



SOCIAL EDUCATION VICTORIA

AUSTRALIAN AND GLOBAL POLITICS

VCE Units 1 & 2

NICK MELAISIS
OLIVERA NIKOLOVSKA
ANDREAS VASZOLYI
TIMOTHY BUSH (ED.)

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Australian and Global Politics VCE Units 1 & 2, 1st Edition
By Nick Melaisis, Olivera Nikolovska, Andreas Vaszolyi, edited by Timothy Bush

Published January 2018

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ISBN 978-0-9953545-2-4

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Executive Editor (SEV): Augusta Zeeng

Cover design: Simone Geary

Text design: Production Works

Editorial: Major Street Publishing

Printing: Southern Colour

Preface and acknowledgments

Social Education Victoria (SEV) is pleased to publish this first edition of the *Australian and Global Politics VCE Units 1 & 2* textbook written by Nick Melaisis, Olivera Nikolovska, Andreas Vaszolyi and edited by Timothy Bush.

Part of a suite of SEV textbooks published for both VCE Sociology and VCE Australian and Global Politics, this textbook has been written specifically for the VCE Australian and Global Politics Study Design.

The compilation of any textbook is a complex task and one that is always completed within very tight time frames. In the role of Executive Editor of these textbooks, I have worked closely with a large group of people. I would like to congratulate the authors, the researchers, the design team, the editors, proofreaders and the printers for the commitment, diligence, patience and skill they have exhibited over the journey. I would also like to thank the SEV office staff for their invaluable contributions and support and the SEV Textbook Committee for their guidance.

It should be noted that SEV regards these textbooks as an ongoing project and is always working on additional materials or professional learning events to complement this work. Please visit www.sev.asn.au for further details.

In closing, I wish to highlight the online support SEV will also provide as a part of your textbook purchase. A resource support website with extra material has been designed specifically for students and teachers of **VCE Australian and Global Politics 1 & 2** and is available to purchasers of this textbook.

For access to these online resources, visit:

sev.asn.au/textbook-resources/agp12

We at Social Education Victoria trust that this publication, and accompanying online resources, will help to play a part in your enjoyment and understanding of this subject and wish you all the best for your studies.

Augusta Zeeng
Executive Editor
Social Education Victoria

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Introduction

If 'politics is a contested field,' how should we engage with political issues?

The *Australian and Global Politics VCE Units 1 & 2* textbook provides opportunities for students and teachers to engage with political contestation through careful and considered deliberations. Given "most (if not all) topics you investigate (in Australian and Global Politics) will be shaped by conflicting views or perspectives," (Area of Study 1) how should different views and perspectives be negotiated in the classroom?

Firstly, the term 'political' in its most basic form, represents an undertaking to make decisions about how we should collectively live together. How we should live together, in an era of global connectedness and challenging global issues, is not, however, a straightforward question. The question of how we should live together has been raised at every stage in Australia's shifting responses to the 'asylum seeker issue.' Politics as a collective undertaking therefore encompasses and deliberates upon issues that circulate through the body politic. VCE Australian and Global Politics specifically invites students to consider and deliberate upon the extent to which the global community can respond effectively to contemporary global issues. Students are however invited to engage with contemporary global issues in a deliberative and open-minded manner rather than a partisan or dogmatic manner.

In the wake of the Brexit vote, the *New Statesman* proposed pedagogical and curricular reforms to bolster the civic engagement and participation of young people in the United Kingdom. Entitled 'The strange neglect of political education – and how to revive it' (2016), the article proposes a model of civic and political education that provides opportunities for young people to share their reasoning with each other, to listen to competing points of view, to consider new evidence, and to treat each other as political equals. Such an approach is particularly responsive and attuned to overcoming what Bishop and Cushing (2008) refer to as the 'Big Sort,' or unprecedented levels of political and social polarisation. Parker (2003) conceptualises enlightened political engagement as both an aim and strategy that is designed to combat idiocy – which in Greek translates as 'private, separate, self-centred, selfish.' The concept of politics espoused by contributors to the textbook has its theoretical roots in the principles of deliberative democracy.

The VCE Australian and Global Politics Study Design, draws our attention to the vexed issue of how we should live together in an era of global connectedness through interrelated questions such as: How are citizens of the 21st century linked – politically, socially and economically? Do citizens and states have global responsibilities? Can the global community meet the challenges of the 21st century or will the interests of individual global actors compromise the needs of this global community? The *Australian and Global Politics VCE Units 1 & 2* textbook supports students in deliberating on and responding to these questions. In addition, the textbook provides a diverse listing of links to support their exploration of political issues or events.

Secondly, the negotiation of different views and perspectives within the political classroom demands informed and collective deliberations. Advocates of deliberative democracy envision classrooms in which students come together to think deeply about national and global issues. The textbook is guided by such a concern and founded on the understanding that democratic deliberations promote not only an

informed citizenry but also an active citizenry. Reasoning about national and global issues in the classroom is the cornerstone of deliberation.

In understanding the essence of deliberation, it is also helpful to consider what it is not. Deliberation is not a debate, nor, as the author suggests in Area of Study 1, is it a combative endeavour “where the person who shouts down their opponent wins.” The goal of the debate, with or without shouting, is to win through verbal sparring and the arrangement of arguments and counter-arguments. Participants present the best possible case for their side, ignoring or diminishing the weaknesses of their own arguments and the strengths of the opposing side’s claims. The goal of deliberation is not however to win. Instead, the goal is to arrive at the best possible solution to an issue through the careful consideration of alternatives. The textbook provides a multitude of views and perspectives in developing the capacities for critical and careful deliberative thought. The skills associated with deliberative thinking are the skills required of you. For example, the instructional verb ‘evaluate’ demands the careful assessment of opposing perspectives or arguments.

Perhaps most importantly, deliberation may enhance the legitimacy of democratic processes in the eyes of those who practise them, particularly the democratic tenets of fairness, equality and cooperation; the tenets of fairness, equality and cooperation being those identified as an antidote to the challenges of ‘social and political polarization.’ (McAvoy and Hess, 2013) The resolution of complex global issues will increasingly rely on the capacity of citizens to deliberate across national, political and cultural groupings.



IDEAS, ACTORS AND POWER

Area of Study 1:
Power and Ideas

Area of Study 1: Power and Ideas

On completion of this unit the student should be able to identify and explain key ideas relating to the exercise of political power, and analyse and evaluate different approaches to governmental power by comparing Australian democracy with a non-democratic political system. To achieve this outcome the student will draw on key knowledge and key skills outlined in Area of Study 1.

Key knowledge

- key terms and concepts: liberal democracy, representative democracy, constitutional monarchy, socialism, fascism, authoritarianism, theocracy, ideology, political power, authority, legitimacy, federalism, separation of powers and representative government
- the political spectrum and associated labels such as left, right, conservative, moderate, progressive, radical, liberal and reactionary
- ideas which shape political systems: liberal democracy, socialism, fascism, authoritarianism, and theocracy
- the characteristics of liberalism in relation to individual rights and freedoms and constitutionalism in relation to limiting the power of government
- the characteristics of Australian democracy:
 - a written constitution
 - an appointed head of state
 - a federal form of government
 - the Westminster parliamentary system of responsible government
 - compulsory participation in the electoral process and regular elections
 - dominance of major parties
- a case study of a non-democratic political system such as Cuba, China, North Korea, Iran including:
 - the context of the political system
 - the values which underpin the political system
 - the structures and powers of government
 - participation of citizens in determining who governs
 - the protection of individual rights and freedoms and the accountability of government to its citizens.

Key skills

- define and explain key terms and concepts relating to power and ideas
- explain the political spectrum and the ideas associated with its labels
- examine the ideas and features of political systems
- outline the ideas of liberalism in relation to limiting government power
- explain the characteristics of Australian democracy
- compare a non-democratic political system with the Australian political system
- use contemporary examples and case studies to explain and analyse political ideas and systems
- develop explanations, arguments and points of view that use contemporary evidence and examples.



1

Ideas, Actors and Power

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Power and Ideas

“Ideas are more powerful than guns. We would not let our enemies have guns; why should we let them have ideas?” (attributed to Joseph Stalin, 1952)

“When the whole world is silent, even one voice becomes powerful.” (Malala Yousafzai)

What is politics? What is meant by power and how can it be exercised? What is the political spectrum? What are some political systems? What is liberalism? What are the characteristics of Australian democracy? How is power distributed in the Australian political system? How do non-democratic systems distribute power?

In this Area of Study you are introduced to the key ideas relating to the exercise of political power. We explore the ways in which these ideas shape political systems and, in particular, the characteristics of liberalism. We will consider the nature of power in Australian democracy and in a non-democratic political system.

Getting started - why the humanities matter

Politics is a contested field. Most (if not all) topics you investigate will be shaped by conflicting views or perspectives. Nevertheless, despite the polarisation that now dominates so much of what many people associate with politics, the study of politics need not be a combative field in which the person who shouts down their opponent wins.

Instead, the study of politics is made all the richer when differences are celebrated by thinking conceptually, discerning multiple perspectives, weighing-up evidence, reasoning logical conclusions and developing a global awareness and a sense of empathy. Therefore, as you embark upon this course, you are invited to approach your exploration into Australian and Global Politics in the spirit of the words below:

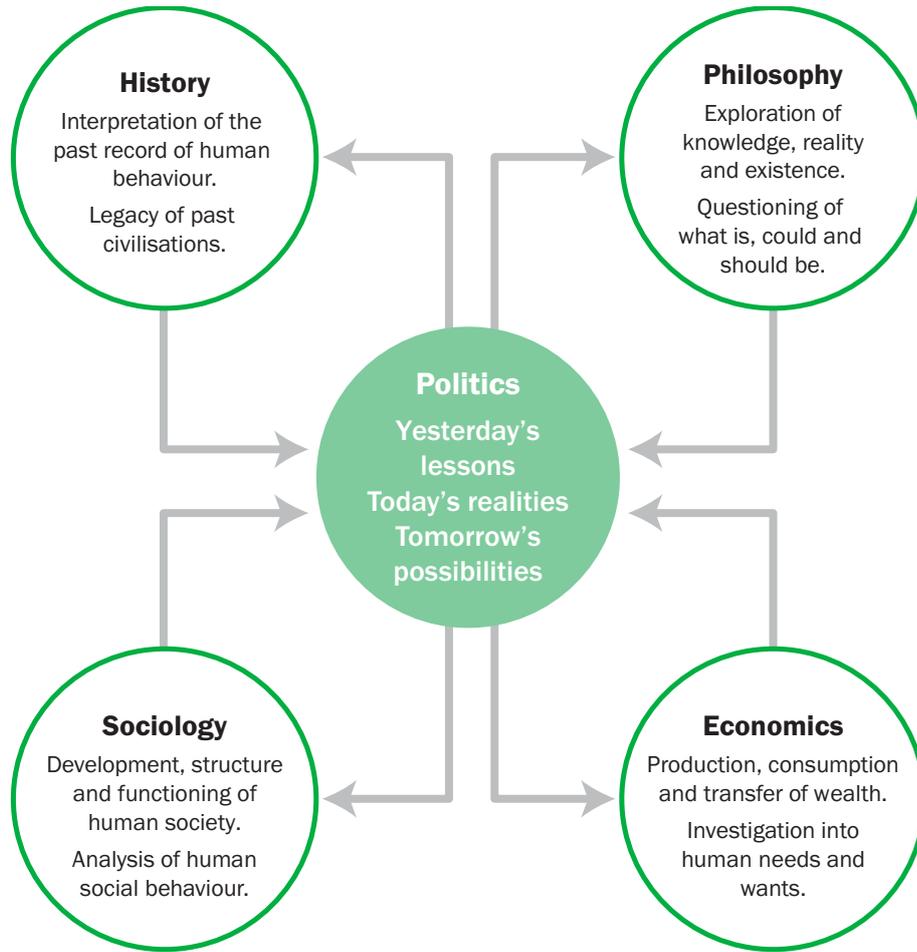
“The Humanities define who we are as a people. That is its power – to remind us of what we each have in common. To understand our past, grapple with the present and imagine our future. To give us hope in the moments of struggle and to bring us together when nothing else will!” (Michelle Obama, Former US First Lady)

What is meant by the term politics?

Politics as an academic discipline

Politics as an academic field can be understood as a cross-disciplinary approach that draws on an investigation into ethics, law, economics and past civilisations. In many ways, politics is the ultimate hybrid course, located at the intersection of history, philosophy, sociology and economics (see Figure 1.1 over page).

Figure 1.1 – Politics as a cross-disciplinary approach



The etymology of the word politics

According to the Greek origin of the term, 'politics' implies the interplay between the state, the citizen and the civic arena. Consider the Greek-English translations below:

- Πολίτης, transliterated 'Polites' = "citizen"
- Πόλις, transliterated 'Polis' = "city" or "city-state"
- Πολιτισμένος, transliterated 'Politismenos' = "civilised"

Key thinkers in politics

In his work entitled *Politics* written in 335 BCE Greek philosopher, Aristotle, stated: "Man is by nature a political animal."

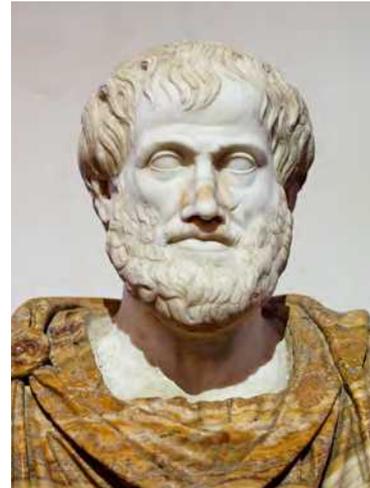
Aristotle's quote is often taken out of context and misinterpreted to imply that politics is a realm governed by the law of the jungle.

For Aristotle, man as a "political animal" was not a commentary on politics as an arena where the brutishness or the survival of the fittest prevailed. Nor was it ever intended to represent the cut-throat wheeling-and-dealing seen in the gritty plot-lines of *Game of Thrones*. Instead, Aristotle's view of man as a "political animal" offers an

insight into the male-dominated political world of ancient Athens. Politics in Athens (as with much of the classical world's politics) was predominantly an all-male domain. Hence Aristotle's "man" was literally just that – male. In the patriarchal society of Athens, it was only men (aged 30 years and over) who had the privilege of being regarded as citizens; women, children, foreigners and slaves were excluded from any such rights.

Aristotle's quote reveals his view that humanity's natural habitat was the organised political community of the **polis**, in which men resided as citizen-creatures or city-state dwellers. A comment that insofar as humanity (like the rest of the animal kingdom) inhabited a natural habitat, theirs was the organised political community of the *polis*. For Aristotle, man as a political animal was, therefore, a natural history classification.

The quote also reveals just how all-encompassing the idea of politics was in ancient Greece. The very notion of being considered civilised (*pol-itismenos*) fundamentally hinged on men identifying themselves as citizens (*pol-ites*) of a particular city-state (*pol-is*). Simply put, for Aristotle and his fellow ancient Greeks, politics was life.



Aristotle

Introducing formal politics

Formal politics is the dominant frame of reference when considering the nature of politics. Consider the types of media coverage that formal politics enjoys. Formal politics is increasingly associated with leading personalities who seem to dominate the current 24-hour news cycle. At a national level, this tends to be stories surrounding the actions and movements of the prime minister, an opposition leader, or a fringe figure with controversial views. On an international level, this may involve a foreign leader from a major ally or a key trading partner.

This type of personality-driven, formal politics is ultimately the world of the history-makers who take a lead role on the world stage. These are the very faces one expects to see adorning the cover of *TIME*'s Person of the Year issue, or representing a **state** at a world summit like the G20. The common thread that binds these high-profile individuals is that they boast two of the most highly valued commodities in politics – power and influence.

 *TIME Magazine*, 2017. 100 Most Influential People
<http://time.com/collection/2017-time-100/>

Forbes Rich List, 2017. The World's Billionaires
<https://www.forbes.com/billionaires/#106d4b63251c>

Fortune Global 500, 2017. The World's largest companies
<http://fortune.com/global500/>

Who's Bigger? Where Historical Figures Really Rank?
<http://www.whoisbigger.com/>

The New Republic, 2013. Statistically, Who's the Greatest Person in History?
<https://newrepublic.com/article/115669/ranking-historical-figures-skienna-and-wards-whos-bigger-reviewed>

Polis. Ancient Greek word for city-state.

State. Traditionally this term refers to the central actor in global politics. States possess a permanent population, defined territory and recognised sovereignty. States are not necessarily culturally homogenous – Australia is a good example of this.

Away from the contributions of significant individuals, formal politics also has a ‘behind the scenes’, which is altogether more bureaucratic and technocratic. This perspective of formal politics is usually associated with another term – the state (here, read ‘state’ as country).

Often known as the bureaucracy or the public service – and linked to notions such as officialdom, the law, authority, institutions, departments, agencies, rules and regulations – the state conjures up images of a machine-like entity with the power to intervene in the personal lives and individual liberties of its citizens.

The state is also conventionally recognised as:

- The dominant structure by which almost the whole world (with few exceptions) is organised.
- The principal **actor** within the contemporary global political arena.
- Underpinned by the concept of sovereignty (**statehood**).

The formal politics of the state, revolves around two policy realms:

1. An inward-looking domestic policy, intended to serve the public interest.
2. An outward-looking foreign policy, intended to serve the national interest.

Both are formulated by a ‘government of the day’, and set in motion by a corps of professional administrators, known as the public service. For many people, the most traditional understanding of what is meant by the term formal politics, begins and ends with this one word – government.

Actor. An individual, group or entity that plays a social, political, economic or cultural role within a particular system. Actors can operate in a domestic setting, for example a government, an opposition party, special interest lobby groups or the media. Likewise, actors can also operate in a more global context. Key global actors include, states, inter-governmental organisations (IGOs) such as the United Nations, non-state actors such as legal organisations and global terrorist movements and trans-national corporations (TNCs).

Statehood. Defined in the Montevideo Convention (1933) as an entity with a permanent population, defined territory/borders, a government and international recognition/the capacity to enter into relations with other states.

Social contract. This term implies a mutual agreement between the rulers and the ruled – the state gets legitimacy and authority in return for the provisions that enable a society to survive (and thrive).

Formal politics and the social contract

The **social contract** is a significant concept in the study of politics. It is concerned with issues of legitimacy and moral authority that citizens vest in a state, on account of how healthy, positive and beneficial state–society relations are. Individual citizens (society) forfeit a portion of their individual freedom/personal liberty, by submitting to an overriding supreme authority (the state) that, in exchange for obedience and loyalty, meets the needs of these citizens (precisely because individuals cannot guarantee certain well-being requirements for themselves). Chief among these are five essential needs, framed around the following core social values:

1. Security
2. Freedom
3. Order
4. Justice
5. Welfare.

Within a contemporary Australian context, this type of formal politics, with an emphasis on the social contract and the government/state's ability to directly impact people's day-to-day lives, operates across three distinct levels: local, state and federal.

-  Parliamentary Education Office – Snapshots: Three levels of Government (3 mins)
<https://www.peo.gov.au/multimedia/videos/snapshots-three-levels-of-government.html>
- Parliamentary Education Office – Three levels of Law-Making
<https://www.peo.gov.au/learning/fact-sheets/three-levels-of-law-making.html>
- Australian Government – How Government Works
<http://www.australia.gov.au/about-government/how-government-works>

Local politics

Local politics is considered the foundation tier of Australia's political system and is associated with the suburbs and neighbourhoods in which the majority of people live. This level is characterised by a formal politics seen in the actions taken by local councils. It is observed through provision of utility services such as rubbish collection, the establishment of public amenities that foster a sense of community such as parks and community houses, the economic vitality of a local shopping high street, zoning restrictions, building codes and by-laws.



Glo-calisation

Interestingly, in a world becoming increasingly globalised, a phenomenon known as 'glo-calisation' has also emerged. In other words, an intertwining of what is traditionally thought of as the global sphere and the local sphere.

See the resource links below for contemporary case studies where the line between local politics and 'higher' international politics is blurred.

-  No Maccas In Tecoma YouTube Channel
<https://www.youtube.com/channel/UCmJ8c0FDh6loAlyow2YVYWg>
- ABC 7:30 Report, 2012. Unwelcome McDonalds development in Tecoma (7 mins)
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9EhSH1asN-E>
- The Project, 2013. The No Maccas in Tecoma protest goes global (4 mins)
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WWKgkSQdtIM>
- No Maccas in Tecoma Flash Mob, 2013. 'Can you hear the people sing?' Parody (3 mins)
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=H7-OT1vbnWE>
- ABC 7:30 Report, 2013. Interview with Tecoma 'roof-top protestor' (6 mins)
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fhJ7IAcjC1g>
- The Today Show, 2013. Tecoma delegation go to Maccas HQ in Chicago (3 mins)
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=q3_lfAoSYNg

State politics

State politics is considered the middle tier of Australia's political system and is associated with the state and territory governments that make up the Council of Australian Governments (COAG). This level is characterised by a formal politics, largely associated with the provision and maintenance of major social services, for example, public expenditure in areas such as health, education, emergency services and transport networks.

-  Council of Australian Governments <https://www.coag.gov.au/>
- The Guardian*, 2014. Sentencing criminals: how Australia's states and territories compare
<https://www.theguardian.com/news/datablog/2014/aug/12/sentencing-criminals-how-australias-states-and-territories-compare>

Business Insider Australia, 2014. This map shows each Australian state renamed as if it was a country generating the same GDP
<https://www.businessinsider.com.au/if-new-south-wales-were-a-country-it-would-outperform-er-austria-2014-2>

National interest. An all-embracing concept used by states to justify certain policies. Associated with the goals used to describe, support and inform a state's domestic and foreign policy preferences. National interest is framed around four key pursuits that all states ultimately seek to achieve: national security, economic prosperity, regional relationships and international standing.

Federal politics

Federal politics is the highest tier of Australia's political system and is associated with policy decisions taken at the commonwealth/national level. In other words, decisions taken at this level have implications for all of Australia. In turn, this level is characterised by a formal politics largely associated with the notions of the **national interest**.



Four key strategic state pursuits

Almost all states (read countries) frame their national interests around four key strategic pursuits:

- national security
- economic prosperity
- regional relationships; and
- international standing.

Federal politics can be observed through an emphasis on issues such as defence and national security, the economy and employment, foreign affairs and trade, immigration and citizenship and, increasingly, issues such as the environment, climate change and energy policy.

 Analysis and Policy Observatory, 2007. Federalism: The good, the bad and the opportunities
<http://apo.org.au/node/6516>

The Conversation, 2014. Federalism is a natural fit for Australia, but we need to make it work
<https://theconversation.com/federalism-is-a-natural-fit-for-australia-but-we-need-to-make-it-work-31846>

The Conversation, 2014. How we can reinvigorate the Australian Federation
<https://theconversation.com/how-we-can-reinvigorate-the-australian-federation-28040>

Sydney Morning Herald, 2015. How to make Australia a better federation
<http://www.smh.com.au/comment/making-the-most-of-the-worlds-best-federal-system-of-government-20151218-glqt0f.html>

Introducing informal politics

Consider terms such as family or office politics, identity or gender politics, even race or class politics – deeply *political* spaces that many of us occupy daily.

While separated from the authorised corridors of power, consider how the informal politics that permeates spaces such as family units, friendship circles, workplaces, sporting clubs and hobby groups, still operates according to a power-structure that would be recognisable in many formal politics situations. Hence, less formal does not equal less political.



Everyday politics

Consider the politics within the three informal scenarios below:

1. A schoolyard friendship circle – who are the taste-makers? Why do some group members get to set the latest trends and others simply follow the herd?
2. A workplace rife with gossip and bullying – why does the organisation lack cohesion and a common purpose? Does the boss have his/her favourites? Is the organisation a genuine meritocracy?
3. A couple contemplating parting ways – ultimately, who makes the first move to separate?

All three scenarios presented above are in many ways microcosms of the more official realm of formal politics. In each case, you still get a sense of:

- Hierarchies – leaders, followers, ‘insiders’, ‘periphery-dwellers’ and ‘outsiders’
- Laws – both written and unwritten, spoken and unspoken
- Ideologies – beliefs, norms and value-systems
- Codes of conduct – expectations, duties, etiquette and behaviour
- Power struggles – ‘factions’, ‘alliances’, ‘power-brokers’ and ‘king/queen-makers’.

In each scenario above, the politics of power is present; as values are espoused, negotiations entered, contests fought and actions are taken. All of which, ultimately, serve the interests of some – perhaps at the expense of others.

- 

The Guardian, 2017. The psychology of a workplace bully
<https://www.theguardian.com/careers/2017/mar/28/the-psychology-of-a-workplace-bully>

Sydney Morning Herald, 2017. How to play defence in office politics and keep your integrity
<http://www.smh.com.au/business/workplace-relations/how-to-play-defence-in-office-politics-and-keep-your-integrity-20170704-gx4bpm.html>

The Guardian, 2016. Headteacher asks parents to stop doing school run in their pyjamas
<https://www.theguardian.com/lifeandstyle/2016/jan/26/headteacher-asks-parents-to-stop-doing-school-run-in-their-pyjamas>

The Guardian, 2016. Wave of support for school's ban on parents wearing pyjamas
<https://www.theguardian.com/education/2016/jan/27/wave-support-schools-ban-parents-wearing-pyjamas-skerne-park-darlington>

What is meant by the term power?

