions. Moreover, we find that certified producers are concerned with claims made by uncertified producers that they are 'organic'. Some producers would like government to have a stronger role in the policing of the sector to stop these claims. Overwhelmingly, producers state that their reasons for going organic and being certified are based on improving the environment through the minimal use of chemicals and pesticides in the growing and production of their wines. While producers are generally happy with the certification schemes in Australia, many would prefer an overhaul of the different schemes and one unified approach to be established.

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Who signs online petitions in Australia and why?

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A12: Australian Politics, LWCM Nth 5, September 23, 2019, 11:30 AM - 1:00 PM

Recent political participation research in advanced democracies has shown that petition signing by citizens is often the next most likely political action for citizens, after voting. This can largely be attributed to a growth in online opportunity structures for petition signing provided by government petition portals, digital advocacy organisations, and new platforms such as Change.org. Yet we know very little about what makes this new context distinct, and what drives citizens to sign petitions. This paper analyses novel survey data on who signs petitions in Australia, and why. It investigates whether this cohort of citizens is similar to those who participate in other forms of political engagement, including direct forms of political contact, protest, and social media engagement. It also looks at how citizens understand the effectiveness of petitions as a vehicle for political change and influence.

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Political Party Activism of UMNO and PAS Grassroots Activists in Terengganu, a State in Eastern Peninsular Malaysia

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ASA8: Politics in Asia, Education 3.26, September 25, 2019, 1:30 PM - 3:00 PM

Whilst the political development and electoral performances of Parti Islam seMalaysia (PAS) and Pertubuhan Kebangsaan Melayu Bersatu (UMNO) in Terengganu have generated much interest, there are little studies about devoted grassroots party activists of both parties. They are characterized as highly – politicized, as political, social and economic aspects are rigidly filtered through the lens of party ideology. This study attempts to explore the intensity of political party activism among the UMNO and PAS grassroots political party activists in Terengganu by exploring their forms of political party activities. Secondly, it aims

to explore the incentives that encourage their political party activism. It also compares the differences of incentives that prevail among UMNO and PAS grassroots political party activists in Terengganu. Conceptually, this study combined four political participation theories namely the Rational Choice theory, the Civic Voluntarism model, the Incentives theory and the General Incentives model as a basis for explaining and building the argument. This study adopted an in-depth interview with twenty informants from both parties and the interview data were manually coded into four main themes, namely party ideology, altruistic motives, selective process and selective outcome. Of the four themes, three of them, except the altruistic motives, are private benefits enjoyed by those who involved in only. This defied the argument that political party activists are irrational because having involved in 'costly' political activities without getting anything in return. In terms of intensity of political party activism, both parties put welfare and community services as their main political activities. The glaring differences between UMNO and PAS informants are the former put party ideology and selective outcome above other motives while the latter was motivated by party ideology and selective process. The former also could be classified as pragmatist party activists while the latter is purists.

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Ethnic Bias in Chinese Labor Market—Evidence from a Field Experiment

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POL1: Policy & Governance, Education 3.25, September 23, 2019, 2:00 PM - 3:30 PM

Based on the field experiment methodology, we conducted a resume audit study to examine the degree of ethnic inequality in Chinese labor market. By applying for entry-level positions in Urumqi, Beijing and Kunming and measuring responses from firms, we find significant differences in callback rates between Han and Uygur candidates, as equally qualified applicants with typical Uygur names and appearance received 51.4% less positive responses than those with Han's. The degree of differences varies systematically across regions, company sizes and genders. The most severe discrimination is observed in Urumqi which located in an autonomous minority region, while situation in Kunming is comparatively the most positive. We tend to interpret it combining a discussion of Chinese stability policy implement and this may also help explaining the differences witnessed among different-sized firms. Besides, we consider different stereotypes and ethnic penalty when analyzing the finding that Uygur women suffer less bias in the hiring section than Uygur men compared to their Han counterparts.

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What Sense Can We Make of Military Suicide? Media coverage in Canada and Australia (2014-2018)

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M4: Media, Education 1.01, September 24, 2019, 4:00 PM - 5:30 PM

This paper discusses the findings of an analysis of media coverage of military suicide in Australia and Canada between 2014-2018. As military suicide rates spiked in both countries following the ten-year anniversary of deployments to Afghanistan and Iraq, so did media coverage of this phenomenon. Using a discourse analysis of twelve major news outlets in Australia and Canada, this paper investigates overlapping and diverting themes and myths about military suicide in these two case countries and posits whether policy responses can be negatively affected by these tropes. The paper draws out gendered tropes, framing, and norms in media coverage, as well as the potential disconnect between available medical data and public attention to the issue.

