

ALL ABSTRACTS FOR THE AUSTRALASIAN POLITICAL STUDIES CONFERENCE 2004

Megan Alessandrini

A New Pillar of Society

While the traditional conception of society is one of three active sectors - market, governance and civil society - it is rapidly becoming apparent that this model is an inadequate one. The traditional civil society sector embraces all organisations that are nongovernment and nonprofit, organised around a common interest or broadly defined shared values and a common purpose. These organizations vary enormously in topic area, size, sophistication, modes of operation and history.

A closer examination of the characteristics of a sample of organisations illustrates this point: the structure, composition and expectations of the management stream, the number of staff and their level of role complexity, the number, utilisation and sophistication of volunteer activity, the level of strategic planning processes in place and the amount and source of funding are just of the variables that indicate a polarisation of these organizations.

To explore this trend a study of nonprofit nongovernment organizations was conducted. As a result there was considerable evidence that the notional three-sector model is no longer an accurate representation. There is enormous diversity apparent. A proportion of organizations operate as nonprofit with goals of enhancing community development and improving welfare, but have adopted largely market-like competitive means.

A fourth sector is proposed that accommodates organizations and activities of this type. While Streek and Schmitter [1985] and Dekker [1998] have suggested a structure of community, market state and associations, this is not supported by the findings of this research. Instead it is proposed that the comprehensive model comprise: the polity, the market, community and entrepreneurial civic service.

Catherine Althaus

Talk about Risk: How Australian Practitioners Define and Operationalise Political Risk Calculation

Political risk calculation is a central feature of the everyday preoccupations of political actors in both the international and Australian scene. Yet despite its centrality to political practice there is currently no specific literature on this issue. Moreover, empirical data is highly deficient in terms of understanding the operational details of risk calculation in the political sphere. This paper explores the concept of political risk by presenting the results of interviews conducted with over 100 Australian prominent political actors across Federal, State and Local Government. It provides a comprehensive analysis of the perspectives given by practitioners such as John Hewson, Bob Hawke, Alan Ramsey, Grahame Morris, Joan Kirner, Andrew Bartlett, Don Russell, Ron Boswell, Nick Greiner, Barry Jones, Peter Shergold, Alan Jones and Gary Gray and draws specific conclusions regarding the definition and operationalisation of political risk calculation in political practice.

James Alvey

Lisa Hill's Discovery of Adam Smith's 'Hidden Theology'

Lisa Hill has recently provided a new assessment of Adam Smith which attempts to reveal the 'hidden' theology which underpins his providential or 'optimistic' system of thought. Her interpretation breaks with the mainstream view of Smith as a follower of the secular, or atheistic, David Hume. While Hill concedes that there are resemblances to modern theories of evolution and spontaneous order in Smith's writings, the latter's own views differ. Darwinian evolution and Hayekian spontaneous order theories are thoroughly secular. Smith's ideas, however, are located in, what Hill calls 'a transitional phase in the history of ideas' in which belief in teleology was still mainstream. Hence, while society may change very slowly over time, in something like an evolutionary manner, according to Hill, Smith insists that it is evolution 'by design.' Similarly, spontaneous order is a sign of the divine ordering of the world. In Hill's reading, the 'invisible hand' doctrine not only emerges as a

central component in all of Smith's works but it has a theological meaning: it is Smith's shorthand for the divinely-constructed spontaneous order.

Hill's article makes an innovative contribution both to the 'new theological and teleological view' of Smith and to Smith scholarship generally. Whilst broadly sympathetic to the 'new view,' and Hill's version of it, I believe that some issues need further consideration. Her Panglossian interpretation of Smith seems to me to be overly 'optimistic.' This difference in interpretation manifests itself particularly in our differing presentations of Smith's view of history and the characterization of apparent 'defects' in nature. Where Hill finds Smith to be a thoroughly 'optimistic' theorist, I have presented him as a theorist who uneasily (and at times inconsistently) combines 'optimism' with 'pessimism.'

James Alvey

John Locke after 300 years

John Locke died 300 years ago and one wonders if he--along with other dead, white, men--can have any relevance for today. In this paper I wish to re-evaluate Locke's politics.

Given the vast distance between his times and ours, some suggest that his writings do not speak to our condition today. Clearly, some of his writings are not directly applicable to the situation in which we find ourselves. Nevertheless, two public policy institutes in the USA have been named after him. It would seem that not everyone agrees that his ideas are irrelevant.

What are the key features of Locke? Individuals are the basic units. Society is more, but not very much more, than the collection of these individuals. Society must protect the rights of individuals, including the individual's life, liberty and property. Obviously, to ensure these, some government is needed. Nevertheless, the government must be limited; its powers must be checked and balanced. There must some separation of powers. The society most consistent with Lockean principles is a commercial society with a substantial role for markets. This sets of principles retains a vitality for us. Locke's principles are our principles.

What we have to appreciate is that there are only a limited number of grand approaches to politics and Locke's is one of these. Some critics today may object to modernity but few, in the end, really want to abandon all aspects of our modern, Lockean world. Taking certain parts of Locke and mixing in other elements may be appealing but it may not make a coherent whole.

A full examination of Locke's politics cannot be undertaken here. In order to show that Locke remains relevant for today, a few themes will be selected for closer study.

Geoffrey Anderson

Standard Bearers for the Markets: International credit rating agencies and the impact of economic globalisation on politics and public policy in the Australian states

During the mid to late 1980s state governments began to engage with international credit rating agencies as they sought to enter global financial markets.

Deregulation in both domestic and international financial markets during the 1980s created attractive opportunities for the States to raise funds. However, they were also pushed towards the markets by the Commonwealth Government as part of an overt strategy to restrain State borrowings.

At the time it was apparent that the external scrutiny inherent in the rating process had political implications, particularly in the way governments were able to represent their financial policies to Parliament and to the electorate. However, with the benefit of hindsight, it is clear there were deeper and more far reaching changes occurring and that, as part of the price for entering financial markets, state governments were being required to accept the disciplines, principles, and ideology of the market.

In a economy transformed by globalisation, the role of credit rating agencies in the critical task of funding the public sector put them in a position in which they have become, the standard bearers for the market and the philosophy which underpins it across the whole range of public sector activity.

Today it would appear that the rating agencies have moved from being an instrument of, or means to entry into financial markets, to an significant arbiter of what comprises good government.

The paper argues that the international credit rating agencies have had, and continue to have, a major role in shaping public policy, the structure of the public sector, and public sector management through the central part they play in the process by which governments' raise funds. In effect they have become both part of the broader regulatory structure of public administration and the means by which the requirements of global financial markets are transmitted to the public sector.

Diah Asitadani

Leading of Golkar Party as an Indication of the Failure of Consolidation to Democracy-In Comparison with South Korea, Spain and Mexico

Suharto's resignation opens up political opportunity toward democracy in Indonesia. After succeed of the first election in over four decades which brought regime change in 1999, democratic activists feel unpleasantly by the signal of Golkar Party returns to power in this year election according to opinion surveys as well as preliminary account. The figures of favorite presidential candidates with military background increase the fear of democratic failure. Is the winning of Golkar Party an indicator that Indonesian democratic transition would be failed in consolidation phase? This paper will try to answer this question by comparing political process post-Suharto era with transition and consolidation processes in South Korea, Spain and Mexico.

Transition to democracy as well as consolidation process is commonly defined in many distinct ways. In general, a democratic transition starts when democratizing actors manage to break the authoritarian continuity and prepare democratic change; consolidation ends when democratic actors manage to establish continuity of the new democratic regime and promote anti-authoritarian regression. Lessons from South Korea, Spain and Mexico show us that consolidation is as requisite to democracy as transition. A good test for democratic success is when the triumph of authoritarian regime's party has not happened. In Indonesia, the effort to ban Golkar Party has not brought positive result; in fact its political network is still the best among party-contestants in the 2004 election. The objective of this research is generally to enrich comparative studies of the process to democracy and specifically to explain Indonesian political phenomena concerning transition and consolidation. The recommendation of this paper will be directed to the development of political analysis that can be used to improve strategy of keeping away from consolidation failure.

Roz Averis

The Political Economy of Social Exclusion: A Regulation Approach

The paper analyses the political economy of social exclusion from a regulation theory perspective. Regulation theory was developed in the late 1970s to explain evolutionary changes in capitalist regimes of accumulation. It challenges the legitimacy of neoclassical economics and the neoliberal 'free market' policies predominant in western thinking since the demise of the Fordist era. Regulationists subscribe to a Marxist political economy tradition but attribute capitalism's unexpected longevity to institutionalised class compromises that become mutually-reinforcing over the longer term. Capitalism's inherent crisis tendencies are thus temporarily neutralised, enabling relatively stable phases of economic growth. The post-war Fordist industrial paradigm was considered a 'virtuous circle' of growth - a coherent system of mass production and mass consumption underpinned by a state-mediated social compact between capital and labour. It embraced formal industrial arrangements, commitment to full employment, decommodification of essential goods and services, gendered distribution of labour, and redistribution of national income through the welfare state. This system was broadly inclusive of the national population but, importantly, not through universal access to the labour market. Fundamental changes have since occurred in the production process, the nature of the labour market and the institutions that support the social reproduction of labour. Policies to address social exclusion do not make the required concession to these changes but serve the neoliberal supply-side agenda of human capital

development and economic competitiveness that has pervaded many welfare systems of advanced industrial nations, including Australia's. Authoritarian 'workfare' and 'mutual obligation' income support regimes target welfare dependency and 'employability' deficits, with the objective of inserting socially excluded individuals of working age into an expanded, and thus more competitive, labour market. Such policy responses adhere to an outmoded norm of the Fordist full employment paradigm, apparently indifferent to the significance of today's diminishing and substantially restructured employment base.

Carol Bacchi & Chris Beasley

An Ethic of Social Flesh: Moving Beyond Care and/or Trust

Trust and Care are contemporary languages commonly used to address a perceived crisis in the maintenance of community/interconnection and the political limits of competitive individualism. The crisis has been located at both the national and international levels. This paper traces some of the problems and possibilities associated with these languages. On trust, we look at Putnam, Fukuyama, Cox and Szreter, among others. In the case of care, we consider Gilligan, Levinas, Sevenhuijsen/Tronto and Hage. We conclude that the languages of trust and care are problematic and even dangerous in terms of political and policy directions. The paper advances an alternative strategy by which to reimagine social and political life.

Mark Bahnische

The Exhaustion of the Modern Political Imaginary?

Utilising the concepts of the social and political imaginaries, this paper analyses the significance of the topoi of the 'End of History' and the 'End of Politics' which have been central to prevalent discourses of anti-politics in late modernity. Meta-discourses about late modern politics since the 'Velvet Revolutions' of 1989 ushered in the putative end of Marxism have been characterised by two discursive motifs. First, a discourse of necessity pervades discussions of political (im)possibilities. The broad project of neo-liberalism - the evacuation of the political into the economic - is justified through the invocation of a panoply of disembodied actors - globalisation, the market, financial capital, the 'War on Terror'. The 'legitimation crisis' (Habermas 1975) and the 'fiscal crisis of the state' (Offe 1984) of the 1970s and 1980s have morphed into a ubiquitous rhetoric where economic necessity precludes political manoeuvre. Secondly, politics, it would seem, has descended into the sphere of 'the administration of things' rather than the 'government of men'. The Left/Right distinction is said to have been transcended (Giddens 1994) and no universalising ideology arises to oppose the global hegemony of neo-liberalism (Ali 2003a).

This paper argues that these discourses of anti-politics (Schedler 1997) in late modernity can be analysed through an examination of the apocalyptic tone of their rhetorical arrivals (Derrida 1993). Following Hindess (1997: 21), the paper views discourses of anti-politics and the end as "a directly political antipolitics" which seeks to intervene at the level of the imaginary to restrict the degree of freedom social actors have to posit alternative possibilities of political government. The significance of these discourses cannot be overstated. It will be argued in the paper that such discourses of necessity are in fact an attempt to re-orient the modern political imaginary, after the collapse of the bipolar symbolic conflict between East and West which structured political discourse during the 'Short Twentieth Century' (Hobsbawm 1994). While constraints of space imply that the paper necessarily takes a rather schematic approach to thematising late modern politics, it nevertheless seeks to make a contribution to the critical analysis of these meta-political interventions. Such an analysis is vital for reinstating a sense of possibility which any viable politics of liberatory social change in the 21st century needs.

Jo Barraket

Mobilising Citizen Engagement? The Use of Online Technologies by Australian Third Sector Organisations

In a world characterized by increasing complexity, the importance of an engaged citizenry is gaining increased attention from political leaders, social scientists and community activists alike. Global transformations - characterized, in part, by rapid advancement of information and communication technologies (ICT) - are providing both new imperatives for, and new conditions in which, individuals and organizations participate in the public sphere. Traditionally, third sector or non-profit organizations have played a significant role in mediating citizen engagement in Australian life. The burgeoning literature on the importance of social capital, popularly spearheaded by US political scientist Robert Putnam, has raised concerns about declining participation in third sector organizations, suggesting that such decline represents a commensurate reduction in citizen engagement. In the context of broader discussions about whether social capital is in decline, a growing theoretical debate has emerged about the effects of ICT on citizen engagement.

While the value of citizen engagement is experiencing a renaissance in public policy discourse, and the impacts of ICT on citizen engagement is the subject of robust theoretical discussion, very limited attention has been given to just how online technologies may impact upon third sector organizations' capacities to mobilize citizen engagement. This paper will report on a preliminary analysis of Australian third sector organizations' attempts to mobilize citizen engagement using online technologies. Recent debates about the nature and importance of citizen engagement, and the impacts of online technologies on citizen engagement, are reviewed in order to identify the significance of these technologies to third sector organizations. Drawing on a content analysis of 40 Australian third sector organisations' websites, I then consider the ways in which these organizations are, or are not, utilizing online technological capacity to mobilize citizen engagement with their organizational activities. The implications are then considered in relation to the future of the Australian third sector and public policy.

Steven Barrett

Beyond the Unemployment Rate: Implications for South Australian Employment Policy

The official Australian unemployment rate is presently about five per cent and set to fall further. However, this paper argues, using three new unemployment measures all of which use data obtained from the monthly Labour Force Survey, that the official unemployment rate greatly underestimates the level of labour underutilisation in Australia. Such that the real level of labour underutilisation in South Australia is probably double the level suggested by the official unemployment rate. This under estimation of the extent of labour underutilisation in South Australia has serious implications for industry and employment policy in South Australia

Heba Batainah

Democracy in the Arab world: Fact or fiction?

It has been acknowledged that the persistent involvement of Western nations in Middle-Eastern affairs has not left the political landscape unblemished. Both the political leaders and the people of Arab nations, as a result of first being colonised by Western powers and later aided to 'stability' by these same powers, have grown disillusioned with Western ideologies. This paper argues that the insurgence of 'fundamentalist' Islamic leaders, both legitimate and spiritual, has not been accidental but has been a consequence of this disillusionment. Because of the history of the region coupled with its pronounced Islamic heritage, the case as to why democracy has failed to take root in the Middle-East has less to do with Islam as a religion and more to do with the culture in Arab countries. In seeking to understand the reasons why some models of democracy are flourishing in some countries and not in others this paper argues that first and foremost democracy is not a static ideal and that there are numerous models of democracy that may be implemented. Secondly, democracy cannot be established with 'diligence and aid' from Western powers; rather democracy is a 'Culture' that emerges from within the populace and thus cannot be superimposed on a country or culture. The question thus is not whether Islam is conducive to democracy but whether there is a common culture in the Arab world and whether this common culture is conducive to a democratic culture.

Joel Bateman

Australian Prime Ministers and Deposition – John Gorton and Bob Hawke Compared

This paper will examine the cases of John Gorton and Bob Hawke - two popular prime ministers who were deposed by their respective parties' parliamentary representatives. It will examine what similarities and differences can be found in the political and personal styles of Gorton and Hawke, to determine if there are any qualities or attributes common to them that may have been significant in the decision of their colleagues to depose them as leader.

John Gorton was prime minister of the Liberal/National coalition government from January 1968 to March 1971, when the party room failed to support a motion of confidence in him as leader. Throughout his political career, Gorton had a reputation for trusting his own judgement over all others' and for not getting on well with many other senior Liberal party members - Robert Menzies, for instance, considered him to be a 'mischief maker'.

Bob Hawke entered parliament in 1980 and became prime minister at the next election, in March 1983. This ascent, due primarily to his tremendous popularity as president of the Australian Council of Trade Unions prior to his shift into parliamentary politics, became part of the Hawke mythology - of someone outside and beyond party politics. Hawke's eight years as prime minister (1983-1991) were marked by his 'love affair with the Australian people', in contrast to his often strained relationship with sections of the Labor party elite.

Melanie Beacroft

Bauman, 'Wasted Lives' and the Eclipse of the Political

In recent history, the space reserved for political theory has undergone a colonisation by social theory and there has been a shift away from the political towards the social. This has had important implications for our understanding of the divide between public and private, and interestingly the rise of mass society has meant that once private concerns have become public issues. In the age of the social, the politically empty quasi-public realm is complemented by individualised private lives filled with a search for identity through consumption.

In this context, the work of sociologist Zygmunt Bauman is highly influential. This paper examines Bauman's 2004 work 'Wasted Lives' and undertakes a comprehensive textual analysis. In light of Bauman's other works and the field of sociology more generally, this paper explores the extent to which Bauman addresses concerns about the merging of political and social theory and argues that the social understanding of a 'wasted life' is very different from a political understanding. While 'Wasted Lives' is situated in the contemporary phenomena of globalisation and consumerism, Bauman's assertion that "the world is full" (p.5), while perhaps offering a social theory, ignores the political understanding of the potential of human life and its capacity for freedom and immortality. With this in mind, this paper assesses the implications of Bauman's work for the future of political theory in contemporary times and advocates a shift away from the social in order to understand the full significance of a wasted political life.

Chris Beasley

Reel Politics: Projecting Paranoid Nationalism as Hegemonic Masculinity

This paper examines the relationship between nation, masculinity, globalisation and cultural forms like popular film. While the Hollywood film industry has sometimes offered a critique of nationalism, particularly in regard to the Vietnam War, it has in the past offered justifications for armed struggle, supported national war efforts and even contributed to government propaganda. Perhaps it is no surprise in this context to find that Hollywood has recently produced a number of films concerning 'security' (eg war/spy/action movies).

This paper focuses upon Hollywood 'security' films since the late 1990s. These films are significant because of the on-going relationship between the American government and the film industry, the shift in United States' foreign policy towards a new belligerent nationalism and militarism, and Hollywood's almost undisputed global dominance of cinematic

representations, which give it the capacity to present American perspectives throughout the world.

In the present climate of American politics, the character and effect of Hollywood films certainly deserves close political analysis. With this in mind, the paper employs the twin tropes of Ghassan Hage's account of 'paranoid nationalism' and Bob Connell's work on 'hegemonic' or 'honoured' masculinity to argue that a particular form of nationalism is embodied in a particular conception of American manhood within contemporary Hollywood 'security' films. These 'projections' are not simply 'universal' (as some analysts have recently claimed), nor are they presumed to be mere entertainment by the Hollywood industry or government. They contain a specific cultural account and for this reason may be seen as contributing to a globalised cultural regime which marginalises dissent from American national and military objectives. If this is so, the problematic character and effect of Hollywood security films may well be relevant to policy debates concerning restrictions on 'free trade' agreements in relation to certain cultural products.

Antoine Bilodeau

Protest Politics Among Immigrants A Comparative Analysis of Canada and Australia

Scholars interested in immigrants' political participation have usually examined newcomers' involvement in conventional forms of political activities such as voting and other campaigns activities and have paid little attention to newcomers' willingness to participate in protest activities (Wilson 1973; Black 1982, 1987, 1991; Brown 1988; McAllister and Makkai 1992; Junn 1999; Tam Cho 1999). The lack of evidence about immigrants' involvement in protest activities is surprising given the importance that this kind of involvement has taken in the last 30 years in most western democracies (Nevitte 1996). This paper addresses this gap in research on immigrants' political participation using the cases of immigrants in Canada and Australia. The first section assesses whether immigrants participate as much as local populations in various forms of protest activities. The second section examines whether newcomers develop greater willingness to protest the longer they live in the host-country. And the last section, tries to understand why immigrants' participation is similar or different from that of the local population.

There are at least three reasons to expect immigrants to exhibit lesser willingness than the local population to take part in protest activities. First, because of their precarious situation in the host-country, immigrants' might fear negative consequences on their chances of obtaining citizenship or permanent residence if they get involved if they speak out against governments. Second, research has shown that immigrants evaluate positively their new political system, even more than the local population (Bilodeau 2004). Therefore, newcomers might be deferential to the host-country simply because they are extremely enthusiastic, at least upon arrival, about their new political environment. And third, the vast majority of immigrants in western democracies these days have experienced authoritarian political systems prior to migration. Consequently, memories of repression and a general fear of speaking out against governments might discourage newcomers from those countries to publicly manifest their dissatisfaction.

Immigrants' willingness to participate in protest forms of activities is examined in both Canadian and Australian contexts and the data used are drawn from the 2000 Canadian component of the World Values Survey and its special sub-sample of recent immigrants, and the 2003 Australian Survey of Social Attitudes.

Karen Bird

Women representing women? Evidence from the British House of Commons

In recent years, the numerical increase of women in political institutions across the world has prompted a range of questions concerning the impact of women on the political process: Does the election of female representatives make a difference to the style and substance of politics? Are the interests and needs of women better represented? Whilst a range of normative arguments can be used to construct affirmative answers to these questions, empirical evidence has been less readily available. This body of research, however, is fast developing. Contributing to such a project, this study examines the parliamentary behaviour of

British MPs. Focusing upon a range of parliamentary procedures including members' first speech and their parliamentary questions, this paper observes i) sexual differences in parliamentary behaviour, ii) a greater willingness amongst female politicians to address issues related to women. Such research has relevance for discussions of substantive representation that have become increasingly topical since the twofold increase of British female MPs in 1997.

Patrick Bishop
Modern Pieties

The church 'year' records saints days, fasts, feasts and festivals. To observe this calendar is an act of religious piety. In an increasingly secular society the calendar is now full of 'days' and 'weeks': of the 'aging', red nose day, shave your head for cancer and so on. Has this new calendar of 'awareness' generated a secular form of piety?

This paper investigates 'piety'; considers its status as a 'suspect' virtue and explores its modern replacement to see how it functions in a secular guise.

Bill Bostock
Psychiatrists and Political Intervention: A Case Study of the Illegal Immigrant Debate in Australia

Psychiatrists have a long and controversial history of intervention in the political process. The paper will review some contributions to debate over such issues as war, conflict, terrorism, torture, human rights abuse, drug abuse, suicide and other public health issues. However, the competence of specialists in the mental health of individuals to comment on the mental health of collectivities has been questioned, and the philosophical issue of the status of collective mental health is very much an open one.

At the present moment there is a intense debate in Australia over the Government's treatment of asylum seekers, also known as illegal immigrants, and the Royal Australian and New Zealand College of Psychiatrists has taken the unusual step of publicly criticising government policy on grounds of its toxicity and depressive effects, particularly among child detainees. The official response has been to deny that collective depression exists and to assert that the concept of such a mental state is meaningless.

Deborah Brennan
'Over our Dead Body': The Politics of Paid Maternity Leave

Australia and the USA are the only two advanced industrial countries that still lack a national program of mandated paid maternity leave. In 2002, the Australian Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission (HREOC) released a report, *A Time to Care*, calling for a national paid maternity leave scheme to be implemented and funded by the Federal government. The recommendations included the implementation of paid maternity leave for up to 14 weeks following the birth or adoption of a child for women who have been employed for 40 weeks of the past 52 weeks, regardless of the nature of their employment. The federal minister for Workplace Relations, the Hon. Tony Abbot, responded that paid maternity leave would be introduced in Australia 'over [the Government's] dead body'. Meanwhile, paid maternity leave in the USA remains largely within the realm of 'disability' related payments. The paper will explore the politics of paid maternity leave in Australia, the USA and other liberal democracies. It will extend the framework developed by O'Connor, Orloff and Shaver to examine the intersections of states, markets and families and to explore some of the ideological, political and institutional forces that have contributed to the shaping of policy in these countries.

Peter Brent
"Howard's Battlers": The Electoral Evidence

When John Howard came to power in March 1996, the concept of "Howard's Battlers" quickly followed. This was the idea that the PM had stolen traditional ALP territory - blue collar and low income white collar workers. Howard's narrow re-election in 1998 was interpreted as further evidence, despite the Opposition gaining massive majorities in its safe, low income seats. Some western Sydney electorates gave Labor its biggest two party preferred majorities since the Great Depression. But still the mythology grew.

This paper will draw on Australian Electoral Commission voting data, Department of Parliamentary Library Socioeconomic Indexes for Electoral Divisions and the Australian Election Study to argue that the concept of "Howard's Battlers" is empirically false. Every single urban electorate with low socio-economic indicators continues to vote Labor. The current government's voter base resembles that of its predecessors: the combination of a reliable "heartland" plus the "election-deciders", relatively affluent mortgage belt in the outer suburbs of the capital cities, and the so-called "regions" - country areas with large enough town populations to make them marginal.

How did the illusion of Howard's Battlers take hold? I will suggest it was the absence in 1996 of a ready-made narrative for Australian public life, a story about "why we did what we did". With few exceptions, electoral behaviour in modern two party liberal democracies is disappointingly prosaic: governments generally get several terms .. and then it's the other side's turn. But when there is a change of government, we need to tell a tale about it.

It was not possible to portray Howard's substantial 1996 victory as arriving on a wave of enthusiasm. He was no charismatic Hawke or Whitlam, Tony Blair or Ronald Reagan. Into this vacuum, our national story-tellers latched onto Howard's very ordinariness, and part of this is his relationship with "everyday Australians".

A by-product is a belief in the exceptional nature of John Howard's electoral record. Apart from Whitlam's, no Australian federal government had failed to achieve a third term in over seventy years. Over the last decade, governing parties in New Zealand, Great Britain and Canada have been easily returned. Yet Howard's close re-elections are widely considered magnificent feats. This is inextricably linked with "Howard's Battlers".

Judith Brett

The Country, the City and the State

The paper will elaborate on the argument sketched in my contribution to the Symposium on the Australian Settlement in AJPS, in which I argued that an overlooked 6th pillar of the Australian settlement was a tradeoff between the country and the city in the interests of regional equity. Various state mechanisms compensated country people for the costs of living outside the densely settled metropolitan areas; for example cross subsidisation of prices to rural users in state owned enterprises, and fiscal equalisation. This compensation was justified in terms of the special contributions that people living in the country made to the nation as a whole: the contribution of rural production to the economy; the peopling of the empty continent - which was seen as both building the nation and contributing to its defence, and the virtues of country life. The paper will set out the basis of these justifications, and then look at the way changes in the 1970s has undermined them. It will focus particularly on shifts in the cultural balance of power between the city and the country as the imagined locations of what is distinctive in Australian experience and identity. Until the 1970s even though most Australians lived in the cities, there was little that was nationally distinctive about Australian city life. By contrast, people living in the country developed their character and way of life in close interaction with the unique Australian natural environment and so could claim to be distinctively Australian in ways city dwellers could not. Since then two developments have challenged this claim. The first is environmentalism which has changed the way many in the city look at the land; land for productive development has become an environment under threat. The second is multiculturalism. Many current representations of what makes Australia unique among the nations of the world highlight its ethnic diversity. This is more true of the city than the country, and has given the city a basis on which to claim a major contribution to Australia's distinctiveness.

A.J. Brown

Assessing the Australian Integrity System: Strategic Themes & Open Discussion

This final presentation (non-refereed) will share and review the outcomes of a Strategic Themes workshop to be held in August 2004 with Transparency International Australia, identifying general strategic problems and priorities for the development of the Australia's 'national integrity system'. This review will be used to provoke general discussion on the key integrity issues confronting Australian politics, public policy and private sector regulation (whether or not identified so far in the NISA project), whether the systems are in place to manage these issues, and how these systems might best be assessed in the future or other contexts.

A.J. Brown

The Constitution Australia Was Meant To Have: Decentralised Unitary Theory and the Australian Political Tradition

Australia is today a firmly federal nation, and on many views of its political culture was destined to be. Indeed recent arguments have emerged that this was always the British constitutional design. However Australia has also pioneered a centralised form of federalism, in which the role of the states remains contentious and often tortured, and the idea of significant political diversity between states is regularly disavowed. Australia was described in the 1950s as an 'effective unification within a nominal federalism', and calls for abolition of the states in favour of a unitary system continue. This paper extends recent reevaluation of Australian political theory by arguing that while trends towards a federal system were strong from early in Anglo-Australian colonialism, they were also married with - and at times overridden by - strong British attempts to found a future Australian nation on an entirely different, decentralised unitary structure. Rarely identified in political history, the 'constitution we were meant to have' was a quite explicit model developed by colonial constitutional architects in the 1830s-1850s. It would probably have led to a two-tiered semi-federal system of strong provincial governments on a local-government model, dealing with a sovereign national government that, while theoretically more powerful than a federal government, would in practice have left the bulk of public powers to a more regional level than achieved under federal government. Rediscovering this almost-constitution provides an important tool in explaining subsequent Australian political culture, and provides new insights into the fundamental importance of decentralised unitary values, at times consistent with federalism but at times operating in direct tension with it. Understanding this tradition, and the fact that it would probably have translated into a more decentralised and democratic system of government, provides new openings for debate over the future of Australian constitutional redesign.