As a starting-point, consider the following TED-Ed lesson by Eric Liu, the CEO and founder of Citizen University.

- 

TED-Ed Lesson, 2014. Eric Liu: How to understand power (7 minutes)
<https://ed.ted.com/lessons/how-to-understand-power-eric-liu>

Liu provides a very interesting quote on power, stating:

“Every day of your life you move through systems of power that other people made. Do you see them? Do you understand power? Why it matters? Power is often something we’re uncomfortable talking about. That’s especially true in civic life – how we live together in a community. In a democracy, power is supposed to reside with the people – period! Any further talk about power and who really has it, seems... evil. But power is no less inherently good or evil than fire or physics, it [power] just is” (Liu, 2014).

Liu's quote serves as a reminder that while the meaning of power may seem obvious, power remains one of *those* terms; the more you try to grasp its meaning, the more it tends to take on a sort of 'I'll know it, when I see it' quality.

On one level, this is because what power means can vary significantly, depending on whether you are in the position of exerting power or, alternatively, you are the one having power exerted upon you.

Power is also that rare phenomenon that is both tangible and intangible. Consider how power is physically manifested – you can:

- see power in a squadron of fighter-jets launching an airstrike
- use power by having enough financial security to purchase a luxury-brand item
- feel the effects of power, when being hired or fired from a job.

But what of power in its intangible form? For example, what about *that* friend who has the power to always get their own way, the power of celebrities to muster an army of adoring fans, the power of an orator to inspire people into action with their command of language, or the power of music to stir your emotions?

In either case, be it tangible or intangible, power appears to be the core dynamic at the heart of many formal and informal interactions between human beings. This is what is otherwise referred to as a power-relationship, where actor A influences actor B to do, or get, whatever it is that actor A seeks. Sometimes the power-relationship is not as obvious as the exchange may suggest.

Alexander the Great versus Diogenes of Sinope



Just how great was Alexander the Great?

The first point to make is that the interaction between the mighty warrior-king, Alexander the Great, and the unconventional philosopher, Diogenes of Sinope, lies somewhere between myth and history. Whether fact or fiction, however, the story remains a prominently cited 'parable' in the branch of study known as political philosophy and offers a fascinating insight into the dynamics of power.

Diogenes was said to be living on the outskirts of Athens in a barrel (of all things) for his shelter, with nothing but a plain robe to cover himself and a dog as a humble companion. Looking down at Diogenes in his shanty dwelling, dirty and poor, Alexander introduced himself, "I am the mighty Alexander, ask of me anything, Diogenes, and it shall be yours". Diogenes looking up at the famous king replied, "Mighty Alexander, there is one thing I would ask of you, if you want to keep talking to me, stand to the side please and get out of my sunlight".

Alexander the Great, dumbfounded, having never been spoken to before so bluntly, turned to his entourage and said, "If I were not destined to be the mighty Alexander, I would ask of the Gods to have me become Diogenes".



Activity 1.1 - Alexander and Diogenes

1. In the anecdote above, which actor – Alexander or Diogenes, was imposing/exerting power over the other?

2. Consider the alternative viewpoints below through which to evaluate the exchange.

- **Conventional viewpoint:** *Alexander the Great was more powerful than Diogenes*
This view, would emphasise the fact that Alexander was a mighty warrior-king, a conqueror in possession of great riches, who was therefore in a position to grant Diogenes any material request that he desired. In effect, in terms of material wealth, Alexander had the power. If needed, Alexander could 'buy/bribe' his way into getting anything he wanted.
- **Unconventional viewpoint:** *Diogenes was more powerful than Alexander the Great*
This view point would emphasise Diogenes' utter disregard for Alexander's riches and status, which in turn completely stymied any supposed strategic advantage, or potential for one-upmanship that Alexander may have had to economically leverage over Diogenes – to the point, that Alexander even contemplated being Diogenes in another life.
- **Synthesising viewpoint:** *Alexander the Great and Diogenes were locked in a stale-mate*
It's worth noting Alexander's caveat – to be Diogenes in 'another' life. Interestingly, Alexander did not take any serious steps to rid himself of his wealth and prestige in a bid to emulate Diogenes – in fact, why would he?

What made Alexander the Great, 'great', was precisely his wealth and prestige (among other things, his brilliant military strategem, effective army and successful conquests).

In turn, what of Diogenes' actions? Conventional wisdom would also say that he missed a once-in-a-lifetime opportunity to have whatever he wished granted to him. Not to mention that his brutally honest reply to someone as powerful as Alexander the Great could just as easily have

backfired. Had it been taken as an insult, it could have provoked Alexander into a fierce rage and could have resulted in Diogenes being executed for offending the king.



Alexander the Great and Diogenes; photo: Sculptureholic

Drawing a conclusion – Diogenes claims one of the earliest recorded 'underdog' victories

As it turned out, though, Diogenes' candour was not taken as an insult by Alexander. In fact, Diogenes' disregard for Alexander's material power became something of a brazen act of defiance, which reversed the whole power relationship between the two men. It earned Diogenes the respect of Alexander the Great to such a degree that a king who controlled an empire stretching from Greece, right across the Middle East and Asia, to the borders of modern-day India, considered (albeit, for the briefest of moments) trading places with a philosopher living out of a barrel on the outskirts of town.

In this example, Alexander versus Diogenes, power is seen as something fluid, or what Liu calls "Law One of Power" that being:

"Power is never static, it's either always accumulating or decaying in the civic arena, so if you aren't taking action, you're being acted upon" (Liu, 2014).

Towards a workable definition of power

When examining power, you are looking into the capabilities, mechanisms and resources that an actor has at their disposal to successfully fulfil their aims.

Hence, power is understood as: the capacity of an actor to achieve their desired aims by influencing, enforcing or controlling the actions of other actors, or controlling the conditions of the context in which they, and other actors, operate in.

This capacity is exercised by an actor, in either a hard or soft manner (both of which are elaborated upon further in this chapter), and through a variety of types of power. Specifically, for global actors these types of power include: military, economic, political, diplomatic and cultural power.

Key thinkers in politics

The power profiles of key thinkers in politics – Niccolo Machiavelli, Sun Tzu and Carl von Clausewitz – together with their ideas regarding the term power as seen in key politics texts – are summarised in Table 1.1 below.

Table 1.1 – Summary of ideas of key politics thinkers regarding the term power

Key individual	Major work	Snapshot summary
<p>Niccolo Machiavelli (1469-1527)</p> <p>*For more on Machiavelli there is a suggested digital reading list available online</p>	<p><i>The Prince</i> (1532)</p>	<p>Key quote: “Here a question arises: whether it is better to be loved than feared, or the reverse. The answer is, of course, that it would be best to be both loved and feared. But since the two rarely come together, anyone compelled to choose will find greater security in being feared than in being loved... Love endures by a bond which men, being scoundrels, may break whenever it serves their advantage to do so; but fear is supported by the dread of pain, which is ever present.”</p> <p>Situations may demand that a leader commit deeds that are considered to be immoral. Although, when it comes to a leader defending their state there is no immoral action precisely because it is done for the sake of the ‘Fatherland’ (Patria). Guarding the ‘Patria’ is the highest moral duty for any leader. Therefore, leaders must explore all options, even those that society may deem to be unethical. Hence, real virtue lies in effectiveness, achieving results and ‘getting the job done’.</p>
<p>Sun Tzu (544-496 BCE)</p>	<p><i>The Art of War</i> (5th Century BCE)</p>	<p>Key quote: “The supreme art of war is to subdue the enemy without fighting.”</p> <p>A war has many fronts and not all of them are on the traditional battlefield. As a result, the enemy can still be conquered without military combat.</p> <p>War is so horrible that it is best avoided and should be the last resort, after all other avenues have been exhausted. In fact, if there is no other option but war, there has been a failure in policy somewhere earlier along the way.</p> <p>If war is unavoidable then a general must do whatever it takes to win. This, however, is not a free hand to commit acts of wanton violence. Even in war, a general should try to avoid destruction, as it serves no purpose.</p>

Key individual	Major work	Snapshot summary
Carl von Clausewitz (1780-1831)	<i>On War</i> (1832)	Key quote: “War is the continuation of politics by other means.” Politics does not stop because a state ‘picks up the sword’. In fact, war (the sword) is part of a state’s broader ‘policy mix’. In other words, war is a legitimate tool available to a state, alongside other instruments of statecraft such as diplomacy and economic measures.

Joseph Nye on hard power versus soft power

One of the leading modern thinkers in the study of power is American political scientist, Joseph Nye, former Dean of the John F. Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University.

Nye’s major contribution to our understanding of power has been to draw a distinction in the way political actors employ what he terms **hard power** and **soft power**.

Consider the following quote from Nye’s 2010 TED talk entitled *Global power shifts*:

“Power is the ability to alter the behaviour of others to get what you want. There are basically three ways to do that: coercion (sticks), payments (carrots), and attraction (soft power)” (Nye, 2010).

Hard power. An actor’s capacity to use force, in order to coerce others to achieve its aims.

Soft power. An actor’s capacity to use appeal/attraction, in order to co-opt others to achieve its aims.

Below is a summary of the key points in Nye’s hard power/soft power dichotomy.

Hard power and zero-sum games	Soft power and positive-sum games
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Hard power involves coercion/force. • Hard power involves actor A coercing/forcing actor B, to do what actor A wants. • This coercion/force is often symbolically referred to as sticks (threatened violence or the actual use of violence) and carrots (some type of material inducement, usually financial reward). In other words the means that actors have at their disposal, to compel other actors to their demands. • Hard power is a zero-sum game, a win for actor A is a loss for actor B. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Soft power involves the use of appeal and attraction. • Soft power involves actor A appealing to/attracting actor B in such a way that actor B ends up wanting what actor A wants. • Soft power is a positive-sum game, actor A strategically engineers a situation, where their win, is also a win for actor B.



Activity 1.2 - Test your understanding

Short-answer questions

1. Explain what is meant by the term ‘hard power’ in the study of politics. (3 marks)
2. Explain what is meant by the term ‘soft power’ in the study of politics. (3 marks)
3. Explain how the terms ‘zero-sum’ game and ‘positive-sum’ game differ. (4 marks)



Activity 1.3 - Kruger-style collage poster on power

Research the artwork of American conceptual artist and collagist Barbara Kruger. Her collages play on classic communist propaganda posters. Much of her work consists of black-and-white photographs overlaid with a slogan (usually white-on-red with the following fonts – Futura Bold Oblique or Helvetica Ultra Condensed).

Using one of the stimulus prompt quotes below as your ‘slogan/caption’, devise your own Kruger-style collage poster, exploring the theme of ‘Power’. Try to incorporate images linked to contemporary Australian or global political events within the last ten years.

Stimulus prompt quotes

“What I say is that ‘just’ or ‘right’ means nothing but what it is to the interest of the stronger party.” (Thrasymachus, quoted in Plato’s *Republic*, c. 380 BCE)

“If a prince wants to maintain his rule he must be prepared not to be virtuous...” (Niccolo Machiavelli, *The Prince*, 1532)

“I put for a general inclination of all mankind, a perpetual and restless desire of power after power that ceaseth only in death.” (Thomas Hobbes, *Leviathan*, 1651)

“God is usually on the side of the big squadrons against the small.” (Roger de Rabutin, Comte de Bussy, letter to the Comte de Limoges, 1677)

“Nature has left this tincture in the blood, that all men would be tyrants if they could.” (Daniel Defoe, 1660-1731, author of *Robinson Crusoe*)

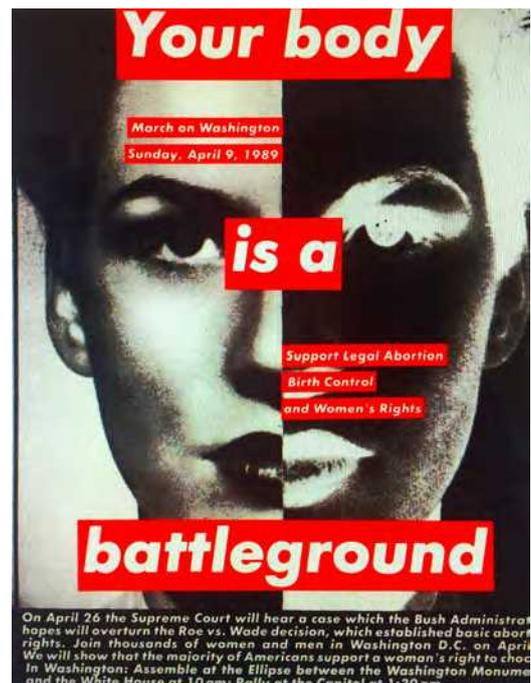
“Those who have been once intoxicated with power, and have derived any kind of emolument from it, even though but for one year, can never willingly abandon it.” (Edmund Burke, 1729-1797, one of the ‘Fathers’ of Liberalism)

“The great questions of the day will not be settled by speeches and majority decisions...but by blood and iron.” (Otto von Bismarck, ‘Blood and Iron’ speech, 1862)

“Power tends to corrupt and absolute power corrupts absolutely.” (Lord Acton, letter to Bishop Mandell Creighton, 1887)

“We must always take sides. Neutrality helps the oppressor, never the victim.” (Ellie Wiesel, Holocaust survivor, Nobel Peace Prize acceptance speech, 1986)

“The most common way people give up their power is by thinking they don’t have any.” (Attributed to Alice Walker, author of *The Colour Purple*, 2004)



Barbara Kruger – (Untitled) *Your body is a battleground*; photo: Wwiktorja

Key terms and concepts

At the heart of this Area of Study are 17 key terms and concepts that form the basis of your exploration of Power and Ideas (see table opposite). Make a point of understanding these concepts beyond just a glossary to be memorised. Instead, see these terms and concepts as the overarching ideas that will inform your thinking and equip you with the necessary vocabulary and terms of reference to express your new-found understanding and/or build on prior knowledge.

Key inquiry question

How do these key terms/concepts relate to a study of 'Power and Ideas'?

Key knowledge and understanding (learn about)	Key skills (learn to do)
<p>Key terms and concepts</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • liberal democracy • representative democracy • constitutional monarchy • socialism • fascism • authoritarianism • theocracy • ideology • political power • authority • legitimacy • federalism • separation of powers • representative government 	<p>Define and explain key terms and concepts relating to power and ideas</p> <p>Instructional verb – define:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Establishing the meaning of a particular aspect within a specific context • Setting out the parameters in which a particular aspect is to be understood. <p>Instructional verb – explain:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Exploring 'the how' and/or 'the why' of a particular aspect • Considering the cause and effect chain reactions in a series of events • Making connections and drawing out links between different aspects to highlight their relationships.



Activity 1.4 - Key terms and concepts

1. Define the following terms, as they relate to the study of Australian and Global Politics. The terms and concepts have been grouped below into three themes:

- The democratic framework:
 - representative democracy
 - justice
 - political power
 - legitimacy
 - freedom
 - authority.
- Principles of democracy:
 - constitutional monarchy
 - separation of powers
 - representative government
 - federalism.
- Political systems:
 - ideology
 - socialism
 - theocracy
 - liberal democracy
 - fascism
 - authoritarianism.

Here are some places to start:



MOAD Defining Democracy
<https://www.moadoph.gov.au/democracy/defining-democracy/>
<https://www.moadoph.gov.au/democracy/australian-democracy/>

PEO Quick Answers
<https://www.peo.gov.au/quick-answers.html>

2. Explain how the terms *representative democracy* and *constitutional monarchy* differ as key aspects of Australia's democratic system of government.
3. Identify three key ideas that underpin (1) the democratic principle of the separation of powers and (2) the political system of authoritarianism; and explain how these ideas differ.

The political spectrum

Key inquiry question

What is the left–right political spectrum? Is it relevant in politics today?

Key knowledge and understanding (learn about)	Key skills (learn to do)
<p>The political spectrum and associated labels such as:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • left • right • conservative • moderate • progressive • radical • liberal • reactionary 	<p>Explain the political spectrum and the ideas associated with its labels.</p> <p>Instructional verb – explain:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Exploring ‘the how’ and/or ‘the why’ of something • Considering the cause and effect chain reactions in a series of events • Making connections and drawing out links between different aspects to highlight their relationships.

Introducing the political spectrum



Left-right political spectrum

The conventional left–right political spectrum is a relic of the seating arrangements at the French National Assembly after the French Revolution of 1789. To the right of the Assembly’s president sat the supporters of the king and church whilst to the left sat their opponents, a disparate group united only in the call for reform.

What emerged from the French National Assembly was a metaphor that symbolised both the eagerness for, and the resistance to, changing the political status quo.

As a result, for approximately the last 200 years:

- The left has come to represent the forces of progress and reform.
- The right has come to represent the forces of conservatism and reaction.
- The centre has come to represent a moderate compromise between calls for wholesale change and the preservation of an existing order.

See Figure 1.2 for a view of the left–right political spectrum.

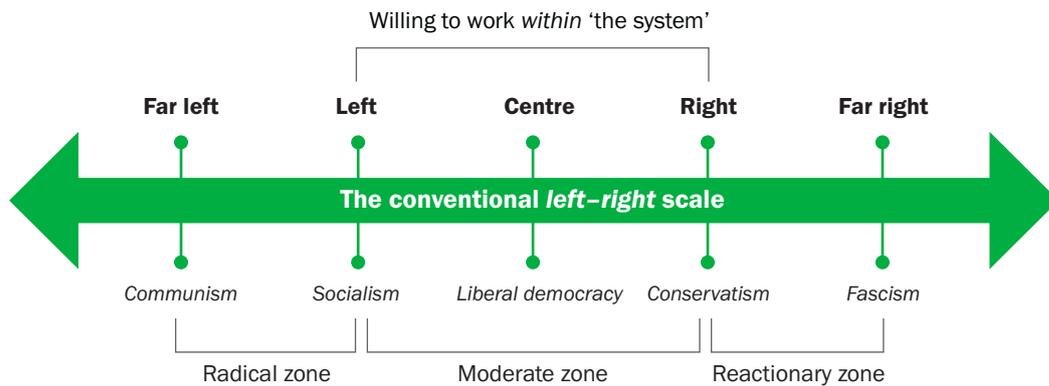
For an exploration into the history behind the left–right labels, along with a discussion on the pros and cons of persisting with the conventional spectrum, research the following online articles in the resource list below.

 *The Conversation*, 2017. The evolution of France’s left and right politics, from the 1789 French Revolution to this year’s election
<https://theconversation.com/the-evolution-of-frances-left-and-right-politics-from-the-1789-french-revolution-to-this-years-election-76226>

Salon, 2013. The history of the left–right divide: A centuries-old argument defines our politics and offers a way forward
http://www.salon.com/2013/11/24/the_history_of_the_left_right_divide_a_centuries_old_argument_defines_our_politics_and_offers_a_way_forward/

The Atlantic, 2014. The left–right Political Spectrum is Bogus
<https://www.theatlantic.com/politics/archive/2014/06/the-left-right-political-spectrum-is-bogus/373139/>

Figure 1.2 – The conventional left–right political spectrum



Conventional labels and the Arab Spring

The Arab Spring (2011) is an example that highlights the tensions and contests that exist between the rival political persuasions associated with the conventional labels of the political spectrum.

2011 was a momentous year of political upheaval with anti-austerity protests across Europe, and the Occupy movements in the US, the UK and Australia running parallel to the Arab Spring, which saw TIME Magazine's Person of the Year for 2011 awarded to The Protestor.

The Arab Spring began in Tunisia, with a fruit vendor named Mohamed Bouazizi setting himself on fire (later dying from his injuries), as a protest against police repression. Bouazizi's act of self-immolation triggered demonstrations across Tunisia, Egypt and Libya, and spilled over into Syria.

As a result, the myth of invincibility associated with Middle Eastern and North African autocrats, dictators and strongmen was smashed. For the first time in generations, their power and authority was openly and directly challenged by mass movements of people-power resistance, characterised by the iconic rallying cry of – 'Ash-sha'b yurīd isqāṭ an-nizām' – "The people demand the fall of the regime!"

The Arab Spring protests saw Tunisia's leader Ben Ali toppled after 24 years in power. Hosni Mubarak in Egypt was deposed after 30 years in power. Libya's Muammar Gaddafi was not only overthrown after 40 years in power, but ultimately killed by rebel groups in an act of mob violence that played out in the international media. In Syria, protests against Bashar al-Assad descended into a complex and protracted civil war, with interventions from both regional and international state powers. Incidentally, Assad began ruling Syria in the year 2000, taking over from his father, Hafez al-Assad, who had ruled the country since 1971.

While each of these revolutions and/or rebellions has its own unique dynamics that continue to evolve, three broad political positions, whether in support of or in opposition to the government, seem to have characterised the initial stage of the Arab Spring in 2011:

- A liberal element that was largely **secular** and associated with the push for more democratic reforms.

Secular. A non-religious affiliation, often associated with the removal of God and religion from the public sphere; what is sometimes referred to as 'the separation of church and state'. Secularism, however, can also be associated with a 'softer' religiosity, coupled with a more pluralist outlook – in other words, acceptance of religious practices within the private sphere and the toleration of multiple faiths without elevating one belief system over all the rest.

- A reactionary element, associated with the institution of the military and/or other security forces. This element is largely conservative in nature, with an emphasis on law and order and characterised by an image of strength and enforcement. Particularly in Egypt, the military has traditionally been viewed as a core pillar of the modern state. It overthrew Egypt's monarchy in 1952, continues to play a major role in the Egyptian economy, has produced five of Egypt's six presidents since 1952, and became the leading instrument to govern Egypt after the fall of Mubarak, in the form of an army-backed interim government known as the Supreme Council of the Armed Forces (SCAF).
- A fundamentalist element, largely associated with variations of Islamism, the upholding of strict religious views and an ideologically driven political ambition to implement Sharia law in all aspects of society – from everyday life to the formal reorganisation of the government.



Documentary Trailer, 2013. The Square (3 mins)

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6eWBmVprlnQ>

The New Yorker, 2011. Twelve Months of Protest (photo gallery)

<https://www.newyorker.com/culture/photo-booth/2011-twelve-months-of-protest>

The Guardian, 2011. Global protests: is 2011 a year that will change the world?

<https://www.theguardian.com/world/2011/nov/15/global-protests-2011-change-the-world>

The problem with conventional political labels

According to Robert Leach, principal lecturer at Leeds Metropolitan University in the UK, conventional political labels sometimes fail to 'tell the full story' of a political ideology:

“Nationalism is today more commonly associated with the right, although in different times and places it has been linked with ideas and parties from across the ideological spectrum. Green thinking is generally linked with the left, although Greens themselves often claim to be off the scale – ‘not left, not right, but forward’. Anarchism was usually regarded as far left, although there are some extreme free market thinkers described as anarcho-capitalists associated with the right. Feminism, like green thinking, cuts across the left–right spectrum, although most feminists have been linked with the left.”
(Leach, 2008)

Further adding to the problematic nature of conventional political labels is that politics is more than just ideological doctrine. Political actors often find themselves locked in a word-versus-deed tug-of-war, with aspirational ideals on one side and pragmatic realities on the other – with ideals often compromised as political circumstances arise or dictate.

“The punters know that the horse named Morality rarely gets past the post, whereas the nag named Self-interest always runs a good race.” (Gough Whitlam, Australia's 21st Prime Minister)

This is not to suggest that all contemporary politics is cynical, shallow and void of moral conviction. Nevertheless, it does highlight how imperfect the design of the conventional political spectrum is.

Contradictions of the political spectrum

With something as nuanced as contemporary politics, labels are always going to be problematic. Below are four examples that highlight specific problems with the conventional left–right labelling system as it currently stands.

Lenin and the Bolsheviks: radical break with the past versus radical revision of the past

This example of Lenin and the Bolsheviks highlights the problem with conventional political spectrum labels as they apply to the actions of a political actor before their rise to power, and the contrast following their consolidation of power, when they become the new regime in charge.

Consider the first decade of the Russian Revolution (1917-1927). Aspects of Russian society certainly appeared to have transformed, according to Lenin's communist experiment (a left change). While on the other hand, many of Lenin's critics accused him of merely 'repackaging' Tsarist autocracy into Bolshevik authoritarianism (a right revision).

In terms of fulfilling their communist revolutionary ideals, Lenin and the Bolsheviks implemented reforms that led to the abolishment of property and – temporarily – even money. Women were granted rights equal to those of men, and literacy campaigns led to virtually all Russians being able to read and write by the 1930s.

On the other hand, like the Tsars (the Russian emperors) before them, Lenin and the Bolsheviks created a rigid hierarchy, where a minority elite enjoyed special privileges at the expense of everyone else. Political opposition was banned, and a secret-police force enforced an iron-fist rule.

Where then would you plot Lenin and the Bolsheviks on the conventional left–right political spectrum? Ideologically, Lenin's revolution is associated with the extreme radical left, however, in practice, much of the Bolsheviks' own ruling style ended up mirroring the reactionary authoritarianism of the very Tsarist regime they claimed to have been opposed to.