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Along the Highway of Heroes: emotion and the affective performance of war politics

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IR8: International Relations, Education 3.26, September 25, 2019, 11:00 AM - 12:30 PM

This paper examines the way that affective, immersive experiences of communal grief are politically linked to cultural militarism. In doing so, it builds on emerging debates within International Relations with regard to emotions and IR, and the various and 'everyday' articulations of militarism. Using the Highway of Heroes rallies in Ontario, Canada as a site for analysing affective performance, this paper seeks to explore a case study of emotionally invocative discourse and the representational discursive practices in which emotions are constituted and engendered. These grassroots gatherings are analysed within a broader discourse on Canada's war in Afghanistan. I argue that the gatherings contributed to the (re)production of politically strategic narratives that support militarism. Building upon feminist critical theory, this paper maps the connections between affective performance, emotion, and the propagation of militarism in the Canadian context. I argue that military identity is (re)imagined through many discursive elements, including communal displays of emotional commemoration, and that this has valuable theoretical considerations for the ways that militarized and gendered social relations are constructed.

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Brexit, Nationalism and Disintegration in the European Union and the United Kingdom

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IR9: International Relations, Education 2.08, September 25, 2019, 3:30 PM - 5:00 PM

Brexit forces scholars of EU theory to revisit the importance of national politics in the process of integration and disintegration. But Brexit can push consideration of the independent variable in European disintegration further than national politics alone. Brexit calls us to account for nationalist politics as an

independent variable in the historic construction and deconstruction of the European Union. Brexit opens up the possibility that European politics is not only 'second order' but about polity contestation of member-states as well as about criticisms from within member-states directed at the EU. The 2016 referendum opened up contestation between executive, parliamentary, national and popular sovereignties in the differing nations of the United Kingdom. It also had a noticeable effect on British, as well as European, disintegration. Such inter-related drivers of disintegration must alert scholars to treat member-states as internally variegated entities, driven by imperatives to maintain state sovereignty in the face of challenges from sub-state, EU and global levels, resulting in a politics of nationalism driven by contestation over membership of the EU. European integration began as a political process aimed at containing nationalism but since the Eurozone crisis it has generated it. By examining the nationalist politics animating the campaigns to leave the European Union throughout the United Kingdom and the politics of keeping the UK united as the Brexit negotiations played out, this paper argues for the centrality of nationalism in any further understandings of the process and politics of European disintegration at the EU and member-state levels.

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Brexit, English Nationalism and the Anglosphere

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IR9: International Relations, Education 2.08, September 25, 2019, 3:30 PM - 5:00 PM

This paper examines the causal relationship between Brexit, English nationalism and the Anglosphere. In the aftermath of the UK's EU referendum explanatory analysis quickly settled on a 'revolt' of those 'left behind' by the benefits of globalisation and European integration. However, Brexit was also an elite project that was profitably aligned with an increasingly politicised sense of English nationhood. It was this contingent alliance between an elite project and popular grievance that won the vote in 2016 and sustained support for 'hard Brexit' thereafter. Employing an interpretivist analysis, this paper shows how elite Brexiteers articulated a globally-oriented Englishness from 2010-19, underpinned by notions of the United Kingdom's imperial past as an ideational alternative to membership of the EU. Far from being parochial 'Little Englanders', elite Brexiteers sought to replace the European Union with Global Britain's true friends and traditional allies in the Anglosphere. Rather than a major rupture, Brexit was thus reassuringly framed by elite Brexiteers as a giant leap into the known. The paper concludes that the politics surrounding Britain's withdrawal from the EU are causally related to the politicisation of Englishness and the emergence of the Anglosphere idea on the right of British politics as a trans-national form of Euroscepticism that seemingly offered an alternative to the UK's membership of the EU.