A.J. Brown & Brian Head

Ombudsman, Corruption Commission or Police Integrity Authority? Choices for Institutional Capacity in Australia's Integrity Systems

Integrity and anti-corruption reforms are usually built around key public institutions. But while it may be easy enough to create new institutions, their actual capacity for achieving intended results may be a different matter. This paper analyses past and current trends in Australian decision-making over the resourcing, legal focus and organisational forms of 'independent' integrity institutions. This analysis provides an opportunity to review and assess how basic issues of institutional capacity are - or are not - dealt with in development of the nation's integrity systems. The paper uses recent debate over Victorian and Commonwealth integrity bodies as a case study for choices over the purposes, resources and powers of different institutional options, including whether or when to appoint a royal commission into police corruption; how much to rely on 'internal' integrity systems; and whether to establish new anti-corruption bodies. The paper presents a statistical review of the resourcing of Australian integrity bodies over time, and extracts eight key questions of institutional design, often unnecessarily lumped together in recent debate. These analyses provide a clearer basis for assessing current institutional options, and show that in the long-term, more coherent analysis is needed of the mix and distribution of resources, staffing, powers, skills and political will that underpin contemporary integrity systems.

A.J. Brown & John Uhr

Integrity Systems: Conceiving, Describing, Assessing

This paper describes the philosophy and policy context of integrity system assessment activities (including the international context for such assessments), reviews the outcome of the Queensland public sector pilot study, and presents a framework methodology for the present and future integrity system assessment. It also previews key challenges and conclusions of the assessment, and analyses critical issues about the political legitimacy of integrity concepts, including the fundamental question: who defines integrity and why should they be listened to?

Craig Browne

Democracy and Social Creativity

This paper examines attempts to interlink notions of social creativity and democracy. It elucidates the differences and similarities between the ideas of creative democracy and democratic creativity. Creative democracy is associated with the tradition of pragmatist philosophy, especially with the work of John Dewey and George Herbert Mead. Whereas democratic creativity constitutes a point of reference for a number of distinctive, though nonetheless related, programs in contemporary French social and political theory. In particular, Cornelius Castoriadis, Claude Lefort and Alain Touraine have sought to articulate a politics of democratic creativity that differs from political models based on liberal notions of autonomy. The insights of such perspectives into the symbolic horizon of politics have received further elaborations with different emphases in the more recent works of Jacques Ranciere and Marcel Gauchet. Similarly, the common understanding of creative democracy as a variant of the liberal developmental model underestimates its particular features. Pragmatist philosophy has been a major informant of theories of deliberative democracy and recent initiatives in critical social theory have consolidated the notion of creative democracy. A common feature of these various linkages of creativity and democracy is the attempt to theorise emergence and innovation as central principles of individual and social autonomy. Despite their substantial differences, these theories contend that social creativity is such an important dimension of politics that it is necessary to incorporate it into the criteria of a democratic society. It will be suggested that French theories of democratic creativity are founded on a more discordant and agonistic notion of politics. In several cases, they are substantially shaped by reflections on the political history of the conjunction between modernity and totalitarianism. At the same time, a new appreciation of the idea of creative democracy may be promoted by certain tendencies towards the formation of transnational civil societies.

Timothy Bryson

The South Korea/US Alliance: Consequences for the Korean Peninsula

South Korea and the United States signed a Mutual Defence Treaty in October 1953 following the conclusion of open warfare on the Korean Peninsula. Fifty years on this alliance remains strong and is the key security mechanism for South Korea. What is surprising is that the alliance is so consistent while the world around it has changed so dramatically. The key tenet is still to deter North Korean aggression and to protect South Korea if conflict breaks out. The continued presence of that threat from the north in turn guarantees the ongoing existence of the alliance.

The role of the US in South Korea is being questioned by many within South Korea as a range of dissenter's claim that the US is inhibiting the process of improving relations with North Korea. However, this paper will argue that that the perception of the alliance being weakened is largely superficial, for a range of reasons

The forces of continuity still exist in regards to what the alliance provides for both South Korea and the US, and there is a stated and real commitment by both states at this time to strongly maintain the alliance.

The South Korea-US Alliance faces two major strategic challenges. Firstly, the threat from North Korea has altered dramatically since the alliance was first formed. The chance of a major conventional conflict is greatly reduced replaced primarily by the fear of North Korea's WMD's, the danger of a complex limited conflict situation, and the possibility of a total collapse of the North Korean state. The second challenge for the South Korea-US Alliance is finding the right balance for both states in a geostrategic environment that over the last 50 years has either greatly transformed or is no longer in existence.

The South Korea-US Alliance is facing a period of preparation for a series of political, strategic, diplomatic, economic and social changes that are likely to occur in the region and more precisely on the peninsula itself. The alliance has been maintained and is in strong condition due to the strategic focus on the threat from North Korea. The review and reworking of the core elements of the alliance will dictate the impact of its role for the future of the Korean peninsula and the region.

Bruce Buchan

The Moral Physics of the Body Politic: Changing Contours of Corruption in Western Political Thought

Contemporary discussions of 'corruption' have often been criticised for their narrow focus. Definitions of corruption usually begin with the assumption that it consists in a misuse of public office for private, typically pecuniary gain. Such definitions, it has been argued, exclude earlier and much broader notions of corruption within Western political thought that construe corruption as a loss of virtue. Such understandings of corruption often imbibe assumptions expressed within Aristotelian physics in which corruption denoted the decay or degeneration of physical bodies. The 'moral physics' of corruption thus denoted a degeneration or perversion consisting in a personal or collective falling away from virtue. Such notions of corruption raised serious political questions about the health of the body politic. Just as the substance of bodies was prone to physical decay, so the moral 'substance' of the body politic was also prone to moral decay. Importantly, this implied that the corruption of morals was as inevitable as the physical corruption and decay organic bodies. This paper will explore some of the implications of this understanding of corruption by focussing on the relationship between narrow and broader notions of corruption in Western political thought. It will be argued that while there may be much to be said for interpreting corruption as the decay of virtue, it appears to be the case that contemporary narrow definitions of corruption were prefigured in older, broader understandings of corruption as moral decay.

Verity Burgmann

Striking Back Against Empire: Autonomist Marxism and Globalisation

In their depiction of globalisation as 'Empire'-a new form of sovereignty-Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri inquired: 'why is it that instances of militancy still arise, why have resistances deepened, and why does struggle continually reemerge with new vigor?' Autonomist Marxism, centred around Negri, has differentiated itself from Western Marxism's tendency to emphasise the dominant and inexorable logic of capital; autonomist Marxism insists Marx's analysis affirms the power not of capital but of labour as a dynamic subject, an antagonistic force tending toward its own independent identity. Although globalisation appears to confirm the power of capital, workplace organisation is also starting to adapt creatively to the challenges of globalisation. Firstly, new forms of labour organisation are chasing capitalism to the furthest corners of the globe, in response to production processes that make it easy to exchange one workforce for another. Secondly, the incessant marketisation that is a hallmark of capitalist globalisation has spawned new forms of community-based resistance where the labour movement has assumed a leading role. Thirdly, the labour movement has become considerably more aware than in the past of the need to integrate the most vulnerable sections of the workforce, especially those marginalised by race, ethnicity and gender. Fourthly, technologically highly skilled labour has started to resist its increasing levels of exploitation through both 'hactivism' and collective organisation. Finally, workers' involvement in the anti-corporate globalisation movement reveals some emergent transnational strategies to contest corporate domination. These trends are resourceful responses on the part of labour

to circumvent or challenge Empire, which substantiate the insights of autonomist Marxist theory.

Moira Byrne

'Let the little children come to me': the Catholic church's response to the mandatory detention of child asylum seekers

The Catholic church is acknowledged for its involvement in policymaking in Australia. Surveying the evolution of the policy of mandatory detention from the time of the Labor government's introduction of the policy, to the Howard government's promotion of a 'tough' stance on 'queue jumpers', this paper examines the response of the Catholic church. Particular attention is given to the church's response to revelations of conditions within detention centres and effects on detainees, particularly children.

Examining the ways in which the church responded to and participated in the policy of mandatory detention, particular regard is given to the issue of children in detention. Statements from the Australian Catholic Bishops' Conference, practical support to detainees from local clergy at Woomera, and advocacy from a nun on the behalf of two children claiming asylum at the British High Commission, all demonstrate the Catholic church as a locus of support and advocacy for detainees. This support culminated in the court decision to grant custody of five children, formerly detained at Woomera and Baxter detention centres, to the Catholic welfare agency Centacare.

Exploring notions of 'who' and 'what' the church is within the political arena, this paper also investigates and identifies the numerous ways in which the Catholic church participates in the polity on this issue, in an effort to determine how the church can be categorised as a political participant/player.

Moira Byrne

Political or pastoral?: an analysis of the Catholic church as an interest group

The Catholic church's recent interest group style participation in politics and policymaking in Australia has already been identified and acknowledged. However while churches have previously been identified as exercising four forms of intervention in the polity, an argument can be made to expand this number to five. Along with setting agenda, lobbying (both direct and indirect), and electioneering, the Catholic church has a demonstrated 'advocacy' role in addition to the roles already credited to it. Examination of these forms of participation also demonstrate that within these categories of intervention lie further subsets of behaviour, not widely recognised in academic literature. The issues of the detention of children, along with several other contemporary issues, clearly illustrate the interest group behaviour of the church, but also behaviours that extend beyond the scope of conventional interest groups. This leads to analysis of how these roles fit within interest group theories and whether the Catholic church can fit the definition of an interest group. In a brief examination of how the Catholic church compares with other refugee and asylum seeker interest groups in the polity the question is posed: how effective is the church in this issue?

Damien Cahill

The radical neo-liberal movement and its impact upon Australian politics

From the late 1970s onwards the radical neo-liberal movement (more commonly referred to as the 'new right') undertook a sustained ideological assault upon the welfare state, its supporters and the Left in Australia. Although journalists have filled many column inches discussing this phenomenon, the radical neo-liberals have received little detailed scholarly attention. This paper provides an overview of the movement's impact upon Australian politics, with particular attention to the period from 1983-1996.

It argues that the movement, through its think tanks, assisted the process whereby the Australian state and economy underwent a neo-liberal reorganisation. Such assistance took the form of: demonising opponents of neo-liberalism; helping to shift elite debate to the Right; and offering a language and framework for critiquing the welfare state. It is argued that, in doing this, the radical neo-liberal movement acted as a vanguard for neo-liberalism in

Australia. With support from key sections of Australian capital, radical neo-liberal think tanks were able to have an impact disproportionate to their relatively small social base.

Benito Cao

Africa: The 'Other' Continent (The Representation of Africa in Hollywood Films)

This paper examines the representation of Africa in recent Hollywood films. This exercise has allowed the identification of two dominant portraits of Africa in current Western imagination: the Dark Continent, and the Developing Continent. The text is structured in two parts. The first part examines films that reflect the classical colonial discourse: Africa in the State of Nature. This part includes films such as *The Jewel of the Nile* (1985), *The Lion King* (1994), *Congo* (1995), *Outbreak* (1995), *The Ghost and the Darkness* (1996), and *Black Hawk Down* (2001). The second part examines films that reflect the modern (post-colonial) discourse: Africa towards Modernity. This part includes films such as *Out of Africa* (1985), *White Hunter, Black Heart* (1990), *A Good Man in Africa* (1993), *The English Patient* (1996), *I Dreamed of Africa* (2001), and *About Schmidt* (2002). The paper argues that these films reflect the two narratives that still dominate Western representations of Africa: the narrative of civilisation (and barbarism) developed in the 19th century, and the narrative of development (and corruption) that emerged in the 20th century. The two narratives are viewed here as two moments or two components of a single narrative, that of Western Modernity. These films reflect a permanent tension between barbarism (the forces of darkness) and civilisation (the forces of progress), and suggest that the resolution of this tension will determine the passage of Africa from the State of Nature into the World of History.

John Casey & Bronwen Dalton

Ties that bind?: The impact of contracting and project-based funding regimes on advocacy

New approaches to governance that have evolved in parallel to the expansion of the community sector offer the promise of meaningful coproduction of public policy. However, surveys of workers in community organisations highlight their frustration at what they perceived to be their increased marginalisation from policy-making domains, in particular greater constraints on their capacity to engage in advocacy. This paper examines the impact of new models of governance and, related to this, government funding on the advocacy dimension of the work of the Australian community sector by exploring the dimensions of these perceived constraints on advocacy. This involves tracking the evolution of governance models applied to the community sector over the last three decades and then focusing on the government response to, advocacy under the current funding regime. The paper argues that in the current environment, government - nonprofit relations will require each to make concessions and adjustments. Governments must accept that the use of contracting monopolies to stifle advocacy and dissent will only serve to weaken their capacity to deliver and sponsor services that respond to community needs, while community organisations must accept that new governance regimes require new advocacy strategies.

Lisa Chant

The rise and rise of indigenous policy entrepreneurs in New Zealand

The intersection of New Zealand politics, health policy and indigenous New Zealanders in the period from 1990 provides an enlightening snapshot of indigenous health policy evolution. This period has seen significant restructuring of the health policy environment in New Zealand in the context of significant political change. The electoral system changed to MMP, there have been three coalition governments, two Health Acts and three health funding mechanisms. This period has also seen the most effective involvement of New Zealand indigenous people in the evolution of health policy since colonisation in the 19th century.

One key indigenous health policy development in this period was the creation of the MAPO strategy by a group of Maori bureaucrats within a regionalised health authority. This created a governance relationship between Maori and government on health purchasing and policy which has remained embedded despite ongoing political and policy change. As well as being

an example of policy evolution, not from the top down (government) or bottom up (providers) but from the middle, this case study also shows the ongoing governance relationship with Maori for health policy as an unexpected consequence for government, but a planned consequence for the Maori policy entrepreneurs involved.

This paper will show that dramatic changes in the politics and policy-making processes in New Zealand have significantly and positively impacted on the evolution of indigenous self-determination in health issues. Using Kingdon, it will analyse the intersection of the problem (poor Maori health status), policy (health) and politics (neo-liberal, indigenous) to address the question: "why did significant development of indigenous health policy occur at the height of neo-liberalism?"

This unprecedented development is being enthusiastically observed by other indigenous groups working towards evolution of their own indigenous health policy.

Louise Chappell

Contesting women's rights: the influence of religious forces at the United Nations

The focus of this paper is on the emergence of a transnational religious coalition - primarily between Catholic and Islamic forces- and its influence on the development of women's rights internationally. Through an analysis of the documents and commentaries of United Nations conferences at Cairo, Beijing, New York and Rome, the paper illustrates the various ways in which these forces have united to frame an alternative vision of women's 'rights' to that proposed by feminists. The paper argues that the Vatican and a number of Islamic governments have used their religious standing to advance arguments that sit in direct contrast to the rights agenda proposed by the transnational feminist movement. They have framed their discussion about gender and equality, sexuality and reproduction and women's place in the family in ways which commonly appropriate human rights discourse but for conservative, patriarchal ends. While not always capable of influencing the official outcomes of these conferences as it would wish, the coalition has nevertheless been able to stymie developments and keep feminists in a defensive rather than an expansive position in the relation to international women's rights.

David Charnock

Contextual effects and other influences: using multilevel modelling to study the extent and causes of spatial variations in post-war Australian federal voting

Although the techniques of multilevel modelling have been applied to survey data for some individual elections in a small number of countries (including Australia), with the objective of investigating some aspects of the extent and causes of spatial variations in voting behaviour, there are currently no published general studies that cover lengthy periods for any country. In this paper I will provide such a detailed discussion for major party voting at Australian elections for the House of Representatives during most of the post-WWII period.

I begin by outlining the overall extent of spatial variations at the level of states and electoral divisions and show how these are influenced by institutional factors and contemporary political events. Following this, I will present results of analyses that examine how much of the localised variation at the level of electoral divisions can be straightforwardly explained by social compositional differences that result from the spatially heterogeneous distribution of important individual level characteristics such as occupation and religion. I then outline some results on the extent to which the other main potential sources of spatial variation, contextual effects, have influenced voting behaviour. Finally, I shall give a detailed discussion of how the significance of particular contextual effects has altered over a long period and will relate these variations to political events and social and economic changes.

Stephen Chavura

Rhetorical Convention and Rhetorical Iconoclasm: Towards an Understanding of the Organic Metaphor and its Use in Sixteenth Century Tudor Political Polemic

This paper seeks to provide an overall survey of the uses of the organic metaphor in Sixteenth Century Tudor political theory. By focusing on numerous instances of its use, the paper first seeks to identify three different modes of the metaphor: teleological, medicinal, and copological (koph - cutting, a cut). It will be argued that the English use of the metaphor, far from emphasising princely and noble loyalty and duty to the lower ranks, was usually employed to emphasise obedience and subordination. In other words, the metaphor was almost universally used to aggrandise royal power and legitimacy. This is in contrast to its usage in Renaissance Europe as an argument for mixed constitutionalism and limited monarchy (as was demonstrated in a famous 1967 article by P. Archambault). Apart from showing different exemplifications of the metaphor from all types of Tudor vocabularies, the paper will consider two unconventional uses of the metaphor occurring in the middle of the century. Two radical Protestants, John Ponet and John Knox made use of the metaphor, yet turned it on its head in using it as a justification for regicide. The possible sources for this rhetorical 'deformity' will be discussed in an effort to understand how and why this came about. Ultimately this paper serves to provide a survey and analysis of one of the most potent arguments in the history of political thought. It is concerned with an historical epoch when the intellectual climate was in such upheaval that polemicists, in the absence of simple coercion, were striving for common theoretical ground between their adversaries in an effort to inspire real synthetic change.

Peter Chen & Eleanor Jacobs

Strategic Responses to Internet Voting: Preliminary Findings

The development and popularisation of the Internet has had significant impact on the cultural, social, and economic lives of people living in the first world, with significant changes to the way governments and business organisations organise their internal (administrative) and external (marketplace) relationships. One continuing discourse about the implications of this technology revolves around its impact on established political institutions and practices, such as the establishment of "virtual" parties and interest groups online, the use of the Internet by governments and elected representatives to manage information flows top-down, bottom-up mobilisation and political agitation, and the role of the Internet in political socialisation. While the social networking powers of the Internet appear to be its greatest political strength, a large amount of discussion (popular and technical) about the political application of this technology revolves around electronic and online voting. While limited pilots of electronic voting booths have been undertaken in the US and Australia, and some application of Internet voting trialed and planned for local and parliamentary elections around the world, the predominant concern of observers tends to emphasise technical characteristics like security and reliability of systems design. In this paper, based on interviews and focus groups undertaken at the University of Melbourne following the introduction of Internet voting for a critical student election, focused on the strategic partisan responses of political actors and groups to the online voting method, and the experience of voters in interacting with this system. Overall, the research shows some basic democratic concerns about the nature of these voting systems, but also interesting (but limited) campaign innovations in response to the voting method used. Focused around a key online demographic, this research points to the implications of Internet voting in the medium term, as partisan actors adjust electoral strategies to the technology.

Linda Colley

Redundancy in the Queensland Public Service 1859-1999

Public service employment has traditionally been perceived as secure and permanent. This was consistent with the traditional conventions, which protected public servants against the capriciousness of political leaders, and provided them with a degree of independence. This traditional employment security has been reduced in recent years, as economic pressures and broader public sector reforms have resulted in extensive public service redundancy. While many consider this to be a revolutionary or novel trend, McCarry argues that employment security was never a legislated right for public servants and there had always been scope for redundancy and retrenchment. Littler suggests that the nature of

redundancy has changed in recent times, from being a purely economic response to being a broader organisational improvement strategy.

This paper reviews the legislative provisions regarding retrenchment/ redundancy in the Queensland public service, from the establishment of the colony in 1859 until the legislative changes made by the current Beattie government in its first term. It draws primarily on public service legislation and annual reports. The case study confirms that redundancies have long been a feature of Queensland public sector employment, and were used extensively during economic crises in the early part of the period (from 1860s to the 1930s). The case study also supports Littler et al's contention that the nature of redundancy has changed. In the 1980s, redundancy provisions were changed to accommodate new organisational forms such as statutory authorities. Since the 1990s, legislative provisions for redundancy have become even more flexible and accessible, accommodating organisational restructuring and down-sizing, and even allowing the parties to elect not to retrain or relocate an employee. This combination of the change in the nature of redundancy, and the more accessible provisions, provides scope for redundancy to become a means of political dismissal.

Tom Conley

Globalisation and Rising Inequality in Australia: Is Increasing Inequality Inevitable

While it can be argued that the embrace of globalisation in Australia has had positive outcomes in terms of growth and productivity, it has certainly not led to more egalitarian outcomes. This paper assesses the increase in inequality in the context of the debate about the benefits of globalisation. It considers whether rising inequality is an unavoidable consequence of globalisation in advanced capitalist countries like Australia.

Daniel Connell

Environmental politics and public policy in the Murray-Darling Basin

Management of the environment is raising issues that are becoming difficult to manage within existing institutional frameworks. The situation of the Murray-Darling Basin highlights many of the issues involved. Current institutions are now widely seen as ineffective and this paper examines the growing debate about what should or could take their place. Central to the history of settlement in the Murray-Darling Basin is the changing role of governments in relation to the environment. Initially their role was confined to just a few matters such as labour and land. Subsequently, in a story that illustrates how coordinate federalism evolved into cooperative federalism (albeit unwelcomed), increasing social and economic integration across state borders, expanding ambitions and emerging problems forced them to take responsibility for many other elements of the total ecological system. In response to environmental degradation and intensifying conflict over natural resources state governments now focus more on manoeuvring for maximum advantage rather than independence from interference as they did in earlier times. In the past, when faced with highly politicised situations of this type, Australian governments often resorted to statutory bodies. Something along these lines was recommended by a House of Representatives report on catchment management delivered in 2000. Similarly, the report of the South Australian Parliament's Select Committee on the Murray, tabled in 2001, argued that Murray-Darling Basin Commissioners should have the legal responsibilities of a board of directors and be required to implement the aims of the Murray-Darling Basin Agreement. A commission reconstituted in this way, the report proposed, should control all natural resources management activities in the region, no matter what the funding source. These reports also emphasised the importance of the 'community' but left the way it would be involved and its possible powers and responsibilities poorly defined. These are just some of the ideas being considered against the background of a wider national and international debate about the values that should shape interactions between the public, policy makers and political decisions makers and the relationship that should exist between humanity and its bio-physical environment.

Paul Corcoran

The Emotional Virtues

Virtue and emotion have traditionally resided on opposing sides of a philosophical dichotomy between the mind's reason and the body's passion. Socrates and Plato prestigiously established the priority of intellectual governance over the unruly spirits and appetites of bodies natural and political. Ever since, a Standard Account in the Western philosophical tradition has accepted the rule of reason as the primary canon of law, politics and morality. Thus virtue is a robust and developed expression of a rational mind. The will, when it is virtuous and good, is so because it is the servant of reason.

This paper will argue against this servitude, drawing attention to the importance of the emotional ingredients of what Aristotle called *ethike*, the virtues of action acquired by practical experience and entrenched as habits. Here they will be called emotional virtues.

Aristotle's intellectual (*dianoetic*) virtues - wisdom, courage, temperance and justice - remain important, if wistful, ideals of moral and political authority. But daily aspirations and appraisals amongst the citizenry uphold the quieter, less heroic virtues: honesty, patience, prudence, modesty, generosity, charity, hopefulness, love, affection, kindness, loyalty and felicity. Honouring these virtues in our relationships - personal, familial, neighbourly, vocational and political - enriches our lives. We regret and censor their absence. This paper will argue that 'emotion' is the initiating, driving and sustaining force of these ordinary virtues. They are not principally informed and motivated by, nor are they in defiance of, precepts of reason. The emotional content of human action (the 'motions' inwardly experienced, felt as dispositions and often expressed by physiological signs and motor actions) is not inchoate, destructive or necessarily inimical to the rational content of action. The head and the heart are not at war; they are not from different planets. It follows that virtue is not the trophy for reason's conquest over emotion.

George Crowder

Galston's Liberal Pluralism

Toleration and personal autonomy are central liberal ideals, but some theorists argue that they represent very different visions of liberalism. Most prominently, William Galston has aligned the two ideals with 'two concepts of liberalism', respectively 'Reformation' and 'Enlightenment' versions. At stake in the debate between these two views is the role of the liberal state in relation to non-liberal ways of life within the state's jurisdiction. Roughly speaking, the Reformation approach tends to favour the accommodation of such ways of life; the Enlightenment view supports the promotion of liberal values throughout civil society and permits, in principle, the liberalisation of non-liberal minorities as a goal of public policy. In this debate, which has centred on the field of education in particular, Galston has championed the Reformation view, arguing for the priority of toleration. Recently, in *Liberal Pluralism* (2002), he has sought to justify that position by appeal to Isaiah Berlin's notion of value pluralism. In this paper I welcome Galston's intervention on the side of a liberal interpretation of Berlinian pluralism, but dissent from his account of the liberalism in question. Value pluralism does indeed support liberalism, but in the Enlightenment or autonomy-based rather than the Reformation or toleration-based form.

Kate Crowley

Managing Intergovernmental Relations: the Tasmanian State-Local Partnership Experience

This paper examines state-local partnerships at the sub-national level in the small island state of Tasmania. At the theoretical level it undertakes a comparative review of the partnership concept in the international context. This review provides the basis for a basic partnerships typology within which the Tasmanian intergovernmental experience can be located. The paper then considers evaluative measures for partnerships more generally before analysing evaluation in the Tasmanian state-local context.

Michael Crozier

Theatres of innovation: Political communication and contemporary public policy

We are in the midst of a decisive transformation in the modes of political communication. A key dimension of this change is the growing professionalization of political advocacy and advice, as governments, political parties, and political actors have become engrossed by the imperative of professional publicity. Gone is the earlier focus on simply informing and persuading the public. Now, the emphasis is on managing the media, media image and diverse audience (constituency) sentiment. Political consultants and communication specialists thus now play an integral role in the political calculus driving party competition and public policy making. These specialists mobilize recursive techniques to meet the challenges of what is understood to be a highly fluid political and social environment. This paper will examine some of the policy dimensions and ramifications of this trend. It aims to open up the question as to what degree societal coordination is shifting away from technical-rational expertise towards communication expertise and symbolic action.

Jennifer Curtin & Kelly Sexton

Selecting and electing women to the House of Representatives: Progress at last?

The Australian Labor Party began its affirmative action program for women in 1981, setting a target of 30 percent women elected to the federal parliament by 1990. In 1994, and again in 2003, this target was revised upwards and currently sits at 40 percent to be achieved by 2012. This paper explores the impact of the various ALP quotas on the selection rates of women at the federal level over the last 30 years. While the impact of proportional representation on women's parliamentary presence is well-researched, the effectiveness of gendered party interventions in majoritarian systems is less obvious. The paper also examines whether the initiatives taken by the ALP have had an impact on the Coalition's propensity to preselect women. In other words, is there a "contagion" effect associated with voluntary gendered interventions and if so, what does this mean for women's future parliamentary presence?

Trajce Cvetkovski

The Political Economy of the Music Industry: Its Rise and Stall

This paper is concerned with interacting technological challenges facing the global music industry. The industry is worth approximately \$AUD100b, and is dominated by a few majors who collectively control over 80% of music sales and publishing revenue. These majors represent the cultural arms of only four multinational corporations. The industry is a highly integrated and complex business that centres around sophisticated management and appropriation of intellectual property (namely copyright) for repeated exploitation for decades after its initial acquisition. This intangible property is usually initially assigned from creators of music (eg recording artists).

Recent digital technologies have raised questions about the future of the industry's current organizational structure and processes. Indeed, the past three years have witnessed unprecedented losses. PC and internet technologies have been identified (blamed) for the drop in revenue, and the literature also suggests CD piracy and downloading are the reasons for the drop in sales. However, these illegitimate practices partly explain challenges in relation to finished products (consumption).

This paper proposes that in addition to these attacks, legitimate technological challenges are at play suggesting re-organization is occurring multidimensionally. For example, evidence is now available to suggest there is a growing lack of interest among consumers for current music products. What is also missing from the debate is an analysis of the "DIY"/Micro-label phenomenon where creators independently produce finished products with affordable technologies. Techno music provides an excellent case study for this alternative form of music commodification. This mode has two major implications. Firstly, emerging technologies question the need for creator assignment, and the data suggests that licensing arrangements are becoming more popular. Alternatively, creators can bypass the current model entirely. The purpose of the research presented in this paper is to explain how these interacting forces have challenged the very foundations of the traditional music industry.