Vladimir Lenin

 TED-Ed animations: History vs Vladimir Lenin (7 mins)
<https://ed.ted.com/lessons/history-vs-vladimir-lenin-alex-gendler>

The horseshoe theory: extremism and totalitarianism

The horseshoe theory example explores how the further political ideologies and parties gravitate to the extreme fringes of the political spectrum, the more the actual spectrum seems to bring the extreme right and extreme left into closer proximity with one another. This suggests that those seeming to be ideological foes, are in actual fact, quite alike.

On one level, horseshoe theory is problematic to begin with, as it arguably downplays motives (ideology) and overstates methods (actions), preferring instead to emphasise the tendencies of both sides to seek extreme solutions, in particular, their willingness to use violence and promote anti-establishment/anti-mainstream views.

There are, however, historical examples to illustrate the theory. The most obvious being comparisons of totalitarianism. For example, the similar style of

authoritarianism, terror and violence associated with both Nazi Germany under Hitler and the USSR under successive Stalinist regimes.

A more contemporary adaptation of horseshoe theory could arguably be the recent rise in both left and right versions of populism. While specific mantras here vary, they highlight the ways that the fringe elements of both sides of the spectrum are equally susceptible to the rhetoric of pitting a hard-done-by and forgotten *us* against an out-of-touch, elite *them*.

 *The Conversation*, 2017. Horseshoe theory nonsense, far right and far left have little in common
<https://theconversation.com/horseshoe-theory-is-nonsense-the-far-right-and-far-left-have-little-in-common-77588>

The Economist, 2016. What is populism?
<https://www.economist.com/blogs/economist-explains/2016/12/economist-explains-18>



Adolf Hitler; photo: German Federal Archives

China's economic model of authoritarian capitalism

China's economic model of authoritarian capitalism highlights the ways that China, as a one-party state ruled by the Communist Party of China (CPC; emphasis on communist), has nonetheless managed to successfully blend political authoritarianism with capitalist economics – what in China is officially referred to as 'Socialism with Chinese Characteristics'.

Within a generation (1981 to 2013) China has raised more than 600 million people out of poverty, challenging the idea that democracy is a necessary pre-condition for economic prosperity. In fact, China's economic miracle was like no other, not only in scale, but because economic reform was not accompanied by any willingness to instigate any parallel political (democratic) reform.

In 2013, China also boasted more billionaires than the US, 594 to 535 respectively.

Incidentally, the chief architect of China's capitalist transformation was Communist Party leader Deng Xiaoping. Deng is attributed with two famous lines that sum up his preference for pragmatic results over ideological doctrine – "Poverty is not socialism. To be rich is glorious." and "It doesn't matter if a cat is white or black, as long as it catches mice."

With Deng's words in mind, to what extent can the CPC still claim to be adhering to the political ideals of socialism/communism?

 Business Insider, 2015. How China went from Communist to Capitalist
<http://www.businessinsider.com/how-china-went-from-communist-to-capitalist-2015-10?IR=T/#china-hopes-to-see-its-currency-the-renminbi-become-a-world-class-reserve-currency-to-compete-with-the-us-dollar-as-such-its-central-bank-has-been-building-up-its-gold-reserves-12>

The sensible centre versus the extreme centre

This last example is technically more of a debate. The opposing views highlight very different interpretations of the function of the political centre.

The first view considers the moderate zone of the left–right political spectrum as 'the sensible centre'. This zone is progressive enough to address change when needed, without being radical and conservative enough to preserve worthwhile elements of the status quo, without being reactionary.

For Tariq Ali, however, as the title of his 2015 book, *The Extreme Centre: A Warning*, suggests, the centre of the political spectrum is no longer moderate or 'sensible' but rather has become a new fringe zone.

For Ali, modern-day democracies are more akin to 'corporatocracies'. Ali accuses the centrist parties in established Western liberal democracies (usually dominated by two 'establishment' parties that 'see-saw' between power) of having no political program other than an agenda of privatisation/selling-off of national assets on behalf of corporate political donors.

 *The New York Times*, 2017. Former PM Tony Blair, against populism the center must hold
<https://www.nytimes.com/2017/03/03/opinion/tony-blair-against-populism-the-center-must-hold.html>

Festival of Dangerous Ideas, 2015. Tariq Ali on the twilight of democracy (60mins)
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=plolHOfODRc>

All four examples above highlight that as long as traditional labels of left, right, liberal, conservative, moderate, radical and reactionary persist they will be far from perfect and rarely tell the full story for something as messy and complex as politics.

The return of left and right: The 2017 Charlottesville protests

Despite new ideological fault lines and/or reference points emerging, Leach notes that:

"... it is unlikely that they [other more complex systems of classification of political attitudes] will ever displace the more familiar language of left and right." (Leach, 2008)

Leach's point was tragically reinforced in August 2017 during the Charlottesville protests in Virginia.



Charlottesville 'Unite the Right' rally; photo: Anthony Crider

Case study: Charlottesville, US (August 2017)

The Charlottesville protest is an interesting example of the resurgence of labels associated with the traditional left–right divide and how an almost 1930s’ conversation regarding fascists versus anti-fascists was appropriated and given a contemporary political ‘makeover’.

The protests began when white supremacist groups used a plan by the city of Charlottesville to remove a confederate monument as a rallying point to stage a protest, dubbed ‘Unite the Right’. The groups included neo-Nazis and members of the Ku Klux Klan, as well as individuals brandishing firearms and waving Nazi flags, while shouting nationalist and racist slogans.

The demonstration turned violent, as white supremacist groups were met with a counter-demonstration made up of locals, anti-racism protestors, groups referring to themselves as anarchists, and ‘Antifa’ (anti-fascists).

President Donald Trump’s reaction to the protest became a major story in its own right, after he delayed condemning white supremacists initially blaming “many sides” for the violence and introducing the phrase “**alt-left**”, as a counter to what was largely seen as mayhem caused by the “**alt-right**”.

 Vox, 2017. Charlottesville protest: a quick guide to the violent clashes this weekend <https://www.vox.com/identities/2017/8/14/16143168/charlottesville-va-protests>

The Guardian, 2017. Alt-Right, Alt-Left: The rhetoric of hate after Charlottesville <https://www.theguardian.com/books/2017/aug/18/steven-poole-words-charlottesville-alt-right-alt-left>

The Guardian, 2017. Alt-Right, Alt-Left, Antifa: A Glossary of Extremist Language <https://www.nytimes.com/2017/08/15/us/politics/alt-left-alt-right-glossary.html>

The Washington Post, 2017. Recounting a day of rage, hate, violence and death https://www.washingtonpost.com/graphics/2017/local/charlottesville-timeline/?utm_term=.57176f2bb39d

The Guardian, 2017. Heather Heyer, victim of Charlottesville car attack was a civil rights activist <https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2017/aug/13/woman-killed-at-white-supremacist-rally-in-charlottesville-named>

ABC News, 2017. Why was Donald Trump’s response to the white supremacist rally so controversial <http://www.abc.net.au/news/2017-08-13/donald-trump-charlottesville-white-supremacist-response/8801816>

Alt-right. Short for alternative right, this is a loose movement in the US, associated with ultra-nationalist and anti-immigration views, as well as support for the Trump presidency.

Alt-left. Short for alternative left, this is a movement associated with radical left-wing politics, increasingly characterised by a group known as Antifa, short for anti-fascists, who consider themselves anarchists and who are known for militant opposition and clashes against neo-Nazi groups. The term alt-left, however, is more a label used by the alt-right to describe their political rivals.

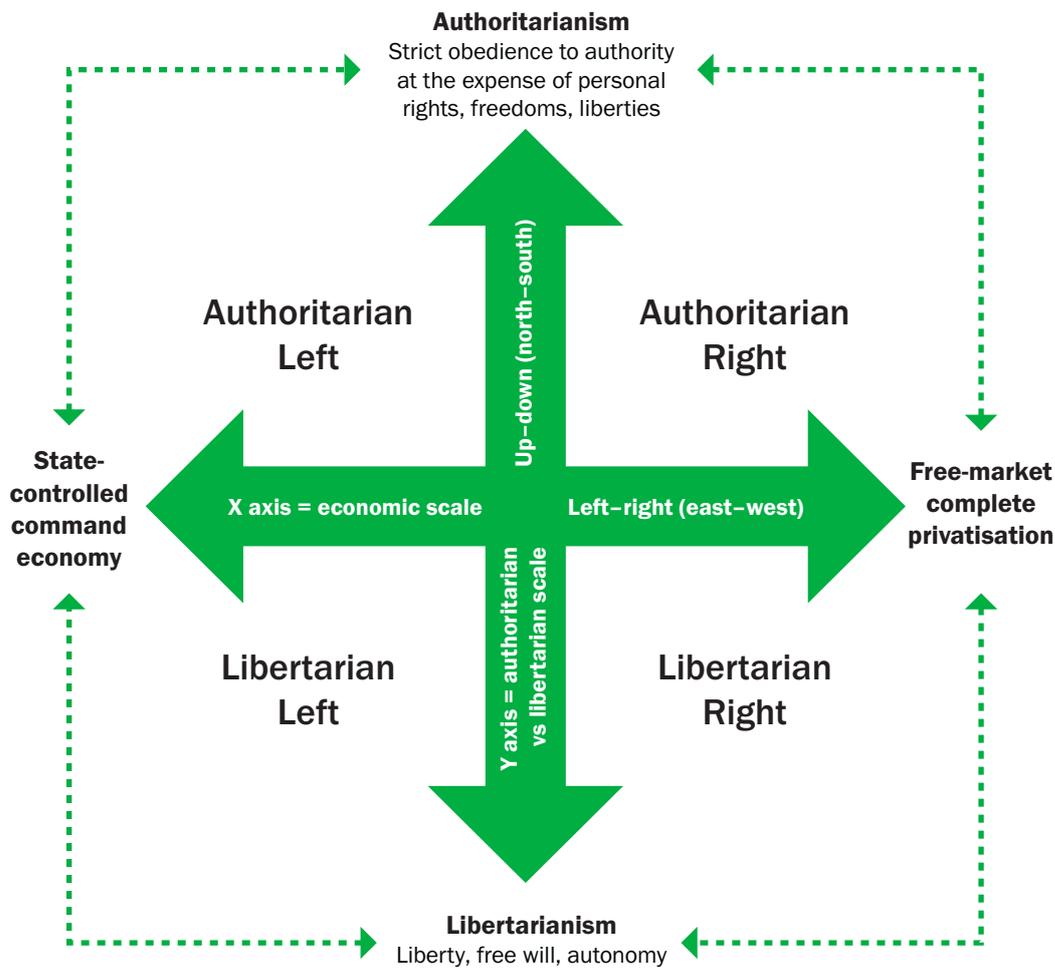
From political spectrum to political compass

In addition to envisioning political divisions through new ideological fault lines, there is the proposal for a variation away from the one-dimensional, left–right horizontal spectrum, to a two-dimensional compass model.

 The Political Compass – Home Page <https://www.politicalcompass.org/>
The Political Compass – About Us Page <https://www.politicalcompass.org/analysis2>

According to the political compass model in the resource links above, the left–right horizontal spectrum would remain as normal. However it would run east-west like an x-axis and be joined by a vertical up-down, y-axis, running north-south. The axes would intersect in the middle, creating a compass. This allows for political attitudes to be plotted in quadrants, as opposed to just incremental degrees running across a single horizontal spectrum (see Figure 1.3).

Figure 1.3 – Transition from political spectrum to political compass model



According to the political compass model, the left–right horizontal spectrum (east–west, x-axis) becomes the economic scale, which measures attitudes towards the role that government should play in economic affairs.

The north–south, vertical axis (up–down, ‘y-axis’) becomes the authoritarian–libertarian scale, which measures attitudes towards the level that government and the state should have to intervene in people’s personal lives.

Political compass – left-right economic scale

The most extreme left on a political compass model would support a complete government-run, command-and-control economy. No private enterprise or private property would be permitted. All assets would be in the hands of the state, as the government appropriates, or ‘nationalises’ (to borrow a Marxist term) ‘the means of production’ into state enterprise organisations (SEOs). In effect, all industry sectors become government-run firms.

This type of extreme left-wing economic policy is associated with the calamitous experiments of 20th century communism, specifically, War Communism during the Russian Civil War (1918-1922) and Mao Zedong’s Great Leap Forward (1958-1962); the legacies of which were poverty, famine, disease and death.

Conversely, the most extreme right on this political compass model would support an entirely privatised economy where government has no role in economic affairs at all. There would be no government intervention or regulation of any kind, instead the free-market would reign supreme.

This type of extreme right-wing economic policy is associated with the economist Milton Friedman. It is also one of the central issues explored in a novel by objectivist philosopher, Ayn Rand, entitled *Atlas Shrugged* (1957) and it is expressed in the economic models of **laissez-faire capitalism**, **neo-liberalism** and **anarcho-capitalism**.

Criticism of this type of capitalism is captured in phrases such as ‘free-market fundamentalism’, ‘corporatocracy’, ‘Wall St greed’, ‘casino capitalism’ and ‘the shock doctrine/disaster capitalism’. These terms imply a privatisation agenda that seeks to shift economic control away from the public sector towards private enterprises.

Political compass – north-south political scale

In terms of the north–south scale, north implies an authoritarian-style of government, with extreme north in favour of heavy government regulation and intervention into the social, political, economic and cultural life of a society. This is seen as a necessary security measure to ensure public order and a deterrent against lawlessness.

The most extreme north position conjures up images of totalitarian dictatorship (similar to those in dystopian novels like George Orwell’s *1984* or Margaret Atwood’s *The Handmaid’s Tale*), where an elite group dominates all aspects of life and has unlimited and unchecked power over a population mass that resembles less a free citizenry and more a ‘slave caste’.

Towards the southern end of the scale, there is more of an emphasis on individual free will and ‘the right to choose’. This view considers any state intervention into the private affairs of an individual/citizen as government overreach and an encroachment on individual personal liberties.

This libertarian spirit is encapsulated perfectly in the quote from US Founding Father, Benjamin Franklin, who said: “Those who would sacrifice liberty for security deserve neither.”

Incidentally, Franklin’s words have an added resonance in contemporary society in light of the global crisis presented by terrorism. Consider the blurb on the back of A. C. Grayling’s 2009 book, *Liberty in the Age of Terror* (Grayling’s title itself makes for a fascinating stimulus prompt to explore the political tensions between authoritarianism and libertarianism). Grayling’s blurb states:

“The values of tolerance, free speech, privacy, democracy, the rule of law, and respect for civil liberties and individual autonomy are under severe pressure in ‘the West’, not only from terrorist threats. All the major democracies have, in the name of promoting ‘security’, introduced laws that compromise our civil liberties, hard-won over five centuries...”

Laissez-faire capitalism.

Laissez faire is French for ‘leave alone’ and is associated with an economic model where government is strongly discouraged from intervening in the economy. This model is associated with the idea of the free-market and the separation between the state and the economy.

Neo-liberalism.

As an economic model, neo-liberalism supports *laissez-faire* capitalism, by calling for control of the economy to be placed in the hands of the private sector, rather than under state/government control or influence.

Anarcho-capitalism.

A political and economic model associated with the ideas of libertarianism and individualism. Essentially a call for the elimination of the state, to be replaced by a society governed by individual sovereignty and an entirely free-market where every aspect of the economy has been privatised.

A more extreme example of libertarianism can also be seen in the resource links below. They detail the rise of the sovereign citizen movement. This is an ultra-libertarian phenomenon the members of which are anti-government, promote vigilantism, and are regarded by US and Australian law enforcement agencies as a serious terrorist threat.

-  ABC News, 2015. Australia's 'Sovereign Citizen' Terrorism threat
<http://www.abc.net.au/news/2015-11-30/australias-sovereign-citizen-terrorism-threat/6981114>
- The Guardian*, 2017. 'Sovereign Citizens' right wing terrorists who hate the US Government
<https://www.theguardian.com/world/2017/may/15/sovereign-citizens-rightwing-terrorism-hate-us-government>

Case study: The authoritarian 'slippery slope' - security/safety versus draconian hyper-legislation

The issues raised by Grayling have become extremely pertinent in Australia's national conversation in recent years, with regard to the best ways to combat terrorism and organised crime. This is a sentiment captured by former Prime Minister, Tony Abbott, who in a 2014 speech to Parliament, said:

"Regrettably, for some time to come, Australians will have to endure more security than we're used to, and more inconvenience than we would like. Regrettably, for some time to come, the delicate balance between freedom and security may have to shift. There may be more restrictions on some, so that there can be more protection for others. Creating new offences that are harder to beat on a technicality may be a small price to pay for saving lives and for maintaining the social fabric of an open, free and multicultural nation."

Following the 9/11 attacks on the US in 2001, successive governments, at both the state and federal levels, have enacted extensive legislative security measures in the name of keeping the Australian community safe.

Some of the more controversial measures have been:

2013: Queensland's 'anti-bikie laws', which led to a High Court challenge. They are part of the suite of laws included the VLAD Act (Vicious Lawless Association Disestablishment Act). This was dropped in 2016 in favour of a system of control orders, after an independent state review in 2016 found the VLAD Act to be "excessively harsh". The VLAD Act proposed that members or associates of criminal organisations convicted of a serious crime, would have to serve 15 to 25 years' jail time – additional to any prison sentence – which could only be avoided by providing law enforcement with information.

2014-2015: A tranche of national counter-terrorism laws, including the Data Retention Bill – a law requiring telecommunications companies to retain customers' phone and computer metadata for two years.

2017: A further new round of proposed national counter-terrorism laws, agreed to by all state and territory leaders at a COAG security summit in October. Proposed measures included: suspects held in custody for up to a fortnight without charge – a measure which would also apply to children as young as 10 years old. Also, the use of new facial recognition software, which would have the potential to form part of a larger, general-public surveillance strategy.

For many advocates of civil liberties and privacy, these new laws are considered draconian (unnecessarily severe) hyper-legislation. They have criticised the laws on the grounds that rather than making the community safer, they instead risk eroding long-established freedoms and legal safeguards, which go hand-in-hand with the values of Australia's liberal-democratic ethos.

Key thinkers in politics

Five key political thinkers are listed in Table 1.2, with key quotes from texts they are remembered for.

Table 1.2 – Key information regarding the authoritarian–libertarian split

Author	Seminal work	Key quote
Thomas Hobbes	<i>Leviathan</i> (1651)	<i>“Hereby it is manifest, that during the time men live without a common power to keep them all in awe, they are in that condition which is called war; and such a war is of every man against every man... In such condition, there is no place for industry... no arts; no letters; no society; and which is worst of all continual fear, and danger of violent death; and the life of man, solitary, poor, nasty, brutish and short.”</i>
John Locke	<i>Two Treatises on Government</i> (1698)	<i>“... tyranny is the exercise of power beyond right, which nobody can have a right to. And this is making use of the power... not for the good of those who are under it, but for his own private separate advantage. When the governor, however entitled, makes not the law, but his will, the rule; and his commands and actions are not directed to the preservation of the properties of his people, but the satisfaction of his own ambition, revenge, covetousness, or any other irregular passion.”</i>
Montesquieu (Charles-Louis de Secondat, Baron de La Brède et de Montesquieu)	<i>Considerations on the Causes of the Greatness of the Romans and their Decline</i> (1734)	<i>“No tyranny is more cruel, than that which is practiced in the shadow of the law and with the trappings of justice: that is, one would drown the unfortunate by the very plank by which he would hope to be saved. Moreover, no tyrant ever lacks the instruments necessary to his tyranny.”</i>
Jean-Jacques Rousseau	<i>The Discourse on the Arts and Sciences</i> (1750) <i>The Discourse on the Origins and Foundations of Inequality</i> (1755)	<i>“The first man who, having enclosed a piece of ground, bethought himself of saying “This is mine”, and found people simple enough to believe him, was the real founder of civil society. From how many crimes, wars and murders, from how many horrors and misfortunes might not any one have saved mankind, by pulling up the stakes, or filling up the ditch, and crying to his fellows, “Beware of listening to this impostor; you are undone if you once forget that the fruits of the earth belong to us all, and the earth itself to nobody.”</i>
Henry David Thoreau	<i>Civil Disobedience</i> (1849)	<i>“I heartily accept the motto, “That government is best which governs least”; and I should like to see it acted up to more rapidly and systematically. Carried out, it finally amounts to this, which also I believe – “That government is best which governs not at all”; and when men are prepared for it, that will be the kind of government which they will have... Unjust laws exist: shall we be content to obey them, or shall we endeavour to amend them, and obey them until we have succeeded, or shall we transgress them at once?”</i>



Activity 1.5 - Authoritarianism versus libertarianism

In Table 1.2 above, there are five key political thinkers, and excerpts from their seminal texts which have informed an understanding of the tensions between authoritarianism and libertarianism over the ages. In partners or groups of three:

1. Read each quote and paraphrase the quote in your own words (rephrase it in easy-to-understand modern English).
2. Argue a case for the quote being either 'for' authoritarianism, or 'for' libertarianism. Be prepared to justify your position here, in response to your group asking 'what makes you say that?'
3. Hold a class discussion, comparing conclusions.

Four of Australia's political parties and their national platforms

In this section, we aim to take the theory behind the political compass model and apply it to a real-world political scenario by looking at the core ideological principles that underpin four Australian political parties.

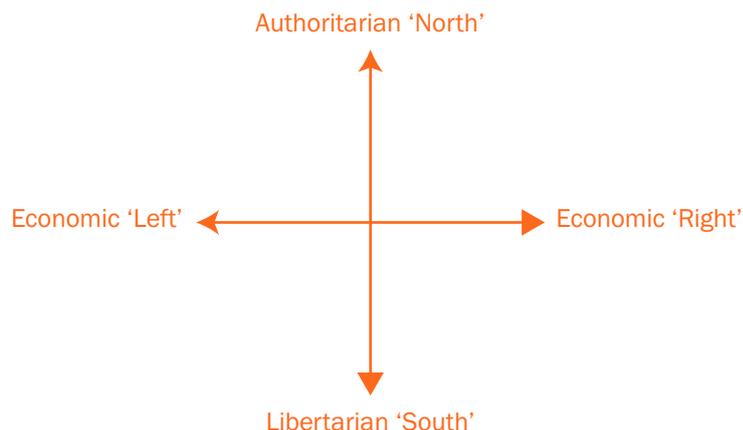
Links to the official websites and national platform, party charter or principals and objectives documents for four of Australia's political parties are given below. National platforms are, effectively, a political party's guiding document; detailing the party's values, mission, vision and roadmap for the country's future under their government.

-  Australian Labor Party <http://www.alp.org.au/>
 ALP – Our Vision for Australia: National Platform http://www.alp.org.au/national_platform
 The Liberal Party of Australia <https://www.liberal.org.au/our-plan>
 Australian Greens <https://greens.org.au/>
 The Australian Greens Charter <https://greens.org.au/charter>
 Pauline Hanson's One Nation Political Party <http://www.onenation.com.au/index.html>
 One Nation – Principles and Objectives <http://www.onenation.com.au/principles>



Activity 1.6 - Australian politics compass plotting

1. Take some time to navigate the websites of all four parties and likewise read their national platform documents.
2. Using extracts from each party's official website and key documents, plot (by placing a mark) where you think Labor, Liberal, the Greens and One Nation should feature on the political compass provided below. Remember your decision is based on each party's key document. Detailed responses will justify your decision. Use specific parts of the party's documents as evidence to draw out a logical, well-supported conclusion.





Activity 1.7 - Extended response essay writing

The aim of this essay-writing task is to provide you with an opportunity to:

- Explore the various political ideologies that feature on the political spectrum through real-world contemporary case studies.
 - Develop extended response-writing skills, by producing an essay with an emphasis on elaborating an original contention, through the use of detailed, relevant and accurate information with an emphasis on supporting evidence.
1. Select one case study from these listed below.
 - Case Study 1: Australia’s ‘Big 2’ – The ALP versus The Liberals
 - Case Study 2: Australian Greens – ‘Tree Tories’ versus ‘The Watermelons’
 - Case Study 3: America’s ‘Big 2’ – The evolution of Republicans and Democrats
 - Case Study 4: Pope Francis – Reformist, revolutionary or instigator of a church schism?

 Please note each case study comes with a set of resource links online.

2. Select one thought prompt from these listed below.

“The most intense hatreds are not between political parties but within them.” (Phillip Adams)

“It is better to be defeated on principle than to win on lies” (Arthur Calwell)

“A man who stands for nothing, will fall for anything” (Malcolm X)

3. After selecting one case study and one thought-prompt, use the resource links provided online and your own independent research to write your essay on the topic below:

- Discuss the sentiment being expressed in your selected thought prompt. Answer with reference to the beliefs espoused, and the actions undertaken, by the main political actor/s that features in your chosen case study.

 An essay-writing scaffold and suggested digital resources can be found online.

Political systems

Key inquiry questions

What are the key principles underpinning major political systems?

Key knowledge and understanding (learn about)	Key skills (learn to do)
<p>Ideas which shape political systems:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • liberal democracy • socialism • fascism • authoritarianism • theocracy 	<p>Examine the ideas and features of political systems.</p> <p>Instructional verb – explain:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Inquire, question, investigate.

Introducing Enid Lyons: Australia’s first female member of parliament (MP)

In examining the ideas and features of political systems, particularly ones with dark chapters such as fascism and authoritarianism, it may seem unusual to begin with a speech from Australia’s first-ever female MP.