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Zelena Transversala: A Post-Structuralist Narrative Analysis of Contemporary Usage in the Domestic Balkan Political Sphere

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COMP1: Comparative Politics, Education 3.25, September 23, 2019, 11:30 AM - 1:00 PM

Zelena transversala (ZT) is a geopolitical concept which attempts to depict the actions and goals of Islamists and gained traction in the Balkans during the 1992-1995 Bosnian War. The original concept plays off Huntington's Clash of Civilizations with the Balkans as a prime example of a 'fault line war' and is being brought to the forefront again with the European Refugee Crisis of 2015 and a resurgence in nationalism to advance ethnically charged political agendas. Based on the seminal work by Srdja Trifkovic (2009), the current literature is quite clear about the impacts of the ZT historically but is lacking a contemporary analysis. This paper will examine, through single case process tracing, the use of the ZT in contemporary Balkan political discourse and its impacts on current democratic processes. Examples will include the invocation of the ZT by Serbian Foreign Minister Ivica Dacic as well as by Milorad Dodik, during his presidential campaign. Given the changing regional security environment, which stems from the evolving conflicts in the MENA, the current refugee crisis in Europe, and the recruitment of Balkan born mujahideen; Balkan leaders are readily invoking the ZT and inflating the reality of the Islamist threat for political gain.

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The Elusive Settlement: Chinese-Indian Negotiation over 'the Boundary Question'

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ASA4: Politics in Asia, SSS014, September 24, 2019, 2:00 PM - 3:30 PM

The Sino-Indian border dispute, remains one of the most salient issues in the two states' bilateral relations. In an effort to address this dispute, China and India have created several diplomatic mechanisms and engaged in multiple rounds of negotiations. Although initial efforts to resolve the dispute became deadlocked and were ultimately called off, the various rounds of negotiations since 1981 have been largely successful in pacifying the contested border. However, a resolution of the border dispute is seemingly no closer than when the two sides began. This paper takes stock of how the Sino-Indian border negotiations have progressed and address the question: why have the negotiations seemingly become stalemated? Ultimately, I argue that a leading reason behind the Sino-Indian border negotiations dragging on is that they have turned into an important channel of communication on numerous other issues between China and India, making it too useful a tool for the two emerging powers to dispense with.

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Rising or not? Brazil awkwardly lurches towards Great Power

Dr Thomas Wilkins¹

¹Usyd

IR3: International Relations, Education 2.18, September 24, 2019, 11:30 AM - 1:00 PM

Though Brazil has a population of 185 million, a vast and resource rich territory, and until recently a booming economy, it seems as far as ever from reaching its potential of playing a traditional great power role on the international stage. As is invariably quipped when speaking of the country – “Brazil is the country of the future...and always will be...” in the words of General Charles de Gaulle. This paper concurrently examines the bases of national power in Brazil across a variety of diverse metrics and the relevant IR theories related to great/middle/regional power theorising to gain a better appreciation of exactly where Brazil sits in the international hierarchy. But more appositely, it seeks to determine the reasons why the ‘systemic impact’ of Brazil on international politics falls far below what might be anticipated of a country of such strong potential. This, the paper argues, can be explained by a multitude of internal problems relating to political instability, economic disparities, and national cultural preferences, combined with a series of external constraints, such as US hemispheric dominance, resistance of neighbouring Latin states, and exclusion from key international organisations. It concludes, that while Brazil appeared well-placed to assume the mantle of a genuine world power in the first decade of the Twentieth Century, it has since resiled to its prior position as an “awkward power” sitting uneasily between middle and great powerdom.

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US Covert Action in Cold War Japan: The Politics of Cultivating Conservative Elites and its Consequences

Dr Brad Williams¹

¹*City University of Hong Kong*

ASA2: Politics in Asia, Education 3.19, September 23, 2019, 2:00 PM - 3:30 PM

This presentation examines the role of the US intelligence community (IC) in establishing and perpetuating the political dominance of the Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) in Japan during the Cold War. The study sheds light on the modalities of the US IC’s involvement in the Japanese political process, evaluates the effectiveness and consequences of this intervention and seeks to place it in a broader comparative perspective. The timing of the most intense phase of the US IC’s intervention in Japan’s political process is important, occurring during the tumultuous first decade after the US-led occupation when conservative dominance was uncertain. The presentation’s central argument is that, nevertheless, the US IC’s contribution to establishing and stabilising LDP rule cannot be considered in isolation from other important endogenous factors, most notably Japanese political actors. It is therefore necessary to explore the role of conservative elites who actively and eagerly engaged with the US IC in pursuit of their own political and economic interests. The relationship between the US IC and Japanese conservatives helped reinforce Japan’s status as a one-party LDP-ruled, junior ally of Washington.