Richard de Angelis

Options/Scenarios for the future of the War on Terrorism and the Foreign Policy of George W. Bush, from a political sociological perspective

Two of the most important recent globalizing features of world politics, both "international" and "domestic", have been the interactive phenomena of 1) international fundamentalist terrorism as an all-encompassing mass social movement and 2) the pre-emptive hegemonic project for American "foreign" policy of President George W. Bush. Both have changed the agenda and character of world politics, for the worse, since the epochal events of September 11, 2001. Neither is likely, however, to last much longer in their present forms, not only because of their mutual extremisms and increasingly loose hold on reality, but also because of classic processes of charisma routinization in the face of international and political sociological diversity and complexity. Nonetheless it is an open question what comes afterwards, since a return to the status quo ante seems unrealistic as well. As in the decade after WWII, when US hegemony was first constructed, a milder more unilateral form of US domination seems likely, particularly in the face of a more routinized and diffuse terrorist threat.

Michael de Percey

National Security versus Civil Liberties: Towards an Australian Bill of Rights

Issues of border security were already at the forefront of the political agenda (Brennan 2003) when the events of September 11 and the Bali bombings shocked Australia's national security landscape. In this climate of fear, legislation was rushed through parliament to prevent further 'terrorist' threats claiming Australian lives. Hocking's work *Terror Laws* (2004) traces the aftermath of this legislation, including new state powers to detain citizens not accused of crimes with a reversal of the burden of proof on the state. Hocking (2004) argues that the 'terror laws' are "some of the most draconian 'counter-terrorism' measures in the western world" and that we may be protecting ourselves by removing 'the very freedoms that define us as a democracy'. While institutional controls appear to be failing the public (Brennan 2003; Bulletin 20 April 2004; Sackville 2004), it is arguable that Prime Minister Howard's (2003) 'three great pillars' of Australian democracy, that is, a 'vigorous parliamentary system...[; an] incorruptible judiciary; and a free and sceptical media', are incapable of protecting us from ourselves. This paper argues that there has never been a more appropriate time to formalise an Australian Bill of Rights. While acknowledging the current threat to national security, this paper presents a defence of the rule of law in the face of the politics of popular prejudice.

Claire Donovan

The governance of social science

The governance of science includes the governance of social science, but at what cost to the future of social science? Research on the governance of publicly funded research does not recognise that social science and science are different enterprises, or that regulating research policy in purely science and technology terms has undesirable consequences for the social sciences, intended or otherwise. With the exception of some literature on the regulatory power of research ethics committees, the governance of social science is uncharted terrain. This paper makes the case for studying the governance of social science through the example of regulating 'everyday epistemology' at the science policy level, and uses the British research council system to demonstrate how social science has been politically constructed as a legitimate enterprise for public funding. Social science is regulated by non-social scientists who squeeze this square peg into the round hole of natural scientific thinking. When this policy is translated into governance structures it creates a 'slave social science' and subverts the role of social science as social science. It is wrong to regulate social science as if it were natural science because its interpretative and reflexive approaches, and their associated methods, are overlooked. It is suggested that science and technology research policy can redefine social science as empirical social science plus 'added interpretative value' and thereby emancipate social science as social science to realise its full utility within the national research effort.

Claire Donovan

Taking the Rise of the Meritocracy

Michael Young (1915 - 2002) coined the term 'meritocracy' in his 1958 *The Rise of the Meritocracy* where he presented the formula $I + E = M$ (intelligence plus effort equals merit). In a BBC obituary Young's invention is placed 'at the centre of Blairite thinking', although six months earlier Young had publicly reclaimed his concept stating, 'It would help if Mr Blair would drop the word from his public vocabulary' and 'he [Blair] has caught on to the word without realising the dangers of what he is advocating' (Young 2001). *The Rise of the Meritocracy* is a satire, a dystopic work of social and political science fiction which was fated to be misunderstood (the text was presented as a PhD thesis written by a fictitious future Michael Young in the year 2034 and was rejected by eleven publishers - including Longmans on the grounds that they did not publish theses). This paper considers how Young's 'meritocracy' has been used in academic and political spheres, and how this concept has become its own antithesis located at the heart of modern democratic thinking. *The Rise of the Meritocracy* is an influential text, and Young himself speculates 'the most influential works are always those that are not read' (1999: xv). This paper tests Young's hypothesis in the form of a content analysis of international academic works on meritocracy that do and do not cite Young (including the use of the fictitious formula $I + E = M$), and analyses the formulation of meritocratic principles within political policy and political rhetoric. The aim is to take a wry yet empirically-informed look at the evolution of key concepts in social and political theory and practice. Life can indeed sometimes be stranger than social science fiction.

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Timothy Doyle

Exploring Environmental Security: Nuclear Waste in the Indian Ocean Region

Interest in the concept of environmental security emerged forcefully in the Brundtland Report in 1987, and increased at the first Earth Summit in Rio de Janeiro in 1992. Ten years later, the nexus between environment, development and security was never stronger than at the 'Earth Summit Plus Ten' in Johannesburg. The notion of environmental security, however, is hotly contested. Its most common variation is concerned with the impact of environmental stress on societies, which may lead to situations of war within and between societies. Usually, environmental security issues cross nation-state boundaries, and provide an ideal vehicle for the discussion of regional frameworks. This paper critically examines the concept of environmental security within the Indian Ocean Region (IOR). It then introduces one urgent environmental security issue - the production, treatment, transport and storage of nuclear waste - within the context of the IOR.

Whilst many parts of the more affluent world are moving away from nuclear power as an industrial and domestic energy source, the Indian Ocean Region (IOR) is rapidly increasing its nuclear energy profile. Most often, this increase in nuclear profile is evidenced in discourses linked to the nuclear proliferation of weaponry. Because of the IOR's informal status as 'Ocean of the South', the environmental security focus on nuclear power has not been sufficiently explored, as the possibilities of nuclear accidents - whether in mining, power generation, reprocessing, transport or storage - are seen as risks that those 'less affluent' are expected to take. With the IOR's increased nuclear profile, it is critical that environmental security concerns are included alongside the more traditional security concerns of weapons proliferation and possible nuclear war.

Richard Eccleston

The political dynamics of Japanese tax reform and the limits of institutional theory'

An effective and efficient taxation system is regarded as being the cornerstone of the modern state. It comes as little surprise then that there are a range of theoretical explanations which seek to account for variations in national tax systems. Perhaps the most influential comparative research has tended to present institutional explanations of variations in tax policy. Assuming that there is societal resistance to increasing revenue yield and introducing new forms of taxation (such as value-added taxes), it is argued that institutional structures which grant policy makers with high levels of political autonomy will be associated with higher levels of taxation and few political battles in relation to tax reform. In contrast, pluralistic and fragment political systems should be associated with lower aggregate levels of taxation and more political contestation around reform proposals.

This paper presents a case study of the politics of consumption tax reform in Japan which in many ways confounds the basic institutional hypothesis presented above. The evidence presented suggests that while institutional autonomy underpins state capacity in relation to policy making, when an issue is highly politicised (as is the case with consumption tax reform), there is clear need for policy makers to engage with and form collaborative relations with key actors in civil society. The paper concludes with a discussion of what the Japanese experience in relation to consumption tax reform contributes to institutionalist accounts of economic policy making.

Elizabeth Eddy

'Welfare reform and the welfare of community sector workers'

In recent years, the employment conditions of community workers in Australia have been adversely affected by the current wave of welfare reforms in their sector. The welfare reform process has entrenched even more deeply the often precarious employment conditions which have condemned many working in the community sector to peripheral working conditions. This development is quite ironic as current government policy has prioritised assisting people into employment and away from welfare services support. Moreover, this sector has increasingly become an important site for delivery of government funded services in this policy area. The paper examines the broader reform process behind this perplexing development, and argues that the apparent disregard for the welfare of workers in the community sector raises grave concerns about policy-makers' visions for social protections in Australia..

Lindy Edwards

Democratic Decline: The Discursive Influence of Neo-Liberalism

The trends of 'democratic decline'in modern industrial democracies are hotly debated in the democracy literature. They variously include declining public trust in the institutions of representative democracy, declining participation in traditional forms of political participation and the hollowing out of political parties. Numerous explanations of these trends have been proposed ranging from increased scrutiny in the changing media environment to the rise of post materialist values and shifts in electorate demands.

A less prominent argument has suggested that there has been a shift in the public's understandings of how democracy works and their role within it. This paper uses a reformulation of Robert Putnam's empirical findings in Italy and the United States to argue that such a shift is central to the democratic decline phenomena. It goes on to argue that there has been a left-right ideological battle to re-model the public's understanding of the democratic process. It argues that the changing form of democracy, has been significantly affected by neo-liberalism's ideological victory in reshaping popular understanding of democratic government.

Wayne Errington

Kim Dae Jung and the Consolidation of Democracy in South Korea

Kim Dae-Jung, long-time pro-democracy campaigner, was elected to a five-year term as President of the Republic of Korea in 1997. His term of office revealed the opportunities and pitfalls facing a leader committed to the consolidation of democracy. South Korea's transition to democracy in 1997 left in place many of the power structures that had weakened the institutions of democracy in previous decades: a hierarchical political culture highlighted by a powerful presidency, a military and bureaucracy suspicious of members of parliament, a handful of powerful businesses used to buying the votes of politicians and a security establishment more committed to the survival of the Korean state than to its democratic institutions. A weak party system open to personalized rule and corruption, and a lack of social trust in democratic institutions characterised the Korean polity when Kim took office in 1998. Kim set about consolidating Korean democracy in three main areas: building a stable party system free of corruption, reducing the influence of business over government and defusing the tension with North Korea that previous presidents had used to justify repression. However, the way in which Kim went about achieving his goals shows the paradox of leadership and democratic consolidation. Kim could often only make progress by imposing his views over the parliament, making deals with business leaders behind closed doors and alienating many progressive forces such as trade unions and human rights campaigners. While he made progress in decentralising economic power and changing electoral laws, Kim's leadership style was consistent with previous presidents. Strong leadership may be necessary to achieve goals associated with the consolidation of democracy but it also can also undermine the consensus necessary to build public trust in democratic institutions.

Andy Fefta Wijaya

How is to evaluate outcome-based performance in the public water company

Improvement of human quality life should be the priority of public policy and management in setting organizational goal and performance. However, a gap between policy and its implementation is often inevitable. In governance relationship between policy maker ('principal') and its implementer ('agent'), setting performance is vital. It is a tool to evaluate how far the agent has achieved mandatory goals. This study evaluate how effective is a public water company called the Bromo water Supply Company (BWSE) in Indonesia to conduct the policy mandates from the local government. Goal of water service delivery is to deliver drinking water service to the society in order to improve community welfare in social, economics and health aspects. This case study finds that the BWSE can not fully perform goal mandates given to them for reasons.

Firstly, the performance target of the BWSE is concentrated to gain profit, because value of share profit for the local government as the owner has been increased every year. Unfortunately, subsidy for poor households has been cut off. So, there are unbalanced performance targets among policy goals from the local government. Secondly, cases of diseases related water are found high in low coverage area of water supply customers rather than in the high coverage level area. Households without access to water pipe connections are mostly in the poor area. Most of them use contaminated water from wells and danger their health. As well, less water consumption in the poor households is inappropriate for human health. Thirdly, less water pressure and continuity, less accessibility and capacity towards water source alternatives and storages in poor areas and packed housings change customer's attitude towards water takings. Some customers hardly take water in the late night when water pressure is relatively high. Unfortunately, new investments of the BWSE are entirely allocated for increasing new customers. Rather, it is used to improve performance of water service delivery in the poor areas. Finally, combination aspects of high tariff for industry and business customers; weak underground water arrangements; and low capacity to serve new connections make water users to build their own bored wells. Economically, this is loss of potential profit for the BWSE. Moreover, uncontrolled uses of underground water plus inefficiency attitudes towards water consumption in most rich households are costly for underground water reservation which is also environmentally disadvantage for water resource preservation.

The findings above support concepts such a 'triple bottom line' from Elkinton (1997) that needs to balance among economics, social and environmental goals. This study also acknowledges needs to accommodate performance information from internal (financial,

human resource, organizational operation) and outside sources (external stakeholders) such as a balanced scorecard concept (Kaplan & Norton, 1992-2003). As well, outcome based performance should get a priority (Hatry 1999, Osborne & Plastrik 2000), if enhancement of human quality life is the core agenda in policy making. Outcome measurement is an appropriate alternative to evaluate how accountable is the governance arrangement to the public. A framework called 'AWASS' is developed for the purpose of his study.

Alan Fenna

Fundamental Law, Ordinary Law: some unresolved issues in Australian Constitutionalism

While the constitutional basis of Australian government at the national level is clear, coherent, and consistent, the same cannot be said for the constitutional basis of the State governments. Lying as they do in a constitutional no man's land between the now highly anomalous Westminster model of an uncodified constitution and what was originally the American model of a codified constitution, the charter documents of the Australian States have experienced a number of yet unresolved problems of amendment and reform. This has been highlighted in varying ways by recent developments in a number of States, among these the procedural obstruction of electoral reform in Western Australia, the sweeping success of parliamentary reform in Victoria, and the challenges faced in the process of constitutional consolidation in Queensland.

At the heart of the matter is the controversial practice of legislative entrenchment $\frac{3}{4}$ the paradoxical procedure whereby ordinary law is used to change the constitution to deny future governments the power to use ordinary law to change the constitution. That such practices offend against basic parliamentary and constitutional principles has been widely recognised. Notwithstanding this, they have been consistently upheld by the courts. This contradiction raises questions about the authority on which State constitutions are based; the relationship between State constitutions and both the Commonwealth Constitution and the Australia Act(s); and the nature and role of judicial review in Australia.

John Fitzpatrick

World Empire and Home Empire in the US Rise to Globalism

Over the past six decades, the United States has established a 'world empire' with a geopolitical configuration unique in world history. On the one hand, the world empire proper is unprecedented both in its geopolitical scope and in the extent to which it is articulated directly from the centre - though a long-distance 'empire of bases' - rather than by various levels of 'indirect rule' through partially independent client regimes running substantial parts of the imperial territories. On the other, this rapidly assembled world empire was built on the platform of a pre-established 'home empire', also unprecedented in geopolitical scope and in resources directly under the control of imperial centre, in the continental United States. This paper explores some of the consequences of this unique geopolitical configuration, arguing in particular that as the frontiers of the world empire have expanded political dynamics in the home empire have become progressively nativist and anti-cosmopolitan. In this sense, the paper attempts to provide a broadly geopolitical and materialist perspective on the US side of 'the clash of fundamentalisms' which appears to be emerging in the early post-Cold war era.

John Fitzpatrick

Food, warfare and the impact of Atlantic capitalism in Aotearoa/New Zealand

This paper deals with the relationship between food systems and modes of warfare among Maori in the period immediately preceding and following significant European 'contact' in the late 18th century, and the implications of this relationship for the nature and consequences of Maori resistance to European occupation in the mid 19th century. Though the paper concentrates on the Maori, it is substantially framed by a comparison to patterns of European-indigenous interaction in Australia - in particular by the question of why the application of 'terra nullius' rationales for European occupation were less extreme in the New Zealand than in the Australian case. I suggest that neither general 'Lockean' arguments about the nature of

indigenous land use, nor the specific issue of the Treaty of Waitangi, offers an adequate explanation of the relative success of Maori in asserting their rights as prior occupants of the land. A more plausible explanation lies in Maori success in endowing the Waitangi treaty with retrospective significance by their remarkable military and political resistance during the New Zealand Wars.

This certainly does not mean that Maori fought for their land and Australian aboriginals did not. Both populations offered impressive military resistance to European occupation, given the imbalance of technological and organizational resources on the European side. However, Maori resistance in the mid-19th century looked much more 'state-like'-from a European perspective, with extraordinary military achievements in defending substantial territories - and important strategic points guarding these territories - against professional military forces equipped with advanced military technologies and logistical techniques. To understand why Maori were able to resist in this way, it is crucial to look at the interplay between food production and military organization on either side of the onset of substantial European contact, when both these dimensions of the Maori social order were transformed by the rapid diffusion of new food sources and new weapons across the New Zealand archipelago.

Jenny Fleming & Rod Rhodes

It's situational: the dilemmas of police governance in the 21st Century

Over the past thirty years, police services in the UK, Canada, the USA and Australia have been subjected to a series of demands for change and reform. Reform has, in effect, become cyclical. This article describes these reforms as a shift from command and control bureaucracy through markets to networks. The central argument of the article is that constant reform is a result of the unintended consequences of change. Many of these unintended consequences stem from the limitations and incompatibility of each of these governing structures. We show that the conflicts between the core ideas that distinguish each governing structure create dilemmas that render all reforms contingent, and sometimes nugatory.

The article tells the distinct stories of the Bureaucratic State, the Contract State and the Network State. The article explores the limits and prospects of collaborative policing, focusing on the Network State and drawing on semi-structured interviews with 27 senior and middle-level officers and managers. The article concludes that, for police organisations, the future does not lie with markets, hierarchies or networks. The central story of police reform will be the efforts to match management style to the situation, to balance the unholy trinity of the ever-changing mix of markets, hierarchies and networks.

Michele Ford

A Case for Convergence? Indonesian Labour Politics, 1973-1998

Theoretical debates about the political and economic roles of organised labour in developing countries have long been dominated by arguments about the extent to which developing country labour movements will follow the trajectories of the labour movements of Europe and North America. Proponents of convergence theory in industrial relations have historically employed models of economic and structural convergence to argue that as developing economies became more industrialised, they would adopt the forms of industrial relations institutions and labour movement organisation found in industrialised countries. Conversely, opponents of industrial relations convergence theory have argued that the cultural and historical specificities of developing country contexts mean that international models of industrial relations and labour movement activism are necessarily reconstituted within the local frameworks in which they operate.

Between 1973 and 1998, Indonesian labour politics were characterised by a discourse of indigenism. When Suharto's New Order came to power in the late 1960s, his government set about replacing the strong emphasis on socialist principles in labour relations which had dominated labour politics since the early twentieth century with a 'truly Indonesian' form of industrial relations based on the state ideology, Pancasila. With the implementation of Pancasila Industrial Relations, the government formally rejected 'foreign' models that stressed the inherently antagonistic nature of labour relations. On the surface, then, the Indonesian case would seem to contradict the arguments of industrial relations convergence theorists.

However, the rhetoric of Pancasila Industrial Relations was informed both by the principles of Catholic corporatism and international debates between Leninists and the Revisionists about the role of trade unions. This paper examines the ideological underpinnings of Pancasila Industrial Relations, demonstrating that Indonesian trade unions have a 'double history' in which international models of unionism and industrial relations remained strongly influential despite the New Order's attempts to reject them.

Suzanne Franzway

'We need to win ...' Making feminist politics in trade unions and transnational labour activist networks

This paper is offered in the spirit of Arundhati Roy's call to political activists that 'we need to win something', and in order to win we need to find ways to make this possible. It is focussed on union feminists concerned with mobilizing women to secure workplace rights and greater visibility within transnational political movements. Hope and confidence in the potential of progressive social movements are severely tested by the successes of the ideological, political and economic projects of neo-liberal globalization. The possibilities for political activism are thus being challenged and transformed by current transitions in globalisation and 'its discontents' so that progressive and effective collective action appears increasingly difficult or futile.

Such a bleak prognosis for making progressive political interventions is part of the problem. I argue rather, that opportunities may be found: union activists and political movements already engage in creative and effective global/local politics. The point is to recognise, understand and incorporate these into our analyses and practices. Feminist union activists not only draw on feminist theorizing, but also feminist social movement strategies offer real possibilities to revitalise modernist trade union movements. This paper looks at some of the ways union feminists seize opportunities and possibilities available in trade unions, together with resources of globalization to create transnational feminist mobilisations and activist networks.

Fred Gale & Marcus Haward

Public accountability in private regulation: contrasting models of the Forest Stewardship Council (FSC) and Marine Stewardship Council (MSC)

Public regulation has given way to private regulation in several sectors over the past two decades as states implement policies consistent with the "new public sector management" including corporatisation, contracting out and privatisation. Decreased state capacity, and the perception that its appropriate role is to "steer" not "row", has resulted in an increase in private regulatory regimes including business and industry codes of conduct and first-, second- and third-party certification. Third-party certification especially has been embraced by environmental civil society organizations, which have become disenchanted with government and industry efforts to usher in "sustainable development". Schemes have emerged in several sectors including forestry, fisheries, coffee, tourism and agriculture. Such certification schemes, while aiming to generate "sustainable" practices among a group of industry leaders, vary enormously within and between sectors, generating considerable controversy over the degree to which they are, and should be, accountable to relevant stakeholders on the one hand and the broader public on the other. In this paper, we compare the institutional structures of two schemes: the Forest Stewardship Council (FSC) and Marine Stewardship Council (MSC). The comparison not only highlights similarities and differences in their organisational structures, but also brings into sharp relief differences in approach to public accountability with respect to policy transparency, stakeholder consultation, and dispute resolution.

Brian Galligan & F.L. (Ted) Morton

Democracy, Rights and Interests: How Institutions Matter

The paper explores Australia's exceptionalism in having a 'rights revolution' without a bill of rights and courts and judges with primary responsibility for rights protection. It rejects Charles

Epp's rights revolution paradigm (The Rights Evolution, 1998) because it does not account for rights protection outside judicial activism and advocacy group litigation. It is ethnocentric in taking the US model bill-of-rights model as the norm and evaluating the experiences in other countries in terms of the US experience. Epp's paradigm is curiously apolitical, and fails to recognize that in many cases rights claims conflict. He glosses over the difference between traditional 'rule of law' rights (which are a public good) and interest group advocacy use of litigation to advance the group's policy objectives.

The paper argues that the primary effect of adopting a bill of rights is institutional, shifting primary responsibility for making decisions about rights claims from legislatures to courts. The secondary effect of adopting a bill or charter of rights is to privilege different types of political resources; and, since these resources are not evenly distributed, to privilege different societal interests. Legislative decision-making is more susceptible to being influenced by interests with large/mass memberships that can influence electoral outcomes with votes and financial contributions. Judicial decision-making is more susceptible to influence by interests with large numbers of lawyers or whose policy objectives and social values are shared by elite groups. Australia provides a valuable case study for testing these hypotheses.

Anika Gauja

The Internal Organisation of the Australian Democrats: Lessons for Participatory Parties

This paper analyses the central organisational challenge faced by internally democratic political parties operating within competitive electoral systems: the need to establish an efficient, responsive and professional party with coherent policy positions and political objectives, without creating hierarchies of leadership and control. Constructed from data obtained through interviews with parliamentarians and party members throughout 2003, the Australian Democrats are presented as a case study. With reference to the broader theoretical debate concerning the desirability and efficacy of intra-party democracy, I examine not only the formal structure, but also the Democrats' everyday operation and political culture. The Democrats' policy development process is analysed with reference to the party's role in the 1998-1999 GST debate, highlighting the tensions created when the process is exposed to the external pressures of competitive electoral politics. I argue that there is a significant gap between principle and practice: although the Democrats' rules, regulations and formal structure espouse the principles of democracy, this is not reflected in the every-day working mode of the party, which is plagued by low membership participation, apathy, the possibility of minority control of the policy process, and the prominence accorded to 'personalities' and the parliamentary party. Based upon the Democrats study, I draw a number of important lessons for participatory parties seeking to reconcile a democratic organisation with the pragmatic necessities of electoral politics.

Zareh Ghazarian

Minor Details? The three Australian minor parties in the Senate and their impact and influence on the Australian political debate

This paper examines the organisation and structures of three minor parties currently represented in the Australian Senate; the Australian Democrats, the Australian Greens and Pauline Hanson's One Nation. While each of these three parties are usually separated by differences on policies, they still share common characteristics. These common characteristics include, for example, occasional tension between the organisational wing and the party's parliamentary members on specific policy or legislation. This paper investigates the nature of the party's membership, structure of membership, policy making bodies and the interaction between the party's office bearers, rank and file members and the parliamentarians of the party. The paper attempts to further investigate the effect organisation and structure has on minor parties' impact on Australian politics. Key areas of the party considered include their formal organisational structures, constitution and how these devices function in practice by referring to contemporary examples. The paper also compares and contrasts the internal party mechanisms of these minor parties and assesses on how these areas impact on Australia's policy debate.

Sally Gibson

The language of the right: sex education debates in South Australia

In 2003 a campaign took place against a new model of sex education in SA. This campaign, organized primarily by the Right to Life, Festival of Light and Family First party included letter writing to politicians and local papers, community forums in areas where pilot schools were located and a public rally as well as strategic use of the media. It also included a parliamentary debate initiated by the Liberal Party. his presentation will analyse some of the language and arguments used by those who opposed the program. Two main strategic uses of language will be explored; the bringing of a "sexual" speech repertoire into the public domain and the presentation of argument in "scientific" rather than religious terms.

The deliberate use of sexual speech aimed to provoke moral outrage amongst those possibly sympathetic but unconnected to the debate in order to build a wider support base. Activities on safe sex designed for use in a classroom were read out over the radio and at public forums without the context in which they would have been delivered. The repetition of words such as "sex toys" "mutual masturbation" and "anal intercourse" spoke to the existing uncertainties and anxieties in the community in relation generally to sex and young people and to homosexuality in particular.

Written opposition to the program often gave an appearance of being based on the same evidential paradigm being used by those who developed the program (ie medical facts). This use of the "scientific" aimed to give an authority to the arguments of the opponents and warnings were given to people not to reveal their religious affiliations.

While this debate did not result in the withdrawal of the program it provides an important insight into the Christian right in SA. It also reveals the influence of the US Christian right where similar language and arguments have shaped their Government's conservative abstinence approach to sex education.

Zoe Gill

Boys: Getting it right: The 'new' disadvantaged or 'disadvantage' redefined?

The Australian Government commissioned a parliamentary inquiry into the education of boys. This policy document Boys: Getting it right: Report on the inquiry into the education of boys was released in October 2002. It has directed subsequent moves in this area by the government. These have included the introduction of legislation to amend the Sex Discrimination Act so as to enable measures to encourage men into teaching and a rewrite, which is currently underway, of the previous policy the Gender Equity Framework. As such it is important to understand the way in which Getting it right constructs boys and girls, as this will shape the direction of these subsequent moves. This paper argues that Getting it right treats boys and girls as separate and fixed categories, exogenous to the wider gender order.

Kate Gleeson

Bludging Sex - What's wrong with the Pimp?

The character of the pimp provokes special legal and political outrage and disgust. Pimps have been cast as parasitic and wretched, and judges have described them as "evil" and as having "sunk as low it is possible for a man to sink". While male clients have rarely been targeted by the criminal law, offences such as men "living on the earnings of prostitution" have typically carried heavier penalties than the offences aimed at prostitutes themselves, such as soliciting. Why the discrepancy? I examine the common hatred of the pimp and how this hatred translates into law. I argue that the pimp is despised for two primary reasons. First, because he exploits his fellow man's "need" for sex. And second and more perhaps more importantly, because he disrupts the mythology that prostitution is natural and inevitable by virtue of his economically interested presence. In making this argument, I will make particular reference to the role of Stephen Ward in the Profumo affair in the early 1960s.

Leigh Gollop

Distrustful, Disenchanted, Disengaged Citizens: Are Australians an Exception?

Research has revealed a worrying level of political alienation of citizens from their governments in most western liberal democracies in the last few decades, particularly in English speaking nations. In Australia, however, there is still dispute in academic circles as to whether the same degree of alienation exists here. There is a wide variation in opinion. Social researcher, Hugh Mackay, who bases his assessment on qualitative research, says the level of cynicism in the electorate has reached such a pitch that 'it might require some redefinition of our political institutions'. On the other hand, political scientist, Murray Goot, relying on quantitative data concludes that 'the extent of discontent has been exaggerated' and claims that there has been 'a serious erosion of public confidence in democratic and representative institutions... is a difficult to sustain'. This paper argues the sparseness of the data on political attitudes from all sources in Australia -- both quantitative and qualitative - and the potential for error inherent in their collection and interpretation means that a researcher would be unwise to ignore any source of credible evidence in trying to reach a conclusion. Therefore an 'omnibus' approach is adopted in researching the level of political alienation which takes into account not only quantitative and qualitative evidence but also anecdotal evidence from long serving politicians and declining support for the major political parties. When this done, the balance of the evidence supports Mackay's claim that thought needs to be given to reforming our political institutions to counter a corrosive level of political alienation.