Enid Lyons (the widow of United Australia Party Prime Minister, Joseph Lyons) delivered a very poignant maiden speech, remembered today as the “I hold very sound views on brooms and sweeping” speech (1943).

Incidentally, Lyons’ speech came 69 years before Australia’s first-ever female Prime Minister, Julia Gillard, delivered her own powerful, impassioned speech – ‘The Misogyny Speech’ (2012).

 Channel Ten (2012). Julia Gillard’s Misogyny Speech (15 mins)
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=SOPsxpMzYw4>

Lyons closed her speech with a powerful reminder to her parliamentary colleagues:

“Now, honourable members will forgive me, I know, when I say that I bear the name of one of whom it was said in this chamber that to him the problems of government were not problems of blue books, not problems of statistics, but problems of human values and human hearts and human feelings. That, it seems to me, is a concept of government that we might well cherish. It is certainly one that I hold very dear. I hope that I shall never forget that everything that takes place in this chamber goes out somewhere to strike a human heart, to influence the life of some fellow being...”

Lyons’ point here is critical – while all political systems start out as theories, they can have very real ramifications (for better or worse) on human lives when put into practice.

In the past, this has meant:

- Liberal Democracy – universal suffrage
- Socialism – a liveable minimum wage
- Fascism – the gas chambers of Auschwitz
- Authoritarianism – the mothers of ‘the disappeared’ in South America
- Theocracy – the rise (and fall) of the Islamic State caliphate.

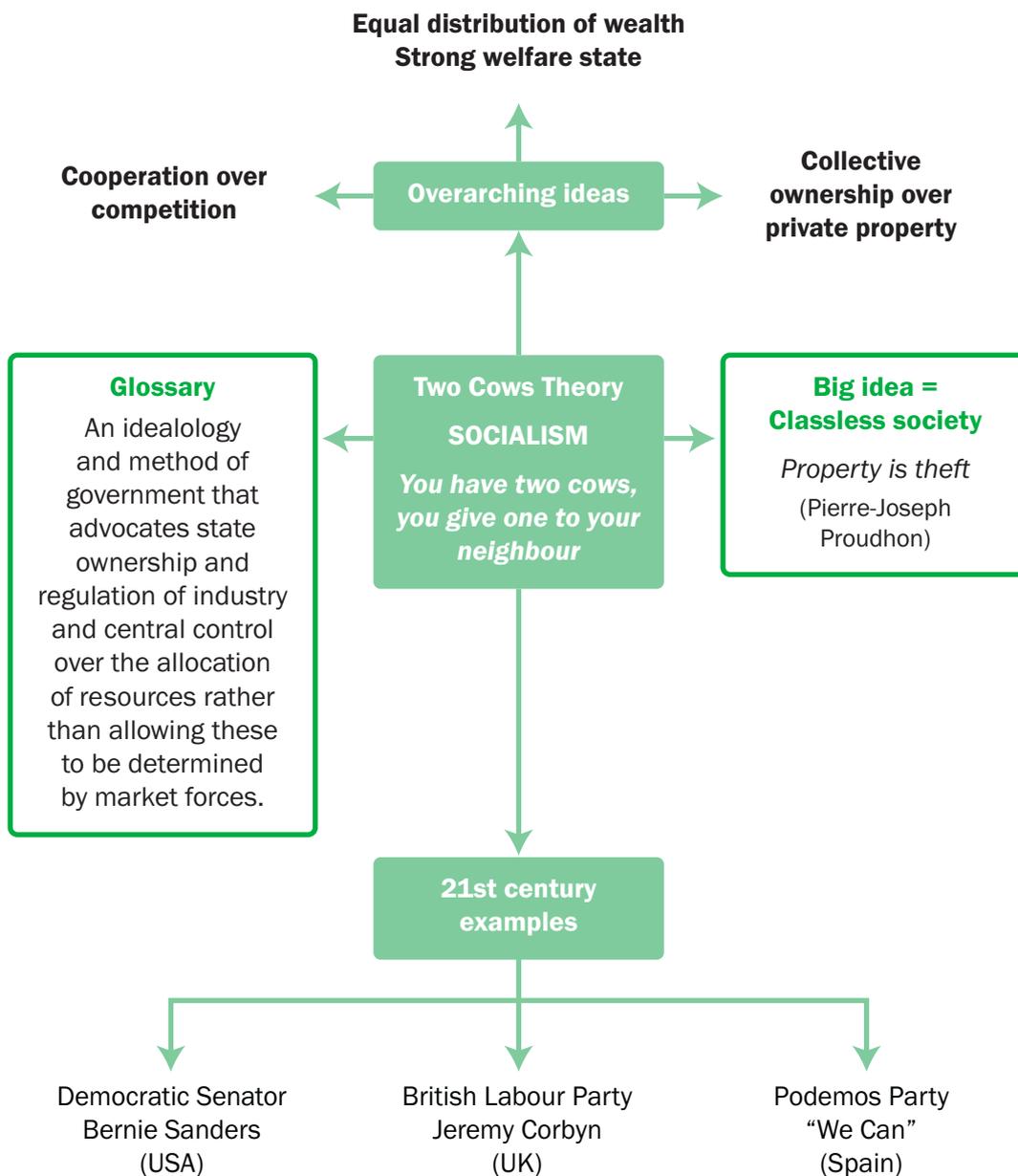
Ideas also play an important part in the way people seek out or challenge power. These ideas are often bundled together in an ‘ideology’. An ideology contains several important characteristics:

- It makes certain assumptions about human nature
- It attempts to explain the way society operates
- It provides a set of values that guide the actions of individuals
- It offers ideas on how to change society or speculates on how it will change.

An ideology is more than just a set of ideas. It makes profound statements about the human condition and how the world works. People have frequently used ideologies to engage others in a cause, political movements or revolution because they give people answers to some of the difficult questions of life. Ideologies are a relatively recent feature in political history and are a distinguishing characteristic of the modern world.

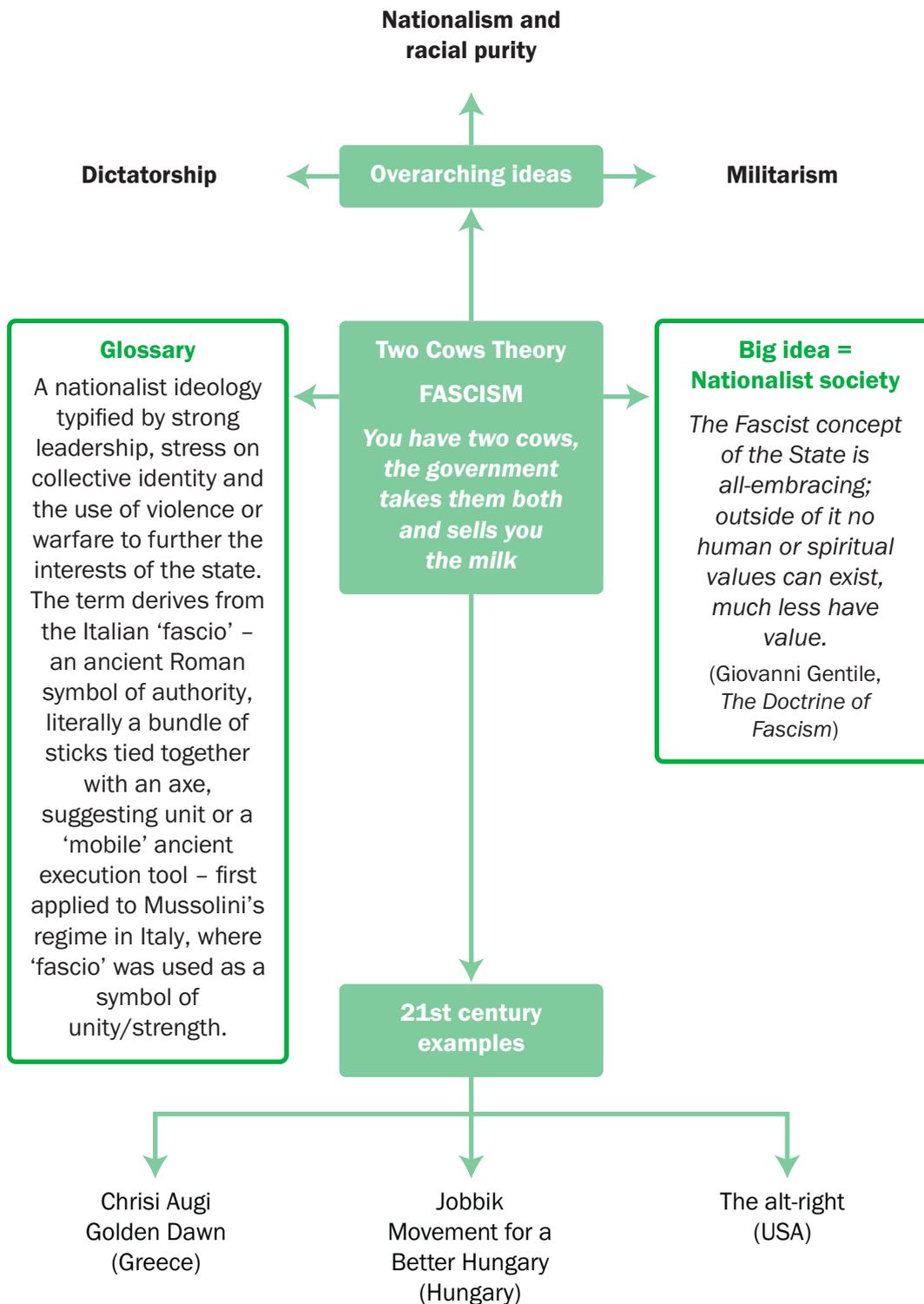
Examine the following snapshot summary diagrams to socialism, fascism and theocracy and think about the similarities and differences in their style and outlook.

Figure 1.4 – **Socialism**



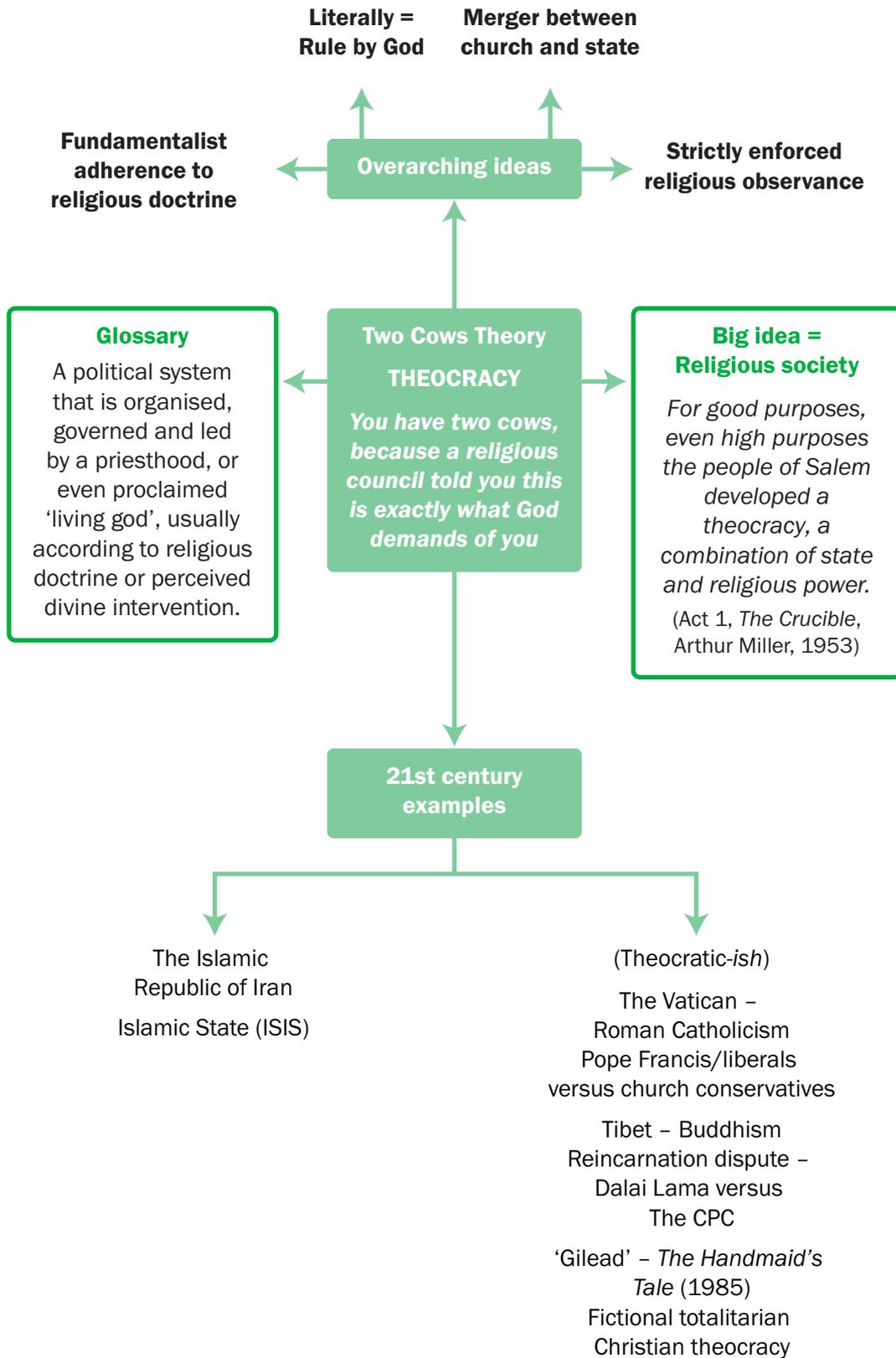
 *The Guardian*, 2017. The ‘S’ Word: How young Americans fell in love with Socialism
<https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2017/sep/02/socialism-young-americans-bernie-sanders>

Figure 1.5 – **Fascism**



Sydney Morning Herald, 2016. Trump’s political rise hints at a modern take on fascism
<http://www.smh.com.au/world/us-election/don-watson-trump-and-fascism-20160822-gqy85o.html>

Figure 1.6 – **Theocracy**



 *The Atlantic*, 2015. What ISIS really wants
<https://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/2015/03/what-isis-really-wants/384980/>



Activity 1.8 - Extended response question

Choose one of the two leaders below and write an extended response as per further instructions below.

1. Donald Trump
2. Recep Tayyip Erdoğan (pronounced “re-jep tie-ip AIR-do-wan”)

Here are the extended response parameters:

- Length: 30 lines, one A4 page
- Structure: Four T-E-E-L paragraphs:
 - Topic sentence – Address question’s focus
 - Expand/elaborate – Establish main point (say it!)
 - Evidence/example – Prove main point (support it!)
 - Link-back sentence – Weave main point to overall question focus (reinforce it!).

You don’t need an introduction/conclusion, instead open with a clear, concise contention and conclude with a ‘big idea’/final thought quote.

1. Donald Trump essay question:

‘By definition, Donald Trump’s presidential style is best described as authoritarian’.

To what extent do you agree with this view? Use evidence to support your response.

 Resources for background reading

The Conversation, 2017. Trump’s America and the rise of the authoritarian personality
<https://theconversation.com/trumps-america-and-the-rise-of-the-authoritarian-personality-72770>

Politico, 2016. The one weird trait that predicts if you’re a Trump supporter, And it’s not gender, age, income, race or religion
<http://www.politico.com/magazine/story/2016/01/donald-trump-2016-authoritarian-213533>

2. Recep Tayyip Erdoğan essay question:

With reference to Erdoğan’s rule in Turkey, explain what is meant by the following terms – ‘Illiberal Democracy’ and ‘Authoritarian Drift/Backsliding’. Use evidence to support your response.

 For an extensive list of online resources for further investigation for these essay topics



Recep Tayyip Erdoğan and Donald Trump

An introduction to liberalism

Key inquiry question

Is liberalism today under threat from a new wave of authoritarianism?

Key knowledge and understanding (learn about)	Key skills (learn to do)
<p>The characteristics of liberalism in relation to:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> individual rights and freedoms constitutionalism in relation to limiting the power of government 	<p>Outline the ideas of liberalism in relation to limiting government power.</p> <p>Instructional verb – outline:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Provide an overview Highlight key aspects.

Introducing liberalism

When the word democracy is used in the modern, western political tradition, what is being implied is the political system of liberal democracy – in other words, a democratic system informed, shaped and functioning according to the guiding principles of the philosophy of **liberalism**.

Liberal democracy can be seen as a fusion between liberalism’s emphasis on individual liberty and the democratic ethos of equal rights for all and universal suffrage.

Liberalism. A political concept centred around the idea that society is made up of individuals who should be free to pursue their own interests.



What are the origins of liberalism?

The origins of liberalism stretch back to the Protestant reformation of the 17th century and the enlightenment era of the 18th century. Historical antecedents include thinkers like John Locke and events such as the American and French Revolutions.

Consider the French Revolution’s slogan of “Liberty, Equality, Fraternity” and its Declaration of Rights stating: “men are born free and equal in rights”.

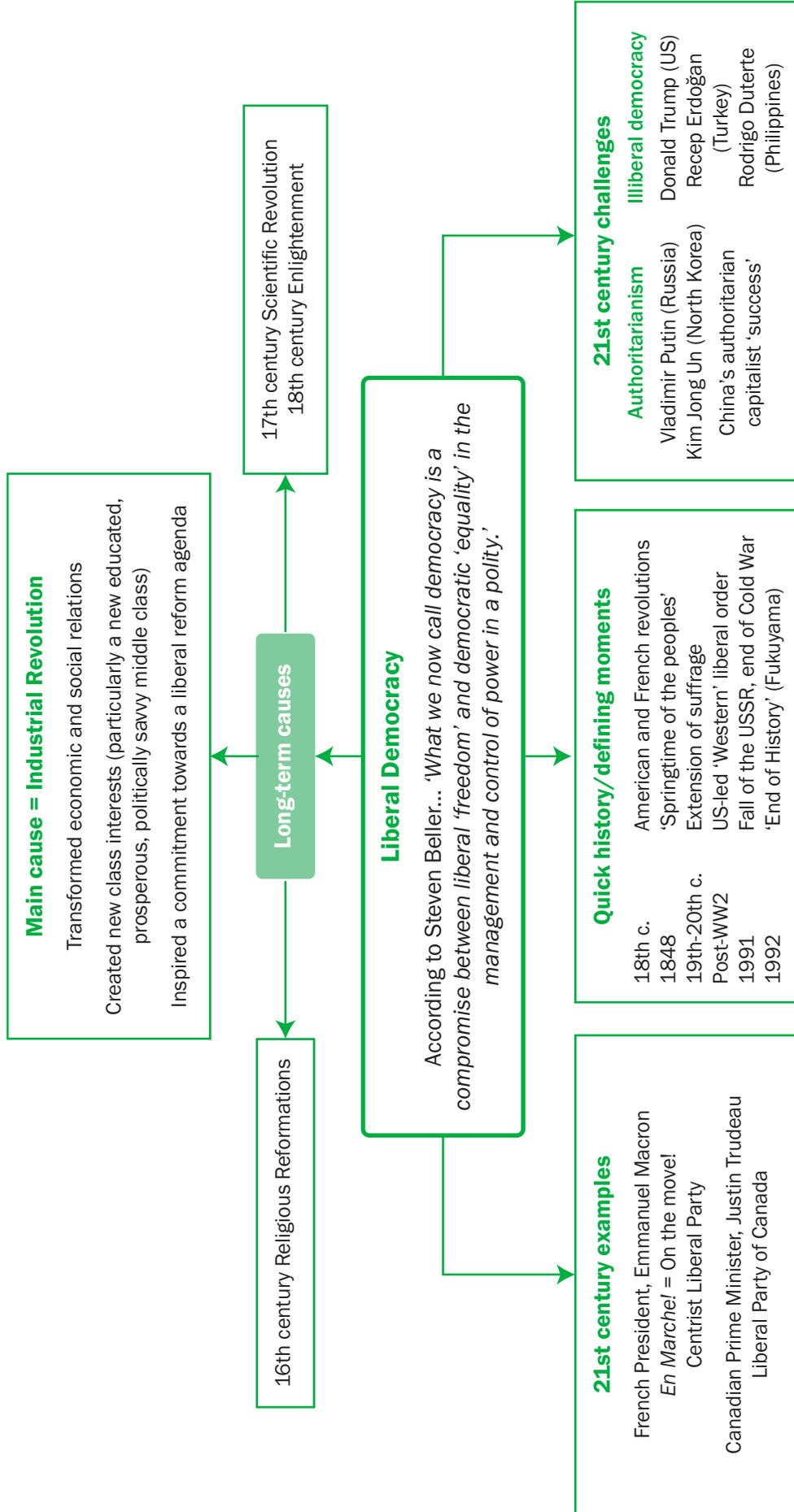
Likewise, the American Declaration of Independence states “...all men are created equal... with certain inalienable rights... among these... Life, Liberty... Pursuit of Happiness”.

It would not be until the 19th century, with the expansion of democratic systems of government and the Industrial Revolution – and with it the rise of the economic system known as capitalism – that liberalism really developed.

The historical evolution of liberal democracy

For a graphical representation of the concept of liberal democracy, please see Figure 1.7 opposite.

Figure 1.7 – Mapping the development of liberal democracy



What happens to democracy when it is 'liberalised'?

Taken together, liberal democracy has three core components:

1. A celebration of the rational individual
2. An appreciation for free-market capitalism
3. A preference for representative democracy.

In other words, free self + free trade + free government = Liberal Democracy.

Table 1.3 summarises key thinkers and their key works.

Table 1.3 – Early thinkers on liberal democracy

John Stuart Mill English philosopher on liberalism (1806-1873)	Abraham Lincoln 14th President of the United States on democracy (1809-1865)
<p>Key work</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Key thinker associated with Utilitarianism and Individuality • <i>On Liberty</i> (1859) • <i>Utilitarianism</i> (1865) • <i>The Subjection of Women</i> (1869) <p>Key liberalism quotes:</p> <p>Liberty versus authority</p> <p><i>“The struggle between Liberty and Authority is the most conspicuous feature in the portions of history with which we are earliest familiar.”</i></p> <p>The tyranny of the majority</p> <p><i>“‘The Tyranny of the Majority’ is now generally included among the evils against which society requires to be on guard.”</i></p> <p>The individual is sovereign</p> <p><i>“The only part of the conduct of any one, for which he is amenable to society, is that which concerns others. In the part which merely concerns himself, his independence is, of right, absolute. Over himself, over his own body and mind, the individual is sovereign.”</i></p>	<p>Key work</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Preserving the US Federal union during the American Civil War • The Emancipation Proclamation, 1863 – declared that slaves living in states not under Union control were free • Conceptualisation of democracy as expressed in the Gettysburg Address. <p>Key liberalism quotes:</p> <p>The consent of the governed</p> <p><i>“No man is good enough to govern another man, without that other’s consent.”</i></p> <p>Of – by – for the people</p> <p><i>“...that government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth.”</i></p>

Key principles of liberal democracy

Figures 1.8 and 1.9 show the intertwining of the philosophy of liberalism with the political practice of democracy.