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It's a Man's World: Gendered Media Representations of Julia Gillard and Helen Clark

Ms Blair Williams¹¹*Australian National University*

A13: Australian Politics, LWCM Nth 5, September 24, 2019, 11:30 AM - 1:00 PM

Women politicians have historically experienced sexism and misogyny from their peers, the public and the media. Evidence further suggests the more authoritative the position a woman occupies, the more denigration she receives. For example, there has been considerable scholarly analysis of the gendered media vilification experienced by Australia's first woman Prime Minister, Julia Gillard. I have previously suggested, using Judith Butler's theory of gender performativity, that this vilification may have been due to Gillard's unsatisfactory gender performance as a woman leader trying to walk the tight-rope between "masculinity" and "femininity". New Zealand's first elected woman Prime Minister, Helen Clark, did not appear to experience nearly as much gendered media criticism as Gillard, though she did experience some. In this paper, I compare the mainstream print media portrayal of Gillard with that of Clark to understand why Gillard experienced more gendered and often misogynistic media representation. I aim to identify whether the conservatism of Australia's media, in addition to the rise of media personalisation, has had a role to play. To address this question, I apply a content and discourse analysis to unpack the gendered narratives used in the print media coverage of the first three weeks of each leader's prime ministership. I also draw on interviews conducted with Gillard and Clark to understand the agency of women leaders in navigating gendered treatment. Currently there is little comparative work on the differences in the print media treatment of women Prime Ministers and this paper addresses that gap.

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Remorse for War Crimes in Japanese Soldiers' Memoirs**Professor Sandra Wilson¹**¹*Murdoch University*

ASA13: Politics in Asia, Education 4.47, September 24, 2019, 11:30 AM - 1:00 PM

Introduction: It is often assumed that Japanese people have not reflected on the crimes committed by their military in the Second World War and that soldiers were unrepentant. In fact, however, the implications of the wartime past have generated dynamic controversy in Japan, and this controversy has been a driver in changing attitudes towards Japanese guilt in other countries.

Context and aim: Former soldiers' reflections on war crimes and on the punishment meted out in Allied war crimes trials have played an important role in debate within Japan about the wartime past. There was a boom in production of memoirs by Japanese soldiers in the 1950s. In later decades, local organisations and groups of researchers also recorded recollections by former military personnel. This paper will investigate reflection by former Japanese soldiers on war crimes they committed, witnessed or heard about during the Second World War.

Method: In this paper I examine the record of Japanese soldiers' personal experience of the Second World War and, in particular, their comments on war crimes.

Findings: The paper argues that former soldiers' attitudes to war crimes ranged from denial and anger to remorse and acceptance of personal responsibility. Resentment that bad behaviour by Allied troops went unpunished is conspicuous, as is a sense that the post-war Allied prosecutions ought to have been sufficient to allow Japan to move on from the war. Soldiers' recollections thus contributed to public debate in contradictory ways, reinforcing both campaigns designed to promote recognition of Japan's wartime crimes, and efforts to relativize Japanese guilt.

Innovative contribution to policy, practice and/or research: The paper argues that the diversity of Japanese views on the wartime past should be better understood, together with the links between internal debate and external attitudes to Japanese war guilt.

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Ngarrindjeri Archaeological Standpoint

Dr Christopher Wilson¹

¹Flinders University

IND1: Indigenous Politics, Education 3.23, September 23, 2019, 11:30 AM - 1:00 PM

There is a growing interest from students and researchers in archaeology and heritage studies to understand the complex relationships between communities and institutions in investigations that explore ATSI people's cultural heritage both pre and post contact sites within Australia. Chris will discuss how he navigated through his doctoral research along the Lower Murray River, South Australia by adopting a Ngarrindjeri Archaeological Standpoint as a localized approach to working within/for/by your own community. Some of the issues that continue to be problematized for the Ngarrindjeri community are: Navigating Heritage Spaces for ATSI people with government agencies and museums; Repatriation and reburial of ancestral remains; Significance assessments and environmental assessments in Ngarrindjeri Ruwe

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Reordering the Political Settlement: Resource Nationalism, Domestic Ownership and Transnational Bargains in the Post Authoritarian Indonesia

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¹Universitas Gadjah Mada, ²University of Melbourne