Murray Goot

Dog Whistles and Death Penalties: The Ideological Structuring of Australian Attitudes to Asylum Seekers

What drives opposition to asylum seekers who try to reach Australia by boat? One set of explanations, advanced by those who support asylum seekers, is organised around attitudes to ethnicity, particularly to immigration from the Middle East. Another set, advanced by supporters of the government's hard line, valorises rule following with its opposition to 'queue-jumping', 'illegal' immigration, and 'people smuggling'. Using data from the 2001 Australian Election Study (AES), this paper argues that the popular rejection of asylum seekers is a product of both sets of values: for the most part, opposition to immigration, especially from the Middle East, and opposition to Aboriginal land rights; but also a concern about crime and the need for harsher punishments, including the re-introduction of the death penalty. It shows that on a scale of social values, running from pure liberalism to consistent conservatism, respondents: (a) are not wholly drawn to one pole or the other, as presupposed by a discourse in which the 'elites' betray 'the people'; (b) are not clustered around the middle, as assumed by talk of a 'non-ideological' age; but (c) are divided fairly evenly between liberals, conservatives and those in between. The paper shows how occupation and education predict positions on the scale. It shows how positions on the scale predict party support - with One Nation at one end, and the Greens at the other. And it shows that while few liberals vote Liberal as many conservatives as liberals vote Labor.

Felicity Grace

Sexuality Sells: Advertising in Gay and Lesbian Newspapers

I could subtitle this paper "How I learned to love sex on site and stop worrying about sleaze" in the hope that this might do my reputation no end of harm. I was inspired by Katherine Sender's recently published article *Sex Sells: Sex, class and taste in commercial gay and lesbian media*. (2003) In which Sender argues that the worn adage that 'sex sells' masks the complexity of the relationship between economics and sexuality. It also ignores the limits placed on representations of sexuality in the media (Sender 2003: 331). What I was struck by when reading this article was the uniquely American context into which she is speaking. In this paper I take her core question and ask 'When in the Australian context does sex sell or not sell?'

I find that it has not been the case in Australia that sexual censorship including self-censorship has precluded sex from selling within the Gay and Lesbian media in Australia. A very small loyal market that has been too small to segment as a marketing ploy has made

less of the fear that visible and explicit representations of gay sexuality will offend heterosexuals and drive out mainstream and corporate advertisers. I argue that the false start by Satellite Media and its collapse has worked to wind back the expectations for commercialisation. This has meant that within the Australian context there has been less of a drive to de-sleeze the gay and lesbian media from either a mainstream backlash based on 'good taste' idealising good safe monogamous loving gay sex with the lights off; or an internal community policing of 'standards' in the hope of either additional commercial success or increased appeal to and acceptability from a heterosexual readership. Thus I find that in Australia sex still sells everything, even the Pet HyperMarket's parrots and Ric's pianos.

Katie Grace

"It is time these questions were looked into" The Continuing campaign for Pay Equity in New Zealand

This paper will analyse the revitalisation of the Pay Equity campaign over the last few years as the Labour Government prepares to argue for new Pay Equity legislation. It focuses on the introduction of new tactics following the quick introduction and repeal of the Employment Equity Act of 1990. One of these new strategies is a human rights argument for equitable wages between men and women. Tactics such as human rights provide a new 'round' to the Pay Equity arsenal in arguing for fair wages since the large neo-liberal changes of the 1980s and 1990s. Now Pay Equity groups must have a stronger argument to ensure that Pay Equity legislation is not torn away as quickly as that of the ill-fated Employment Equity Act.

Gwendolyn Gray

Policy Learning and Australian Health Policy

Policy learning has been identified as an important and ongoing feature of decision-making processes. Over time, information and experience, it is argued, operates to shape and refine public policies. In addition to politics, marked by clashes of interests, negotiations and compromises, policy-making systems include people with different ideas and different value orientations, who "puzzle" over the best ways of doing things. Participants learn from each other and from relevant local and international experience. Policy is moulded and renegotiated according to circumstances, constraints and new understandings. Incrementally, progress is made and more "rational" policy-making can be achieved. This paper examines the health policy initiatives of the Howard government in the light of policy learning ideas. It is found that policies, which became unworkable in Australia in the 1960s and 1970s, have been reintroduced, including unsuccessful efforts to permanently expand the size of the private insurance sector using taxpayer subsidies. Moreover, overseas experience has been disregarded. Evidence from OECD countries demonstrates conclusively that health systems with high levels of private financing are not only very expensive but they also fail to provide adequate levels of cover for low income groups. United States and Switzerland, the countries with the highest levels of private financing, are the most expensive in the OECD. The conclusion is that policy learning may not be a significant force in policy domains characterised by powerful vested interests and strong ideological convictions.

Andrew Gunstone

Reconciliation, Nationalism and the History Wars

In 1991, the Australian Parliament unanimously passed legislation that instituted a formal ten-year process of reconciliation between Indigenous and non-Indigenous people. This process was intended to reconcile Indigenous and non-Indigenous people by the end of 2000, in time for the centenary of the foundation of the Commonwealth of Australia in 2001. Despite some moderately successful outcomes, including the education campaigns, the reconciliation process failed to achieve its objective by 2001. In this paper, I explore one of the primary reasons behind this failure, namely the nationalist framework of the reconciliation process. I argue that this framework significantly prevented many concerns of Indigenous people, such as sovereignty, land rights, a treaty and self-determination, from being discussed within the

reconciliation process. Further, I argue that this emphasis on nationalism predominately resulted from the reactions of the wider Australian community towards the revealing of the history of race relations in Australia by revisionist historians since the 1960s. In this paper, I discuss two main reactions, one that involved disbelief, denial and hostility, and the other, that involved guilt, shame and a questioning of the legitimacy of the Australian nation. I argue that the later reaction, in particular, had a significant impact upon the emphasis of nationalism within the reconciliation process.

Nick Harrigan

The 'Australian Settlement' in the Countryside: Small farmers and the rise of statutory marketing in Australia

The institutionalisation and mediation of class conflict in Australia is conventionally understood to have been established in the first decade of the 20th Century, with the enactment of 'New Protection'. This 'Australian Settlement' provided tariffs to protect and compensate capital, and arbitration to provide a measure of protection and compensation for workers. This paper explores the dynamic behind the incorporation of a class that was left out of the original 'Settlement': small farmers. While the existing literature assumes that small farmers were incorporated and compensated in the 1920s, with the rise of the Country Parties, this paper argues that the incorporation of farmers did not occur until much later, in the 1940s. It was not until this late state that a bipartisan consensus finally emerged, supporting compulsory, grower-controlled, statutory marketing, with cost of production support for wheat and dairy farmers (the two largest groups). This battle over 'compensation' for small farmers festered for three decades, and considerably destabilised the Australian political system until the end of World War Two. The cause of the destabilisation was that the Australian Settlement could not address the grievances of small farmers who faced the twin threats of exposure to the international market and exploitation by merchants and processors. Statutory marketing was pursued by small farmers as a solution to these threats. However, the Australian bourgeoisie opposed statutory marketing both because it threatened sectional interests within the bourgeoisie, and because it undermined 'free market' principles. This paper charts the struggle over statutory marketing during the inter-war years, outlining the underlying forces that drove and mediated this conflict.

Charles Hawksley

Conceptualising Imperialism in the 21st century

This paper explores some traditional explanations for imperialism in the context of the current debates surrounding the war and occupation of Iraq. It advances a typology of imperialism that derives from the Weberian notion of ideal types and conceptualises it into five basic categories. The first of these rests on an imperialism involving a high level of coercion and resource extraction but with little else in the way of benefits; the second is a more commercially minded presence that is not overly concerned with territorial occupation; the third presents a view of state interaction in world politics that has as its focus the expansion of capitalism and the inequalities that can result; the fourth considers the bringing of governance and progress with capitalist property and legal relations as a form of progressive modernity; and fifth and most recent development is a mixture of administrative rule and international legitimacy for temporary occupation.

The use of law and regulation under administrative colonialism to make people obey, rather than physical violence, marked a shift to an increasingly sophisticated and technocratic form of rule. Changes introduced by administrative colonialism, such as the imposition of peace, government and the prohibition of traditional customs, enabled the people living under colonial control to be more closely integrated into the economics of the global market. The linking of social life to the administrative structure and institutions of the colonial state was an integral part of this process. The current situation in Iraq therefore merits closer scrutiny. Clearly the situation in Iraq is fluid; arguably it combines many of the worst features of the first four types of imperial rule, only without the international legitimacy that would make such an occupation acceptable.

Penny Hayes

New Zealand's "Growth and Innovation Framework": Macro and Microeconomic Underpinnings and Implications for Income Distribution

In February 2002, New Zealand's Fifth Labour Government launched its new "Growth and Innovation Framework" (GIF). The GIF is based on the central principle that innovation is the 'key' to economic growth. Because economic growth is a high priority for the Government, innovation must therefore be encouraged.

This paper aims to clarify a starting point for a critical analysis of the GIF. A close reading of the key policy document "Growing an Innovative New Zealand" reveals two components that require further examination. The first is the assumption that innovation is central to the process of achieving economic growth. The exact nature of the relationship between innovation and economic growth is highly contested. The perspective taken on this issue plays a crucial part in defining the role of the state in encouraging innovative activity, and reveals implicit assumptions about macroeconomics that have a significant political dimension. The economic assumptions of the GIF will be briefly examined.

The second component of the policy framework is the suggestion that if economic growth is achieved, it will improve the material standard of living of all New Zealanders. In the absence of any clearly articulated plan of how redistributive mechanisms will ensure this outcome, the paper will consider some of the possible implications of GIF policies for the distribution of income between employers and employees, and Maori and non-Maori.

Baogang He

A Defense of Cultural Equality

Since the end of World II, the international community has repudiated decisively the older tradition of a racial or ethnic hierarchy, abolished the hierarchy of civilization and cultures, and come to endorse the idea of human and ethnic equality. Indeed, with the rise of East Asian economic power in the 1980s, policy-makers and academia placed particular emphasis on the notion of cultural equality. Nevertheless, the events of September 11, 2001 seem to have stalled this trend, undermining the value of cultural equality and perhaps rendering it impossible because of a supposed civilizational conflict between Western and Islamic cultures.

This paper aims to defend the concept of cultural equality by critically engaging with the idea and dealing constructively with attendant problems and limitations. It begins by assessing arguments in support of cultural equality and discussing its multiple meanings and value. It then canvasses some of the arguments against cultural equality, highlighting the complex theoretical difficulties and problems that arise if the question of cultural equality is taken seriously, and suggesting strategies for dealing with these problems.

Chris Herde

The politics of German science in Australia in the 19th century

While the contribution of German science to Australia in the 19th century has been investigated and documented, the political influences on these scientists have been less acknowledged. The numbers of German men and women involved in scientific pursuits living and working in the colonies was out of proportion with the general Teutonic population. This, I believe, can be linked to the nature of German liberalism, which possessed a different developmental pace and emphasis than English liberalism. Unlike English liberalism, which had strong links to the Whig gentry, the German variety was essentially a middle-class oppositional movement with strong nationalistic goals. The progressive German education system was a major beneficiary of the liberal movement. German scientists I will argue were politically socialised largely within the education institutions in peculiar character of German liberalism.. This paper will look at the political ideology of two German men of science - Herman Beckler and Richard Semon - who wrote extensively about their work in Queensland and other colonies during the 1850-60s and '90s respectively. I will argue that two major

nationalistic influences on German liberalism - romanticism and Social Darwinism - could be seen in their writings and actions. Through this analysis I will be able to draw a picture of the influence of German liberalism on these two men of science.

Lisa Hill

Adam Smith and Adam Ferguson on the Division of Labour

Adam Smith and Adam Ferguson shared a keen interest in the social and psychic effects of specialization. So mutual was this interest that it led to a disagreeable and protracted priority dispute between them. Even so, their approaches differed significantly: Ferguson was generally more negative in his attitude and also less interested than Smith in the economic effects of specialization, focusing instead on its adverse social ramifications. His work on the subject probably constitutes the first fully developed sociological account of the effects of specialization. In fact, Karl Marx quoted Ferguson approvingly and declared that he had been inspired by the latter's insights.

Smith also made a some extremely negative and apparently pessimistic observations about the division of labour. Accordingly it has been suggested that his comments also 'constitute a major source of inspiration for the socialist critique' of capitalism.'

This article compares and contrasts the respective approaches of the two Scots and pays attention to claims that there are parallels with Marx in their thinking.

Lisa Hill & Jonathon Louth

Non-Compliance, Institutional Support and Compulsory Voting: Australia by Comparison

Some critics of compulsory voting allege a minimal percentage difference of voter turnout between compulsory and voluntary voting electoral systems. We examine such claims and suggest that generalizing from a large and disparate group of compulsory voting regimes can give rise to inaccurate perceptions of the performance of individual regimes like Australia's. Drawing on a substantial body of existing cross-national data we canvass a number of alternative remedies to the problem of low voter turnout. We conclude that, provided it is accompanied by appropriate levels of institutional support and enforcement, compulsory voting is the most effective, efficient and prompt mechanism for raising turnout. Using a social norms approach we also suggest that turnout problems are best solved by mandatory means. There is a particular focus on the Australian case with some discussion of the likely turnout rate under a voluntary regime.

Robyn Hollander

Changing Places: Commonwealth and State Government Performance and Regional Forest Agreements

State Governments are traditionally regarded as poor stewards of environmental resources when compared with their Commonwealth counterparts, for a range of structural and administrative reasons. This paper assesses the strength of this generalisation in the light of recent experience with the Regional Forest Agreement process. The research suggests that while the generalisation can be easily applied to the first Commonwealth - State Agreements, it is harder to sustain when applied to Western Australian and Queensland cases. In both of these examples, the State governments showed a more sustained commitment to protecting old growth forests than the Commonwealth, represented by Minister for Forestry, Wilson Tuckey.

Yusuka Horiuchi & Seungjoo Lee

Government Change and Policy Change: Evidence from South Korea

How much does politics matter in determining policy outcomes? A number of political scientists and economists have examined this question using data from the United States,

Europe and Japan. In this article, we examine the same question using new data from South Korea.

We argue that South Korea provides a methodologically ideal case to test various theories with regards to policy consequences of political competition for the following reasons. First, for the first time in Korean history, an opposition candidate won the presidential election in 1997. This government change (from the Kim Young-Sam administration to the Kim Dae-Jung administration) allows us to examine how change in government causes change in policy outcomes, while controlling many time-invariant unit-specific attributes. Second, South Korea has a clear regional variation in partisan support. In some specific regions, candidates receive more than 90% of total votes. This regionalism makes the following two key independent variables, which are measured for two competing hypotheses in the literature, vary quite widely and thus allows us to be more certain in significance tests. The first variable is the percentage of "swing voters" (Dahlberg and Johansson 2002; Dixit and Londregan 1995, 1996, 1998; Lindbeck and Weibull 1987; Stein and Bickers 1994), whereas the second one is the percentage of "supporters of a winning candidate in the last election" (e.g., Cox and McCubbins 1986, 1993; Lee 2000; Levitt and Snyder 1995), both of which are hypothesized to have a positive effect on the amount of grantstransferred to districts.

We use detailed electoral data, local finance data, demographic data and economic data, aggregated at municipality level, during the 1990s and show that the government change did indeed affect the inter-governmental fiscal transfers across municipalities. Municipalities with many swing voters receive significantly more public resources than others.

Michael Howard

Commonwealth Department Consultancies: Oriented to Programme Content or Corporate Services?

In the past five years, political scientists in Australia have begun to pay more attention to the increased use of external consultants by public sector agencies. There has been particular interest in some high-profile 'policy review' consultancies, as well as the emergence of firms specialising in 'policy advice' or 'management strategy'. This paper seeks to complement this emerging body of mainly qualitative research by undertaking quantitative analysis of the 'type' of consultancies undertaken. Three Commonwealth departments were examined for the five years from 1988/89 (the first year of mandatory reporting on consultants). 3,500 consultancies were coded using eleven categories, with these categories grouped under the super-category of either 'programme content' or 'corporate services'. 'Programme content' consultancies were those geared to research, review and advice on the substance or purpose of programmes, as distinct to their administrative infrastructure. The paper shows that consultancies oriented to program content were quite conspicuous, being roughly equal in total number and cost to those oriented to corporate services. The distinctiveness and significance of program content consultancies is evidenced by two further patterns. First, program content consultancies were undertaken by different consulting entities to those undertaking consultancies oriented to corporate services. Academics, for instance, were very prominent in the former but not so in the latter. Second, programme content consultancies were much more likely to be justified by the 'need for independent review' than were the corporate service consultancies, though the main official justification for both orientations was 'need for specialist skills'. Overall, the paper argues that the matters referred to consultants were often significant for program development. This analysis of the early years of mandatory reporting is intended to serve as a benchmark for a follow-up study, so as to gauge whether program content consultancies have become even more prominent a decade later.

Michael Howes

Environmental Policy & Regulation - is it necessary?

Over the last half a century the environment has emerged as one of the most controversial and rapidly growing areas of public policy and regulation. Since the rise of the green movement in the 1960s, the need for such policy and the impact of regulations have been hotly debated. Just when it appeared that some consensus was emerging, Lomborg's book, *The Skeptical Environmentalist*, gained prominence by arguing that the risks were not as

serious as everyone had assumed and that government interventions were either unnecessary, ineffective, or had a detrimental effect by misdirecting resources. This paper takes up the challenge posed by Lomborg using case studies from Australia, the USA, and UK, as well as some of the international assessments of the situation. Overall it is argued that even if knowledge is imperfect or uncertain, it is still a good strategy to treat environmental risks as real and serious. Further, the recognition of, and response to, environmental risk is very much influenced by the limitations placed on the state by reflexive modernisation and the prevailing discourses of governmentality. Finally, while some interventions have gone astray, many have had some positive impact and provide a useful foundation for further changes that would help achieve sustainable development.

Michael Howes, K. Lyons, M. Cuthill & S. Bryant

Civil Society Revisited: Possibilities for increasing community collaboration in a competitive world

Civil society holds a special place in the heart of political science. This space between the 'harsh acquisitive world' of business and the 'faceless bureaucracy' of the state has been much studied, with particular attention being paid to those community groups that have emerged to challenge or supplement government. Some theories have portrayed such groups as a necessary buffer between the state and the public, while pluralism has them competing for policy influence. More recently, the diverse proliferation of rising civil society action has been variously taken as evidence of post-industrialism, post-modernism, or reflexive modernisation. The rise of neo-liberal discourses in public policy has had a twofold effect. First, it has shifted some responsibilities from the state to non-government organisations. Second, it has paradoxically encouraged both new competition and new alliances between different parts of the community. So what really is, or could be, the role of community groups within civil society? This paper addresses this question by using the recent rise of collaborative initiatives around Australia as examples. It argues that many groups that have traditionally been on opposite sides of issues (e.g. environmentalists v. unions) may now have an opportunity to construct a shared vision of what they want to achieve. In so doing they might actually increase their effectiveness in bringing their visions to fruition.

John Hudson, Stefan Kühner & Gyu-Jin Hwang

Comparing Welfare State Modernisation in Germany, Korea and the United Kingdom: The Institutional Shaping of Third Way Reform Trajectories

There is, according to Giddens, a vigorous 'third way' debate that is concerned with the 'restructuring [of] social democratic doctrines to respond to the twin revolutions of globalization and the knowledge economy'. He argues that this debate extends across the globe, encompassing nations from the United Kingdom to New Zealand, Korea to Brazil and Argentina to Germany. In this paper we explore 'third way' reform trajectories in three nations that have been under centre-left rule since the late-1990s - Germany, Korea and the UK - placing particular emphasis on welfare state modernisation programmes introduced by these governments. Via case studies of the process of reform in three key areas of social policy - pensions, employment and health care - we argue that while there are considerable commonalities in the rhetoric of change, and in the key themes underpinning flagship reforms, the dynamics of change in each nation display unique characteristics that reflect their own historical, political and cultural traditions. We then draw on key arguments from the historical institutionalist literature to explore the role each nation's social and political institutions have played in shaping welfare reform processes - and in producing distinctive versions of the 'third way' theme - and suggest that strong path dependent tendencies are at play.

Bryn Hughes

Political Violence and Democracy: Do Societal Identity Threats Matter?

The subject of 'security' has received immense attention in recent years due to a number of international events, foremost the terrorist attacks of September 11. Yet the debate about

'security' has a long and contentious history in which countless cause and effect relationships have been offered to explain (in)security, underpinned by forces ranging from material aspects such as economic and military capacity to ideational phenomena such as formal and informal international institutions. Within the security debate a more contemporary theory called 'securitization' focuses on the role of political argumentation. 'Securitization' maintains that security can be about much more than state territory and militaries - it can be extended to encompass, for example, the identity of a societal group as the referent object of security, while threats are escalated primarily because actors put forth arguments that demand extra-normal courses of action. However, securitization theory does not explore security within the specific context of a democratic system, an aspect which the powerful global trend of 'democratization' has made most salient. The link between democracy and securitization is important because the theoretical position supporting western democratization efforts (namely, the Democratic Peace Theory) - while focusing on peace between states - begins with the empirically inaccurate presumption that democracies are peaceful domestically. Democracy is put forth as the quintessential system by which to manage conflict peacefully - to include the protection of identity. But what about Northern Ireland, Spain, and the Philippines for example? This paper locates itself at the crossroads of these three major components: democracy, political violence and the notion of securitizing group identity threats. In doing so, the paper investigates political violence from the Basque society in Spain by using both securitization theory and democratic peace theory. It concludes that the notions of identity protection underpinning Democratic Peace Theory are overly simplistic, and as a direct consequence political argument has the capacity to escalate societal identity threats despite the existence of a democratic political system.

Alia Imtoul

Religious Racism and the Media: Representations of Muslims/Islam in the Australian Print Media

In analysing two Australian daily newspapers, the Australian and the Advertiser, this paper argues that there is a climate of hostility and negativity towards Islam and Muslims currently in operation in the Australian print media. Attitudes towards Islam and Muslims are manifested and conveyed through a range of representations.

Based upon an in-depth analysis of these newspapers during June and July 2003, this research highlights specific instances of racism, stereotyping and general negativity towards Islam and Muslims. This paper provides examples of popular negative representations of Islam and Muslims that appeared in the newspapers during the data collection period. These included such representations as 'Muslims as terrorists', 'oppressed Muslim women', and 'Islam as a violent, barbaric and backward religion'. This paper also discusses the scarcity of positive representations as well as providing a discussion of the ambivalence of the few 'positive' representations that did appear during the collection timeframe.

This paper argues that given the role and influence of the print media in Australia, daily newspapers are culpable, or at least complicit, in the religious racism experienced by Australian Muslims on a daily basis.

Interviews with a number of Muslim women in South Australia (aged 18-30 years) provide arguments that negative media representations not only impact on the ways they are positioned and treated by others in society, but also result in young Muslim women viewing the media with cynicism and mistrust. This has implications for continuing relations between the Australian Muslim community and the Australian media.

Andry Indrady

Towards a Better Asylum Policy from the Regional Cooperation Perspective: Bridging the Gap Between Indonesian and Australian Immigration Policy

Since the Tampa crisis happened in November 2001, there have been some intense debates surrounding the Australian government's action in handling the issue of asylum seekers. Many writers have given their arguments either to support or oppose the government's decision to give a hard stand against the mass influx of asylum seekers that were heading to the Australian territory. Currently, in Australia there are at least two major debates over the

asylum seekers' issue: (i) the issue of human rights and (ii) the issue of failure of the international asylum system. The human rights issue are mainly based on ethical ground considerations and on the other hand some scholars argued that Tampa was just an example of the international asylum system failure (Millbank 2003). Thus, both perspectives are helpful to better understand current phenomenon in international asylum system.

However, the paper argues that regarding to issue of asylum seekers in Australia, a comprehensive study about the regional cooperation factors is also becoming prominent. As many scholars argues (Jupp 2002; Maley 2001; McMaster 2002) that a regional cooperation with Indonesia is one of the effective tools to cope with the issue of asylum seekers in Australia.

Moreover, the paper argues that since the issue of asylum seekers is part of the international migration system, thus required a systemic global approach in handling such case, such as by building a joint networking discussion or dialogue between sending countries of migrants, transit countries and receiving countries (Castles 1998; Jupp 2002; McIntyre-Mills 2000). What is more, given that globalisation requires the government to be more 'outward looking' instead of 'inward looking', the government these days are required to build a strong external constituencies relationship in order to achieve the organisational missions (Hughes 2003). Thus, regional cooperation between Indonesia and Australia in solving the problem of asylum seekers becomes reasonable to be put on both governments' policy agenda.

Yet, some analytical policy questions are raised over the idea of regional cooperation between Indonesia and Australia, (i) Why is regional cooperation important in handling the problem of asylum seekers? (ii) What kind of cooperation that may be made? (iii) Who are the actors involved? (iv) What are the potentials and obstacles of the cooperation? And finally, whether the cooperation could be a long-term policy or short term policy ones?

It is the purpose of the paper to analyse and examine those questions in order to produce a better solution in solving the asylum seeker's issue by enhancing a mutual cooperation between Australia and Indonesia. Therefore, the paper is divided into five components. First, it introduces the general topic of the paper. Second, it briefly describes the Indonesian immigration policy, and accompanied by third part that briefly describes the Australian asylum policy. Fourth, it analyses the gap between the two different policies regarding to the government's action in dealing with asylum seekers. And finally, a conclusion and recommendation is drawn from the foregoing discussion.

Galina Ivanova & Bruce Tranter

The Environment - who cares?: Willingness to pay for 'the environment' in cross-national perspective

The threat of global warming has attracted considerable attention from policy makers around the world. The electricity generation sector is seen as one of the major sources of greenhouse gas emissions and contributors to increasing global warming. One of the aims of the recent reforms in the electricity supply industry (e.g. deregulation and restructuring), was to increase the economic efficiency of the industry. Yet very little has been done to address environmental issues - such as increasing greenhouse gas emissions - that stem from the electricity supply industry. Growing awareness of global warming has forced policymakers to take such issues into account. As a result, policy reforms focusing on emission reductions have been proposed and implemented in some countries. The main question of this paper is to analyse the level of public support for such policies and the main drivers in countries that have experienced reforms in the electricity generation sector. Public opinion polls suggest that a majority of people in advanced nations support the protection of the natural environment.

Using international survey data from the 2000 International Social Survey Programme, we conceptualise environmental support as willingness to pay to protect the environment. We measure environmental support as a series of trade off questions based on willingness to increase taxes, willingness to increase prices, and willingness to accept cuts in one's standard of living in order to protect the environment.

In an attempt to bring together important theoretical accounts from economics and political science, we predict willingness to pay on the basis of propensity to engage in environmental risk taking, trust in sources of environmental information, post-material value orientations, and

a range of socio-economic controls. Using multivariate regression analysis we model data from several countries.

Those who trust in the veracity of their sources of environmental information, those who see pollution and the greenhouse effect as posing significant risks to the environment, those who hold post-materialist value orientations and the tertiary educated, are much more willing to pay for the Environment. In countries where there is government support for international environmental emission reduction policies (such as the Kyoto protocol), we find positive correlations with willingness to pay for environmental protection. However, willingness to pay for environmental protection is only weakly related to changes in the electricity supply industry.

Simon Jackman

Polling the Polls: Averaging and Smoothing Opinion Polls over an Election Campaign

As elections draw closer, the frequency of opinion polling increases dramatically, as does the number of organizations in the field. It is not at all unusual for different polls to point in different directions, generating confusion as to which way aggregate public opinion might be shifting, and skepticism as to the utility of public opinion polling as a political forecasting tool. In this paper I present a statistical model for combining the information in different polls, reconciling their differences and generating estimates of aggregate public opinion that are more stable and reliable than the output of any one poll. I use polling data from the 2001 and 2004 Australian federal election campaigns to show that at least in the aggregate, the electorate is not as fickle or unpredictable as analysis of any poll might demonstrate.

Carloyn Jakobsen

Re-personalising the Body Politic: EMILY's List and the Australian Labor Party

As an arguably mass membership and representative organisation, the Australian Labor Party (ALP) is vulnerable to the ravages of member-alienation, especially where women are concerned. Apart from its generally masculinist ethos, the existence and modus operandi of its internal factions are frequently cited as reasons for female member disenchantment. So, too, is the Party's failure to promote a greater number of women into parliamentary positions and place more emphasis on policies of interest and import to women in all facets of their lives.

In recent years Labor feminists have established a financial support syndicate for preselected 'progressive' ALP women candidates known as EMILY's List Australia (EL). While this new group is not linked structurally to the ALP in any way, it does share a similar political philosophy and the two organisations enjoy a coincidental membership. (Approximately 60% of EL members are also members of the ALP). But the objects and operations of EL encompass much more than money and it has focused feminist attention on the ALP in ways that might not originally have been envisaged.

This paper examines how EL has re-personalised the political process for its members, secured support for pro-choice Labor women candidates from feminists of a broadly left political persuasion across the nation, and rendered the ALP more relevant to Australian women as a consequence. For example, EL has campaigned to ensure the ALP lifts its Affirmative Action target for women in parliamentary preselections. It has also commissioned gender-gap political research that is available to the Party as well as to EL-supported candidates. Importantly, too, the EL organisation provides support for all endorsed progressive Labor women candidates, irrespective of ALP faction, and does not 'take sides' in preselections. This inclusive approach to politics has motivated and re-activated many women who had previously eschewed political participation in a formal sense.