Figure 1.8 – Mapping the core principles of liberal democracy

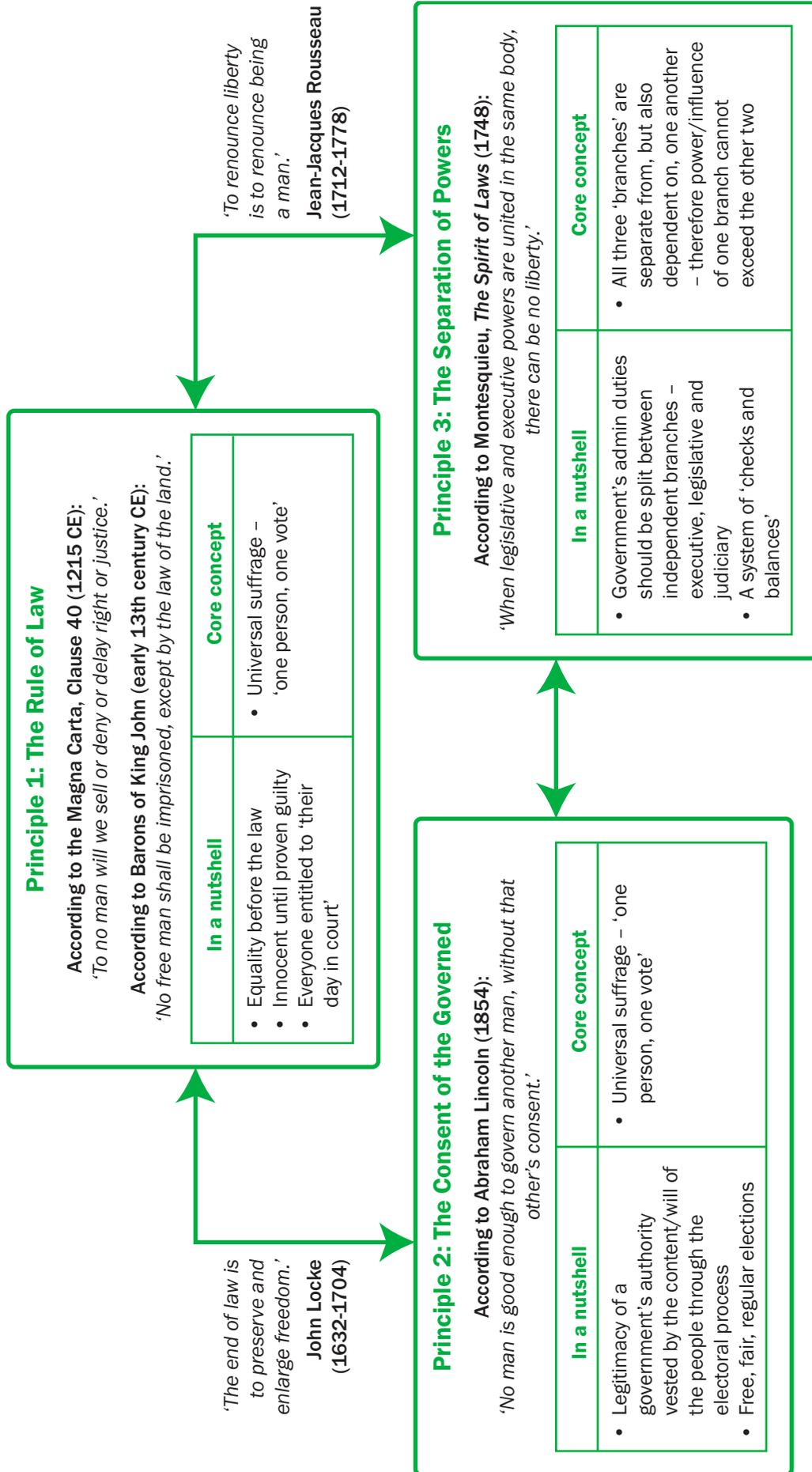
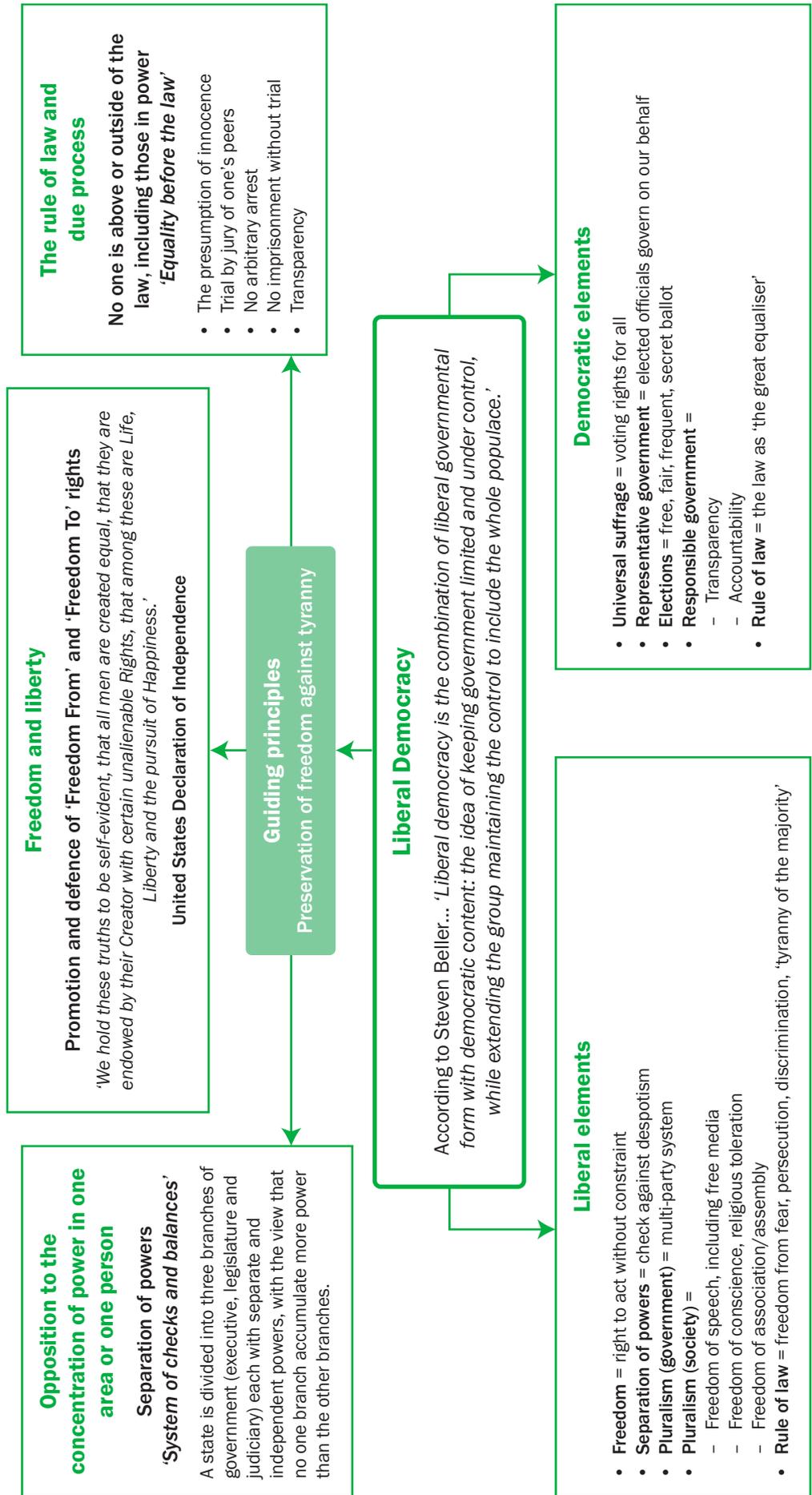


Figure 1.9 – Key features of liberal democracy



Other democratic models aside from liberal democracy

Table 1.4 gives a snapshot of other democratic models aside from liberal democracy.

Table 1.4 – Other forms of democracy beyond liberal democracy

Category	Key Feature
Local democracy	<p>Localism's critique of federalism:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> View that 'federal democracy' is too multi-layered, cumbersome and splits sovereignty <p>Local response:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Popular decision-making returned to communal level.
Parliamentary democracy	<p>Parliamentary system:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Popular sovereignty placed in an elected assembly.
Presidential democracy	<p>Presidential system:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Power placed in the hands of an elected chief executive.
Aleatory democracy (also known as 'demarchy')	<p>Historical antecedent:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Power distributed by lottery, popular in ancient Athens.
Participatory democracy	<p>Historical antecedent:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> The direct democracy of ancient Athens (male citizens). <p>Present-day continuity:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Ideal of responsible, committed and active citizenship. Voting, particularly in a referendum or plebiscite.
Monitory democracy	<p>Monitory demands:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Term describing the plethora of non-government organisations (NGOs) and 'watchdog' agencies trying to hold elected governments to account. Guided by the ideals of transparency and accountability. <p>Monitory tactics:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Fact-finding missions, 'name and shame' reports, awareness-raising campaigns, activism.
Banyan democracy	<p>India, the world's largest democracy – fast facts:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 2014 general elections in India consisted of: 815 million voters, polling stations across 28 states, spread over 9 phases, from 7 April to 12 May. <p><i>The Conversation</i> – World's largest democracy goes to the polls: an expert's guide to the Indian elections (2014) https://theconversation.com/worlds-largest-democracy-goes-to-the-polls-an-experts-guide-to-the-indian-election-24107</p>
Scandinavian social democracy	<p>Scandinavian social democracy – fast facts:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Often referred to as the Nordic Model, it includes Sweden, Denmark, Norway and Finland and refers to a set of social and economic policies that fuse free-market capitalism with a generous welfare state. This has seen all four Nordic states consistently top international league tables for economic development, social progress and wellbeing. <p><i>The Economist</i> – The Nordic Countries: The next supermodel (2013) https://www.economist.com/news/leaders/21571136-politicians-both-right-and-left-could-learn-nordic-countries-next-supermodel</p>

The liberal outlook

From hegemonic ideology to the 'End of History' versus the 'Return of History'

 *The New Yorker* – Does Trump's rise mean Liberalism's End (2016)
<https://www.newyorker.com/business/currency/does-trumps-rise-mean-liberalisms-end>

Yuval Noah Harari author of *Sapiens: A Brief History of Humankind* (2011) and *Homo Deus: A Brief History of Tomorrow* (2015) states that of all the political philosophies to impact the modern western world, it is liberalism that has left the most profound impact. Harari sees liberalism as the pre-eminent “story” of the modern age.

In politics, when an ideology/philosophy becomes so dominant that it actually becomes elevated to an international norm and the yardstick by which the political age/global order comes to understand and frame its moral criteria for good and right, it is referred to as a **hegemonic** ideology.

Hegemon. Simply another word for leader.

Specifically, with regard to the dominance of liberal thinking, it is no exaggeration to say that the architecture of the international system operates in a liberal global political order. It informs international relations among states, to global economic free-trade, to intergovernmental organisations and their global governance, to the plethora of non-governmental organisations working on issues from human rights to protecting the environment.

Harari views liberalism's ideological hegemony as a result of the ideology's resilience, pointing to its impressive historical track-record, staving off challenges from both fascism during World War II and soviet communism during the Cold War.

Harari also suggests that liberalism/liberal democracy has proven itself really effective at offering the “... answers [to the] the big questions of our era” in a way that other ideologies and political systems have not been able to achieve.

Figure 1.10 opposite poses where liberalism is placed in the current political world order.

Arguably a more ideologically driven version of Harari's argument was made famous at the end of the Cold War by American political philosopher, Francis Fukuyama. In 1989, Fukuyama wrote a seminal essay entitled 'The End of History and The Last Man in it', and he claimed that with the end of the Cold War and the collapse of Soviet communism, liberal democracy, along with capitalist economics, had been vindicated.

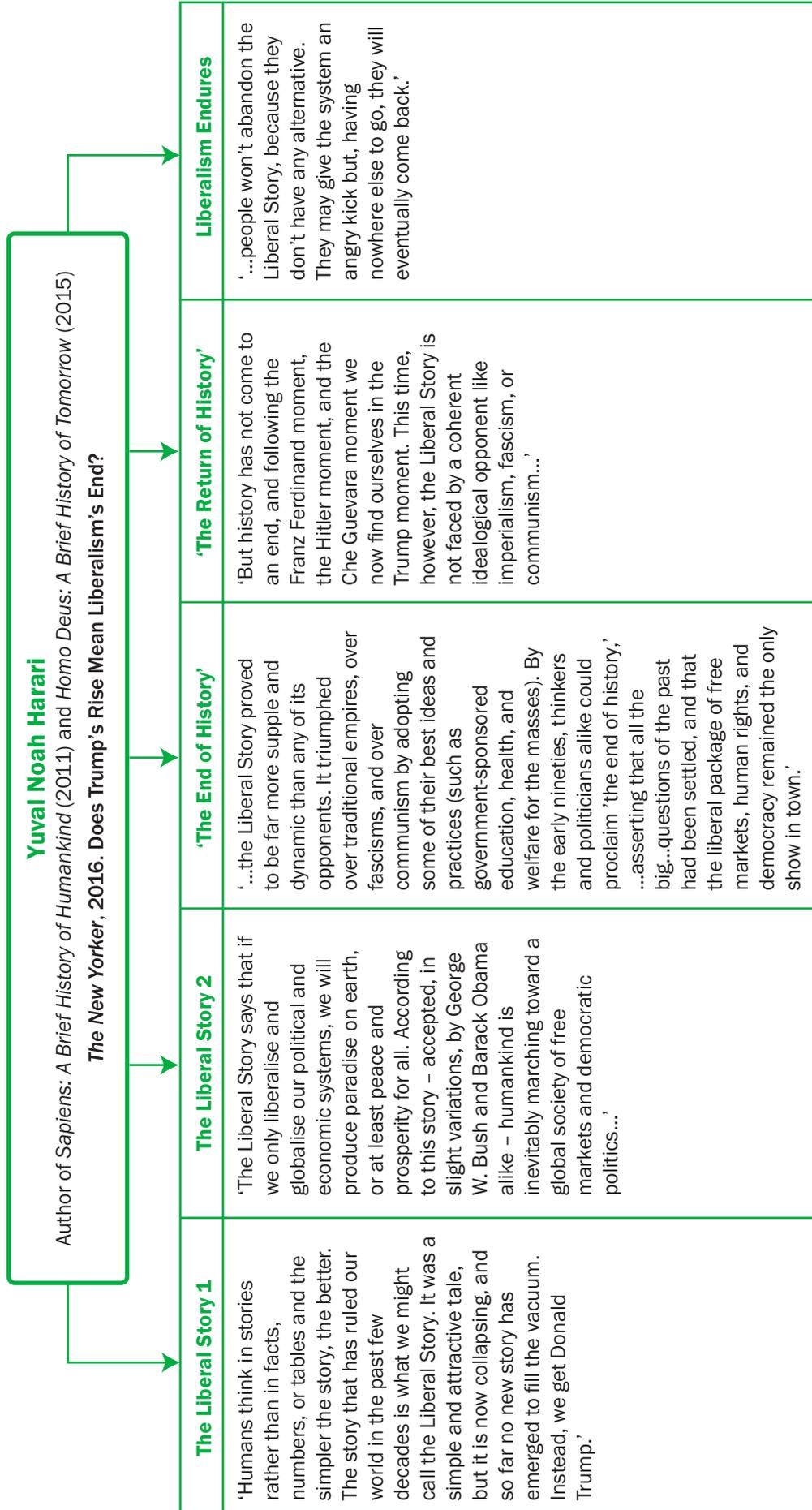
Fukuyama heralded a new era of global politics – what he termed the end to history, or what he saw as the final stage of humanity's political/economic evolution – viewing liberal democracy as the final (and most perfect) form of human government and political organisation.

A generation on from the Cold War, elements within Fukuyama's thesis have not quite worked out. While liberal democracies and capitalist economies are by far the major societal organising principles around the world today, two major contenders to the liberal order have emerged.



Francis Fukuyama; photo: Frontiers of Thought, Sao Paulo

Figure 1.10 – Key ideas expressed in Harari’s article on liberalism



The first is the appealing narrative (at least for many developing states) offered by China’s economic miracle, achieved through a development model known as ‘authoritarian capitalism’. This is a unique blend of economic private enterprise and political repression. It is a challenge to liberal democracy because it questions the long-held view that political freedom and material prosperity go hand-in-hand. The second challenge is liberal democracy’s own complacency.

As one of the icons of neo-liberalism, former US President, Ronald Reagan once warned: “Freedom is never more than one generation away from extinction.”

Recently, trends within liberal democracies such as a raft of hung parliaments, the rise of populism and events like Brexit and the election of Donald Trump have pointed to a potential erosion of liberal democracy. They raise the possibility of liberal democracies backsliding into something less liberal, or altogether authoritarian. Some argue that this has already started to happen in democracies such as in the US under Donald Trump, in Turkey under Recep Tayyip Erdoğan and in the Philippines under Rodrigo Duterte.

 Al Jazeera, 2014. Where are we 25 years after ‘The End of History’?
<http://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/opinion/2014/06/francis-fukuyama-end-history-201461952122417201.html>

The Washington Post, 2017. The man who declared the ‘end of history’, now fears for democracy’s future
https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/worldviews/wp/2017/02/09/the-man-who-declared-the-end-of-history-fears-for-democracys-future/?utm_term=.708dd023f437

TED Talk, 2013. Dambisa Moyo: Is China the new idol for emerging economies (16 mins)
https://www.ted.com/talks/dambisa_moyo_is_china_the_new_idol_for_emerging_economies

Characteristics of Australian democracy

Key inquiry question

How is power distributed in the Australian political system?

Key knowledge and understanding (learn about)	Key skills (learn to do)
<p>The characteristics of Australian democracy:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • a written constitution • an appointed head of state • a federal form of government • the Westminster parliamentary system of responsible government • compulsory participation in the electoral process and regular elections • dominance of major parties 	<p>Explain the characteristics of Australian democracy.</p> <p>Instructional verb – explain:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Exploring ‘the how’ and/or ‘the why’ of something • Considering the cause and effect chain reactions in a series of events • Making connections and drawing out links between different aspects to highlight their relationships.

A written constitution

Think of a constitution as a national rule book detailing how a state (country) is to be run.

The Australian Constitution was passed by the British Parliament as part of the *Commonwealth of Australia Constitution Act 1900* and took effect on 1 January 1901. The constitution can only be changed by referendum.

Some countries have unwritten constitutions, which means their constitutional rules draw from multiple sources. The United Kingdom, New Zealand and Israel do not have formal written constitutions.

 Parliament of Australia – The Australian Constitution
https://www.aph.gov.au/About_Parliament/Senate/Powers_practice_n_procedures/Constitution.aspx

Constitute Project – The world’s constitutions to read search and compare
<https://www.constituteproject.org/>

An appointed head of state

The Australian Constitution states that the executive power (those who implement the laws) of the Commonwealth stems from the Queen and is exercisable by the Governor-General as the Queen’s representative. While neither the Prime Minister nor the Cabinet (senior Ministers) are mentioned in the constitution, in practice, executive power is also possessed by the Prime Minister and Cabinet.

 The *Sydney Morning Herald* – The Governor-General is Australia’s Head of State
<http://www.smh.com.au/comment/the-governorgeneral-is-australias-head-of-state-20160203-gmkl76.html>

Federal form of government

The Australian Commonwealth is often referred to as a Federation because the constitution mandates a federal system of government. Under a federal system, powers are divided between a central government, currently located in Canberra, and the individual states and territories. The federal government is responsible for national issues such as security and border protection, and the states are responsible for more localised issues such as health, education and transport.

The Westminster parliamentary system of responsible government

Under the Westminster system of responsible government, ministers must be members of the parliament in order that the executive branch of government can be held accountable to parliament. In turn, ultimate accountability is owed to the voting public, as members of parliament are considered representatives of the people and are held accountable through free, fair and regular elections.



Compulsory participation in the electoral process and regular elections

According to the Australian Electoral Commission – did you know?

- Voting was voluntary at the first nine Australian federal elections.
- Queensland became the first area in the then-British Empire to introduce compulsory voting in 1915.
- There are 32 countries in 2017 with compulsory voting, including Australia.

- Under the Electoral Act, an Australian's civic duty to vote involves: attending a polling place, having their name marked off the certified list, receiving a ballot paper, taking it to an individual voting booth, marking it, folding the ballot paper and placing it in the ballot box.
- The turnout at Australian elections has never fallen below 90 per cent since the introduction of compulsory voting in 1924.

Dominance of major parties

Political parties exist to organise, mobilise and exercise political power in the interests of different groups and individuals within a society.

Political parties tend to be framed around similar ideological principles and political objectives, with the ultimate aim of influencing public policy by getting its members elected into public office, in order to refashion society according to the party's value systems.

In both Australia and the US, the political system is dominated by two major parties. In Australia these two major parties are the Australian Labor Party and the Liberal Party of Australia. In the US, the two dominant parties are the Democrats and the Republicans.

While in both systems there also exist other minor parties and independents, there is greater representation of these alternative candidates in Australia's parliament, particularly in the Upper House chamber of the Senate.

In fact, as a result of the 2010 election, Australia's 43rd parliament, was a hung parliament where neither of the two major parties reached the 76 seats in the Lower House (House of Representatives) required to form government. What emerged instead was a Labor-led minority government, under Julia Gillard, which was able to gain a majority only with the support of three non-aligned Independents and the Australian Greens.



Australian House of Representatives; photo: JJ Harrison



Australian Senate; photo: JJ Harrison

-  ABC Federal Election 2016 – Why do we have a two-party preferred system?
<http://www.abc.net.au/news/2016-05-14/why-do-we-have-a-two-party-preferred-system/7413578>
ABC 7:30 Report, 2013. The rise of the micro parties in the Senate (7 mins)
<http://www.abc.net.au/7.30/the-rise-of-the-micro-parties-in-the-senate/4946924>

Australian Democracy – Advance Australia where?

In exploring the major characteristics of Australia’s democratic system, it is useful to begin with the country’s unifying song – the national anthem, Advance Australia Fair.

Anthems are certainly not ‘hard policy’ but, nonetheless, they can often be quite a useful source when trying to gauge the form and function of a state’s political system. Anthems offer us a fascinating insight into a people’s national psyche. For the most part, these songs try to encapsulate the values that a society holds dear and the principles for which the government is supposed to uphold and serve.

It is worthwhile then, to pause and reflect on Australia’s national song, as a sort of ‘litmus test’ or ‘pulse reading’ into whether or not the political system is functioning as it should.

In exploring the characteristics of Australian democracy, you are asked to reflect on three key questions.

1. Does Australia’s democratic system work?
2. How do we know whether or not Australia’s democratic system works?
3. As citizens with a major stake in Australia’s democracy, are individual Australians sufficiently civically literate to be able to understand their own democracy?

Resource link – Maurice Blackburn Lawyers Ad: ‘Your Right is My Right Too’
Maurice Blackburn Lawyers Ad – Your Right is My Right Too (2 minutes, 2016)
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Hu3YY_3libw

While a focus on democratic functions and processes may at times perhaps seem too mechanical, remember it is precisely because of that machine that you, as a citizen, can enjoy the promises that “this Commonwealth of ours” has to offer.

To truly appreciate the mechanics of Australia’s democratic system, you are also encouraged to inform yourself of some of the ideas, words and deeds that have informed and inspired the system throughout the ages.

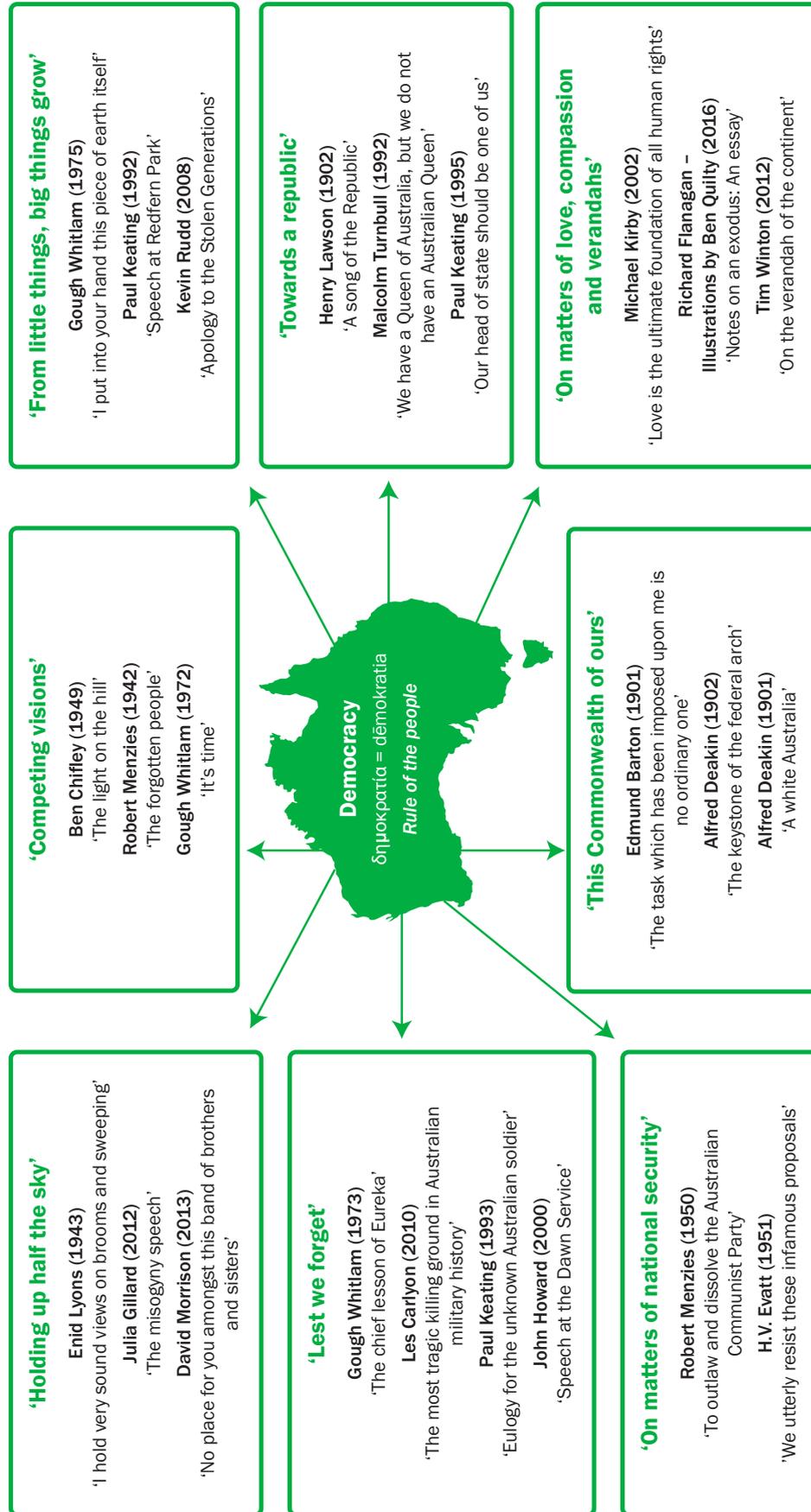


Image: Australian Electoral Commission

In Figure 1.11, you will find a recommended list of some of Australia’s major political speeches, spanning from Federation to today. Some are inspiring, others controversial, but in total they provide a thought-provoking catalogue of Australia’s adventure with democracy.