POL3: Policy & Governance, Education 1.01, September 25, 2019, 3:30 PM - 5:00 PM

Since the early 1990s there has been a resurgence of heavy state intervention in natural resource extraction particularly in resource-rich lower- and middle-income countries. By focusing on Indonesia's experience, this article explores why and how state interventions in the management of natural resources, which is identified as resource nationalism, is chosen by a particular country and what global political circumstances that enable such policy to be taken. By employing both Obsolescing Bargain Model (OBM) and Cycles of

Resource Nationalism (CRN), this article argues that states adopt resource nationalism policy due to reordering of the political settlement both domestically and globally. Domestically, Indonesia's bargaining position as the host country is high because the risk of the withdrawal of foreign investors is relatively low. This stems from the characteristic of the extractive industry, which heavily depends on its geographical location. Resource nationalism in Indonesia also constitutes a political rhetoric with public appeal that is underpinned by more pragmatic short-term political objectives for mobilizing political support and gaining political legitimacy. Indonesia's resource nationalism particularly in the form of domestic ownership is likely to be implemented since it also fits to the company's material and financial interests. At the global level, such policy was also shaped by the struggle between global power, the decline of the hegemons and the rise of their challengers, which provides the Indonesian government with viable alternative channels for its market and investors.

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Where is the Middle?

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COMP2: Comparative Politics, Education 2.09, September 23, 2019, 2:00 PM - 3:30 PM

This paper revisits the question 'where is the political middle?' in a time of global upheaval and diffusion of political forces. Amongst a proliferation of populisms, far right, far left and single issue parties, extra-parliamentary movements, individual entrepreneurs, and a 'mainstream' under pressure, is there (still) a global 'political middle'? If there is, where is it located in ideological, policy and value terms? Some newer political actors are difficult to define and position according to left-right coordinates or themselves reject such characterisation. Not all can escape it completely, however. Those that continue to identify with a left-right spectrum can be termed traditionalists. The paper offers some general observations and speculations before presenting a case study of contemporary Germany, widely considered as an archetypal consensus democracy. Is Germany's political middle shifting, broadening, dissolving, reconstituting? Is it congested or empty? What is its trajectory? The paper draws on theoretical and philosophical literature, election and polling data, party programs, media sources and quantitative survey material. It also examines interaction between 'domestic' and 'foreign' policy dimensions. In this regard, reference is made to how the Russian state attempts to exploit a fragmenting German party system, appealing to 'radical' and 'extremist' entities and to sympathisers among the 'establishment'. On select issues, there is de facto trans-ideological agreement among nominally 'far left', 'far right' and 'centrist' actors.

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After "East of Suez": Singapore-United States Defence Relations, 1971-1978.

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ASA6: Politics in Asia, Education 2.08, September 25, 2019, 9:00 AM - 10:30 AM

This paper looks into the conundrum the United States' faced as its defence relations with Singapore progressed from the moment Britain withdrew from Southeast Asia in 1971 to the Third Indochina War in Cambodia in 1978. Southeast Asia, especially its waterways, was critical to the United States' geo-strategic interests during the Cold War. In the wake of Britain's military withdrawal from the region in 1971, the security and stability of the non-communist regimes in the region such as Singapore was crucial for the safety of the region's waterways. Close defence relations and military support in the form of financial assistance, trainings and armaments sales helped to stabilise and strengthen the defence capabilities of Singapore against external threats. Regional defence cooperation, such as the Five Power Defence Arrangement (FPDA), was also crucial for Singapore to work with Malaysia to meet a common external enemy. Yet, the United States' attempts to forge a common consensus on defence framework between Malaysia and Singapore were met with obstacles in the form of regional and domestic factors residing within each of this state. In the case of Singapore, the United States faced a dilemma in its strategy to strengthen the island-state's defence capabilities. Strong defence capabilities would contribute to the security and stability of the island-state which was critical to the security of the Straits of Malacca and Singapore. Yet because of historical antagonism Singapore had against Malaysia and Indonesia, the same defence capabilities could also be directed by Singapore against the other two states, thus creating regional instability. The United States therefore had to adopt a strategy to accommodate Singapore's defence needs while not upsetting the delicate stability in the Singapore-Malaysia-Indonesia relations.