Michael Janover

The Limits of Forgiveness and the Ends of Politics

In a powerfully engaging and wide-ranging lecture 'On Forgiveness', Jacques Derrida suggests that forgiveness plays an essential, yet necessarily paradoxical, role in the fraught

politics of reconciliation and in the legal, political and moral responses to crimes against humanity. He argues with awareness of the paradoxicality of his argument, and seemingly without irony, that forgiveness exists only for (because of and in response to) those acts that are unforgivable. By contrast, Hannah Arendt has argued that we are simply incapable of forgiving the most serious of crimes against persons qua persons, crimes against humanity, quintessentially the crimes of genocide. For her such crimes are strictly unforgivable and in that status they throw light on boundaries intrinsic to human action, and hence to political and moral life. Not only do such crimes not call forth forgiveness but, for Arendt, they point to a space (or a chaos) that seems to lie outside of human action or response, defying judgment and thought itself.

In this paper, I discuss the idea of forgiveness in light of these very different approaches. The principal objective of the paper is to clarify whether and how the moral notion of forgiveness stands in relation to the political meanings of action and violence. Beyond this conceptual work, the paper asks whether an ethics of forgiveness is a necessary component of any politics of reconciliation. Procedural, legal, justice does not require apologies from the criminal to the victim nor pursuit of forgiveness. But does the substantive end of an ethical community that might (and only might) spring from the claims and acts of justice depend upon forgiveness as a balm to heal the wounds of crime, and as action to end the cycles of revenge?

John Janzekovic

Forcible Humanitarian Intervention: Practical Objections to the Ethical Principles and Applications

This paper addresses three categories of objection to the use of direct military coercive force for humanitarian reasons. They are; practical feasibility, moral acceptability and political viability. These three categories are not totally exclusive, but most objections will fall into one or more of them. The analysis of the objections provides a guide to when and how such force may be implemented, and under what circumstances it should be implemented.

The moral acceptability of using force to try to resolve international conflicts is problematic. If a civil and caring society professes concern about human rights then it is difficult to argue that some sort of obligation does not exist to do something effective to address clear and repeated gross abuses of human rights. A purely pragmatic approach when addressing some of the worst and most wanton human rights abuses will not be successful without the support of a robust moral position. The use of force under certain circumstances is ethically justifiable and morally required.

Sheila Jeffreys

Violation of the rights of the child: the Family Court of Australia and the 'Alex' case

In a historic judgement in April 2003 the Family Court of Victoria decided that a 13 year old girl 'Alex' suffered from Gender Identity Disorder and was 'really' a male. She was to be treated as a boy, started on a course of female hormones to suppress menstruation, graduate to male hormones at 16, and surgery at 18 which would make her a 'man'. The practice of diagnosing children as having GID was opened up to public scrutiny in this case because the child was a ward of state. Usually such diagnoses and the prescribing of hormone treatment for children would be handled by gender identity clinics out of the public view. The "Alex" case provoked a valuable discussion of the reasonableness of making such irrevocable and potentially harmful decisions. This paper will suggest that in the practice of diagnosing GID and carrying out the hormonal and surgical policing of gender, psychiatrists and surgeons are involved in serious violation of the rights of children. These are the rights to grow up in healthy bodies, to develop their sexual and gender identities outside the conservative definitions of gender identity clinics, and, most importantly, to change their minds.

Stephen Jenkins

Australia's Commonwealth Self-determination Policy 1972-1998: The Imagined Nation and the Continuing Control of Indigenous Existence

The central argument of the paper is that the Australian nation is the primary obstacle to the granting of self-determination to Indigenous people. This is because the Australian nation is imagined and constituted as a monocultural entity, one that resists any divisions within the national space on the basis of culture or 'race'.

In the late eighteenth-century the British used contemporary English and international law to justify their possession of Australia. The doctrine of terra nullius became the central justification of possession, meaning that Australia was legally considered to be a continent without a people or law. From the earliest days of British colonisation Indigenous people began to lose their sovereignty and self-determination because a culture of control developed towards them by the colonisers. Since then they have been subjected to a succession of government policies that have sought to control almost every aspect of their lives. It will be argued that Indigenous people have been dealt with in this way because of how the Australian nation developed. It will be demonstrated that Australia adopted the classical European model of the nation, which resulted in the dominant Anglo-Celtic culture imposing its cultural values, norms and practices throughout its territory to the exclusion of Indigenous cultures.

In 1972 as a response to Australia's changing views on its history and relationship to Indigenous people, the Whitlam government instituted what was seen as a radical shift in Indigenous policy away from assimilation to one of self-determination. Nevertheless, the paper will argue that the change was more cosmetic than substantial and will through an analysis of five governments show that control has remained a primary concern. As a result of this continuing control and disempowerment Indigenous people remain unable to determine their existence according to their own cultural values, norms and practices.

Yang Jiang

China's Foreign Economic Policymaking and Cooperation with ASEAN: A Case Study of China-ASEAN Free Trade Agreement

The research question is: What characteristics in current China's foreign policymaking facilitate China's cooperative economic policies with ASEAN? It argues that China's foreign policy strategy can be best understood by integrating Rational Choice Model and Organizational Process Model. The political and economic considerations as well as the process of China's economic policymaking are studied. The hypothesis is: Chinese government's view of China's new role as a responsible and influential rising power in East Asia and in the world makes economic cooperation with ASEAN a priority in its foreign policy; while its politicized, expertizing and centralized economic policymaking smoothes policy decisions.

China's decision on China-ASEAN Free Trade Agreement (CAFTA) is studied based on fieldwork in China. Respect and control are found to be two most important factors in China's policy choices. While some scholars describe China's policymaking as democratizing and decentralizing, this study shows that foreign economic policymaking is still very centralized and contains a lot of strategic reasoning. Local or private institutions still cannot have much influence on policy decisions. It gives an observation on how a rising power seeks international status by coordinating regionalization and globalization, politics and economy, as well as cooperation and control. However, it suggests that Chinese government's ability of coordination is questionable as private and international institutions gradually have more input into China's economy.

Carol Johnson

The Politics of Signs: Gay and Lesbian Issues in Comparative Perspective

Politicians ranging from Bill Clinton to George W. Bush, John Howard and Oliver Letwin have stated that they oppose same-sex couples marrying because it undermines the "meaning", or common "understanding", of marriage. Similarly, Steven Seidman suggests that Clinton lost the battle over gays in the military because he failed to understand that the issue was not just about discrimination but had become "a symbolic national drama".

This paper argues that gay and lesbian issues need to be understood not only in terms of their policy implications, e.g. preventing discrimination against gay and lesbian citizens, but also as signs. Consequently, it explores the diverse ways in which gay and lesbian issues have been mobilised in political discourse. It analyses not just explicitly heteronormative discourse, but also broader political debates ranging from issues of gender identity to issues of social inclusion, economic progress, border protection and anti-colonialism. The paper draws on examples from various countries including the U.S., Canada, Britain, Australia, Holland and Malaysia. Politicians discussed range from George W. Bush and Tony Blair to Pim Fortuyn and Dr Mahathir.

The resulting analysis suggests that issues such as gay and lesbian marriage, or same-sex adoption, may be more of a threat to the 'symbolic order' than some queer analyses acknowledge. Furthermore, analysing gay and lesbian issues as signs has practical policy, as well as analytical, implications.

Anthea Jones

The practise of maintaining American hegemony: An examination of parallels of US involvement in Chile 1973 and Venezuela 2003

Despite the rhetoric, America's interference in Chilean politics in 1973 to overthrow a democratically elected socialist government advanced America's economic interests in Chile and more generally in South America. This policy to interfere to advance its interests is still applied by the US today and can be discerned by America's role in the attempted coup in Venezuela in 2003.

This paper will examine America's propensity to intervene to dislodge an unpalatable left wing government to advance its interests, and furthermore its reticence to intervene to dislodge such a government where it has established good trading relations.

Kate Jones

Parliamentarians' Staff and the Professionalisation of Australian Politics

This paper will trace the development of Commonwealth parliamentarians' entitlement to staff with particular emphasis on the period from 1975 onwards and its relationship to changes in the role of parliamentarians.

In 1901, and then for nearly half a century, the Federal Member of Parliament had no staff of their own - either in Melbourne or isolated Canberra. What little support was available came from the officers of the Parliament. From 1944, at the time of the beginnings of the expansion of the Public Service, MPs had one staff member, usually described as the 'electorate typist', who assisted with electorate work. The key change came in 1975 when the Commonwealth government agreed that all members of parliament could employ another staff member.

The expansion in the numbers and the diversification of parliamentarians' staff was a reflection of the developing role of the parliamentarian. This in itself both reflected and was driven by social and economic change.

The process also has another dimension. Along with the expansion of tertiary education, modern communications and IT, it has had a role in the provision of better services to MPs, parties and public, including in policy-making. It has seen the rise of a class of parliamentary staffers from whom are drawn an increasing number of candidates for Federal and State parliaments.

Jim Jose

Exploring the Genealogy of 'Governance' within Australian Political Discourse

The term 'governance' has become ubiquitous within political discourse in Australia. Politicians, policy-makers, scholars, journalists and others now use the term extensively, sometimes as a synonym for 'government', sometimes to supplant the idea of 'government' altogether. What this means for the understanding and practice of Australian democracy remains to be seen. This paper explores the genealogy of 'governance' and aims to identify when this term found its way into the language of political discourse in Australia. Insofar as

the paper is a work in progress it also offers some tentative views as to how and why it was taken up.

John Kane

Leadership and conflict: Some necessary conditions for peacemaking

Political leaders confronting ethnic, cultural or religious divides face a formidable set of choices. One temptation is to exploit and magnify enmity in order to secure one's leadership position and unify supporters. Bellicose leaders tend to appear strong, pure and decisive, and open conflict often binds partisan followers more firmly together. Peacemakers, on the other hand, because they must deal and compromise with the hated enemy, inevitably invite charges of weakness or betrayal. They invariably alienate their most radical factions. In this paper I will use a case study of the successful transition to post-apartheid South Africa to extract certain general conditions under which peacemaking leadership may become effective. In particular I will argue that a condition for successful peacemaking is the existence of a comparable leader on the other side. Opposing leaders must reach out across the divide and negotiate acceptable compromises while managing their own political bases. Whether they despise or respect one another, they must create some common middle ground representing a constituency for peace from which they may isolate and neutralise their own extreme wings. Failing this, they will be dragged inexorably back into the cycle of conflict.

Aynsley Kellow & Marian Simms

Policy change and industry associability: the mining sector in Australia

In the early 1990s the Australian Mining Industry Council was an outspoken, combative interest group keen to reject what it saw as unwarranted restrictions on the activities of mining companies arising from indigenous and environmental issues. A decade later, AMIC has become a much more sophisticated group, combining strategies of proactive engagement with more hard-nosed negotiating stances on issues like climate change. In the process, the leading mining industry sector association has lost membership, while state chambers of mines have undergone quite distinctive trajectories of change. This paper will explore the factors which have driven these changes, arguing that - while industry-specific factors have played their part - changes in both policy and governance structures have transformed the associability of the sector. These have included not just the more obvious policy developments in the environment and indigenous affairs policy domains, but less obvious factors such as reforms of industrial relations.

Maryanne Kelton

Alliance Relations and the 2004 Trade Agreement

On 8 February 2004, Mark Vaile and Robert Zoellick signed the Trade Agreement with a view to its acceptance by Congress in July. This signalled the completion of the Howard government's three year campaign to sign a trade deal with the US. It would appear that the security overlay, in addition to USTR Zoellick's liberalisation agenda have been successful in providing the momentum for progressing the deal. Nonetheless, what necessitated a final agreement of some form for Australia was the political capital devoted to the agreement by the Howard government. That it has been signed, however, does not signal its success. Nor does it yet flag a winning mediation venture by the Howard government.

Indeed there are increasing concerns that the association with the US has once again appeared as the priority in the final phase of the negotiations over and above the quality of the deal itself. If, as I argue, the government used the alliance to address issues of its own electoral survival, then it should come as no surprise that Howard was willing to sign on to a deal that was less than satisfactory. That ALP leader Mark Latham had expressed criticism of the US alliance, and was thus perceived to be vulnerable to political attack on this front also underscored the necessity of ensuring that the Coalition could demonstrate the strength of its ties with the US. But ultimately and ironically in failing to secure a good deal, even with Prime

Ministerial intervention and supposed military leverage, what this Trade Agreement reveals is not the strength of Howard's alliance relations - but its frailty.

Shamshul Khan & Bhumitra Chakma

New Frontiers of Conflict in South Asia: Unsustainable Water, poisoning of soils and Unregulated Population Movement across States

A considerable segment of Western literature dealing with the issues related to South Asian security still provide a lopsided emphasis on the alleged perils of an 'all out nuclear arms race in South Asia', along with the danger of a consequential nuclear confrontation between India and Pakistan over Kashmir. This paper, in contrast to the predominant Western view, will argue that the new frontiers of conflict in South Asia will not be shaped by Indo-Pakistan nuclear rivalry not only because India and Pakistan have attained the capability of developing nuclear weapons and this capability has created a state of mutual nuclear deterrence - if one side were to threaten to or to actually use nuclear weapons, the other would respond in kind - but also because both India and Pakistan have consistently been careful to avoid escalation of any conflict despite, from time to time, Indian and Pakistani military shooting at each other and supporting violent dissident groups in the other state. Rather, as this paper will argue, the new frontiers of violent conflict in South Asia will be shaped by the looming water crisis, the poisoning of soils and the consequent unregulated population movements across South Asian states.

Megan Kimber, Lisa Ehrich & Neil Cranston

Ministerial Advisers: Guardians or Usurpers of Responsible Government?

The 'Children Overboard' affair is one of several recent incidents that has brought the role and power of ministerial advisers to greater prominence in Australia. These events have highlighted the lack of accountability these public officials enjoy relative to that of public servants and have thus raised concerns that advisers may have more power than both public servants and ministers. The power of ministerial advisers and their corresponding lack of accountability could be contributing to the politicisation of the public service. Based on our research we concur with the recommendations offered by Senate Standing Committee on Finance and Public Administration (2003) in its review of the Members of Parliament Staff Act 2004. These recommendations include: greater attention to record-keeping; guidelines for ministerial staff appearing as witnesses before parliamentary committees; enacting a code of conduct and values statement; employing an Ethics Adviser; clarifying the roles of, and relationships between, staff, ministers and public servants; increasing the security for heads of departments of state; greater attention to Departmental Liaison Officers; and more education and training of both ministerial staff and public servants. Implementing these measures is essential. Yet, to ensure that the accountability of ministerial advisers is increased and politicisation of the public service is reversed, it is suggested that there be a full rather than partial restoration of tenure for the heads of government departments; greater attention be given to resourcing for education and training and for the Ethics Adviser; and issues of organisational culture be addressed.

Ashley Lavalle

Labor under Latham: "New Politics", Old Dilemmas

The federal leader of the Australian Labor Party (ALP) Mark Latham advocates a "new politics", where the establishment is "given hell", and the privileges of the "insiders" of the system cracked down upon. His bold declaration to bring Australian forces serving in Iraq home by Christmas 2004 provoked not just speculation that he was pursuing a more isolationist foreign policy, but also that the party would be moving in a radically different direction under Latham's leadership.

This paper looks at the reality of the direction of the Latham-led ALP in the early part of his leadership as well as likely future directions. It begins by looking at the trajectory of the party in the years since losing office in 1996, and concludes that the economic neo-liberal and

socially conservative path taken by former leaders Kim Beazley and Simon Crean is being continued under Latham, with the addition of a populist twist. Latham's "new politics" and his "democratic reform" proposals are critically assessed.

Latham's grand ambitions for a "new politics" must be considered alongside a number of old dilemmas faced by the ALP. The question of how distinct is Labor's policy agenda from that of the Coalition will continue to dog Latham just as it did his predecessors. How much can Labor intervene in the market to improve the lot of the majority when it believes that the ability of nation-states to challenge global economic forces is severely limited? The issue of how much it can deliver to its more disadvantaged constituents without alienating business groups has been a perennial thorn in the side of Labor in government, and all the evidence suggests that this dilemma will be even more sharply posed under a Latham administration.

Michael Leach

Rhetorics of Reenfranchisement: Debating the 'problem' of Globalisation and Australian Democracy

This paper will examine how four Australian 'schools' have locally interpreted the 'problem' of globalisation as one of disenfranchisement. From divergent ideological perspectives, each of these schools presents globalisation as a challenge for Australian democracy, and an opportunity for new or reclaimed modes of political participation. Examining in turn far-right/populist responses (eg One Nation); left protectionist critiques (eg. some manufacturing unions); Third Way theorists; and neoliberal 'hyperglobalists', this paper will evaluate the theme of 'reenfranchisement' in contemporary Australian political thought. In each case, the paper identifies the particular sets of values and methods promoted to redress problems of political participation in a 'global' age. In so doing, it seeks to highlight the way competing meanings of 'globalisation' are articulated and employed in national political debates.

Andrew Leigh

Economic Voting and Electoral Behaviour: How do Individual, Local and National Factors Affect the Partisan Choice?

How do demographic variables affect the decision of whether to vote for Labor or for the Coalition? Using data from 11 follow-up surveys for Australian elections held between 1966 and 2001, I carry out a multivariate analysis of the impact that gender, age, income, education, immigrant status and marital status have on the partisan choice, and whether the salience of these factors has changed over the past three decades. I also explore whether there is any cohort effect (holding age constant), and in particular, whether voters' choices are affected by the party in power when they first cast their ballot. Matching voters with the average demographic characteristics in their postcode area, I further explore whether mean neighbourhood income, local inequality, and ethnic diversity directly affect the partisan choice. Finally, I consider the effect of macroeconomic variables, and analyse whether rich and poor voters respond differently to changes in unemployment, inflation, wages and GDP growth.

Andrew Leigh

What do we know about long-run trends in social capital in Australia?

Social capital - the ties of trust and reciprocity that link Australians together - has been the focus of substantial debate in recent years. In order to provide a sharper focus for contemporary discussions, it is important to understand long-run trends in social capital. Unfortunately, most existing studies focus on only a single measure, or rely primarily on trends in the past decade. Using several attitudinal surveys conducted since the 1960s, Australian Bureau of Statistics surveys, and membership Records for Australia's largest community organisations, I attempt to provide a comprehensive picture of trends in social capital since World War II. This unique compilation of data forms an "Australian Social Capital Database", which provides a more nuanced picture than has been previously available. While trust in politicians, union membership, church membership and organisational membership have all fallen since the 1960s and 1970s, other measures have remained more

stable. Interpersonal trust and volunteering rates appear to have stayed relatively unchanged, while sporting attendance has risen in the past two decades. Possible causes of the decline in political engagement and organisational activity are discussed, including television, inequality, diversity, the large-scale entry of women into the paid workforce, and rising work hours.

Jenny Lewis

Impermeability, incorporation and transformation: ideation and health policy change

This paper examines what ideational approaches contribute, over and above institutional and interest group approaches, to understanding policy change. Ideation is considered here as a continuum. At one end is "deep structure" ideation, which consists of a broad framework of ideas and an associated structuring of actors, while "surface level" ideation consists of specific policies and people. Three different types of change based on this view of ideation are described: Impermeability, where no change occurs to either level; incorporation, where change only occurs at the surface level; and transformation, where the deep structure changes. Examples of health policy ideas over the last two decades are used to illustrate the different categories, and test the theoretical claims of the typology. The ideas explored are those associated with shifting to a new model of health (away from biomedical towards more social determinants approaches), changing the organisation and delivery of health services, and increasing the level of control over the work of individual health professionals. Policies aimed at replacing the biomedical model have either resulted in no change (impermeability) or been reshaped to fit with prevailing ideas about health (incorporation - modified fit). Policies which increase the level of external scrutiny and evaluation of clinical work have impacted at the surface level without challenging the deep structure (incorporation). A fundamental change to how health is understood is required to generate deep structure change (transformation). Ideas matter in the policy process. The typology presented in this paper suggests that a model of policy change based on ideation has theoretical import and some predictive potential in relation to health policy.

Tanya Liebrecht

'New Regionalism' - Mapping multiple players and objectives

In recent years regional engagement and service delivery has become a major focus for state and federal governments, particularly with the advent of 'new regionalism' that emphasises the importance of a collaborative and bottom up approach to problem solving. While this goal maybe theoretically ideal, practice tends to reflect the traditional top down governance model with regions generally lacking the capacity to control resources. Regional agencies and community bodies must then manage the conflicting politics and policy objectives at the local level, balancing community participation and decisions from central authorities (although these may not normally be articulated as such). Consequently, 'new regionalism' remains patchy and highly fragmented. In this paper I will discuss how regional engagement is managed in Australia, focusing upon the fragmented nature of the field as a result of multiple players and objectives. I will also raise some key questions about how to research and conceptualise this area. The first part of the paper will introduce the notion of 'new regionalism', the second part will focus the practice of regional policy and the issues arising from it (especially the inherent contradiction between endorsement of regional initiatives and entrepreneurialism, and government commitments to equity and standardised delivery), and finally I will pose some reflective questions, essentially arguing present modes do not adequately allow for 'new regionalism' to be managed in a coherent manner

Adrian Little

Liberal democracy, ethics and the politics of disagreement

This paper examines contemporary debates on the pursuit of consensus in liberal theories of democracy. In recent years the radical democratic critique of liberal models of consensus developed by commentators such as Mouffe (2000) has achieved growing currency in contemporary theoretical debates. In the light of this type of argument, some contemporary

normative political philosophers have attempted to incorporate a model of dissent and disagreement into their conceptions of democracy. Notable here is the work of Cass Sunstein (2003) who has argued that whilst dissent is fundamental to a healthy liberal polity, it must be contained through the traditional political and legal institutions of liberal democracy. A more persuasive account is evident in the work of Stuart Hampshire (2000) who recognizes that these institutions themselves may be sources of political conflict. As such justice can only be maintained through constant assessment of whether democratic mechanisms reflect procedural fairness. Against these normative political models, the paper goes on to analyze the alternative perspectives that have emerged from the tradition of continental philosophy. In particular it examines the work of Jacques Rancière and his claim that disagreement is constitutive of politics and thus that attempts to manufacture consensus inevitably depoliticise these conflicts. The paper concludes that the latter perspective is a more useful way of conceptualizing modern political conflicts and understanding the increasing shift of political debates onto the terrain of ethics. Where liberals tend to want to police the ethical discourses that emerge in contemporary politics, radical interpretations of democracy encourage the opening out of political space to enable ethical conflicts to emerge.

David Lundberg

East Asian Security

Satisfactory resolution of the current DPRK "nuclear deterrent" posturing and China's dispute with Taiwan about the future status of Taiwan probably depends in part on the continuing successful deterrence of DPRK or Chinese military adventurism by credible US bilateral security arrangements with Japan, South Korea and Taiwan.

Provided the DPRK's nuclear aspirations can be ended diplomatically, and the China-Taiwan dispute can be satisfactorily resolved without violent conflict, the prospects for East Asian security seem open to the possibility of transformative change through interdependence based on regional integration.

Transformative change through interdependence based on regional integration could develop on the basis of the prospective ASEAN-PRC free trade agreement, with further agreements possible between ASEAN and South Korea, Japan, India and CER-ANZ. The ASEAN 10 are aspiring to EU-style regional integration, with a medium-term development of an ASEAN common currency. Transformative integration requires a much higher degree of regional interdependence than is feasible through more inclusive multilateral frameworks, and EU-style regional integration will take decades, as it did in Europe. The transformative character of this degree of regional interdependence is the transcendence of international anarchy in relations between countries encompassed by regional integration (but not their relations with other countries outside of the region), through the replacement of violent conflict with political modes of dispute resolution.

If this regional integration proceeds in East Asia, and China does not disintegrate, the longer-term prospect is for China to develop increasing regional hegemonic influence, displacing the present influence of the US. US proposals for an East Asian collective defence arrangement are unlikely to prevent this pattern from developing, if such proposals are ever realised, which seems improbable. As the relative influence of the US declines, closer cooperative relations between India, Japan, and Russia will be pivotal to counter-balancing the regional hegemonic influence of China.

David Lundberg

Constructing Terrorism

Despite the confident certainties of the US 'war on terrorism', terrorism is a contested category. Terrorism is a means of advancing political objectives by targeting civilians for the threat or use of force in unpredictable ways that are calculated to generate widespread fear, practiced by states and non-state actors.

If there were to be a genuine "war" against terrorists with "global reach", terrorists would need to be identified by their actions, without selectivity about the political character of their objectives. "Terrorists" cannot be redefined as "freedom fighters", if the "freedom fighters" practice deliberate, sustained and ruthless targeting of civilians (as distinct from causing

casualties incurred as unintended victims of strikes against legitimate targets). A non-selective definition should include terrorism practiced by states against civil society, making nuclear deterrence and all indiscriminate targeting of civilians (including conventional carpet bombing) acts of state terrorism.

Nation states are vulnerable to asymmetric attack by terrorism almost irrespective of a country's military capabilities. Any civil society in any part of the world can be threatened by terrorists with "global reach", if targeting the particular society is congruent with the political objectives of the relevant terrorist organisation. The (thus far unrealized) possibility of terrorism with weapons of mass destruction has significantly altered the risks of global interdependence.

Terrorism poses major difficulties in terms of deterrence, prevention, acquisition of intelligence providing effective warning time about possible terrorist attacks and damage minimisation. Human intelligence is difficult to obtain, and the effectiveness of technical means of acquiring intelligence to provide timely warning of attacks can be negated by disciplined terrorist groups. Conventional defence forces are of diminishing relevance to securing societies against terrorists, a task which requires sustained and systematic use of relatively mundane means that tend to lack the political constituencies that promote military procurements and defence budgets.

Margaret MacLlwin

South Australian Aborigines Protection Board (1939-1962): tensions between expertise and the idea of representative government

The Board was formed after much debate on the merits of a board of control with 'scientific' experts as members, its duties to include the distribution of funds voted annually by parliament, instead of the Advisory Council of Aborigines with its membership of those with experience and philanthropic interests in Aboriginal affairs. In this paper, the changes in perceptions of the meaning of good governance of Aboriginal people are tracked. The Board is used as a case study to identify an oscillation in modes of governance between advisory bodies and controlling boards. The swing back to advisory bodies hinged on the degree of government suspicion of controlling boards with non-elected 'scientific' experts as members, because such boards called into question the notion of representative government. The tensions between a desire for representative government and reliance on the advice of 'scientific' experts produced significant changes in the mode of governance. Government drew 'scientific' experts into its structure by establishing networks with University organisations and by the infiltration of bureaucrats into the locus of science, the University. This meant that 'scientific' knowledges about Aborigines that determined the making of policy were secured within government and with University networks, 'at a distance' (Miller and Rose 1993). This was not the entire story as some governance always occurred through 'hybrid' knowledges - a combination of personal experience of the job and 'borrowed bits of science' (Valverde 2003). Such practice was particularly noticeable in remote areas through the activities of police. This indicated that 'hybrid knowledges' were used in policy implementation rather than in policymaking. The use of 'scientific' expertise rather than experience or 'hybrid' knowledges for policymaking meant that Aboriginal people were not appointed to the Board, a controlling body. The first Aboriginal representatives were appointed after 1962, with the swing to an advisory body and after the anchorage of 'scientific' experts in government and 'at a distance'.

Marion Maddox

'People Like That': Race, religion and values in recent Australian political rhetoric

Recent public pronouncements in Australia have announced a need for 'values'-in education, in politics and in public life. What 'values' are is seldom spelled out, although the discussions are often conducted as if the meaning is transparent, and shared by all participants.

Some commentators have expressed the hunch that 'values' is often code for 'conservative Christian values', but with little supporting evidence. This paper draws on studies of political communication and implicit religion to argue that there are good contextual and intertextual reasons for interpreting 'values', as invoked by conservative politicians, as referring

exclusively to (a particular kind of) Christian values. More particularly, I contend that calls for more 'values' derive much of their force from a political context in which the assumed enemy of '(Christian) values' is not 'relativism', 'political correctness' or 'secular society', but Islam.

Haydon Manning & Robert Phiddian
Censorship and the Political Cartoonist

"But their offense doesn't necessarily mean that what I'm proposing is wrong," commented New Zealand based political cartoonist, Malcolm Evans' when defending his decision to quit the New Zealand Herald after its editor told him to cease cartooning on the Middle-East. Evans had upset various representatives of Jewish opinion with a series of satirical cartoons on the Israeli - Palestinian conflict during the first half of 2003. As an award winning editorial cartoonist Evans, like his brethren cartoonists, fiercely guards his licence to mock politicians and their works. In practice if not in law, cartoonists' licence to satirise is broad and their freedom from litigation far greater than journalists, although not without boundaries.

This paper examines the space within which cartoonists examine political subjects through case studies dealing with Evans' defense of his observations on the M-E conflict, reflections by cartoonists on the question of editorial censorship and Michael Hogan's 2001 argument, published in the e-journal Drawing Board, that Australian cartoonists should be more wary of the potential harm they cause to citizens' respect for democracy. We argue in defence of a broad licence for cartoonists but this is not to say there are no boundaries - some relate purely to matters of defamation, historical accuracy and taste while others concern the craft of cartooning itself. And this leads to the question of what sorts of formal and informal censorship apply, or should apply, to editors and cartoonists.