- The People Speak: Australia – Democracy is not a spectator sport (1 min, 2013)
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=VklWYKB6v18>
- The People Speak: Britain – Democracy is not a spectator sport (1 min, 2010)
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=sSmVko9NoMo>
- The People Speak: USA – Democracy is not a spectator sport (4 mins, 2010)
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6hUQ657XR7Y>

Figure 1.11 – Defining speeches of modern Australia *



* Speeches can be found in Michael Fullilove's *Men and Women of Australia: Our Greatest Modern Speeches* (Penguin, Melbourne, 2014)

Further resources

Below are eight helpful online resources that offer an in-depth examination of all the major aspects of Australia's democratic system:

-  Museum of Australian Democracy – Defining Democracy
<https://www.moadoph.gov.au/democracy/defining-democracy/>
- Museum of Australian Democracy – Australian Democracy: An Overview
<https://www.moadoph.gov.au/democracy/australian-democracy/>
- Parliamentary Education Office – Quick Answers
<http://www.peo.gov.au/quick-answers.html>
- Parliamentary Education Office – Fact Sheets
<http://www.peo.gov.au/learning/fact-sheets.html>
- SBS News – Glossary of Australian Political Terms
<http://www.sbs.com.au/news/article/2010/07/14/glossary-australian-political-terms>
- Australian Parliament House – A Glossary of Parliamentary Words
<http://www.aph.gov.au/Help/Glossary>
- ABC Q&A – A Glossary of Australian Political Jargon (according to tweets and texts on Q&A)
<http://www.abc.net.au/tv/qanda/txt/s2258489.htm>
- The 45th Parliamentary Handbook of the Commonwealth of Australia 2017
<http://www.aph.gov.au/library/handbook/>



Activity 1.9 – '30-20-10' PowerPoint Presentation

'30' = Size Font, '20' = Number Slides, '10' = Minutes/Timing

Break out into six expert groups. Each expert group will be responsible for investigating and presenting findings to the rest of the class on two of the key characteristics of Australian democracy listed below. Use the resource links above, and your own independent research, to gather your information.

Key characteristics of Australian democracy:

1. The separation of powers
2. Australian elections
3. The role of the Governor-General
4. The role of the Prime Minister
5. The role of Federal Cabinet
6. Ministers and Shadow Ministers
7. Question Time
8. Referendums and plebiscites
9. The Lower House and The Upper House
10. Bills and laws
11. Making a law
12. Crossing the floor

Case study – Non-democratic China

The context of China's political system

How do non-democratic systems, in this case China, compare with Australia's democracy?

Actor:	China – People's Republic of China (PRC)
Political system:	'Democratic Dictatorship' or 'Socialism with Chinese Characteristics'
Political party:	The Communist Party of China (CPC)
Governing style:	Authoritarianism, One-Party State

Compare and contrast: Non-democratic principles versus democratic principles

From an Australian perspective, an investigation on China is an opportunity to examine the ways that our largest trading partner is governed, as well as trying to gain an insight into the ways that China ultimately sees the world and its place in it.



National flag of China

China's interference into Australian domestic politics

Any exploration into the largely opaque workings of China's political system has an added resonance in Australia after a joint 2017 investigation by Fairfax and the ABC's Four Corners revealed that the Chinese Communist Party has been covertly interfering in Australia's domestic politics.

-  *The Age*, 2017. China's Operation Australia: The Party Line (*this website is interactive)
<http://www.smh.com.au/interactive/2017/chinas-operation-australia/soft-power.html>
- ABC News, 2017. Australian sovereignty under threat from influence of the China's Communist Party
<http://www.abc.net.au/news/2017-06-04/australian-sovereignty-under-threat-from-chinese-influence/8583832>
- ABC News, 2017. China must be told to stop interfering in Australian affairs
<http://www.abc.net.au/news/2017-06-07/china-must-be-told-to-stop-interfering-in-australian-affairs/8596568>
- ABC Four Corners, 2017. Power Shift: The CCP in Australia
<http://www.abc.net.au/4corners/stories/2017/06/05/4678871.htm> (48 mins)

China has a long-established sense of its own national identity and statehood. In fact, as a nation-building project, China's state-formation began as far back as 221 BCE under Emperor Qin Shi Huang, who founded the Qin dynasty, and is largely recognised as the first emperor of a unified Chinese state.

As a modern-day state, however, the People's Republic of China (PRC) was founded on 1 October 1949 and is the creation of the Communist Party of China (CPC). The PRC emerged out of the CPC's military victory in a civil war against the then-ruling Chinese Nationalist Party, known as the Guomindang.

The CPC has remained the sole ruling authority over the People's Republic for almost 70 years. It exercises an overwhelming amount of control on almost all aspects of social, political, economic and cultural life in China.

The organs, agencies and institutions of the PRC as a state are so intertwined with the CPC's own party structures that China is considered a **one-party state**.

At the apex of the CPC's power structure (at time of writing) sits Xi Jinping (pronounced Shee-Jeen-Ping), a member of the **Princeling faction**, and one of the most powerful individuals in the contemporary global political arena.

With approximately 83 million party members, Xi leads the largest political party in the world. To give the CPC's size a sense of scale, the Party has more than triple the number of members as the total Australian population.



Xi Jinping

The CPC-PLA Connection

“Political power grows out of the barrel of a gun” – Mao Zedong

The quote above comes from the PRC's founding father, Mao Zedong, an original member of the CPC and a man who ruled China and dominated the Party from 1949 until his death in 1976.

Mao was responsible for the deaths of 70 million people, 30 million alone due to a man-made famine from 1959-1961. Mao is associated with events such as the Great Leap Forward (1957-1959) and the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution (1966-1976).

Mao's quote is often misunderstood, and was more a comment on how important it is for a political party seeking power to have an armed wing whose fighters are so disciplined that they come to be admired by the masses as a people's army, and by extension serve as a propaganda tool to promote the party's 'brand'. Hence, “political power grows out of the barrel of a gun”.

Regardless, the quote has now become a shorthand to describe authoritarian regimes and their reliance on hard military power to coerce their citizens through force, intimidation and violence.

In China, nowhere is this more vividly seen than in the overlap between the CPC and the PRC's defence forces, known as the People's Liberation Army (PLA). In many ways, the PLA operates as the armed wing of the CPC. It is as much a sword wielded exclusively by the CPC – to secure and further the Party's own interests, as it is a shield – to serve in the defence of the Chinese state.

This link between the CPC and PLA was brutally revealed on 4 June 1989, when then CPC leader, Deng Xiaoping used the PLA to suppress a mass (and multi-faceted) protest movement that threatened the CPC's grip on power. This incident has come to be known in western historical memory as the Tiananmen Square Massacre.

One-party state. There is no formal political opposition in China to challenge the CPC, nor is the CPC's power kept in check by the liberal-democratic principles of the separation of powers and the rule of law. Rather, in China, it is more a case of what the Party says, goes!

Princeling faction. While the CPC presents the image of a unified, monolithic party organisation, many believe it is divided into two dominant factions under a system known as 'One Party, Two Coalitions'. One of these coalitions is known as the Princelings. This faction is dominated by leaders who boast prestigious revolutionary family lineages, with family members who were usually veteran revolutionaries, or high-ranking officials within the CPC during the past. This faction is associated with China's well-developed coastal cities.

The Tiananmen Square protests themselves are regarded by the CPC as being of such a highly politically sensitive nature that information and images cannot be accessed and viewed online in the PRC today, due to the CPC's internet censorship initiative known as Golden Shield. Likewise, all talk of the Tiananmen Square protest is forbidden in China.

While this is an event that took place in 1989, and therefore falls outside the scope of this Area of Study, an event in 2015 (involving pop idol Taylor Swift) revealed just how deep the memories of Tiananmen Square linger with China's ruling CPC.

See the resource links below for more details.

-  CBC News, 2014. Tiananmen Protest 25 years on: 15 iconic images <http://www.cbc.ca/news/world/1989-tiananmen-square-protests-15-iconic-images-1.2664229>
- The Guardian*, 2015. Taylor Swift's 1989 Chinese clothing line risks Tiananmen Square row <https://www.theguardian.com/music/2015/jul/22/taylor-swift-1989-china-clothing-line-tiananmen-square>

Regime security. A concept often associated with one-party authoritarian states and dictatorships. Essentially, implies the lengths a ruling elite will go to in order to stay in power. The means used to preserve their position of dominance tends to be a mixture of repression, violence, propaganda and a system of extrinsic awards that rewards loyalty and obedience.

The values which underpin China's political system

The main value which underpins China's political system is **regime security**. A mentality captured best in Rowan Callick's book, *The Party Forever: Inside China's Modern Communist Elite* (2013), which states:

"The party's [CPC] logic is this: 'we fought for power and won, we took control of China and so everything under the sky is the party's.'" (Callick, 2013)

Figure 1.12 incorporates seven sources ranging from constitution extracts, to speech excerpts from CPC party members, to snippets of a Defence White Paper. Each source offers a fascinating insight into what China's ruling party values, fears and hopes to achieve in the immediate to long-term future.



Activity 1.10 - Examining the values of the CPC

In Activity 1.6 you were asked to explore the national platform documents of four Australian political parties – The Australian Labor Party, The Liberal Party of Australia, Australian Greens and Pauline Hanson's One Nation Party. Select ONE of these party platform documents and compare and contrast this party's core ideological principles with the CPC's own value system, as expressed in the statements in the seven boxes in Figure 1.12.

Consider presenting your findings as a Venn Diagram, like the template below.

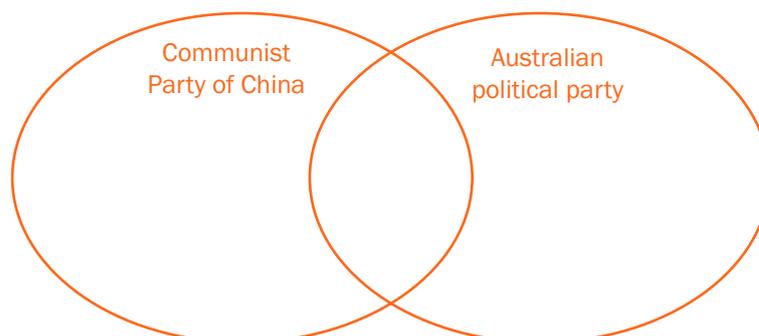
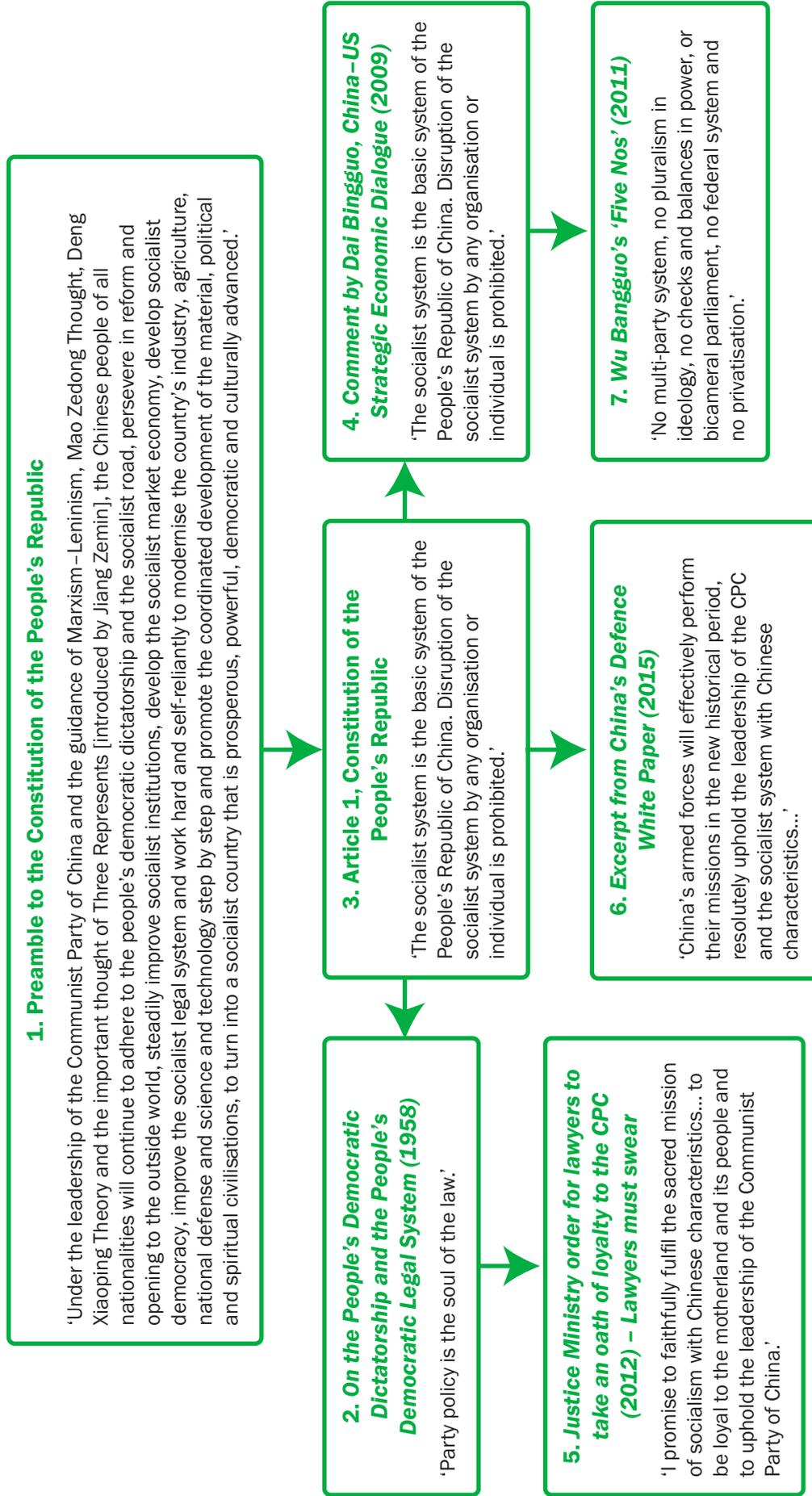


Figure 1.12 – Core values underpinning China’s one-party state



Another major insight into the values that underpin China's political system is given in Xi's signature party slogan – The Chinese Dream.

For an in-depth exploration into what is meant by Xi's Chinese Dream, consider the following online articles below:

-  BBC, 2013. What does Xi Jinping's Chinese Dream mean?
<http://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-china-22726375>
- The New York Times*, 2013. Xi Jinping's Chinese Dream
<http://www.nytimes.com/2013/06/05/opinion/global/xi-jinpings-chinese-dream.html>
- TIME Magazine*, 2015. Why Xi's Chinese Dream differs radically to the American Dream
<http://time.com/4077693/chinese-dream-xi-jinping/>

 Mapping Xi Jinping's Chinese Dream diagram can be found in online resources.

Xi's Chinese Dream is best captured in his quote regarding China "realising the great renewal of the Chinese nation". This ideal of China's national rejuvenation and return to greatness is a recurring theme in many of Xi's speeches, official declarations and proclamations.

The Chinese Dream is ultimately about China finally burying the demons of the Century of Shame (a period from the 1840s to 1949, when China was effectively semi-colonised by foreign powers). In a bid for China to finally rid itself of this national humiliation, Xi has crafted a grand vision that aims to have China reassert its dominance across all spheres of global politics, through a concerted effort by the Party in partnership with the Chinese people, working together to re-establish China's position once more as an economic, political, diplomatic, scientific and military world superpower.

Therefore, Xi's Chinese Dream, as well as being a grand strategy, is also a clever exercise in the CPC further consolidating its power, by positioning itself as the guardian of China's history, culture and future prospects.

The structures and powers of government in China

In examining how power is distributed in China's non-democratic political system, it is worthwhile to examine the following statement:

"The Party might present the face of a single, unanimous monolith, but its shadows hide conservatives and liberals, reformers and retrenchers, leftists and rightists. It encompasses the good, the bad and the ugly, and more often than not in foreign reporting, it is only the last two who get attention" (Clements, 2013).



The Great Hall of the People in Tiananmen Square; photo: Thomas.fanghaenel

Therefore, while the CPC is an authoritarian organisation that does not tolerate any opposition or challenges to its rule, within the Party itself, there does seem to be a spectrum of diverse political opinion.

Princelings and populists

Perhaps nowhere is this in-house plurality better illustrated than in an almost formalised split within the CPC, out of which two distinct factions appear to be operating. These camps are sometimes referred to as the Princelings and the Populists, and they appear to be a response by the Party to safeguard itself from the historic disaster of the autocratic strongman rule it experienced under the dictatorial reign of Mao Zedong (1949-1976).

What emerged post Mao Zedong is a 'One Party, Two Coalitions' system that is characterised by a rotating power-sharing agreement. Each camp seems to be granted a ten-year term to govern China, while the other faction serves the function of an internal opposition party. Overarching this internal split, however, is an uncompromising consensus between both Princelings and Populists that the CPC must at all costs reign supreme, by retaining a monopoly on political control over China. That is to preserve and safeguard what former CPC leader Hu Jintao used to refer to, as the Party's special "Perennial Ruling Party" status.

Consider how the CPC's One Party, Two Coalitions model differs from Australia's own two-party preferred system where the Australian voting public see-saws between the ALP and the Liberals, with both parties enjoying periods of government, as well as periods in formal opposition. Australia's two-party preferred system also encourages a more openly adversarial form of politics, with the government and Cabinet, squaring up against the leader of the opposition and his/her shadow cabinet, who in turn aim to present themselves to the Australian electorate as a viable alternative to the current government.

For an in-depth exploration into the organisational operations of the CPC's 'One Party, Two Coalitions' model, consider the following online articles:

-  BBC, 2012. How China is ruled
<http://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-pacific-13904437>
- CNN, 2012. 'One Party, Two Coalitions': China's factional politics
<http://edition.cnn.com/2012/10/23/world/asia/china-political-factions-primer/>
- Australian Business Insider, 2012. How China's mysterious leadership changes work
<https://www.businessinsider.com.au/how-chinas-mysterious-leadership-changes-are-made-2012-9>

Recent reports suggest that the CPC's One Party, Two Coalitions system is being threatened by Xi Jinping. Since his appointment in 2012, Xi has acquired unprecedented personal power, not seen in China since the era of Mao Zedong himself. There are fears that Xi may be purposely trying to establish his own personality cult, in order to dominate the CPC and return China to the type of autocratic strongman rule that the CPC, post-Mao, has worked so hard to avoid.

As President of the PRC, Xi is China's Head of State, representing the most



A temporary monument in Tiananmen Square marking the 90th anniversary of the CPC; photo: Haha169

populous state on earth. Arguably, aside from Pope Francis as the spiritual leader of 1.3 billion Roman Catholics, or perhaps (as a sign of the times) Mark Zuckerberg, as CEO of a company that hosts the personal details of close to 1.9 billion active Facebook users, no one individual has the capability, like Xi, to reach and impact so many people's lives directly.



The three prime positions of authority that Xi Jinping occupies

- As Head of State, Xi presides over the second largest economy in the world.
- As General Secretary of the Central Committee of the CPC, Xi is in charge of the largest political organisation in the world.
- As the Chairman of the CPC's Central Military Commission, Xi also oversees the second most powerful military in the world, which according to the Lowy Institute has 2.3 million active personnel and a further 500,000 estimated in reserves.

Compared to the position of Australian Prime Minister, Xi's 'treble' (see panel above) ensures an impressive amount of strategic executive control is centralised and vested in him personally. This does not necessarily make Xi an autocrat, but the individual power he wields and the influence that he can leverage, completely overshadows the power and influence available to the Australian Prime Minister.

In addition, Australian prime ministers, by virtue of their position within a democratic system, are open to far more intense scrutiny and public criticism than Xi, who is the head of a one-party state. Consider just some of the obstacles that a prime minister has to navigate, that potentially challenges his/her power, for example:

- a free and independent media
- opinion polls
- retaining 'confidence' within their party room
- demands of a hostile backbench
- contesting elections.



BBC, 2013. Profile: Xi Jinping
<http://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-pacific-11551399>

The Guardian, 2014. Xi Jinping: Does China truly love 'Big Daddy Xi' – or fear him?
<https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/sep/19/xi-jinping-does-china-truly-love-big-daddy-xi-or-fear-him>

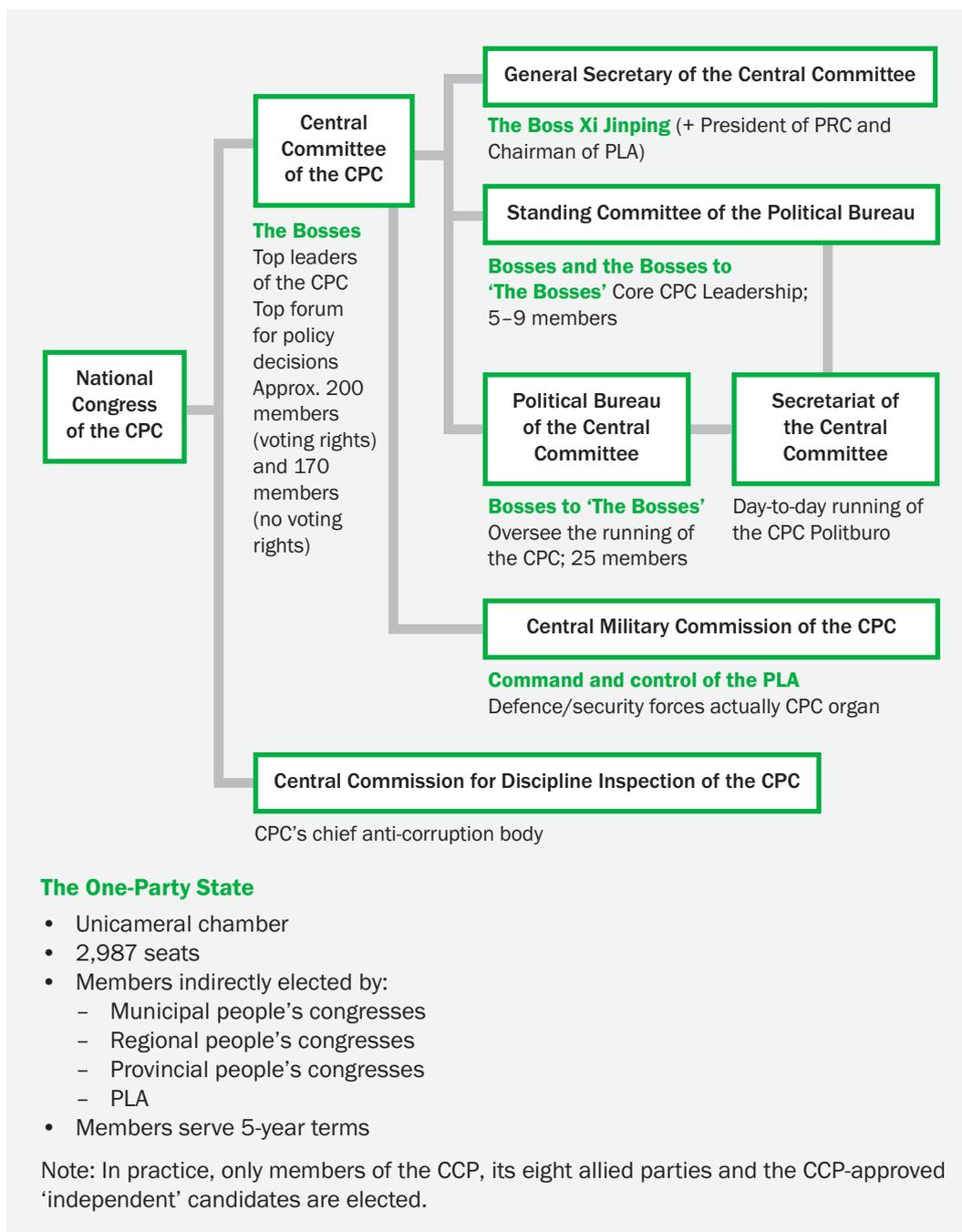
The Economist, 2017. The world's most powerful man: Xi Jinping has more clout than Donald Trump. The world should be wary
<https://www.economist.com/news/leaders/21730144-do-not-expect-mr-xi-change-china-or-world-better-xi-jinping-has-more-clout>

PEO Fact Sheet: Prime Minister
<https://www.peo.gov.au/learning/fact-sheets/prime-minister.html>

ABC The Drum, 2016. John Howard: The greatest PM of our time
<http://www.abc.net.au/news/2016-03-02/barnes-john-howard-the-greatest-pm-of-our-time/7212668>

The Australian, 2015. Revolving door PMs not healthy for the nation
<http://www.theaustralian.com.au/opinion/columnists/troy-bramston/revolvingdoor-pms-not-healthy-for-the-nation/news-story/30b9bcba32eb55661a26761d0faa876f3>

Figure 1.13 – Organisational chart of the CPC's major bodies



China - a demographic kaleidoscope

Before exploring the participation of Chinese citizens in determining who governs them, the protection of their individual rights, and the accountability that the CPC has towards its population, it is important to examine the demographic makeup of China's citizenry.

One misconception regarding China is to treat its 1.3 billion residents as members of a homogenous people, understood as 'the Chinese'.

This is not the case. Consider the statistics of modern-day China in Table 1.5 over page.