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Detention without Trial: Experiences in Singapore from 1955 to 1993

Ariel Yap¹¹*Monash University, School of Social Sciences*

ASA6: Politics in Asia, Education 2.08, September 25, 2019, 9:00 AM - 10:30 AM

This study aims to understand what it was like to be detained under the Preservation of Public Security Ordinance and the Internal Security Act in Singapore from 1955 to 1993. It discusses how periods of indefinite detention without trial have affected the lives of detainees during and after confinement. The data consists of a combination of oral history interviews with former detainees and their family and friends, in addition to documentary analysis of media articles, legal documents, personal statements, and archival records. This project is concerned with experiences of detention and related implications of the exercise of state power outside the purview of traditional criminal justice processes. Moreover, the fact that detention without trial is not classified as imprisonment adds to the subjective nature of detention experiences. Such indefinite, contradictory, and concealed natures of detention have been found to have a detrimental impact on all types of detainees internationally. Academic studies on Northern Ireland, South Africa, Kenya and India will be drawn on for comparative analysis in order to understand legacies from British colonial rule, and the trauma and pain felt in respective survivor communities across these states in the aftermath of detention. The lack of transparency with regards to detention rates and processes further signifies the ability of firsthand accounts of lived experiences to provide colour and detail about what would otherwise be unavailable and inaccessible. This research therefore aims to shed light on such practices and produce social benefits by prioritizing the voices of former detainees. Such work will also help identify the needs of

individuals who continue to be detained before or without trial. This information can be used by NGOs, survivors' networks, and international human rights organizations to improve the quality of support services for persons subject to such powers.

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Learning to lead with political astuteness

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POL5: Policy & Governance, Education 2.07, September 25, 2019, 9:00 AM - 10:30 AM

Managers - especially public managers - increasingly need political astuteness skills to be successful in the workplace. However, there has been little research on how these skills or capabilities have been or could be developed. This paper uses both quantitative and qualitative data from a mixed methods study based on a survey of 1012 mainly senior managers, and semi-structured interviews with 42 of them, from Australia, New Zealand and the UK. The research examined public managers' views on the development of their political astuteness. We begin by defining political astuteness (a meta-capability comprised of personal skills, interpersonal skills, reading people and situations, building alignment and alliances, and strategic direction and scanning). We then review the small literature on the development of political skills in employees and managers, and report on our survey and interviews, providing the first mixed methods study on the development of political skills. While participants generally considered political skills to be important in their work, especially at more senior levels, the evidence suggests that these skills are acquired predominantly through experiential routes - particularly making mistakes, experience on the job, handling crises, and observing good or bad examples of managers. This accords with suggestions from leadership scholars who suggest that leadership development often happens in the 'white space' between planned leadership development events. Some participants attempted to develop political skills in their employees, though not often systematically. Thus, despite the perceived importance of such skills, there is a lack of planned and coherent strategy for developing them. We also explore the implications for leadership theory and leadership development practices.

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China Role in the Globalization Process through Belt and Road Initiative

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ASA4: Politics in Asia, SSS014, September 24, 2019, 2:00 PM - 3:30 PM

Globalization is a most significant change in today world. It has caused remarkable growth. Such strong contribution to the development would not be happened without the role that each country and particularly great powers play in the globalization process. Among those powers is China which its role in the globalization trend is growing. With its rapid economic and technological development China has been

transformed from a regional economic power to a global powerhouse. Accordingly, China has been leading initiatives to support the development of global infrastructure through new institutions such as the Asia Infrastructure Investment Bank and the New Development Bank. Yet among them the most ambitious manifestation of these efforts is China Belt and Road initiative, which can be seen as an important vehicle that helps China to play a more proactive role in the globalization Process. In Chinese leadership view the Western power politics and hegemonic economic policies have exacerbated the gap between the North and the South, threatened the global environment, fueled political conflicts, and promoted terrorism worldwide. Therefore, China should step forward to assume more responsibility in globalization process that will create a more peaceful, equipped, developed and harmonious world, where everyone can have “a happy life”. Based on this philosophy China started Belt and Road initiative as a global in more than 60 countries in Asia, the Middle East, Central Asia, Africa and Europe offers the world a unique state of bigger openness, integration, and interdependence with a comprehensive approach to shared development and shared future, and opportunities. As a result one can say that BRI is an attempt by China to promote international cooperation and to encourage globalization. This paper aims to address the role of China in the globalization Process through Belt and Road Initiative.