This paper forms part of our continuing research into the role played by cartoons and satire in political debate and opinion-making: are they mere entertainment, useful indices of public opinion, or positively influential in shaping political events?

Zaniah Marshallsay
Islamic Fundamentalism: Myth and Reality Confronted?

Language is power, and terms consistently used take on a reality that truth belies. Thus with the term Islamic fundamentalism, which has been bandied about and used lightly and interchangeably with Islamism, Political Islam, Radical Islam, and even Islamic terrorism. But, do they mean the same thing? In much of the literature (including media reports) on Islam and the political activities of certain Muslims, the tendency is to depict the phenomenon of fundamentalism as the spectre of religious fanaticism which gives rise to terrorism, and in the process induces fear of Islam, the religion. Subsuming the various Islamic movements (political, social, cultural, economic and local) under the general rubric of Islamic fundamentalist movements blinds us to the divergencies, internal divisions and evolutionary nature of the various groups. This paper argues for the need to make specific distinctions in the usage of terms/words such as Islamic fundamentalism, Islamism, political Islam among others so that their meanings, connotations and limitations are made clear. The aim of this paper then is to review the concept of fundamentalism and how Islamic fundamentalism fits into the general understanding of fundamentalism, and that correct terminology be used in discussing movements that are more radical and militant in their orientation and activities. The major concepts and issues that are the main points of contestation between conventional understanding of Islam and Islamism and the success of the Islamists in projecting their version of Islam indicate the need to challenge and recognize the militant and radical vision as just another voice in the complex and diverse myriad of voices, visions and missions of Muslims in general.

James Mathews
From Swill to Saviour – the Legislative Passage of Howard's Medicare Reforms

This paper examines the Howard Government's negotiation with non government senators in an effort to secure its legislation through Parliament. The passage of the Medicare reform

legislation involved arbitration in achieving policy consensus with an absolute majority in the Upper House. The Prime Minister together with then Health Minister Patterson announced A Fairer Medicare package on 28 April 2003. The government revised this package with the launch of MedicarePlus on 18 November 2003, involving an additional \$1.5 billion increase on A Fairer Medicare. The Senate passed the Medicare reforms on 10 March 2004 after intense scrutiny from a Senate Select Committee. The government secured the agreement of four non aligned independent senators by increasing the Medicare package by \$427.5 million. The Medicare reform bill provides a case study of a government's attempt to manage the Senate to agree to its legislation. This episode in Australian political history reveals something of the institutional relationship between Senate and Executive, all the more illuminating as it occurred as the Prime Minister foreshadowed attempts to limit the Senate's powers by modifying the constitutional provisions for 'deadlock' between the Houses of Parliament. The release of a Discussion Paper entitled "Resolving Deadlocks" canvasses two options for a government to overcome gridlocked legislation. This paper suggests that despite claims and counter claims of government mandates, Executives get on with the business of governing through negotiation.

Peter Mayer

Suicide and Civic Republicanism: Questioning Durkheim and Putnam

Virtually all sociological studies of suicide consider it to be a symptom of social disorganisation. This tradition of interpretation goes back at least to Durkheim's own initial use of suicide as a proxy for social happiness. More recently, in *Bowling Alone*, Robert Putnam has argued that rising youth suicide rates in the US are related to their declining levels of social capital. This paper argues that the conventional association of suicide with social dysfunction is incorrect.

It finds in four case studies (19th century Italy, late 20th century Italy, India and the U.S.A.) that suicide rates (in one case, suicides as a percentage of intentional deaths) are strongly and positively correlated with measures of civic engagement, themselves understood to be measures of social capital. In Italy, for example, those regions of northern Italy which Putnam in *Making Democracy Work* reported as having the highest levels of Civic Traditions and Civic Community were also found to be those in which suicide rates were highest. The paper argues that a variant of Barber's 'relative misery hypothesis'-outward social comparison-may explain why small numbers of individuals in socially connected, highly civic societies are more likely to take their own lives.

Greg McCarthy

Political musing over the Australian National Museum

This paper walks the reader through the ideological and political exhibits on the Australian National Museum (ANM). The first panel displays a small coterie of critics, who, when one leans forward and pushes the appropriate button, articulate a chorus of criticisms of the ARM. They are loudest in their complaints that the ANM is architecturally offensive and its curatorial practices abound with fabrication, shaped by "political correctness". The audience is then asked to ponder over the next panel which places the ARM controversy, in a much larger framework, firstly, showing the relationship between genocide and modernism; combined with, the linkages between the Enlightenment and colonialism. Finally, the musing on the ARM focuses on the last exhibition which displays the victors, a small band of fellow travellers, celebrating their political victory and yet seem unsatisfied that their worldview is no longer an absolute hegemony. In the background of the display, standing above and yet seemingly amongst these ideological warriors, is Prime Minister Howard. This last panel also gives the departing audience the museum a larger question to muse over, which is whether Australia's colonial past is but its present, relived in a different guise.

Allen McConnell

Has Devolution Transformed Scottish Local Government? Notes from a Small Country Facing Common Problems of Governance

Prior to 1999, local government in Scotland was generally considered to lack a genuinely 'localist' role. Its constitutional, legal, political, and financial autonomy was heavily circumscribed by the context of the UK as a 'Union State'. This meant a marginal tailoring of UK-wide policies to the Scottish context, rather than reflecting the wishes of a Scottish electorate and a wider civil society with its own distinct preferences and values. With the advent of a devolved Scottish Parliament in 1999 and its control over local government and most others areas of Scottish public life, the opportunity seemed to emerge for a more vital, autonomous and ultimately 'democratic' system of local government in Scotland. This paper examines the extent to which this has happened in the post-1999 period. It pays particular attention to the degree to which: (a) Scottish local government policies have departed from those in England and Wales (b) pre-existing patterns of central-local relations in Scotland have changed and (c) Scottish local government has been able to disentangle itself from the constraints of a wider system of multi-level governance which ranges from the sub-national to the supra-national (EU) level.

David McDonald

(Ab)using the Holocaust?: Instrumentalising the Jewish Trope in Nationalism and Group Activism

This paper argues that the globalization and universalisation of the Jewish Holocaust has created new poles of identity for ethno-nationalists and activist groups worldwide. Enemies become Nazis, past or present oppression is likened to that suffered by Jews in World War II. Numbers of dead, styles of atrocity, intent, ideology, even graphic images, are compared and contrasted in books and other print media. Increasingly, the Internet is used as a means of "selling" one's constituency to a wider audience - hence the proliferation of online "holocaust museums". Based on 14 different case studies, this paper examines some of the various ways in which the term Holocaust and its associated vocabulary and imagery have been used to promote everything from ethnic cleansing in Bosnia to the raiding of factory farms in the United States. However, the instrumental uses of Holocaust are diverse. If in the Serbian and Croatian cases such imagery legitimated ethnic cleansing, Maori, American and Canadian indigenous peoples use the term more as a means of capturing public attention. India uses the term as a means of legitimating strong pro-Hindu policies. Levels of anti-Semitism and competition with Jews also differ markedly, as does the response of Jewish groups and Holocaust historians, who sometimes accept Armenian or Chinese "holocausts", while rejecting similar "holocaust" claims from American Blacks, Romani, Irish, or Serbs.

Don McMaster

Temporary Protection Visas: The bastard child of the One Nation Party!

Refugees on Temporary Protection Visa (TPV) and Bridging visas are specific groups of people who live in poverty and uncertainty. In 1999 the Howard Coalition Government introduced the TPV category in its refugee policy. There are approximately 8500 refugees on TPVs residing in Australia.

Various reports have shown that the TPV has severely limited the capacity of TPV refugees to participate in everyday life, - denying help to these refugees has prevented their recovery, as they become more and more isolated and impoverished

The long-term effects of having created and prolonged the disadvantages of this impoverished underclass must be considered as a matter of urgency. The sum of disadvantage suffered by TPV holders serves to isolate them and make their prospects poor in settling, moving forward, finding employment and establishing a positive outlook for the future. These combined disadvantages are prolonged by the nature of the TPV, which is not a short-term transitional phase for most families or individuals but in some cases a permanent dispossession and denial of settlement and equal rights.

The psychological effects of this prolonged disadvantage, especially given the very high levels of trauma and post-traumatic stress within this group (well-documented elsewhere), are not difficult to imagine.

The long-term effects of having created, and of prolonging, this policy are considered in the paper.

Jacky Morris

Community as a Political Ideal

The political ideal of promoting 'community' has been widely criticised on a wide range of grounds. 'Community' is often associated with forms of collectivity in which individuality, diversity and autonomy are sacrificed for the sake of solidarity and shared understandings and goals. Many analysts have expressed concern about the capacity of 'communities' to undermine internal dissent and diversity and to reduce the freedom and autonomy of their constituents. Communities have widely been perceived as relatively rigid and/or static, as giving rise to inherently conservative and uncritical attitudes, and as promoting social closure, exclusion and homogenisation - by assimilating, suppressing, denying and/or expelling internal diversity and dissent.

This paper argues, however, that communities need not take this form, and, can also be important in providing frameworks that facilitate individual freedom and expression, critical evaluation, autonomy, diversity, openness and gender equality. Many of the qualities critics of 'community' are concerned with are not only fostered by forms of 'community', but also tend to languish in its absence. While communities can be exclusive of difference, elements of community are also fundamentally important in promoting and sustaining diversity. While forms of community can be (to varying degrees) repressive of freedom, networks of engagement, mutual recognition and support can also be considered an important basis for concrete freedom. While it has been argued that community membership can impair critical evaluation, forums for intensive collective interaction, debate and evaluation also generally provide an important condition for comprehensive evaluation. And while ideals of community have been associated with inherent gender conservatism, it can be argued that frameworks of community may also be important in facilitating constructive, longer-term outcomes in terms of gender relations. Overall, it might thus be argued that the relevant political issue is not whether we need to consider issues of community, but what kinds of community we might seek to promote.

Tiffany Morrison & Marcus Lane

The rise and rise of environmental NGOs: unforeseen risks to democratic environmental governance in Australia

Current approaches to environmental policy and management in Australia designate non-government organisations (NGOs) an increasingly central role. This paper considers that the extent of NGO involvement, both formal and informal, in environmental governance is now so widespread, the magnitude of changes to democratic governance so far-reaching and the claims made of NGO participation so bold, that a critical gaze on NGOs is overdue. To foreground the analysis that follows, the paper interrogates the relationship between NGOs and civil society, and explores the structural transformation of western democracies which has provided the preconditions for the rise of NGOs in environmental governance. The paper then considers the diverse ways in which such NGOs are currently implicated in environmental governance in Australia and identifies a series of risks associated with these approaches when used uncritically. The paper concludes by calling for a more nuanced and critical appraisal of the role of NGOs in environmental governance which takes care to reserve political space for the articulation of diverse values and interests in environmental policy and management.

Kathie Muir

'The Pop Star of Politics' or a 'Leader of Substance?': Constructions of Generation X and Femininity in News Reporting of Natasha Stott Despoja's Leadership of the Australian Democrats

The rise in the number of women politicians of all political persuasions over the last decade has been a feature of contemporary politics across Western democracies. Women now make up 26% of all Australian federal politicians and their active presence appears to be widely accepted and valued by the electorate. However, in news and popular media representations of their performance and experience their difference from the masculine norm is still consistently marked as their most distinguishing characteristic regardless of their political affiliations. With the election of Natasha Stott Despoja to the leadership of the Australian Democrats the element of 'Gen-X' was added to femininity in news reporting of her leadership, her policies and her performance.

This paper will analyze the significations of femininity and youth in media representations of Natasha Stott Despoja's leadership of the Democrats. In particular, it will investigate the diverse and conflicting ways particular myths, stereotypes and ideologies of femininity and youth are deployed to make sense of her performance and its implications for contemporary Australian politics. It also examines the effects of tabloidization arguing that the media's emphasis on personal lives works in contradictory ways for women politicians: on the one hand, inviting identification with new audiences; on the other, positioning them in opposition to the traditional masculine culture of politics and leadership.

Michael Murphy

Justifying Indigenous Representation: Racial, Cultural And Democratic Arguments

This paper considers the question of what justifies differentiated forms of citizenship and political representation for indigenous people in state institutions. Three different justifications are considered: 1) cultural difference; 2) racial difference; and 3) the democratic right to self-determination. The paper's central argument is that democratic self-determination is a better route to justifying differentiated forms of indigenous citizenship than either racial or cultural difference. Specifically, I will argue that racial and cultural justifications (in different ways) are subject to empirical objections (relating to cultural hybridity and 'racial' intermixing), and normative objections (bypassing consent and self-identification in favor of racial or cultural purity). The paper will consider both the manner in which racial and cultural arguments are imposed by state institutions (including courts and legislatures) and adopted by indigenous communities themselves. The normative arguments will be illustrated using case-study examples from Australia, Canada and New Zealand.

Brendon O'Connor

George W. Bush and his biographers

The cartoonist Bill Leak once commented that it is hard to draw George W. Bush because he is already a 'caricature'. Seen by many as a verbally challenged faux cowboy Texan with born-again Christian beliefs and a bellicose and simplistic foreign policy, Bush is a wellspring of negative stereotypes. In frame one he is Ronald Reagan the B-grade cowboy, next he is Bonzo the chimpanzee, next he is the simpleton Alfred E. Newman. Is all of this too easy and in the end too simple? How did this 'yokel' defeat the popular incumbent Texan Governor Anne Richards in 1994, John McCain - one of the most admired figures in current American politics - in the 2000 primaries and then go on to receive over 50 million votes in the 2000 general election? This paper will discuss the various biographies on Bush with the aim of presenting a more complete picture of the strengths and weaknesses of the current US president. It will also attempt to analyse the differences between the insider accounts of Bob Woodward and David Frum and the generally more critical biographies written by outsiders.

Dominic O'Sullivan

The Politics of Indigeneity and contemporary challenges to Maori self-determination

Unexpected and dramatic political developments in New Zealand in 2004 have seen populist politics shift indigenous self-determination to the periphery of elite policy thinking. A longstanding and bipartisan cautious acceptance of self-determination has begun to erode as a discourse dismissive of a Maori claim to certain rights on the basis of indigeneity gains popular currency. Maori are not seen as indigenous groups entitled to group rights by virtue of that identity, but as individuals with the same 'needs' as any other individual. Justice is thus realised by addressing 'need' not 'rights'. Notions of indigeneity and the Treaty of Waitangi as politically significant are therefore questioned.

It is around principles of individualism and narrow and limiting conceptions of democracy and justice that has emerged a populist discourse antithetical to self-determination. Yet from a Maori point of view self-determination remains to give theoretical articulation to a politics of indigeneity that counters the re-emergence of assimilation as a subtle although not explicit policy objective. The paper explores this clash of objective - popularly and simplistically expressed in the rhetorical language of 'one law for all' - as the defining characteristic of contemporary Maori policy debate. It argues that a Maori aspiration to self-determination is theoretically legitimate, even though sometimes at odds with interpretations of underlying principles of the democratic pluralist nation state.

This paper also discusses the potentially significant policy implications of the relocation of perceptions of self-determination from cautious acceptance to suspicious unease.

Siobhan O'Sullivan

Animal Welfare Policy: Justice, Visibility and Necessary Suffering

Animal welfare policy in Australia is structurally inconsistent, meaning the same level of interest protection is not consistently applied across the animal industrial complex. The philosophical underpinning informing the inconsistent nature of animal welfare legislation has primarily been explained as one in which policy framers seek to oppose animal cruelty for cruelty's sake, while allowing for the possibility that producers may find it 'necessary' to be cruel as part of a standardised wealth creating strategy. This interpretation is commonly referred to as necessary or justifiable suffering and is the primary tool currently available to account for animal welfare inconsistencies.

This study seeks to demonstrate that economic imperatives are not the only factor informing the direction and shape of animal welfare policy. Rather, the issue of public visibility plays an important role in both policy structure and animal welfare outcomes.

This means that the types and levels of statutory interest protection afforded different categories of economically productive animals' results from more than industry's ability to successfully assert that the prevention of certain animal cruelties will have an unacceptably negative economic impact. Rather, the degree to which an animal is visible or invisible to human observers plays a pivotal role in informing the degree to which an animal's interests is comprehensively protected or the extent to which their human owner's right to be cruel is upheld. The higher an animal's visibility the more interest protection they are afforded, while the lower the visibility, the worse the animal's level of welfare protection and the poorer their outcomes will be.

The identification of visibility as an influencing factor in the structure of animal welfare legislation raises important questions regarding the role of justice in guiding welfare policy and the extent to which an openly discriminatory welfare regime can be morally justified.

Susan Oakley

Revisiting the Situatedness of Institutional Urban Management: The Politics of Urban Policy in Australian Federal Governance

Endeavouring to initiate dialogue regarding the possible re-introduction of institutional involvement in urban matters seems a bold proposal given that dominant political sensibility is presently oriented towards reducing government, reducing public spending and continued privatisation programs. Despite these trends in political governance it nevertheless seems

inconceivable that for a highly urbanised country like Australia there is a substantive lack of direct Federal involvement in urban management. The 'urban' as a category and practice in Federal public policy has featured twice only - the Department of Urban and Regional Development (DURD) in the 1970s and Better Cities in the 1990s. While DURD and Better Cities seemingly bore little resemblance to each other, both urban 'projects' set out to transform the politico-culture of government thinking regarding Commonwealth involvement in urban policy. Fractured responses within and between government to differences of disadvantage, advantage and opportunity perpetuate greater divisions in Australian urban life. The architects of both DURD and Better Cities believed that these divisions could be reduced by Federal involvement in urban policy. What links can be made between the aspirations of DURD and Better Cities and the way in which both urban projects set out to negotiate a place within and between government? What does the passage of time between these two urban experiments tell us about the politics of urban policy? This paper reveals that there was something in their experiences that was similar, not in the content of their project but in their struggles, dilemmas and achievements. Their similarity lay in the belief that increasing spatial socio-economic disparities in Australian cities could be addressed through Commonwealth involvement in urban management. Their approach to how the Commonwealth should be involved, the framing and implementation of the respective policies, and the strategies both programs used to gain legitimacy within and between government differed. Both urban projects revealed the highly contested political nature of introducing urban policy into the Federal realm.

Jennifer Oriel

Sexual Rights: Principles That Nourish Or Diminish Women's Right To Life In The Context Of HIV/AIDS?

Each day 8000 people die from AIDS. Infection rates are rising in almost every country and the majority of those newly infected with HIV are women and girls. In the past 5 years, peak HIV/AIDS agencies have recognised that inequality between women and men is a major cause of the spread of HIV. Yet there has been no HIV prevention model created which challenges sex inequality as a politics and behaviour.

In February 2004, the United Nations AIDS Programme claimed that creating equality between women and men is a prerequisite to stopping HIV. This paper will explore the core characteristics of sex inequality which enable HIV transmission. In particular, the acceptance of male dominant sexuality as a biological need and political right will be analysed in the context of HIV/AIDS literature and prevention programmes. These programmes will be analysed alongside best practice guidelines on HIV/AIDS published by UN agencies, the WHO, and the ILO. Analysis of the literature will lead to a discussion about masculinity and how it affects women's right to protection from HIV. I will explore whether sex equality is possible where masculinity is a celebrated politics and behaviour.

There is a strong reluctance among HIV prevention agencies to address male sexual behaviour, even while acknowledging it as the major cause of HIV transmission. Rather, most current programmes target women's behaviour through the 'empowerment' approach. Empowerment routinely fails in HIV prevention projects due to male dominance and sexual violence against women and girls. I will suggest a new sex equality model which challenges the politics and behaviour of masculinity causing HIV transmission. All of the research available indicates that until sex equality is a core value and fundamental principle of HIV prevention, men's sex right will continue to violate women's right to life.

Susan Park

A Tale of Two Mechanisms: Assessing World Bank Group Accountability

Since the 1980s international financial institutions (IFIs) such as the World Bank have been accused of being unaccountable. In 1994, the Bank created an Inspection Panel, setting a precedent in allowing peoples affected by Bank projects to seek redress. Yet quasi-judicial panels are not the only means of IFI accountability. Within the broader World Bank Group, a different accountability mechanism was created: a Compliance Advisor/Ombudsman (CAO). This article first assesses broader trends towards accountability mechanisms by IFIs. It then

compares the establishment of both the Panel and the CAO, examining their organizational structures and functions. Lastly, it evaluates their success in being accountable to those affected by World Bank Group projects. The article argues that while the Panel and the CAO face similar challenges in ensuring accountability, that in order to be successful, the mechanism must reflect the needs of the organization as much as those seeking redress

Felix Patrikeeff & Greg de Cure

Sun Yat-sen and Greater China

Sandra Penrose

Percy Spender and the origins of Anzus: an Australian initiative

The origins of the ANZUS Treaty lie in the Australian search for security in the Pacific, and particularly the Asian region. The Australian Minister for External Affairs, Percy Spender, was the driving force in securing the ANZUS Treaty, signed in September 1951, shortly before the Japanese Peace Treaty. The attitudes of the governments of the United States and Britain to the ANZUS Treaty are examined to indicate the difficulties which the Australians had to overcome in order to secure the treaty. The crucial role of John Foster Dulles in the final stages of these negotiations is also highlighted as part of the explanation of Australia's success in finally obtaining the long desired agreement.

Donald Potter

State Responsibility, Sovereignty, and Failed States

A responsibility of nation-states is to deliver political goods - security, health and education, economic opportunity, good governance, law and order, and fundamental infrastructure requirements (transport and communications). Failed states are no longer able to carry out these functions. One of the problems in dealing with failed states is in defining exactly who and what they are. By using a state's responsibilities it is possible to develop a model that enables states to be defined and categorized as weak, failing or failed, so that the international community can determine which states no longer meet their sovereign obligations and need support or intervention. The question of state failure and intervention raises a larger question: what effect does a state's failure have on its sovereignty? Is sovereignty a right or a responsibility? The developing doctrine of "sovereignty as a responsibility," requires that states that are unable to provide for the protection and assistance of their citizens, are expected to request or accept outside offers of aid. If they refuse assistance there is an international responsibility to react. Sovereignty as responsibility means accountability to two separate constituencies: internally, to one's own population; and internationally, to a community of responsible states in the form of compliance with human rights and humanitarian agreements. The adoption by the international community of the concepts of "state responsibility" and "sovereignty as responsibility" enables a model to be developed to identify where assistance is required and a justification for intervention by the international community.

Helen Pringle

The Fabrication of Female Circumcision: The UN, Walter Roth and Ethno-Pornography

The United Nations Commission on Human Rights details various forms of female genital cutting in a Fact Sheet entitled Harmful Traditional Practices affecting the Health of Women and Children. One of the forms catalogued is introcision, which the Fact Sheet notes is specifically practised by "Pitta-Patta" aborigines in Australia. Introcision is also noted as "current practice" in Australia by the Inter-Parliamentary Union. This report of the "Pitta-Patta" ritual appears to have its genesis in chapter xiii of Walter Roth's *Ethnological Studies among the North-West-Central Aborigines*. Roth's report of the Pitta Pitta emerged at the focus of the UN human rights campaign by way of Allan Worsley, a surgeon in the colonial administration of the Sudan.

In this paper I explore the provenance of this report in the work of Walter Roth, a doctor in the Boulia area of Queensland in the 1890s, and later Northern Protector of Aborigines, and then

Chief Protector of Aborigines in Queensland. I place Roth's work on sexual anthropology in the context of other studies of Aboriginal sexual life, and of the scandal surrounding the photos he took of Aborigines. In doing so, I uncover evidence of a not uncommon practice of (sexual) slavery in which white men forced or paid Aborigines to perform sexual spectacles. That is, the harmful traditional practice at issue in this episode turns out not to be female circumcision by Aborigines, but enslavement of Aborigines by white men.

Mark Rainbird

Humour, Multiculturalism and Political correctness

Analysis of the politics of humour has been somewhat of a neglected area in political science. This is surprising given the prevalence and everyday contribution it makes to our lives through popular culture. From the cartoon in our local daily newspaper to the comical email we receive from a friend on the other side of the world or the gag that breaks the ice at that awkward social event, humour is ever present. Indeed, humour and comedy have a long and complex historical association with politics and in the construction of national identities. In more recent years humour in Australia has been used to express controversial views concerning the 'mainstream's' backlash to multiculturalism and 'political correctness'.

This humorous backlash cannot be simply regarded as a collection of benign jokes, songs or sketches that are somehow removed from politics or ideology. They are multifarious, contradictory and powerful statements that tell us a great deal about contemporary Australian society and as such require further detailed analysis. This paper will explore the complexity of humour in Australia through the analysis of two current humorous productions, the film *Fat Pizza* (2003) and *Kevin Bloody Wilson: Let Loose Live in Ireland* (2003). Whilst they may both appear to be critical of 'political correctness' or posit an anti-politically correct position it will be argued that one expresses more of an anti-anti-'political correctness'. The implications of these positions will be further assessed in the context of discussions around 'identity politics' and the 'politics of identity' and their relation to multiculturalism and national identity in Australia.

Antonio Rappa

The Demon of Modernity: The Inscrutable Politics of International Terrorism (When the pursuit of infinite justice requires perpetual war)

This paper is concerned with the politics of international terrorism for three main reasons: (1) the agents of terror target successful symbols of capitalism in advanced industrial states; (2) Americans have increasingly become the targets terrorism; and (3) there appears to be a general lack of attention to the fact that international terrorism is a growth industry that began in the 1970s with the proliferation of Cold War weapons. The notion of terrorism is neither coherent nor monolithic and represents a convenient catch-all term for unanticipated, sudden, and inexplicable acts of violence against humanity. The terrorists are ironically dependent on the technology and capitalism they seek to destroy. However, the real paradox of the politics of international terrorism lies in the reproduction of terror when the pursuit of punishment of terrorists result in the re-spawning of terrorist cells at alternative geopolitical positions. The Demon of Modernity is incongruent and incommensurate with human decency, civic, and ethical behavior. International terrorisms' war on humanity cannot go unpunished even though the pursuit of infinite justice encounters the encumbrances of perpetual war. This paper examines the neoliberal international political economy and shows why its weaknesses contribute to the subterfuge of terrorism.

Steve Reglar

Chinese Workers and Globalisation; spectacular mass protests but "weapons of the weak"

In the past two years worker resistance to economic policies inspired by China's entry into the WTO have become widespread. Mass redundancies and lay-offs have been widespread and at times very large in number, probably the biggest number of redundancies in history for a

single country. The transformation of the former state owned enterprises (S.O.E.s) has resulted in very high levels of unemployment combined with poor social security and redundancy provisions. Less well known is the massive hidden unemployment disguised as workers taking "furlough" or "awaiting relocation". Reductions in employment conditions, non-payment of salary and increased uncertainty have contributed to increased worker militancy. The most impressive strikes have taken place in Liaoning, Jilin and Heilongjiang, centred on the heavy industrial giants of China's post 1949 development. In these provinces the decline of the S.O.E.s hits very hard indeed. Some large cities in the region (Anshan, Changchun, and Shenyang) were once virtual one-industry towns.

For all this, worker militancy is limited in its potency. Strikes and mass protests tend to last for a few days only and are relatively easily broken up. The peak union organisation in China, the ACTFU (All China Federation of Trade Unions) is a creature of the corporatist Party/state. Unions are predominantly based on the enterprise. Attempts by workers to create autonomous trade unions with lateral linkages have been repeatedly smashed by the Party/State. The challenge to the legitimacy of a supposed "Workers State" by independent unions is well recognised by all.

The predominant culture of Chinese workers represents another barrier to more effective class action. From the mid C19th to the 1980s China had a patriarchal form of industrial organisation. It relied on linking employment for life with enterprise provision of social security, health, housing, child-care and relaxation. Even public security and policing of the one child family policy were vested in the enterprise. The result was a conglomerate enterprise, which became an almost independent self-sufficient entity. Conventional distinctions between public and private and state and civil society were over-ridden. The culture thus engendered was very strongly based on personal ties. A kind of simulated kinship structure characteristic of the 'gang boss' system of pre revolutionary China remained under the Party/ State.

Involvement was primarily reliant on moral rather than calculative grounds. Compliance could thus be exercised in normal circumstances through normative controls mixed with an element of remunerative. At critical times, however, the Party/State (like the gangs) used coercion to establish or re-establish its power. Contemporary worker resistance is still tainted by the traditional of moral attachments and moral compliance alongside a remunerative structure. Hence workers are presently facing a multiple level of barriers to effective class action.