Table 1.5 – Table showing ethnic groups within the PRC (source CIA Factbook)

State	Demographic	Statistic
China	Population of the PRC	1,373,541,278 (July 2016)
	Ethnic groups within the PRC	The Chinese Government officially recognises 56 ethnic groups Largest ethnic group – Han (91.6 per cent or 1,258,163,810 people) Largest non-Han minority – Zhuang (1.3 per cent or 17,856,036 people) Other non-Han minorities combined (7.1 per cent or 97,521,430 non-Han people)
Australia	Population of Australia	23,232,214 (July 2017)
	Ethnic ancestry within Australia	English 25.9 per cent, Australian 25.4 per cent, Irish 7.5 per cent, Scottish 6.4 per cent, Italian 3.3 per cent, German 3.2 per cent, Chinese 3.1 per cent, Indian 1.4 per cent, Greek 1.4 per cent, Dutch 1.2 per cent, other 15.8 per cent (includes Australian aboriginal 0.5 per cent), unspecified 5.4 per cent. Note: data represents self-identified ancestry, over a third of respondents reported two ancestries (2011 est.)

The PRC (and particularly, the ruling CPC) also has to contend with the added complexity of ongoing simmering political and ethnic tensions.

Three of the most volatile situations currently being managed by the CPC are relations with the:

1. **Rival Chinese state of Taiwan** (otherwise known as the Republic of China – ROC), which along with the PRC, vies for international recognition as the ‘real China’. The PRC considers Taiwan a rogue province that must one day be reunited with the rest of the Chinese mainland. Whereas in practice, Taiwan operates as a ‘quasi-state’, enjoying an almost ‘de facto independence’. In other words, Taiwan looks and acts like a sovereign state, it has its own currency, passport, military, even enjoys diplomatic relations and international recognition from other states. Technically, however, it has never declared independence from mainland China.
2. **Restive, non-Han dominated, autonomous regions** such as Tibet and Xinjiang. Both of these have militant sections of their communities that want to form breakaway independent states, free from what many of them regard not as PRC statehood, but rather the illegal CPC occupation and unwelcomed Han colonisation of their historic homelands.
3. **Pro-democracy forces arising from the ‘Special Administrative Region’ of Hong Kong** – which was a British colony from 1841 and only handed back to the PRC in 1997. As a result of the ‘handover’ deal, the island of Hong Kong has a unique governance model known as ‘One Country, Two Systems’. While residents of Hong Kong still fall under the administrative control of the CPC’s central government in Beijing, One Country, Two Systems offers the people of Hong Kong a greater degree

of freedom than their mainland Chinese counterparts. This freedom has spurred some in Hong Kong to make demands of China to become a genuine democracy, with universal suffrage, and with it an end to the CPC's one-party authoritarianism. These demands reached a fever pitch when Hong Kong residents clashed with security forces in 2014, during an event known as 'The Hong Kong Umbrella Revolution'.

The divisions within China today are summarised in Table 1.6.

Table 1.6 – China's political, ethnic, socio-economic and diplomatic divisions

Division	Sub-group 1	Sub-group 2
Political	CPC membership base = 83 million party members. Makes the CPC the largest political party in the world. 83 million = 6 per cent of the PRC's 1.3 billion population	94 per cent of the PRC's 1.3 billion population are not members of the CPC
Ethnic	Han Chinese = 91.6 per cent of the PRC's 1.3 billion population	Non-Han Chinese = 8.4 per cent of the PRC's 1.3 billion population
Socio-economic	In 2014, urban China had a disposable income per capita of 30,000 Chinese Yuan (approx. AU\$5,800)	In 2014, rural China had a disposable income per capita of 10,000 Chinese Yuan (approx. AU\$1,900)
Diplomatic	The People's Republic of China is the officially recognised China, according to UN General Assembly Resolution 2758	Two alternative 'Chinas' to the PRC: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The Republic of China (Taiwan) • The Special Administrative Region of Hong Kong

Participation of Chinese citizens in determining who governs and the accountability of the CPC to its citizens

It is no exaggeration to say that the CPC is almost the exclusive agent in setting and driving China's political agenda. As a non-democratic political system, and a one-party state, there is in fact little to no opportunity for everyday citizens within China to directly engage in the political decision-making processes of their own country, particularly in comparison to the way Australian citizens may participate, in the form of casting a secret ballot and electing a local representative.

This is a point reinforced by Clements who states:

"On paper, China is not... a 'one-party state', since several vestigial democratic parties continue to rubber stamp Communist Party proclamations. Nor is it [China] unchangeable... But there is no way of effecting change except from within the Party" (Clements, 2013).

Put simply, the CPC has no intention of relinquishing political power. Since taking power in 1949, the Party has had no appetite to share power within a multi-party, representative, democratic system. Nor has it felt answerable to the broader Chinese general population to conduct free, fair and regular elections.

As a result, Chinese citizens do not have an active say in determining who governs them. Rather, the transfer of power within the CPC remains an internal matter for the Party alone. Decision-making power (for major issues in particular) is concentrated within a tiny party elite, comprising seven to nine party members known as the **Politburo Standing Committee (PSC)**.

Politburo Standing Committee (PSC). The PSC is considered the core leadership group of the Communist Party of China. Historically it has consisted of a committee of five to nine members, it currently has seven members, considered to be the seven men who ultimately run China.

The world caught a glimpse of the CPC's closed-shop approach towards governance in late 2017, during the CPC's 19th Party National Congress, where the CPC's new Politburo Standing Committee was officially announced.

The CPC's PSC can be likened somewhat to the Australian Cabinet. In practice, both are considered the highest level of executive government in their respective states. Both formulate, shape and direct government policy, and they are ultimately seen as responsible for making decisions about issues of national importance.

One aspect in which an Australian Cabinet differs, however, is that under the *Ministers of State Act 1952*, there is a provision that allows up to 30 ministers to form an executive government, with Cabinet typically consisting of 17 ministers. This is a much larger group, when compared to the smaller clique of the PSC, which currently has seven members. In addition, Cabinet ministers often 'chop-and-change' their ministerial portfolios (their areas of special responsibility), whereas the roles of those in the PSC are more established and continue for at least up to five years, if not longer.



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<http://www.aljazeera.com/news/2017/10/explained-national-congress-china-communist-party-171017140021234.html>

The Economist, 2017. What is China's 19th Communist Party congress and why does it matter?
<https://www.economist.com/blogs/economist-explains/2017/10/economist-explains-11>

BBC, 2017. China unveils new leaders but no successor
<http://www.bbc.com/news/live/world-asia-china-41744904>

ABC News, 2017. China Communist Party shakeup as Xi Jinping leads replacement of Politburo Standing Committee
<http://www.abc.net.au/news/2017-10-25/meet-president-xi-jinping-new-leadership-team/9086372>

The Brookings Institute Interactive, 2017. China's new Politburo and Politburo Standing Committee
<https://www.brookings.edu/interactives/chinas-new-politburo-standing-committee/>

The protection of individual rights and freedoms

At face value, life as a citizen of the PRC is, to a relative degree, free and open. Not necessarily by the same standards of a pluralist, liberal society, such as Australia but it would be wrong, however, to simply reduce life in China to a one-dimensional experience where all citizens are oppressed victims of a violent and repressive regime.

Visitors to China (particularly at tourist spots, such as Beijing, Shanghai and Xian) will note that China's citizens are neither global victims who lack personal agency, nor can China be compared to the type of 'open-air prison' under the brutal rule of states such as North Korea.

Nevertheless, there is no denying that modern-day China is very much an authoritarian society, where the CPC retains the ability to intervene in the lives of its citizens and impose its will forcefully. It is not so much a case of the CPC refusing

to protect the individual rights and freedoms of its citizens, but rather that it is freed from constraints such as the need for public consultation or judicial oversight. Neither is it held accountable by the reporting of free and independent media, which in democratic societies such as Australia exist as checks and balances to protect individual rights and freedoms and curb governments' ability to over-reach and encroach into the personal lives of their citizens.

Although, the CPC like any government that seeks legitimacy, is compelled to meet the needs of its citizens in terms of a rights' and freedoms' agenda, the CPC does not necessarily uphold the **universality of human rights**. Instead, it implements rights and freedoms in a more sequential manner, with an emphasis on economic rights over political freedoms. This is sometimes referred to as a 'grand bargain' between the CPC and China's citizens. It is an agreement whereby the CPC grants economic prosperity in return for political obedience and loyalty. This is not to suggest that China's citizens have willingly allowed themselves to be 'bought off', but rather offers an insight into the tension between a government's decision to guarantee human rights.

Universality. The expectation that Human Rights should be applied to all people in the world.

Human rights. Human rights are rights afforded to people by virtue of their humanity. Human rights are considered to have three qualities, they are: (1) universal, belonging to everyone, everywhere; (2) inherent, afforded to individuals at birth; and (3) inalienable, they cannot be taken away or denied.



Activity 1.11 - Cornell note-taking skill development

Your task is to complete a careful reading and (where relevant) viewing of the case study material below, while recording notes using the Cornell note-taking system. Three of these case studies explore how individual rights and freedoms in China have been restricted by the CPC, while the last two focus on individual Chinese citizens, who have dared to challenge the CPC's authority.

- Case Study 1: CPC Net Censorship – 'Great Firewall of China'
- Case Study 2: CPC's 'Social Credit Score'
- Case Study 3: CPC Anti-Muslim Crackdown in Xinjiang
- Case Study 4: Who was Liu Xiaobo?
- Case Study 5: Who is Ai Wei Wei?



The full resource list for each case study can be found online.

When you have completed your Cornell note-taking summaries, select a domestic example from within the last ten years, where individual rights and freedoms in Australia have been restricted by government legislation and/or political decisions, and compare the similarities and differences between the way rights and freedoms can be suppressed or denied in China.

Cornell note-taking skill

When dealing with either new information, or with content-heavy information that covers multiple areas at once, the most effective method to organise your information for later use is to apply the Cornell note-taking system. This note-taking system also makes it much easier for you to write information in your own words, discern ideas from facts, formulate your own ideas and connections and, finally, avoid inadvertent plagiarism.

The way to use this note-taking system most effectively is outlined in the template below.

The Cornell note-taking system has four main sections in its layout. Closely examine the example below:

Topic/outcome	
Section 2. Review and classify	Section 1. Brief notes Key point (fact, idea, opinion, definition) Supported by evidence
Section 3. Summary of main ideas	

Divide your page into four sections as shown in the table above.

After placing your heading at the top of the page, begin taking brief notes in **section 1**, the main body part of the template. Take only concise notes – this means avoiding full sentences and using bullet points to assist you. Be on the lookout for keywords and use quotation marks for any phrases that you take directly from a source. When you need to record an author or source, in-text referencing is the most efficient method to use mid note-taking. This involves placing the author’s surname and date of publication in brackets after the key idea or quote, for example: (Clement, 2013).

Section 2 is used once you have finished taking notes. This is to review what you have recorded and classify it according to what your topic subheadings are. It is also useful to use highlighters of different colours to classify your points. For example, all notes dealing with ‘social aspects’ may be in yellow, while ‘economic aspects’ are in green. In this column, you may also include any questions that you discover as you revisit your notes.

At the bottom of the page is **section 3**; this space is for your summary of the key ideas in the notes above it. This section is also an opportunity to push yourself to see the big picture, think deeply about the applicability of the information you have recorded, see connections between what you already know and, finally, formulate insightful observations or conclusions.

As a side note, you are also advised to develop your own coding or shorthand system to use when taking notes. This saves you time both during the recording phase and when reviewing your notes afterwards. The coding system also distances you from the original sources’ exact wording, which then allows you to synthesise the key ideas into your own writing and test your understanding. Some examples of coding ideas could include; every time you record an important keyword place it in a box, before a definition write ‘Defn:’; use abbreviations where you can (e.g. CPC); use arrows to indicate that one point leads to another; b/c can indicate ‘because’ – to mention just a few. Also, it is useful to spread out your writing by skipping a line between ideas and skipping three lines between topics. Develop a system that works for you and use it consistently.

Wrap up - Power and ideas

Politics has been examined as a cross-disciplinary study, as well as a lived experience, evolving from a state of being and consciousness in Ancient Greece to an exercise where different actors engage with power in both formal and informal settings.

In addition, power itself was analysed as the capacity of actor A to influence actor B, noting that such influence could come in the form of either hard or soft power. Such exchanges can at times be obvious and clear to diagnose, and at other times more abstract and harder to determine.

You have also considered the distribution of power in liberal democracies; essentially derived from a fear and suspicion of power itself, and from observations of what happens when power is centralised, as is the case with a non-democratic system such as China's one-party state under the CPC. In such a non-democratic system, what emerges is a hierarchical system governed with a top-down approach, an authoritarian rule that comes at the expense of individual liberty – where a party, elite group or individual charismatic leader ultimately dictates the terms for the rest of society to follow through coercive modes of control.

Media centre

These 15 key sources offer students of Australian and Global Politics an opportunity to explore the area of study, Power and Ideas, through alternative resources.

TED Talks

- TED Ed – How to understand power (Eric Liu)
<https://ed.ted.com/lessons/how-to-understand-power-eric-liu>
- TED Ed – How did Hitler rise to power (Alex Gendler and Anthony Hazard)
<https://ed.ted.com/lessons/how-did-hitler-rise-to-power-alex-gendler-and-anthony-hazard>
- TED Talk – Global power shifts (Joseph Nye)
https://www.ted.com/talks/joseph_nye_on_global_power_shifts

Three must-read books for aspiring politics students – The importance of George Orwell

- *Animal Farm: A Fairy Story* (1945)
- *1984* (1949)
- *Politics and the English Language* (1946)

Another three must-reads for aspiring politics students – The inter-disciplinary nature of the study of Politics

- Jonathan Glover, *Humanity: A Moral History of the 20th Century* (1999)
- Geoffrey Robertson, *The Tyrannicide Brief* (2005)
- James Button, *Speechless: A Year In My Father's Business* (2012)

A Power and Ideas narrative in five songs – The importance of Bruce Springsteen

- 'Wrecking Ball'
- 'Darkness on the edge of town'
- 'American Skin (41 shots)'
- 'Youngstown'
- 'The Promised Land'

ABC Q&A 'High School Special – Victoria' (24 July 2017)

<http://www.abc.net.au/tv/qanda/txt/s4680865.htm>

References and further resources

Bishop, B., and Cushing, R. (2008). *The big sort: why the clustering of like-minded Americans is tearing us apart*, Houghton Mifflin.

Callick, R. (2013). *The Party Forever: Inside China's Modern Elite*, St. Martin's Press.

Carter, W. (2016). 'The strange neglect of political education' *New Statesman*.

Clements, J. (2013). *All that matters: Modern China*. London, Hodder & Stoughton.

Leach, R. (2008). *The Politics Companion*, Palgrave.

Liu, E. (2014). TED-Ed Original Lessons: How to Understand Power. Retrieved from: <https://ed.ted.com/lessons/how-to-understand-power-eric-liu>

McAvoy, P. and Hess, D. (2013). 'Classroom Deliberation in an Era of Political Polarization' *Curriculum Inquiry*, 43:1, 14-47.

Nye, J. (2010). TED Talk: 'Global Power Shifts'. Retrieved from: https://www.ted.com/talks/joseph_nye_on_global_power_shifts

Parker, W. (2003). *Teaching democracy: Unity and Diversity in Public Life*, Teachers College Press.

Glossary of terms

Actor. An individual, group or entity that plays a social, political, economic or cultural role within a particular system. Actors can operate in a domestic setting, for example a government, an opposition party, special interest lobby groups or the media. Likewise, actors can also operate in a more global context. Key global actors include, states, intergovernmental organisations (IGOs) such as the United Nations, non-state actors such as legal organisations and global terrorist movements and transnational corporations (TNCs).

Alt-left. Short for alternative left, this is a movement associated with radical left-wing politics, increasingly characterised by a group known as Antifa, short for anti-fascists, who consider themselves anarchists and who are known for militant opposition and clashes against neo-Nazi groups. The term alt-left, however, is more a label used by the alt-right to describe their political rivals.

Alt-right. Short for alternative right, this is a loose movement in the US, associated with ultra-nationalist and anti-immigration views, as well as support for the Trump presidency.

Anarcho-capitalism. A political and economic model associated with the ideas of libertarianism and individualism. Essentially a call for the elimination of the state, to be replaced by a society governed by individual sovereignty and an entirely free-market where every aspect of the economy has been privatised.

Hard power. An actor's capacity to use force, in order to coerce others to achieve its aims.

Hegemon. Simply another word for leader.

Human rights. Human rights are rights afforded to people by virtue of their humanity. Human rights are considered to have three qualities, they are: (1) universal, belonging to everyone, everywhere; (2) inherent, afforded to individuals at birth; and (3) inalienable, they cannot be taken away or denied.

Laissez-faire capitalism. *Laissez faire* is French for 'leave alone' and is associated with an economic model where government is strongly discouraged from intervening in the economy. This model is associated with the idea of the free-market and the separation between the state and the economy.

Liberalism. A political concept centred around the idea that society is made up of individuals who should be free to pursue their own interests.

National Interest. An all-embracing concept used by states to justify certain policies. Associated with the goals used to describe, support and inform a state's domestic and foreign policy preferences. Framed around four key pursuits that all states ultimately seek to achieve national security, economic prosperity, regional relationships and international standing.

Neo-liberalism. As an economic model, neo-liberalism supports laissez-faire capitalism, by calling for control of the economy to be placed in the hands of the private sector, rather than under state/government control or influence.

One-party state. There is no formal political opposition in China to challenge the CPC, nor is the CPC's power kept in check by the liberal-democratic principles of the separation of powers and the rule of law. Rather, in China, it is more a case of what the Party says, goes!

Polis. Ancient Greek word for city-state.

Politburo Standing Committee (PSC). The PSC is considered the core leadership group of the Communist Party of China. Historically it has consisted of a committee of five to nine members, it currently has seven members, considered to be the seven men who ultimately run China.

Princeling faction. While the CPC presents the image of a unified, monolithic party organisation, many believe it is divided into two dominant factions under a system known as 'One Party, Two Coalitions'. One of these coalitions is known as the Princelings. This faction is dominated by leaders who boast prestigious revolutionary family lineages, with family members who were usually veteran revolutionaries, or high-ranking officials within the CPC during the past. This faction is associated with China's well-developed coastal cities.

Regime security. A concept often associated with one-party authoritarian states and dictatorships. Essentially, implies the lengths a ruling elite will go to in order to stay in power. The means used to preserve their position of dominance tends to be a mixture of repression, violence, propaganda and a system of extrinsic awards that rewards loyalty and obedience.

Secular. A non-religious affiliation, often associated with the removal of God and religion from the public sphere; what is sometimes referred to as 'the separation of church and state'. Secularism, however, can also be associated with a 'softer' religiosity, coupled with a more pluralist outlook – in other words, acceptance of religious practices within the private sphere and the toleration of multiple faiths without elevating one belief system over all the rest.

Social contract. This term implies a mutual agreement between the rulers and the ruled – the state gets legitimacy and authority in return for the provisions that enable a society to survive (and thrive).

Soft power. An actor's capacity to use appeal/attraction, in order to co-opt others to achieve its aims.

State. Traditionally this term refers to the central actor in global politics. States possess a permanent population, defined territory and recognised sovereignty. States are not necessarily culturally homogenous – Australia is a good example of this.

Statehood. Defined in the Montevideo Convention (1933) as an entity with a permanent population, defined territory/borders, a government and international recognition/the capacity to enter into relations with other states.

Universality. The expectation that Human Rights should be applied to all people in the world.



IDEAS, ACTORS AND POWER

Area of Study 2:
Political Actors and Power

Area of Study 1: Political Actors and Power

On completion of this unit the student should be able to explain and analyse the roles and functions of political parties, interest groups and the media and their influence on participation in Australian politics. To achieve this outcome the student will draw on key knowledge and key skills outlined in Area of Study 2.

Key knowledge

- key terms and concepts: political parties, interest groups, traditional media, social media, new media, 24-hour news cycle
- the roles and functions of political parties:
 - presenting ideas and policies
 - representing sections of society
 - contesting elections
 - forming of government
 - influencing government policies
 - providing opportunities for citizen participation
- the roles and functions of at least two political parties in Australia such as the Australian Labor Party, the Liberal Party, the Nationals and the Australian Greens
- the decline in support for major parties and the emergence of minor parties
- the roles and functions of interest groups:
 - advancing ideas and policies
 - source of expert information and education about specific issues
 - seeking to influence government decisions
 - international networks and influences
 - engaging with the public to build support and membership
 - opportunities for citizen participation
- differences between interest groups and political parties
 - the roles and functions of at least two interest groups in Australia, one of which should have international links, such as Amnesty International, the Red Cross and Greenpeace
- the roles and functions of the media in a liberal democracy:
 - the media as a source of political information, both reporting on and interpreting Australian politics
 - the impact of media types (traditional, social and new) on reporting and interpreting Australian politics
 - the media as a form of political participation and opportunities for citizen participation
 - the differences and similarities between traditional, new and social media in relation to coverage of political issues

- the impact of the 24-hour news cycle on reporting and interpretation of Australian politics
- the roles and functions of the media in the reporting of a contemporary political issue in Australia.

Key skills

- define and explain key terms and concepts relating to political actors in Australia
- explain the particular roles and functions of political parties, interest groups and the media in the Australian political system
- analyse the impact and influence of political actors on participation in the Australian political system
- analyse case studies of political parties and interest groups, considering their roles, functions, influence and participation
- compare the roles and functions of media platforms in relation to a contemporary political issue
- analyse contemporary issues about and case studies of political actors
- develop explanations, arguments and points of view which use contemporary evidence and examples.

1

Ideas, Actors and Power

Area of Study 2: Political Actors and Power

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How do political parties represent and reflect the interests of sections of society? 78

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Single issue and micro parties **80**

Contesting elections 81

Campaigns **82**

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How do parties influence government policies? **86**

How do political parties provide opportunities for citizen/civic participation? **87**

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What are interest groups and what is their purpose? 94

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Political Actors and Power

“Just because you do not take an interest in politics does not mean politics won’t take an interest in you.” (Attributed to Pericles by Thucydides, c430 BC)

In this Area of Study you will examine the roles and functions of key political actors in the Australian political system. You are asked to consider how political parties, interest groups and media interact and influence Australia’s political system.

Political parties are complex and analysing them raises numerous questions. What are political parties? What do political parties do? How and why do political parties do these things? What types of political parties are there?

Political parties represent people (and groups of people) by influencing or trying to form government through contesting elections. Once in government they use power – to implement policy, create (and change) legislation and allocate resources (through taxation).

Interest groups offer advocacy, support and education to the community. They tend to contain smaller, unified groupings of people. They often seek to achieve policy outcomes by influencing government, political parties, individuals, groups and media through creating awareness about specific issues.

The media observes and describes events by reporting and they also interpret events which provide further meaning. Media thus may shape public opinion. Furthermore, by participating in the political process, they are part of the story. Voters access political information through traditional media (TV, newspapers and radio) and also through more contemporary media (social media and new media). All forms of media offer voters a chance to participate in the political process and hold government to account. However, they do so to differing degrees and in (sometimes subtly) different ways.



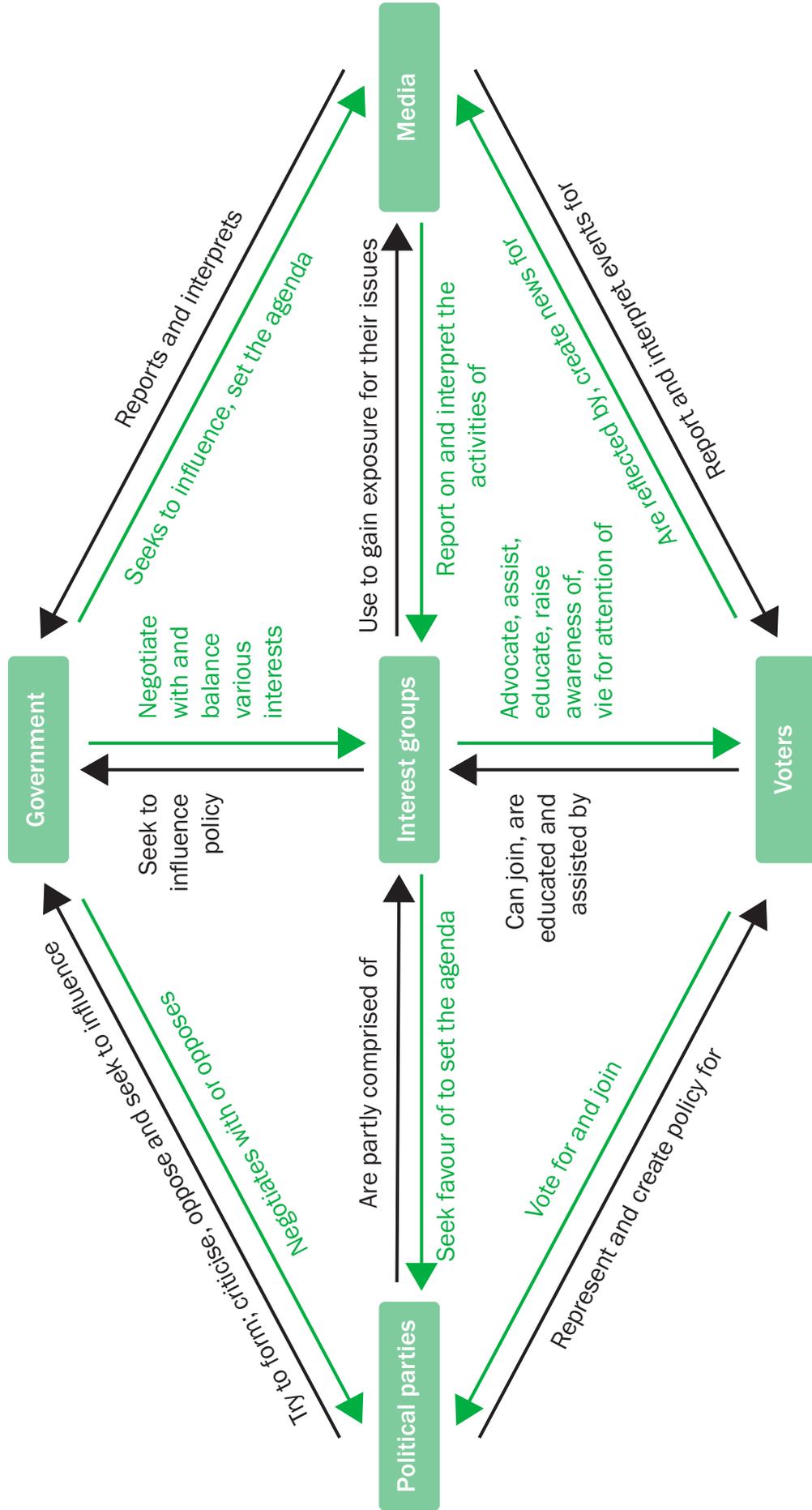
Activity 1.12 - Think (and write) pair, share: Pericles quote

1. In the opening quote, what does Pericles mean?
2. How might politics ‘take an interest in you’ – in what ways do political decisions affect your life?