Steve Reglar

Human rights are a necessary fiction but a fiction nonetheless

Human rights in both their modern and classical guise attempt to found a concept of individual human worth and agency in something universal. Hence, rights lack ontology and consequently are often metaphysical. The UN Universal Declaration of Human Rights combines a deontological concept of rights with a telos of state and state sovereignty. A charter of human rights, which are by definition prior to any notion of the good, is coupled with a concept that privileges a conception of the 'good'. Thus such human rights are insecurely founded. What is the basis of a human right? How can one champion individual human rights on one hand and still adhere to concepts of state sovereignty on the other? In practice a national right to self-determination and sovereignty of a state often take priority over the rights of individuals qua individuals. Moreover, recognising domestic violations of human rights or becoming signatories to UN conventions is often represented as contempt of domestic political process. To be bearers of rights people need to have special standing - their individuality needs recognition. Locke, Hobbes, Pufendorf and Selden's ideas about the origins of human rights are contrasted and their limitations discussed. Cranston's argument that protection of rights should only extend to negative rights is criticised using Shue's critique.

As Sen argues, the point of human rights is to pursue entitlement to a form of right or legality that can be in advance of the legal system. Rights can go further than even the potential of the law. To Sen human rights are ethical claims rather than legal commands. Nevertheless, human rights are critical to deciding between competing legislative claims in difficult cases. Sociability and basic human virtues underlay the basic human rights to life, liberty and estate. Hence, human rights outline a way of life and cultural values, which are specific to liberal democratic capitalism. Proponents of post-modern subaltern theories and 'Asian values' see

human rights as cultural colonialism. The cultural specificity of human rights undermines their claimed universality.

There is no accepted ontology of human rights that can cover the differing cultural, ethical, religious and economic conditions needed for universal human rights. Human rights, Hannah Arendt argued do not help when a person is reduced to being 'just an individual'. Human rights are not species rights applicable to homo sapiens, they are about humanity. People have to recognise something of their selves and of human kind in general to recognise human rights violations. It is therefore not surprising that recent flagrant violations of the human rights of asylum seekers and of combatants from Afghanistan and Iraq take place behind a carefully organised veil of secrecy assisted by the use of language that denies the humanity of those concerned.

Benjamin Reilly

Democratisation and political reform in the Asia-Pacific: Is there an 'Asian Model' of institutional design?

One of the many consequences of the democratisation of the Asia-Pacific region of the past decade has been the reform of key institutions such as electoral systems, political parties, and executive government. I argue that, across the Asia-Pacific, these reforms have been motivated by common aims of increasing government stability and reducing political fragmentation. As a result, reforms have tended to focus on similar strategies of institutional design in terms of political parties, electoral systems, and cabinet formation practices. I examine the way in which these political reforms have increasingly converged on an identifiable "Asian model" of institutional design.

Rod Rhodes & Mark Bevir

Interpretation and Its Others

In 'Interpreting British Governance' (Routledge 2003), Mark Bevir and Rod Rhodes use a post foundational epistemology and an interpretive approach to understand changes in British government. They assess the claim there has been a shift from government of a unitary state to governance in and by networks. They develop the argument that people can engage in a practice only because they hold certain beliefs or concepts. So, political scientists can explore that practice by unpacking the relevant beliefs and explaining why they arose. This workshop aims

(i) to encourage a debate between interpretive approaches and mainstream political science;(ii) to assess the strengths and weaknesses of each approach; and(iii) to explore usefulness of an interpretive approach for research on Australian government.

Damien Riggs

Constructing the national good: Howard and the rhetoric of benevolence

In this paper I utilise Ghassan Hage's work in *White Nation* (1998) to explore the practices of benevolence that I suggest are deployed by the Howard government to manage its stake in imperialism. In doing this, I follow Hage's lead in employing psychoanalysis as a tool for understanding how fantasies of the good nation are constructed through the projection of our collective past into the category of 'evil racists'. Such projection works to repress the practices of imperialism that have enacted the white Australian nation, and instead re-present the nation as founded upon the a priori sovereignty of white people in this country. I suggest that through the use of benevolent rhetoric the government is able to position itself as free of stake, thus warranting its role as representative of the national good. Such stake management is evident in constructions of 'practical reconciliation', and particularly in attempts at positioning the Howard government as being an impartial player in the national psyche. In contrast to this, I suggest that the practices of benevolence that inform government rhetoric only serve to render visible the unstable foundations of white belonging in this country, thus revealing the ways in which white nationalism is founded through acts of denial.

Hage, G. (1998). *White nation: Fantasies of white supremacy in a multicultural nation*. Annandale: Pluto Press.

Jane Robbins

The 'Failure' of ATSIC and the recognition of Human Rights

The Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Commission (ATSIC) has had a troubled history since its establishment in 1990. The announcement by the government that it is to be abolished has truncated any further evolution of its role as an Indigenous representative body. This paper will explore the problems that contributed to perceptions that ATSIC had "failed". Some have been well aired: the shortcomings of its organizational structures; the difficulty of reconciling 'top-down' with 'bottom up' accountability and its limited control of key areas of Indigenous disadvantage including health or education. A significant tension in its activities have been expectations that, as an elected representative body, it should advocate for Indigenous rights, but at the same time portfolio responsibilities have required it to make decisions about service delivery. The balancing of these roles of pressure group and government agency has proved difficult.

At the same time, the lack of appreciation of ATSIC's role has allowed many of its achievements to remain unrecognized. ATSIC has been successful in recent years in negotiating agreements with the States covering programs such as essential services, health and housing. This has helped overcome some pernicious consequences of federalism in these policy areas including administrative overlap and contested responsibility between service agencies - problems which been identified as contributing to the failure to achieve improved outcomes in Indigenous programs by many Inquiries.

ATSIC's difficulties are directly related to the lack of public debate about the position and rights of Indigenous people in Australia. Canadian theorist Will Kymlicka has developed the concept of national minority rights and proposes a policy of self-determination for such groups, including Indigenous peoples. With the abolition of ATSIC there is an urgent need to explore these ideas and to consider what might constitute an appropriate arrangement for recognition of Indigenous rights in Australia.

Peter Roberts

The Commonwealth Public Integrity System: There Used To Be One, Is There Anymore?

These papers (with Session 2a: Smith/Savage/Mills) describe the methodology and emerging conclusions of these public sector assessments. They describe in more detail the approach taken, highlighting the difficulties of developing a methodology from first principles. The Commonwealth study particularly highlights the confidence public integrity actors themselves express about the integrity of Commonwealth administration - a supportable view based on the low incidence of reported fraud and official corruption, but is rendered problematic by the lack of relevant data such as might be collected by a central anti-corruption body, and is at odds with a number of high profile and ongoing controversy over politicisation of the senior public service.

Geoffrey Robinson

Who were the Langites? A quantitative examination of New South Wales electoral history 1928-32

Between 1928 and 1932 political alignments in New South Wales were thrown into unprecedented upheaval. In 1929 the electoral dominance of the non-Labor parties at a federal level was shattered in the landslide to Joseph Scullin. A year later Labor repeated this feat at the state level and returned to power under the leadership of Jack Lang. In 1930-31 the Labor party in New South Wales split leading to the emergence of two competing parties divided on ideological lines: Lang Labor and Federal Labor. At the federal election of 1931 and the state election of 1932 Labor voters could choose between Labor parties. Lang's supporters posed the most serious electoral threat to the official Labor from the left until the recent rise of the Greens, while Federal Labor anticipated some of the themes of the

Democratic Labor Party. In 1932 Lang suffered a crushing defeat. Historians have tended to explain these electoral upheavals as demonstrating the volatile behaviour of the middle class. This paper undertakes a basic linear multivariate regression of voting behaviour in 1928-32 against the 1933 census data. It concludes that although middle-class electors were probably the most volatile group manual workers were close behind and given their larger numbers accounted for more of the overall swing. Manual workers preferred Lang to Federal Labor in both 1931 and 1932. In agreement with Judith Brett's recent work religion is found to be a more reliable basis of Labor support than class, with Catholics disproportionately likely to support Federal Labor in 1931 but returning to Lang in 1932.

Miranda Roe & Anne Morris

The capabilities of women: towards an alternative model of 'responsibility' in supporting families and children

This paper aims to contribute to debates about what models of service most effectively recognise and support primary carers (most often mothers) as agents of protection and support for their families and children. Current service models based on notions of individualism may actively undermine the caring activities of women within families. In particular, in the area of child protection, we suggest that emphasising child protection in isolation from family support practices is not the best answer to current concerns with children at risk.

We draw on mothers' and service providers' experiences of systems/services for families and children recorded through our separate postgraduate research activities. Being believed, not being blamed or judged, understanding the effects of relationships of unequal power and responsibility, and recognising women's agency all contribute to supporting women as mothers. However these positive experiences of services were outnumbered by many women's reports that family policy and services contribute to their sense of isolation, blame and exclusion.

Many women, particularly those living in disabling environments who are priority 'targets' for services, experience services as undermining their commitment and capabilities to care for and protect their children. Their experience significantly contradicts current policy and service rhetoric that emphasises the primary responsibility of 'parents' for the health and well-being of family and children and the potential of 'capacity-building' through 'partnerships'. That services can contribute to 'mother blame' and social exclusion contradicts current policy focus on (re)building 'community' emphasising social values, trust, reciprocity and civic participation as fundamental to the health and well-being of families and children.

We point to the contradictions between current service models and policy rhetoric, and argue for the salience of gender and healthy power-responsibility relationships in achieving a model of service to effectively enable mothers as agents of protection and support for their families and children.

Lauren Rosewarne

Outdoor Advertising and Graffiti: Gender, Fear and Public Space

Outdoor advertising and graffiti provide unique case studies, in that both mediums take advantage of the inescapable nature of 'public space' to create captive audiences whereby an individual's capacity to avoid exposure to either product is completely inhibited. The unique and inescapable nature of graffiti and outdoor advertising demands that a different analysis of content is undertaken and that a different public policy response occurs.

This paper looks at the parallels between outdoor advertising and graffiti - focusing specifically on the ways gender roles are amplified by the way each product makes use of public space. This research draws from the disciplines of criminology, architecture and feminist geography to argue that the continued sexualised portrayals of women in outdoor advertising works to not only illustrate but amplify the social inclusion of men and the social exclusion of women in public space. It argues that this situation parallels the situation graffiti creates by including men in the use and control of public space, and excluding women through the graffiti practice and through the graffitied environment.

This paper argues that outdoor advertising's routine sexualised portrayals of women contributes to women's feelings of fear in public space, paralleling the fear that the graffitied environment creates. It is argued that both products, in turn, force women to alter their perceptions of public space and to, as a result of their fears, pose limitations on their movements. It argues that such productions function to reiterate masculine 'control' of public space and to reiterate women's lack of.

John Roskam

The political philosophy of Robert Menzies

This paper considers the political philosophy of Robert Menzies, Australian prime minister from 1939-1941, and 1949-1966.

Recent work by Brett (Australian Liberals and the moral middle class, 2003) rebuts the notion that Menzies did not possess a strong political philosophy, and Brett maintains that it was a philosophy centred on his ideal of the 'middle class'. This paper goes further and argues that Menzies' philosophy was founded on concepts beyond only the values of the 'middle class'. His philosophy should be regarded as a combination of 'liberalism' and 'conservatism'.

Menzies assimilated 'liberal' aspects of John Stuart Mill's thought particularly in regard to the realm of personal individuality, and the 'perfectibility of human nature'. Menzies' conservatism was sceptical, inductive, and anti-majoritarian, in part derived from Mill, and from Edmund Burke. Menzies compared his 'practical' approach to politics to the 'theoretical' methods of his Labor opponents in a way that Michael Oakeshott was later to do in Rationalism in politics. Menzies did not acknowledge that a desire to be 'practical' required an adherence to theory not less so than did a determination to be 'theoretical'. His position was based on deeply-held conservative sentiments, consistent with his views about the common law, the substance of truth, and the nature of history more broadly. Menzies contrasted the experience-based, 'trial and error' approach of the common law to that of civil law which relied upon reason. He believed the former approach was superior and he translated his conclusions about law to the realm of politics. His self-confessed 'pragmatism' was the result of a belief that truth was not absolute.

A recognition of Menzies' political philosophy as both liberal and conservative provides a context for an understanding of Menzies himself, and his influence on the Liberal Party.

Penny Rossiter

The Politics of Responsibility

In recent times, and across the political spectrum, the idea of the responsible citizen has generated considerable interest. Though historically citizenship and responsibility are bound together, the current interest is prompted by diverse imperatives that range from the drive to restructure the welfare state and to intensify the 'mutual obligation' of citizens, governments and corporations, to the desire to forge new forms of inter-communal relations especially, between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people. The work of philosophers such as Moira Gatens, Rosalyn Diprose and Genevieve Lloyd and the local influence of Derrida, Levinas and Spinoza, has enriched the discussion of responsibility and taken it into new domains in which questions of subject formation and ethics and the nature of social imaginaries are foregrounded. However, many everyday political uses of 'responsibility' are untroubled by these critical interrogations.

This paper explores one strand of the contemporary politics of responsibility - the claim that the expansion of responsibility (individual, governmental and corporate) would contribute to the revitalisation of public culture and inspire new modes of 'public mutuality' (Latham). The problems with this claim are two-fold. Firstly, it is assumed that 'responsibility' is a transparent, unambiguous category and that at stake are only questions of 'whose responsibility', 'for what', 'how much' and so on. Secondly, and as a corollary of the first assumption, 'responsibility' is imagined to be unquestionably good. This paper troubles both of these assumptions and argues that the intensification of individual responsibility does not necessarily produce heightened sociality. Rather, it may animate resentment and intensify the desire to punish and exclude - especially those most disadvantaged.

Alwis Rustam

Politics of Gender and the Media

This paper will argue that, in term of debate about quota for women in politics, the role of the news media cannot be ignored to build up freedom, equality and justice for women. This is not to say that other details such as education, empowerments and movements of women are unimportant in the analysis of women's position in political arena. Rather, it is to say that these explanations are limited in public communication, especially based on discourse analysis of the news media. Therefore, this thesis will demonstrate this in three ways. Firstly, will be analysed the current explanation and approach for women or gender issues in politics, including the issues of quota policy for women politics arena in general. Then, I will explore about gender and politics in Indonesian. It is description of Indonesian women in politics, including discourse and the media on the quota for women. Subsequently, I will apply discourse analysis to "Kompas" and "Republika", which are two of the biggest and the most influential newspapers in Indonesia. It will compare and analyse their idioms, arguments and disputers in feature. To finish, chapter four draws out conclusion from the above discussion. This final chapter argues that efforts of women empowerment in politics have to recognise the role of the media.

Shelly Savage

Discussion, distraction or dissuasion? The Politics of News Management in New South Wales

A significant proportion of the recent literature on the media and politics in New South Wales emphasizes the government's interest in news management. Much is made of Premier Bob Carr's former career as a journalist. The Premier is labeled a media manipulator and the government is described as managing by media. But what does this mean for public policy in NSW?

The Carr government employs a significant number of ministerial media advisors, recruiting many former political journalists. Similarly, NSW public service agencies employ large numbers of journalists. Significant numbers of media releases travel from political and government offices to news organizations every day and news reports reflect this.

The Carr government consolidated an originally weak position to now hold a commanding majority in the Legislative Assembly but it has never held a majority in the Legislative Council. While changes in public sector management, set in motion during the early 1990s, enhance the power of the government over the public sector, a new ethos of public consultation provides greater opportunity for community participation in the policy process thus potentially weakening government power.

Given these conditions, what effect does the use of publicity techniques have on the policy process? Does publicity inform the public and encourage discussion about policy? Does it distract the media allowing the government to pursue strong policy on certain issues uncontested? Does it help create a positive environment for preferred policy options thus dissuading opposition in the Legislative Council and during public consultation?

This paper examines the potential avenues of influence in order to understand whether and how significant use of media management techniques influences the policy process. Research methods include depth interviews with journalists and government publicists; reviewing media content and tracking the history of policy development.

Marian Sawyer

When women support women...: A case study of EMILY's List in Australia

EMILY's List was founded in Australia in 1996 with the aim of increasing women's substantive as well as descriptive representation in parliament. It has certainly helped increase the descriptive representation of women in parliament, through its advocacy role in relation to the ALP and through its mentoring and other support for endorsed candidates. But its support for candidates is conditional on track record and commitment to substantive issues of concern to women. This paper explores, through Hansard analysis and in other ways, how successful

EMILY's List has been in contributing to the substantive representation of women in the Australian Parliament. The salience is examined of three key terms, paid maternity leave, unpaid work and domestic violence/violence against women during the two parliaments before the creation of EMILY's List and the two parliaments that followed.

Andrew Scott

The Australian Labor Party and its various constituencies

This paper will discuss whether and how the Australian Labor Party (ALP) can balance the arguably conflicting interests and outlooks of its blue-collar 'heartland' and the socially progressive middle-class professional elements of its constituency. The paper will include analysis, in socio-geographical detail and in historical perspective, of the results of the November 2001 national Australian election as well as opinion poll trends and academic survey results and interpretations before and since that time. Debate intensified after Labor's 2001 election defeat about the supposedly irreconcilable character of different Labor Party constituencies. Much of this debate however was (and remains) characterised by derogatory and judgemental categorisations of various ill-defined social groups. On the probable eve of the 2004 national Australian election, based on careful consideration of a range of demographic and electoral evidence, this paper will contend that, while there are at-times conflicting interests and outlooks between different elements of the ALP's constituency (just as there is amid the support base of many social democratic parties in western nations), the party's electoral future will be best served by standing on and extending as far as possible the considerable common ground between these various elements. This common ground, it is argued, consists of egalitarian economic policies which promote security in people's lives and which thus build scope for the pursuit and acceptance of more compassionate, outward looking social policies. Its consolidation requires leadership by the Party in shaping public opinion rather than mere reaction to what is assumed to be static public opinion.

Arthur Shacklock, Carmel Connors, Angela Gorta & Frank O'Toole

Crossing the Public-Private Divide: A Comparative Typology of Tools for Assessing Integrity and Measuring Corruption

Operationally, the capacity of public and private sector managers to enhance integrity and control corruption is dependent not just on will, but skills and tools for engaging with workplace realities. This paper presents a new overview of integrity and corruption measurement tools and related policy measures used by, or available to, Australian organizations. It discusses existing evaluations, transportability from public to private sector contexts and vice versa, potential opportunities for sharing or combining data, and bases for future comparative analysis. Overall the typology will help researchers, practitioners, and regulatory bodies to access, compare and develop the measurement tools in use for their own specific needs.

Wahidah Siregar

The Implementation of the 30% Quota for Women in Indonesian Parliaments

Indonesian women have had the right to vote and be elected since the first Indonesian general election in 1955. However, their number in the Indonesian National Parliament (Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat-DPR) has never been more than 13 per cent. In the 1999 election only 45 women were elected out of the 500 members of DPR. The under-representation of women in the parliament is now being challenged by women activists. One of the strategies taken to increase the representation of women in parliament has been to demand a gender quota. However, the success of activists in getting a 30 per cent quota enacted in the 2003 Indonesian Law of General Election has yet to translate into increased women's representation in the 2004-2009 parliament.

The 2004 election resulted in women gaining only 11 per cent of the 550 seats in the national parliament. In March to May 2004 I conducted interviews with 24 women activists (female candidates and women from women's mass organizations and NGOs) in Jakarta, Surabaya

and Sidoarjo. These indicated that low participation of women in political parties, domination by men in political parties and the nature of the electoral system are factors contributing to the failure to increase women's representation in Indonesian parliaments. This paper aims to look at problems faced by Indonesian women activists in achieving the 30 per cent quota of seats in Indonesian parliaments.

Merryn Smith

Is International Citizenship Gendered?

Feminist citizenship theorists have shown that citizenship is gendered. Whether understood via the liberal model, emphasising citizenship as a status with associated sets of rights, or the republican model, which conceives of citizenship as a practice encompassing political obligations, the concept of citizenship was originally predicated on the exclusion of women, and continues to rely on a rigid gendered separation of the "private" or domestic and "public" or political spheres. T. H. Marshall's influential model of rights-based citizenship, in which social and political rights are depicted as evolutionary extensions of civil rights won in the eighteenth century, has been shown to describe the evolution of the rights of man, with the rights of woman following a radically different pattern.

At the beginning of the twenty-first century, with the formation of a European political community, and the United Nations system and networks of non-government organisations serving as a nascent global political community, is it now meaningful to discuss international citizenship, and if so, is international citizenship also gendered?

This paper attempts to explore these questions. After discussing the current limitations of the concept of international citizenship, the granting and exercise of civil, political, social and reproductive rights of citizenship, and access to citizenship practice are shown to be gendered at both the European and global levels, demonstrating that international citizenship is gendered.

Rodney Smith

Is There a New South Wales Public Integrity System? A Preliminary Assessment

This paper outlines the methodology and work-in-progress conclusions of the New South Wales public sector component of the National Integrity System Assessment. It describes the approach taken to assessing the NSW system, highlighting the difficulties of developing an assessment methodology from first principles, the possibly unique jurisdictional factors that arise to colour such an assessment, inherent limitations in the approach, and questions for how such assessments might be done in the future.

Rodney Smith

Mapping Integrity Systems: How Integrity Institutions Evolve, What Coherence They Need and How They Achieve It In Practice

Systemically and operationally, integrity institutions face critical issues of coherence. The idea of an integrity 'system' assumes its goals are being pursued through a variety of interdependent organisations and strategies, but what is the right degree of coordination and of chaos? Too much coherence may undermine the benefits of 'horizontal accountability', but too little can lead to duplication, inefficiencies, gaps, conflicts, unchecked pockets of corruption and lost public confidence. This paper uses a network analysis of integrity-related institutional relationships in the NSW Government (and possibly the Cth?) to present a new picture of how these basic tensions are to be best understood and resolved.

Dominic Stefanson

Rousseau's Reveries: The Juvenile Independence of the Solitary Walker

For Rousseau, societal life had made people neglect their innate qualities of independence and transparency causing them to be fractured, deceitful, slavish and deeply unhappy. This

paper focuses on Rousseau's individual solution to the problem of society, concentrating specifically on the god-like ascension to self-sufficiency of the contemplative philosopher presented in the autobiographical *Reveries of the Solitary Walker*. The paper elucidates Rousseau's understanding of independence as it is expressed in the *Reveries* and argues that the rewards and benefits that a civilised man can hope to draw from restoring his independence diminish significantly between the *Social Contract* and the *Reveries of the Solitary Walker*. The *Social Contract* offers a wondrous improvement in the condition of men who partake in a shared independence. It enables them to grow and prosper as individuals. In contrast, the personal independence Rousseau claims to enjoy in his late autobiographical works is unconditional negative freedom. He acclaims a life of solitude unburdened by the weight of reality where he is free to reject all constraints and obligations. What Rousseau proposes to achieve with his new found personal independence is largely doing nothing.

Bronwyn Stevens

From R. v. Burgess to Seas and Submerged Lands: Tributaries Leading to the Franklin?

The external affairs power, Section 51(xxix), was thrust into the centre of the state's rights debate in 1983 after the judgements in the Koowarta and Franklin Dam cases were brought down. In both cases a majority of the High Court found a wide authority in the power that allowed the Commonwealth Government to implement international treaties that it had ratified, even in areas of traditional state jurisdiction. These judgements were received as a dramatic change in the trend of interpretation of the external affairs' power. Overwrought predictions were made that the power would be used to subvert the federal balance. One editorial predicted the judgements would lead to the end of federalism. But did the Koowarta and Franklin Dam cases really indicate an entirely new appraisal of the authority of Section 51 (xxix) or had previous High Court judgements already signalled its vast potential? Was it the interpretation of the power or the willingness to use it that had changed? This paper will argue that the limited number of previous judgments involving the external affairs powers, from *R. v. Burgess to Seas and Submerged Lands*, did foreshadow the potential extent of the external affairs power and the Koowarta and Franklin decisions were only an elaboration on previous decisions rather than a dramatic change in interpretation. It was the increase in the number, scope and subject of international treaties and the willingness of Commonwealth Governments to use the power to achieve political aims that had changed, not the line of interpretation itself.

Stephen Stockwell

Reconsidering the Fourth Estate: The functions of infotainment

Criticism that TV infotainment is "dumbing down" public discourse invites investigation into the relationship between journalists and their audiences and reflection on the applicability of "fourth estate" theory to contemporary conditions. Consideration is given to the genres of infotainment - lifestyle shows, reality TV, docu-soaps, docu-games, tabloid news, talk shows, mocumentary and news sit-coms. It is suggested that in a variety of ways these genres actually offer greater diversity of viewpoints, acuity of representation and depth of critique than traditional news and current affairs programs presently provide.

Geoffrey Stokes

Hyperglobalism In Australian Political Thought: Problems Of Inevitability And Necessity

Hyperglobalism is one of the notable sub-categories of globalisation discourse. Although hyperglobalism can take a variety of forms, arguably the most prominent has been a neo-liberal version that draws attention to trends in the global economy. Such hyperglobalists portray globalisation as the onset of a new era of world history and human progress, based upon the expansion of global markets and the declining authority of the nation state. These hyperglobalist themes became highly visible in Australian politics during the 1990s. Nonetheless, hyperglobalism comprises not only empirical claims about the evolution of recent history, but also moral precepts, and political recommendations about what is possible

and how that can be achieved. This paper critically examines the public discourse of hyperglobalism in recent Australian political thought and its problematic reliance upon claims to 'inevitability' and 'necessity'. Drawing upon Karl Popper's epistemological and political critique of 'historicism', the paper points out a few of the main flaws in this line of thinking, and the implications for citizens and governments.

John Summers

The Future of Indigenous Policy on Remote Communities

Recent events on the Pitjantjatjara Lands in the North West of South Australia bear on the current debate on Indigenous policy in Australia and on the future direction of Indigenous policy. A coroner's report in 2002 into the deaths of three young people from petrol sniffing concluded that more could be done to reduce the incidence of such deaths: remedial programs could be more sustained, better coordinated, more proactive, better resourced and less reliant on short-term grants. In 2004, following more deaths, the South Australian Government intervened in the management of services on the Pitjantjatjara Lands, arguing it was necessary to override the autonomy of the Pitjantjatjara people in order to reduce the likelihood of further deaths.

The description, by the Coroner and the South Australian Government, of the circumstances in which substance abuse took place on the Pitjantjatjara lands raises questions about current Indigenous policy-questions which go beyond the adequacy and effectiveness of government programs and services.

The current orthodoxy in Indigenous affairs has its origins in the rejection of paternalistic and culturally insensitive assimilationist policies in the 1960s and 1970s. In the case of the Pitjantjatjara people in South Australia, the achievement of land rights through the Pitjantjatjara Land Rights Act 1981 was seen as a turning point for self-determination and autonomy, which promised a bright future for the people of the far north-west of the State.

What exactly was meant by self-determination, in terms of the future of Indigenous people was not clear. While some policy statements suggested that an objective was economic and material advancement for Aboriginal people there was also an imprecise notion that in remote communities people could maintain a group identity and a culture and life-style which was separate from the broader Australian community. Associated with this was a vague normative proposition that Indigenous people should maintain a separate Indigenous life-style-that the future for Indigenous people should entail standing apart from the mainstream Australian economy and its materialistic culture-and many specific policies were predicated on the value of separateness. The recent events on the Pitjantjatjara Lands raise questions about the adequacy of the idea of self-determination as it has been applied in these remote communities.

John Tate

Liberalism and Legitimacy: Reflections on States and Sovereignty

The liberal and democratic models of legitimacy rest on the notion of consent. In particular, the idea that political power and authority is legitimate in so far as it is based on the consent of the governed. Only in this way can political authority and individual liberty be reconciled. However unlike the democratic model of legitimacy, the liberal model of legitimacy also presupposes a definite ideal of limited government. Governments are legitimate in so far as they don't overstep their assigned limits. This paper argues that such a position places liberalism in a fundamentally contradictory position, as regards the state. This is because its model of legitimacy premised on limited government is, at the most basic conceptual level, at odds with the conception of sovereignty presupposed by the state. Within our liberal democratic systems of government therefore, legitimacy and sovereignty are at perpetual loggerheads.

Amanda Tattersall

Towards a definition of Community Unionism

The Australian Trade Union Movement is in a state of renewal. The rapid decline in union membership has momentarily levelled, while unions continue to develop strategies for growth and power, predominantly focused on organising. Supplementing this commitment to organising is an evolving discussion around Community Unionism. This discussion advocates broadening union campaigns to focus on issues outside the workplace (such as childcare, education, health), and also raises the strategic importance of allying with community partners to further union power. The discussion thus far suggests that three distinct elements of union practice are being debated, firstly what unions do, secondly with whom unions do it and thirdly the implications that this may have for union structure.

While Community Unionism is entering the language of trade unionists and academics, its definition, practice and purpose is ambiguous and ill conceived. The absence of an effective definition of Community Unionism hampering the development of strategic community alliances and campaigns that further union power. Furthermore, these definitional problems confound rigorous analysis of effective Community Union practice and its implications for understanding union power.

This paper brings together analyses of Community Unionism from North America, the UK and Australia, and attempts to develop a working definition of this concept. The paper seeks to develop the criteria that defines Community Unionism practice, using the work of urban geography, social movement theory, class analysis and union practice in North America and Australia. The approach I take is to narrow the definition of Community Unionism to exclude paper-tiger union-community coalitions, and to focus on Community Unionism as a practice that requires at minimum a commitment to (i) integrated planning and decision making with external organisations on issues affecting 'working people' (but which may be triggered by an individual union dispute) [how unions do it], (ii) the active involvement of delegates and rank and file members in the campaign formation and implementation [what unions do], (iii) and structural reform of unions to facilitate local/geographic campaign activity [structural reform]. It is hoped that this definition will assist critical reflection on the interaction between unions and new social movements, and the development of Community Union practice during the process of Australian union renewal.

Holli Thomas

Rethinking the Path to Peace: A Binational State for Palestinians and Israelis

Partition was never an appropriate solution to the conflict between Israelis and Palestinians. Insurmountable difficulties to creating two ethnically homogenous states were evident back in 1947 when the UN first proposed the partition of Mandate Palestine. The Oslo Peace process became another failed attempt at partition because the permanent status issues of borders, Jerusalem, settlements and the refugee issue proved unresolvable within the two-state framework. Today, the dense web of Israeli 'facts on the ground', which were allowed to proliferate during the Oslo years, have made the creation of a viable Palestinian impossible. In this article I argue that not only is the Roadmap destined to fail, but any peace agreement based upon two states will not resolve this conflict. There does exist an alternative path to peace, found in the idea of binational state. Once laughed at as idealistic and naïve, the binational option is rapidly gaining support from both sides of the conflict. The advantage of a binational state is that it is the only option for peace that can reconcile the Israeli desire for security with the Palestinian claim for self-determination. In this paper I offer a defence of binationalism as part of a broader cosmopolitan approach to conflict resolution.

Holli Thomas

Cosmopolitan Sovereignty

This paper argues that globalisation and the growing political interconnectedness between states and peoples, as well as the near universal acceptance of human rights norms has produced a critical need for the principle of sovereignty to be rethought and redefined. The idea of sovereignty as absolute authority has never in practice existed. Sovereignty, as a legal

principle and a normative claim, is shaped and redefined by the changing circumstances and international environment in which it exists. It is argued that given the extent to which human rights norms have become entrenched within international law, sovereignty should be reinterpreted as being conditional upon states acting responsibly to ensure the human rights and well-being of their citizens. Furthermore, given that in reality decisions are made at levels above and below the state, sovereignty, and the legitimate right to rule should be dispersed to those levels. This would result in a kind of 'cosmopolitan sovereignty'. Such a redefinition of sovereignty can be understood as cosmopolitan in its linking of a legitimate right to rule to the respect of human rights and the provision of human capabilities. It is also cosmopolitan through the detachment of the principle of sovereignty from the bounded territory of the state.

Bruce Tranter & Mark Weston

Question Ordering Effects in Inglehart's Postmaterial Index

Since its inception in the early 1970s, Inglehart's thesis of generational based values shift has been highly influential in political science, although it has not passed unchallenged. This paper contributes to the body of critical literature on the value shift thesis, by taking issue with Inglehart on methodological grounds.

We argue that a question ordering problem is extant in Inglehart's longer (12 item) values index. To test our hypothesis we designed a split sample 'experiment' and administered two versions of the long values index to national probability samples from the 2003 Australian Survey of Social Attitudes. We detected question ordering effects in Inglehart's longer (12 item) values index - the version used in waves 2-4 of the World Values Survey (WVS).

The question ordering effects we identify have serious implications for the value shift thesis. In his earlier work, Inglehart used the short (4 item) values index to calculate the proportions of postmaterialists and materialists. However, in later research he used the second and subsequent waves of the WVS - based upon the longer index - to estimate values. This approach leads to miscalculation of value orientations over time and to misleading claims about the rate of value change in advanced industrialised nations. In the Australian case, the proportion of postmaterialists relative to materialists is overstated using the longer values index. On the basis on our findings, we suggest that the strategy of measuring value orientations in the WVS requires serious revision.

Paul Tsoundarou

What Now for Cyprus Re-Unification? : A post-EU Accession and Annan Plan analysis

The year 2004 has been, it seems, the most important year in relation to political developments for Cyprus and its people since 1974. This year would see both a referendum conducted in Cyprus, both in the Greek and Turkish dominated areas of the island, as well as EU accession one week later. The referendum, held on 24th April 2004, was to determine whether both the Greek Cypriots, who control the internationally recognised Republic of Cyprus, and the Turkish Cypriots, who control the internationally illegal 'Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus' which was created as a result of the Turkish invasion of the island in July 1974, would accept a new constitution based on the Annan Plan V, a UN blueprint to reunite the island into a loose federal republic with two politically equal constituent states, one Greek Cypriot and one Turkish Cypriot. If the referendum was accepted on both sides, the island would be reunified by April 29th under the new constitution, and a united Cyprus would join the EU on May 1st 2004.

Both the Greek and Turkish Cypriot Presidents, who were instrumental in the negotiation process of the Annan Plan, urged voters to reject it, citing serious flaws. Instead, the Turkish Cypriot side, urged by Turkey's government seeking to remove Cyprus as an impediment to their own EU ambitions, voted 65% in favour of the Annan Plan. The Greek Cypriot side, assured of EU membership no matter the result and disillusioned with the basic aspects of the plan, voted an overwhelming 76% NO to the reunification blueprint. With the failure of the referendum, and the Greek Cypriots entering the EU without their Turkish Cypriot compatriots, what is in store for stalled Cyprus reunification post-Annan Plan and EU accession?

Nick Turnbull

What is the status of questioning in Dewey's theory of inquiry? Democracy, science, and practical reason

John Dewey's philosophy is a notable contribution to political theory. Dewey's ideas on democracy derive from his theory of inquiry as practical problem solving. Some scholars argue Dewey's theory is still relevant for democratic theory, but others reject this, criticising his instrumental rationality and emphasis on scientific method. We can better understand the relevance of Dewey's philosophy by reflecting upon his problem solving logic. Drawing on Michel Meyer's philosophy, I question the status of questioning in Dewey's philosophy, showing that he shares with positivism the same conception of answering as the dissolution of questions. Dewey disguises the constitutive role of questioning by grounding knowledge in experience. Even though Dewey's theory of practical reason was oriented towards public problems, which he argued was less elitist than traditional philosophy and pure science, the problem solving ideal ensured that his theory of democracy in fact lent itself to a scientific conception of political decision making. Dewey's theory of knowledge could not provide the basis for his preferred model of democracy. His mistake was to reject philosophy in favour of science, thus asserting a particular conception of answering that cannot be verified on its own terms. If we reflect upon Dewey's reasoning we see that his theory of inquiry is itself the product of an inquiry, suggesting that questioning in fact plays a constitutive role in knowledge, and that we should recognise the value of questioning in philosophical answering. This suggests a problematological reconstruction of knowledge (from Michel Meyer) that affirms an enhanced status for questioning, and indicates a broader conception of answering than the scientific and common sense ideal of problem solving. Grounding knowledge in the principle of questioning provides the basis for a non-scientific politics.

John Uhr

How Do We Know if It's Working? Activities and Criteria for Assessing the Impacts of Integrity Institutions, Policies and Reforms

Good governance requires proper assessment, and reforms aimed at promoting integrity and countering corruption are no exception. Adequate approaches for assessing the impacts of integrity measures are an emerging priority in many countries. The 2000 OECD report 'Trust in Government' identified the lack of impact assessment as the weakest point in anti-corruption efforts. This paper presents an empirical and evidence-based approach to assessing the overall impact of integrity and corruption prevention measures in an Australian context, from staff awareness and attitudes, to objective evidence of corruption levels, to public experience and trust.

Carl Ungerer

The New Deputies: Asia Pacific Middle Powers and U.S. Grand Strategy

As Joseph Nye has argued, the paradox of the current international order is that while the U.S. enjoys an overwhelming preponderance in terms of military power and influence, it can't have its own way on many international issues. Unipolarity has not delivered unbridled unilateralism. Indeed, under the Bush Administration, building coalitions of like-minded countries has become a more central foreign and strategic policy objective. The U.S. Secretary of State has described it as a "strategy of partnerships". For traditional middle powers, this new American grand strategy opens up more doors than it closes. Indeed, certain Asia Pacific middle powers have become willing participants in this new 'sheriff-deputy sheriff' relationship. Contrary to most analyses of a declining relevance for middle powers in the current international system, this paper argues that the role of middle powers has become more central to sustaining international order. The paper analyses the changing nature of the relationship between middle powers and United States, using Australia, Canada and Japan as key examples.

Peter van Onselen*Bicameralism and Representation: partisanship and party expectations*

Major party affiliated upper house representatives in the Australian Parliament face two forms of representative expectations: Party and factors that are ancillary to party (often competing). The party and competing expectations on major party senators are evolving with the increased professionalisation of political operations in Australia. Partisanship in the Senate is not necessarily driven primarily by loyalty or ideological orientation. Rather, it is a result of organisational dependence amongst major party senators at the State level. This organisational dependence is highly factionalised. Partisanship is ensured through pre-selections and the ensuing electoral process (van Onselen 2004). This paper details how these processes affect the nature and extent of partisanship. It also addresses issues of representation in light of the Australian party political environment. Given the party backgrounds of Senators, the party's selection methods, and the electoral system's party bias in the upper house, it is not surprising that major party Senators have a series of party expectations they are required to comply with. These expectations can conflict with the traditional representative functions of MPs to the parliament and the electorate. This paper examines and classifies major party expectations of Senators, presenting a classification model for assessing the activities of the senators themselves. This model assists with an understanding of the functionary (home state) and institutional (Parliament and Canberra) roles of senators.

Peter van Onselen*Major Party Senators: campaigns, organisation and resource disposal*

Major party senators are highly partisan and campaign focused. Senators are organisationally dependent in large part due to party pre-selections. This paper analyses their relationship with their party organisation, particularly how that relationship manifests itself during election campaigning. Major party senators operate as an important conduit between local and central party campaigns. Further, senator roles and their seniority can be classified according to the campaign role they play. It will be shown that senators effectively operate in one of three forms during political campaigns: centrally, on a regional duty leader level, or on a micro seat-by-seat basis. There is overlap of strategic approach between parties, however state variables as well as variables between Government and Opposition are important to the representative functioning. Finally, this paper evaluates the resource advantages afforded to major party senators. Senatorial resources include human capital, material resources and financial allowances. It will be shown that major party senators, representatives without direct electoral accountability, receive substantial parliamentary allowances in multiple forms. They use these resources for campaigning and for factionalism. This paper therefore illustrates the organisational affiliation, relationship and roles performed by major party senators. It also details resource disposal by senators, including particulars of party and factional application. As the Australian political environment continues to move towards a more professional permanent campaigning context, these senator functions will increase in their representative significance.

Gonzalo Villalta Puig*Equality, Liberty, and Fraternity: Socialization as the Economic Application of Socialist Values*

Socialism, traditionally the champion of equality, liberty, and fraternity, maintains that, since production is socially derived, the means of production must be socially owned. Capitalism, however, gives custody of the means of production to a minority, who accumulate most of the wealth originating from production; while for the producers, the working class, only a meagre proportion of the fruits of their labour is the remuneration. This great disparity of reward causes an even greater socio-economic inequality. The exercise of liberty is restrained by extreme disproportion. Rampant individualism embitters what once were fraternal communities. Only through socialisation can equity be attained. Liberty and fraternity would enrich it.

Socialisation of the means of production is the foundation of the socialist platform, as are the values of equality, liberty, and fraternity. Socialisation, which rejects self-interested profit, competition and consumption, but embraces economic planning, co-operation and, social utility, would collapse the capitalist obstacles barring the advancement of a socialist community: economic exploitation and political oppression. Thus, it would empower the citizenry, affording each a comparable level of socio-economic status and access to the polity. Equality would free the citizenry to develop and maximise their choices within a fraternal society: the common pursuit of socially purposeful objectives in rejection of ostentation would foster brotherhood and sisterhood. Socialisation holds the key to economic equality and paves the path towards the attainment of the socialist values of equality, liberty and fraternity.

Gonzalo Villalta Puig

The Removal of Incentives and Opportunities for Government and Administrative Corruption

Corruption in government and public administration is the misuse of public power for personal profit. To be successful, strategies for the removal of incentives and opportunities for government and administrative corruption should be interdisciplinary in approach (societal, legal, market, political, and administrative), group oriented, practical in implementation, and resource efficient. This paper presents strategies which meet these criteria.

Mary Walsh

Neo-Political v/s Sub-Political Theory: Reactuating Contemporary Political Theory

The question What is Political Theory? (White & Moon, 2004) provides a timely occasion to consider the importance of political theory in the present and examine claims by some critical sociologists that a sociological re-rendering of politics offers a more complete understanding of contemporary politics than the disciplines of politics and political theory. This paper outlines the critical sociological understanding of sub-politics and sub-political theory, as initially articulated by Beck (1997) and Bauman (1999). It examines the development of sub-politics in more recent writings by Beck (Democracy Without Enemies, 1998; Individualization, 2002) & Bauman (Society under Siege, 2002; Liquid Love, 2003; Wasted Lives 2004a; Identity, 2000b & Europe: An Unfinished Adventure, 2004c). Sub-political theory, as articulated by these critical sociologists, aims to replace apparently obsolete understandings of political theory by political theorists. Whilst the two sociological theorists do not advocate merging the two disciplines together they explicitly utilise conceptual frameworks that see politics as part of sociology. There are important differences between political theory & social theory and politics & 'the political', that are significantly underplayed by both sociologists. Neo-political theory aims to restore understanding of the importance of the political realm to being a human being, distinguishing itself from various forms of contemporary political theorising and critical sociological conceptions of the sub-political realm and sub-politics. It positions itself against those that would argue for 'interdisciplinary synthesis', aiming to highlight the distinctiveness of contemporary political theorisations of the neo-political and neo-political theorising, focusing upon actual events and happenings, as well as ideas and concepts. The discipline of political theory already has the resources to theorise the complexities of individualization and globalization different to those offered on contemporary politics by critical sociologists and social theorists more generally. Neo-political theory seeks to restore the fundamental validity & dignity of political theory, the importance of the public realm as the space of appearance and the centrality of freedom for political theory.

James Walter

Why Howard goes too far: institutional change and the renaissance of groupthink

The characteristics of groupthink and its adverse effects on leadership are well understood, as is the necessity for institutional arrangements that fend off groupthink by demanding logical justification and recurrent reality checks by policy-makers. This paper examines recent Australian political events-controversial decisions relating to the reception of refugee-seekers,

the Australian commitment to the Iraq war, debates over the politicisation of intelligence assessments-and discerns a renaissance of groupthink in John Howard's leadership group. The threshold requirements and the networks that imposed constraints on leadership caprice for most of the post-war period have been weakened by contemporary institutional change, giving greater momentum to personalised leadership (while diminishing the incentives for consistent reality checks), and leaving leaders of small countries defenceless against what are alleged to be the demands of globalisation, since vernacular tradition, party practices and local protocols have been swept away.

The paper advances three propositions. First, the need to connect a personal agenda to a broad shared philosophy no longer prevails: party commitment to belief systems is very much weaker than it used to be. But the conventional demand to "stand for" something, and to carry party followers with you by showing how current action connects to common goals was one form of check on leadership caprice. Second, the transition from "mass" parties to "electoral-professional" parties has undermined the party as a forum influencing policy debate. Third, the decline in belief in the public sector, the privatisation and outsourcing of service provision and managerial reform of the civil service have undermined the tradition of (relatively) neutral bureaucratic advice (and a potential source of disinterested reality checks) and significantly enhanced the power of partisan "insider" groups within ministerial offices. Such insider groups constitute a fertile domain for encouraging groupthink.

Velix Wanggai

Understanding the Decentralisation Policy in Indonesia: How to make the Special Autonomy Policy for Papua Province working?

The collapse of President Soeharto in May 1998 has brought huge changes in Indonesian politics. Politicians and bureaucrats' elites began to reform old political regulations, including public civil services. In 1999 the new government authorized new decentralisation laws (UU No.22/1999 on the Regional Government and the Law No.25/1999 on the Fiscal Balance between The Central-Regional Government). By the laws, the regional governments have greater authorities, stronger regional parliaments, and greater regional revenues. However, new policies have not enough to resolve local important issues in Papua region, the most eastern province in Indonesia. Papuan people still demanded Papua region as an independence state, which separated from Indonesia.

In order to meet the Papua' demands, the central government introduced a middle way to resolve the demands. After serious debate in the House of the People's Representatives (The National Parliament), the Law No.21/2001 on the Special Autonomy for Papua Province was authorized. The Special Autonomy policy is a special authority acknowledged and granted by the Central Government to Papua Province to regulate and manage the region. By this law, the local government received more revenue rather than discal decentralisation policy based on Law No.25/1999. In the context of local politics, will be established the Papuans Assembly (MRP) that has strong authorities in making local regulations and in assessing the local governments' policies.

However, throughout 2001-2004, the implementation of this law still faced many problems. The central government slow to make technical guidelines and even announced the policy of division of Papua into three provinces that produced new controversial among national politicians, the Papua governments as well as local people. In this context, how to make the Special Autonomy Policy working perfectly, is a serious agenda in the decentralisation policy in Indonesia today.

Virginia Watson

Axing ATSIC: Australian Liberalism and the 'Governance of Unfreedom'

The Federal Liberal/Coalition Government's axing of ATSIC has attracted widespread criticism from Indigenous and non-Indigenous people alike. Much of this criticism has been articulated in terms of an argument that what we are witnessing currently in Indigenous affairs in Australia is a 'return to assimilation'. Although sympathetic to arguments critical of the Federal Government's approach in Indigenous affairs, this paper cautions against such a 'return to assimilation' analysis of Indigenous policy and administration. Rather, I argue that

changes taking place in Indigenous affairs are more accurately understood in terms of a shifting configuration of 'liberal' and 'advanced liberal' forms of governance. Both modes of governance (and the forms of political reasoning and technologies of government they manifest) are typically understood as premised on liberal practices of freedom, but the axing of ATSIC is just one example of how they are shown in Australian Indigenous affairs simultaneously to manifest specifically authoritarian liberal practices of 'unfreedom'.

Muhamad Wayong

Gender Considerations in University Management: A Case Study of the State Universities of Makassar-Indonesia

The fall of the New Order Regime has been followed by a democratic transition that is critical to women's social roles in Indonesia. Equal opportunity and gender equality have become important and high profile issues as the number of women entering full time employment has increased. Moreover, a gender perspective with respect to the question of women and management has arisen as a result of women's entrance into managerial positions traditionally considered to belong to men.

This study investigates the issues that arise with respect to women entering managerial position in universities in Makassar-Indonesia. In this paper I will disclose the complex issues arising from my field work in Indonesia and consider how one might understand and implement the principle of equality in this context. Is the question of women's empowerment in this context one of skill, access or culture?

This paper considers an effective way of building up a sound combination between feminine and masculine skills in managing universities in Indonesia. Women should increasingly involve in tertiary school management. The general assertion is that women's involvement would create a more inclusive environment-less biased toward the perspective or behaviours of only one segment.

Donna Weeks

Held Hostage: The domestic politics of Japanese security identity

In defiance of the time-worn adage that foreign policy doesn't win elections, there have been some interesting developments worth noting in the domestic politics of the countries of the 'coalition of the willing'. In 2004, governments and oppositions in Australia, Spain and the United States face the electorate in elections scheduled during the year, and the question of participation in the Iraqi war has been a predominant theme.

In recent years, Japan has increasingly come under pressure to make a 'greater contribution' to international security, a contribution of more substance than its 'chequebook diplomacy' during the 1991 Gulf War. Under the guise of 'contributing to the war on terror', the government of Junichiro Koizumi has been making incremental changes to the role of Japan's self-defence forces, in an effort to circumvent international criticism. Notwithstanding constitutional constraints, the government has made legislative changes which have allowed the dispatch to Iraq of self-defence personnel to participate in the humanitarian reconstruction of Iraq. These legislative changes became the central focus of campaigning during lower house elections in November 2003-won by Koizumi's Liberal Democratic Party, but not without some electoral pain. At the time, commentators eagerly anticipated Upper House elections, due in July 2004, to assess the impact of Koizumi's moves on the international stage. In the interim, however, careful analysis of this impact has become more urgent: things have not gone to plan in Iraq and Japanese personnel are considered to be in some danger, contrary to the promises of their leaders. The Japanese hostage crisis during April 2004 triggered enormous socio-cultural and political debate in Japan. Can the opposition Democratic Party of Japan capitalise on its impressive showing in the November 2003 election to inflict some electoral damage to Koizumi in July 2004?

While broad commentary on Japan's contribution to the 'war on terror' tends to focus on the legitimacy or otherwise of its peace constitution, this paper seeks to examine the domestic politics of the Iraq question and ponder its implications for Japan's ongoing management of its international role.

Paul Williams

Mea Culpa and the Policy 'Backflip': Two Strategies in Peter Beattie's Crisis Management

It has long been considered a measure of weakness for leaders in liberal democracies to concede any administrative wrongdoing or to rescind previously pledged commitments. Most leaders would have considered public apologies and policy reversals as last resort options to be drawn upon only when threatened with a severe electoral backlash. Indeed, it has been the mark of strong leadership, particularly among traditional populists, to maintain defiant policy positions, dismiss opposition criticism, and to refuse to acknowledge failure.

There is evidence, however, that this perception is changing and that modern political leadership, including recent interpretations of populism, can accommodate without electoral penalty significant degrees of flexibility, human frailty and public humility. This paper argues that Queensland Premier Peter Beattie has been a pioneer of such traits and, in the process, has forged a new form of populist political leadership that may well serve as a template for future Australian leaders, including Mark Latham.

This paper adds to previous research that established Beattie as a 'metapopulist'. It deconstructs Beattie's mode of operational leadership to reveal two core strategies in the Premier's management of emergent political crises: the mea culpa, or penchant to apologise for error; and the policy 'backflip', or readiness to withdraw previously undertaken policy commitments in favour of more electorally popular alternatives.

In terms of the former, this paper argues that Beattie has pioneered and perfected the public apology as a strategy to defuse political crises and to neuter opposition criticism. In terms of the latter, while the 'backflip' is hardly new - numerous state premiers and prime ministers have endured policy reversals - this paper argues that Beattie's frequent application of it has seen the policy 'backflip' evolve into a legitimate option for all modern leaders to be used without attendant perceptions of weakness.

It is further argued that each of these strategies has the potential to improve governance generally by, first, improving public accountability through increased flexibility and responsiveness and, second, by encouraging innovation and risk-taking in public policy from a reduced fear of electoral backlash.

Lou Wilson & Keri Chiveralls

Labor and social capital: disengaging from social justice?

Mark Latham's enthusiasm for building social capital signals a probable retreat by the Labor Party from its traditional commitment to redistributive social justice policies. Building social capital is meant to restore "trust" and "values" to communities ravaged by neo-liberal economic policies, which paradoxically Labor shows no signs of abandoning. The embrace of neo-liberal economic policies by the Hawke-Keating Labor Governments was accompanied by redistributive spending on social justice initiatives to assuage Labor's electoral base, which allowed interest groups allied to Labor to mute their criticism of the neo-liberal agenda. But social capital initiatives do not directly redistribute resources. Building social capital is essentially a conservative agenda to build profitable networks for individuals, with an unpleasant "dark side", which can exclude unprofitable outsiders. It is argued that unless an incoming Labor Government continues a real commitment to redistributive policies it will have difficulty holding the allegiance of its traditional support base, with implications for its ability to retain power. Key documents in the social capital debate in Australia are reviewed, including an analysis of the published writings and public statements of Mark Latham.

Norman Winthrop

George Orwell's Socialist Commitment and His Moment of Political Optimism

Most commentators on George Orwell agree that, at least after his participation in the Spanish Civil War, a commitment to socialism was basic to his political and other writing. This consensus is not even challenged by those commentators who believe that, had Orwell lived longer, he would have become a traditional or neo-conservative. The dissenters are mainly professedly left-wing critics who contend that Orwell, more or less consciously,

undermined the Left from within. There are also writers on Orwell who sympathise with his socialist politics but think that the pessimism about achieving socialism of his last writings, especially *Animal Farm* and *Nineteen Eighty-Four*, made his professions of socialism meaningless.

But although the view that Orwell was a socialist is only rarely questioned, his socialism is usually taken for granted rather than clarified and explicated. As a consequence little attention is paid to his most systematic statement of a socialist commitment: his 1940 *The Lion and the Unicorn: Socialism and the English Genius*. In my article's attempt to understand Orwell's socialism, however, this book will be given prominence. It is the culmination of Orwell's thinking about and participation in socialist politics from 1936 to 1940, it urges radical social change, and it contains Orwell's most thorough discussion of socialism and socialist strategy. The book also marks a transition in his politics from a position to the left of the British Labour Party to a left-Labour-Party, democratic-socialist one. The article's first sections are on Orwell's road to socialism, his first published declaration of a socialist politics (*The Road to Wigan Pier*, 1937), and how his Spanish experiences influenced his political thinking. The article's second part will discuss *The Lion and the Unicorn*, and its final section will confront the question of how the political pessimism of Orwell's last years affected his socialist commitment.

Sally Young

Money talks: Australian elections and political communication

Eighteen years after Gough Whitlam swept to power with the famous 'It's Time' campaign, he argued that political advertising had gone too far. Whitlam said: 'It is a simple statement of truth that the greatest single source of potential political corruption in Australia is the rising cost of campaigns...'

This paper examines the political communication techniques that Australian politicians use in federal elections by focusing on the flow of money to pay for these methods.

In the 1970s and 1980s, Australian politicians took up the most expensive methods of political communication available - TV advertising and direct mail - with enthusiasm. In order to pay for these methods, they turned to public funding of election campaigns in 1984. However, unlike other countries such as Britain, New Zealand, Canada and the US, Australian politicians have set up an extraordinary system of public funding of election campaigns, unlimited access to paid advertising, no caps on election expenses and no limits on private donations. Combined with this, in recent years, incumbents have turned to using other state-subsidised outlets to give them a massive advantage over challengers.

In a mediated political system where 'getting their message out' is crucial, incumbents are using the perks of office - including government advertising, printing and communication allowances, electoral databases, media advisers, government communications units and MPs' offices and staff - to secure their re-election chances.

Political parties and governments across Australia are spending hundreds of millions of dollars on advertising, polling and market research.

Muhammed Zaki

Malaysia's Post-911 Foreign Policy on Regional Terrorism: Is there a 'One Fits For All' Approach?

If there is any political move that has incited most tremendous global effect in this early part of the decade, it must be the 'war against terrorism'. After the '911' disaster, the long-propounded notion of war against terrorism has never been the same again. Governments throughout the globe -notably under the leadership of the United States- are getting prepared to review their definitions of terrorism acts or activities as to include previously conventional types of security threats. They even implement rather harsher measures in curbing such terrorism issues to the extent of raising public concern over issues of fundamental human rights. The fact that world governments have arbitrarily applied the word 'terrorism' to include conventional types of security and economy threat shows that not only they are redefining their own terrorism glossary, but also that consensus on the term has become much more

difficult to reach. Nevertheless, countries in Southeast Asia have to some extent joined the 'party' and initiated series of campaign against terrorism too.

Gifted with geographically and economically strategic position, Southeast-Asian countries like Indonesia, Malaysia, Singapore and Thailand often have to face common threats to regional security that may be regarded as terrorism activities. Having that as a background, this paper seeks to examine how Malaysia, geographically regarded as a hub of the region, develops and applies its foreign policy in dealing with bilateral issues of regional terrorism. This study is important because Malaysia has been facing diverse bilateral problems in relation with its neighbors capable of exposing threats to Malaysia's national economy and security such as border disputes, trespassing, illegal workers, and terrorism acts.

In this respect, Malaysia appears to have applied different approaches when confronting terrorism issues with each of its neighbors: Indonesia, Thailand and Singapore. It is the objective of this paper to identify those different approaches of Malaysia's foreign policy with neighboring countries on issues of terrorism, especially after the September eleven disaster in the US. It also attempts to establish theoretical outline on how such difference in the approaches occur. To support this study, a library research is to be conducted based on Malaysia's official documents, releases, media reports and other resources.

Jacky Zvulun

Implementation of STV in New Zealand Local Election 2004

In 2002, local communities were given the opportunity to choose between the electoral system of First Past the Post (FPP) and the Single Transferable Voting (STV) under legislation passed by the New Zealand government. A series of referendums gave mixed results, with most communities sticking with the more familiar FPP. One strong argument used by proponents of STV, was that STV would make councils more representative.

The purpose of this paper is to explore a sample of those communities / councils that held referendums during 2002, especially to explore the racial / ethnic composition of the community and their councils. For example, in 2001, two of these communities- both with very high proportions of European (Pakeha) residents- lacked any Maori representation and the third authority, with a high proportion of Maori constituencies, had only two Maori Councilors. Moreover, just one of them voted in the STV system while the other two retained the FPP system. Nearly all communities that opted for STV were located, in the North Island which has a high Maori population. In this paper I will examine the arguments presented by advocates of STV during the referendums, and using overseas case studies, explore the likely impact of the STV on the representativeness of these councils.