Brainstorm/list as many answers as you can and then write a brief reflection.

This chapter asks how political parties, interest groups and media interact and influence Australia’s polity (see Figure 1.14 over page).

Figure 1.14 – Australian political players and their connections





Definitions

Term	Definition	Example
Political parties	A political party reflects the shared interests and beliefs of its members and seeks to win political power by contesting elections.	The Liberal Party of Australia
Interest groups	A group of like-minded people who work to influence government policy and decision-making, either for the benefit of those they represent or society more broadly, but do not seek election themselves.	Amnesty International
Traditional media	Refers to forms of mass communication originating before the age of digital media – television, radio, newspapers, books and magazines.	Television news
Social media	Refers to websites and applications enabling users to create and share content or to engage in social networking.	Twitter
New media	Refers to means of mass communication using digital technologies such as the internet (i.e. news sites, blogs, etc.).	Crikey.com
24-hour news cycle	Refers to perpetual reporting and interpretation of news	The Twittersverse

What are the roles and functions of political parties?

As you discovered in Area of Study 1, a political system is a system in which power and the representation of power are contentious concepts. All political parties seek power (through gaining votes and ultimately forming government). Parties also give voice to voters' policy demands and provide a range of opportunities for citizens to participate in the political process.



What do political parties do?

- **Present ideas and policies.** Political parties use various media and marketing techniques to convince voters that their own policies and ideas are superior to those of other parties.
- **Represent sections of society.** Political parties carry out the interests of particular groups of society, such as workers, business owners, farmers, environmentalists, the wealthy, the poor, etc.
- **Contest elections.** Political parties nominate candidates, conduct campaigns and seek to gain as many votes (or as much influence through preference deals) as possible.

- **Form government.** If a party (or **coalition**) gains the majority of seats in Australia’s House of Representatives after *all* votes are counted it forms government.
- **Influence government policies.** All parties formulate policies – that is they seek ideas from groups in society and formulate these as policies (plans for action). They use these policies and the power they hold (through attracting votes at elections – i.e. representing sections of society) to influence (or seek to influence) government action, even when not in government themselves.
- **Provide opportunities for citizen participation.** Parties allow citizens to participate in politics directly and indirectly. Citizens can participate directly by joining or volunteering to assist political parties. Citizens can participate indirectly by expressing their views to political parties or by voting for them or for someone else at elections.

Although we might not always see it or admit it, political parties contribute considerable value to a representative democracy (for example by, expressing policy demands, providing novel or competing policies, offering citizens opportunities for participation and holding government to account).

Coalition. Agreed cooperation between separate parties to campaign in elections for common benefit or to form government together before or after an election.



Activity 1.13 - Think, pair, share

For this activity, think of Australia’s political system as if it were an authoritarian dictatorship.

1. Draw a table like the one below in your notebook.

The benefits I receive from living in a democracy	The disadvantages of living in a democracy	The benefits of living in a dictatorship	The disadvantages of living in a dictatorship
Overall I am better off in a (democracy/dictatorship) because:			

2. Brainstorm as many ideas as you possibly can in each of the four columns.
3. Share these with a partner and then discuss as a class and add more to your list. You might consider how much importance you give to particular rights and freedoms.
4. Finish the sentence at the base of your table.

In Australia (and in many other countries) political parties originated to give voice to groups within society demanding various policies and representation (Bawn, et al., 2012). In 1901, political power was divided between the Australian Labor Party (the ALP, which represented the interests and policy demands of workers), the Free Trade Party (which sought to curb government taxes and tariffs) and the Protectionists (who sought to protect Australian industry through the use of taxes and tariffs). This choice

between political parties resulted in competition – parties had to argue to the voting public that their own policies were better than those of other parties.

Accountability accompanies competition in at least two ways:

1. **Scrutinising** (counting and checking the counting) of votes
2. Scrutiny of a government's performance between elections.

 For more information, see: http://www.aec.gov.au/Voting/counting/election_night.htm

Some argue that political parties are becoming more reliant on donations from wealthy individuals and corporations and are more insular (inward-looking) as they increasingly transform into organisations that seek power (rather than expressing voters' policy demands) (Camilleri, 2017).

 A useful source is: <https://getparliament.peo.gov.au/parliament-at-work-representation-and-forming-government/history-of-political-parties-in-australia> or do a search on 'origins of Australia's political parties'

Scrutinising votes.

Refers to the role of party members or volunteers in checking vote counts conducted by Australian Electoral Commission (AEC) officials once voting has closed on election days.

How do political parties present ideas and policies?

Political parties must constantly formulate new policy ideas. Society and the groups within it are like an ever-changing kaleidoscope, so representation necessitates perpetual re-examination and adjustment. According to the theory of **pluralism**, government holds the majority of a society's political power, however, many non-government organisations and groups can seek to influence and use power too. Every political party represents a section of society to which it pitches ideas and policies for approval.

Pluralism. A theory of political science that argues that power and decision-making in society are shared among a variety of government and non-government groups. From a pluralist's perspective, the crucial question is: how are power and influence shared through the act of politics?

"A week is a long time in politics" (attributed to British Prime Minister Harold Wilson)

This concept stems from the fact that politics is in perpetual flux and change – there are always ideas or policy proposals demanding attention and new events that need to be responded to.

Policies are ultimately implemented by government, but they are formulated by a range of **political actors**. A policy can be described as a course of action or strategy. For instance, Prime Minister Tony Abbott (2013-2015) implemented a policy of turning back asylum seekers' boats from Australian waters.

Maddison and Denniss (2014) suggest there are two ways in which policy can be enacted, through:

1. Authoritative choice (policy is imposed by government)
2. Structured interaction (policy emerges from a combination of public debate and the actions of **stakeholders**).

Political actors. A term or concept sometimes referring only to those who hold formal political power but can also be used to refer to anyone who exercises or seeks political power.

Stakeholder. A person with an interest or concern in something.



Activity 1.14 - Comparing policy

1. Does policy come from the top down or from the grassroots?

Divide into four (or more) groups (with each group documenting the policies of a particular party). Each group researches policies that are comparable, e.g. climate change policy, welfare and/or education funding.

2. Visit the websites of some prominent Australian political parties

 The Liberal Party of Australia <https://www.liberal.org.au/>
 The ALP <http://www.alp.org.au/>
 The Greens <https://greens.org.au/>
 The National Party <http://nationals.org.au/>

3. Find a policy area with which you might be familiar (or affects you) and:

- Describe the factors that created a need for this policy.
- Describe the aims or goals of this policy.
- What were the interests and goals of the people creating them?
- What did these groups have to gain or lose?

4. Consider the view of Maddison and Dennis: Is the policy a case of authoritative choice or structured interaction? Discuss.

5. Write a brief reflection after the discussion:

- My original perspective about why parties create policy was...
- After researching and discussing with the class, I now think...
- My mind was changed/could have been changed if...
- I have learned that...

How do political parties represent and reflect the interests of sections of society?

You will now consider which sections of society are traditionally or theoretically represented by each political party – first, Australia’s major political parties and then minor and micro parties.

Major parties

Major parties are those parties which contest elections and have some realistic chance of holding government in their own right (or in a coalition).

The Liberal Party

Federally it is known as the Liberal Party (and has a formal coalition agreement with the National Party) though there are derivations of this party throughout Australia.

In two states, the Liberal Party has formally joined with the National (or Country) Party to form one united party, in:

- Queensland, there is the Liberal National Party (LNP)
- The Northern Territory, it is the Country Liberal Party (CLP).

In other states, both parties exist as independent organisations but in New South Wales and Victoria, there are formal coalitions, though these may be in danger (Godfrey, 2017; Sullivan and Wagstaff, 2017).

The Liberal Party upholds **individualism** (the precedence of the moral worth of the individual) as a value. Historically it represented Protestants, a denomination of the Christian religion. In contemporary Australian politics, religious division is less rigid. The Federal Liberal Party website presents the party as standing for values such as individual freedom (liberalism), small businesses and lower taxes. The Liberal Party represents corporate interests, traditionally family-minded people, conservative values and small business owners. More generally, the Liberal Party brings together two strands of political thought: those of conservatism (a commitment to traditional values and institutions insisting that any reform be slow and gradual) and liberalism (the belief that defending the liberty of individual citizens is government's most important objective).

Individualism. Moral and political valuing of the rights of individuals within society, over and above the valuing of groups' rights.

The Australian Labor Party

The Australian Labor Party (ALP) traditionally represented working Australians. It can be thought of as traditionally prizing collective rights over individual rights. The ALP is affiliated with **unions** (a type of interest group – see below). For instance, a teacher might be a member of the Australian Education Union. The ALP's focus on collective rights also means that it tends to present itself as a champion of the rights of other groups in Australian society, such as women and LGBTI Australians.

Unions. Organisations which represent workers in various industries.



Trade unions

Trade unions represent workers in virtually all industries. Any kind of job, occupation or career can be affiliated with a trade union. Trade unions were created because a group of workers acting together may enjoy greater bargaining rights for pay and conditions than individuals can exercise on their own (though in contemporary Australia, trade union membership numbers are steadily reducing (see Hannan, 2017).

 The benefits of joining a trade union in Australia are outlined here: https://www.australianunions.org.au/why_join

The list of industries which are affiliated with the Australian Council of Trade Unions can be found here: <https://www.australianunions.org.au/join> by clicking on the drop down menu next to the field 'Industry'.



Activity 1.15 - Trade unions

In this activity, we will consider how trade unions contribute to social and political life.

Respond to the following prompts:

- The union I can join now (or could join given my current career preferences) is...
 - The benefits to me of joining a union are/would be...
 - The disadvantages to me of joining a union are/would be...
 - The union I am a member of/could join could help me if any of the following issues or problems arose in the workplace...
 - More people should/should not join unions because...
- Does the ever-decreasing membership of unions present a danger to Australia's political system and society? Discuss as a class.

Minor parties

Minor parties are those that do not have a realistic chance of gaining sufficient votes/seats to form government in their own right, though they may form part of a coalition government and exert influence over Australian public policy. For example, the Greens' influence on the Gillard ALP government between 2010 and 2013 (Rodgers, 2010).

The National Party

The National Party was known as the Country Party until 1975. The National Party traditionally represents voters in regional and rural Australia, who may have different needs and policy preferences than metropolitan Australians. In recent decades, however, regional and rural voters have become increasingly disenchanted with the level of representation by the National Party, and voters have tended to turn towards independents or other parties, as shown by the popularity for Bob Katter's Australia Party (Katter was formerly a National Party MP).

The Australian Greens

The Australian Greens Party (simply known as The Greens) traditionally represented the environment. Of course, the environment does not vote! This party represents voters who have been predominantly motivated by environmental issues. Environmental issues can include deforestation, uranium mining, global warming and emissions trading, the loss of natural habitat – including the Great Barrier Reef – pollution and species extinction.

The Greens are not unique in espousing environmental concerns, values and suggestions. In fact, all political parties express views and policies regarding environmental issues now. However, The Greens continue to promote environmental concerns but now also advocate for asylum seekers, marriage equality and women's rights among other issues.

Single issue and micro parties

As the name implies, single issue parties and micro parties tend to represent voters who are concerned about specific political issues. For instance, contemporary Australian politics has seen the Australian Motoring Enthusiasts Party, the Shooters Fishers and Farmers Party, and the Australian Reason Party. The more powerful and influential of these micro parties in recent years have included Family First, the Palmer United Party, One Nation and Katter's Australian Party.



Activity 1.16 - Research and report

1. In pairs, choose a minor or micro party to research and report on, preferably one that currently holds a seat in federal or state parliament.

Current membership of the House of Representatives by party can be found at:

 https://www.aph.gov.au/Senators_and_Members/Members#

Current membership of the Senate by party can be found at:

 https://www.aph.gov.au/Senators_and_Members/Senators/Senate_composition

2. Complete the following table:

Party name	
Year of origin	
Leader	
Constituency represented	
Number of seats held in the House of Representatives	
Percentage of first preference votes won at most recent House of Representatives election nationally	
Number of seats held in the Senate	
Policy 1 summary (2 to 3 sentences)	
Policy 2 summary (2 to 3 sentences)	

3. Present your findings to the class in PowerPoint (or another application such as Prezi).

Extension activity

Considering your previous research (on major parties' policies) and your findings from this activity, are minor parties fulfilling a clear area of need in Australian politics, or does some other factor account for their share of the vote?

Preferential voting. Voting method by which voters number from their most to least preferred candidates on a ballot paper.

Contesting elections

Ultimately all political parties seek power. This is through forming government, winning seats in parliament, or winning enough votes to help other parties win seats (through **preference deals**, which occur in **preferential voting**). This power is attained by contesting elections.

Preference deal. A swap between two parties that make each other their recommended second preference on their how-to-vote cards.



Terms of government

In Australia, there are elections for each of the three levels of government.

1. Federal government elections must be held at least every three years;
2. State government terms vary from state to state between three and four years;
3. Elections for local government also vary between states.



Activity 1.17 - When is the next election?

Visit the website 'So when is the next election?' for Australian elections timetables:

 https://www.aph.gov.au/About_Parliament/Parliamentary_Departments/Parliamentary_Library/pubs/rp/rp1617/AustralianElectionsTimetable

Complete the following table:

Electorate	Most recent election date	Electorate	Next election due date	Term length (number of years between expected elections)
Australia: Double dissolution		Australia: Simultaneous half-Senate and House of Representatives		3 years
Victoria		Victoria		
New South Wales		New South Wales		
Queensland		Queensland		
South Australia		South Australia		
Tasmania		Tasmania		
Northern Territory		Northern Territory		
Australian Capital Territory		Australian Capital Territory		
Your local council		Your local council		

Discuss the following questions in class:

1. Why do you think some electorates have differing term lengths?
2. Are shorter or longer terms better? Why?
3. Why are regular elections an important element of democratic government?
4. What are the benefits or weaknesses of three-year terms in the House of Representatives (HoR)?

Campaigns

When political parties contest elections this is called an election campaign and the process has various stages. Contemporary critics often argue that an election campaign begins virtually when a new government is elected, therefore it could be said that election campaigns last three or four years. However, election campaigns begin formally when an election is announced – usually four weeks before the election is due to be held.



Australia's 2016 federal election

The 2016 Australian federal election was called almost three months before the election was due to be held, and this was thought to be an excruciatingly long campaign by some.

Once an election is called, parties face a range of practical questions and tasks. Political parties must answer the questions of where, when, how and through whom

to campaign. Some parties must choose the **electorates** – also known as a seat, formally referred to as a Division by the Australian Electoral Commission (AEC) – in which they will field candidates. Some minor parties do not possess the resources to field **candidates** in every seat (and in the case of the Coalition, there is an agreement in place to avoid diminishing the other coalition partner’s votes by running candidates against each other).

 <http://www.aec.gov.au/footer/Glossary.htm#division>

Parties engage in various forms of campaigning and advertising the policies they intend to enact if they are to form government. They must also choose when particular politicians will visit particular electorates. Timing is crucial and targeted; the sitting Prime Minister might be popular in some states or electorates and less popular in others, for instance. Similarly, parties are keen to sway voters in **marginal electorates** especially closer to the election date, all of this activity must be timed as scientifically as possible to maximise a party’s share of the vote.

Figure 1.15 overleaf shows Australia’s electoral boundaries.

Political parties engage in travelling door-to-door to promote candidates, parties or policies directly to the **constituency**. They may also mail leaflets or pamphlets, and use various forms of media to sell their ideas. This can range from utilising traditional media to more hi-tech approaches by engagement via social media. Politicians and political parties generally use the media for their own benefit; an interview broadcast on the radio or television, or published in the newspaper, is an opportunity for a politician to sell their ideas.

Political parties also use advertising in traditional media. Readers will have seen political advertising during election campaigns. When political parties advertise they tend to be quite negative about their opponents, rather than positive about their own message. ‘Attack ads’ (scare campaigns) are used because they tend to sway the **undecided voters** targeted by political parties.

Electorate. A geographical area of Australia (also known as an electoral division) represented by an MP elected at a House of Representatives election.

Candidate. An individual who nominates to seek public office at an election.

Marginal electorates. Those electorates in which the majority enjoyed by the sitting MP is less than 5 per cent.

Constituency. Refers commonly to a group of voters with a shared interest – e.g. ‘the blue-collar constituency’ refers to voters employed in manual labour sectors.

Undecided voters. Voters who are still considering which candidate to cast their vote for at an election. Can also be referred to as swinging voters (though the two are not strictly the same).



ALP leader Bill Shorten; photo: CPSU/CSA



Activity 1.18 - The impact of attack advertisements

1. Conduct a search for attack advertisements in the most recent federal election campaign, e.g. '2016 Australian election advertising videos'.
2. Choose an advertisement to watch and answer the following:
 - Which party created the advertisement?
 - What was the issue or main policy of the advertisement?
 - What was the main message or theme of the advertisement?
 - Would you be swayed to vote a particular way by this advertisement?
 - Do attack advertisements reflect a healthy democracy? Why or why not? Discuss your findings as a class.

Forming government

The ultimate prize for political parties is forming government. In Australia, government is formed when a party (or parties/members in agreement) can command the majority of seats in the House of Representatives (that is 76 out of 150 seats).



Activity 1.19 - What is the government's majority?

Conduct a search for 'Australian parliament composition' and complete the following table:

Government seats (number)	
Opposition seats (number)	
Cross-bench seats (number)	
Number of seats government could afford to lose and stay in government	

The party in power

Government calls the public policy shots. However, it does not necessarily decide which laws are passed or which policies are implemented. There are too many other factors that can influence policy implementation. It is true, however, that in Australia, the federal government decides which policies are *not* enacted and which items of legislation are *not* considered by parliament.

The law-making process is largely determined by two factors – the fact that government holds a majority in the House of Representatives and **party discipline**.

The law-making process, often referred to as the **legislative function**, is largely under the government's power. For a law to be enacted it must be passed by both Houses of Parliament – firstly the House of Representatives and then the Senate. It is from this process that the Australian government derives its power. A law can only pass if the government supports it in the House of Representatives.

Party discipline simply means that every member of a political party is bound to carry out what is decided by that party.

Party discipline.

A convention binding party members to vote as agreed by their party. It is particularly important to the major parties.

Legislative function.

The process whereby laws are made. A proposed bill must be passed by a majority of members of the House of Representatives and then by a majority of Senators to become a law.

Thus, any single member of the party cannot simply decide to vote against a particular bill in parliament. If they were to do so, they would risk being expelled from their party. Occasionally, however, the major parties do allow **conscience votes** (for instance the ALP allowed conscience votes on the issue of marriage equality in 2016).

How do parties influence government policies?

Only one group or party is entitled to form government. At time of writing, the last time a party formed government on its own was in 2007 (the Rudd ALP government). But that does not mean that the other parties are locked out of the political process. As previously explored, you may recall that the party that wins the second-largest number of seats forms the **opposition**. It criticises government policy, holds government accountable and puts forward alternative policies. Perhaps the most prominent example of this is the opposition leader’s formal ‘Budget Reply’, which is an alternative proposal for the Commonwealth government budget each year.

Members of parliament from other (minor and/or micro) parties also sit in parliament as **crossbenchers**. They can still influence government policy, especially if they hold what is called the **balance of power**.

Even from outside parliament, political parties can still influence government policy. In order to maintain power, each party

uses its influence by assisting those parties that helped deliver them to power through preferential voting. Some parties will likely never hold government or even hold a seat in Parliament. Nevertheless, votes cast for this party can be crucial in delivering power to a sitting member or senator, especially if this party has what are called **disciplined voters**, who can be relied on to consistently fill out the **ballot papers** in the way directed by **how-to-vote cards** resulting from preference deals.

You can find out more about this at the Australian Electoral Commission (AEC) and Victorian Electoral Commission (VEC) websites.

Conscience vote. This is a vote when each individual member of the parliamentary wing of a political party may vote according to their individual preferences.

Opposition. Party or group that commands the second-largest number of seats in the House of Representatives. Also known as the alternative government.

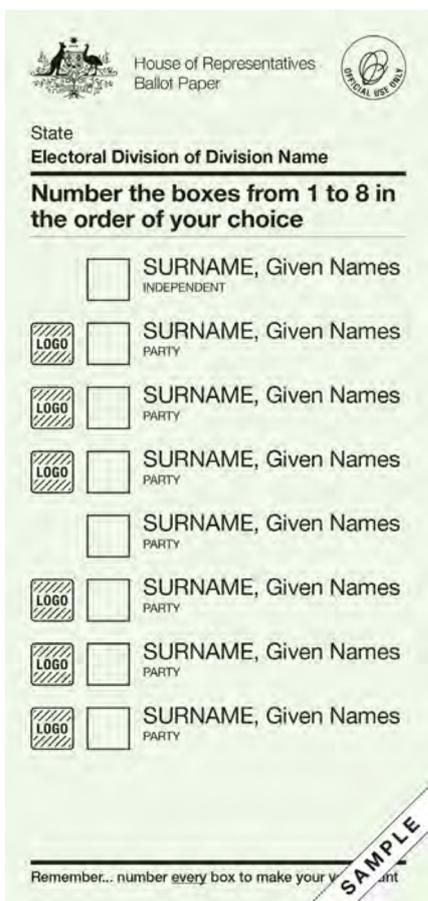
Crossbenchers. Elected MPs who sit neither with the government, nor with the opposition, but rather on the seat in between them.

Balance of power. The vote of MPs necessary for the government to pass legislation (as was the case, for instance, when the coalition government relied on crossbench votes to pass its budget in 2017).

Disciplined voters. Those voters who number their ballot papers in a way which conforms to ‘how-to-vote’ cards.

Ballot paper. A paper used by voters to cast their vote in an election.

How-to-vote card. A leaflet which suggests to voters how a party would like their voters to rank their preferences (based on preference deals the party has made).



Sample House of Representatives ballot paper; image: Australian Electoral Commission

How do political parties provide opportunities for citizen/civic participation?

“I’m tired of hearing democracy does not work, of course it does not work. We are supposed to work for it.” Alexander Woollcott.

**Activity 1.20 – Participation in democracy**

Consider Woollcott’s quote and, in your own words, explain what you think Woollcott means. Then conduct a search, for ‘death of democracy’ and choose an article to analyse. With reference to the article you choose:

1. List and explain the main points the author raises about why democracy is dying.
2. Explain what can be done to remedy or resolve the points – how can we ‘work for democracy’?
3. Share your ideas with the class and record any new ideas.

Write a reflection in your notes:

The biggest problems faced by democracy are _____

and the ways we can fix them are _____

Political parties afford ordinary citizens numerous opportunities to participate in the political process, beginning with the day on which an election is held. On election day, political parties invite their members and supporters to hand out ‘how-to-vote cards’, which are designed to activate particular voting groups in an agreed way. Parties also hold sausage sizzles on election day, seeking to engage voters to participate in political conversation and possibly even join a political party. Many Australians seem to frequently mistake *voting* for democracy, however opportunities for citizen participation are manifold beyond election day.

Contacting ministers

Between elections, political parties provide a way for citizens to communicate with government. If citizens wish to express complaints (or even compliments!) regarding legislation or policy, political parties facilitate the process. Citizens can of course write to a federal government minister about an issue. However, writing to a local MP (even if the MP is from a different party than the relevant minister) increases the chance that the protest (or praise) is read and addressed. Failing this, it is possible for a discontented (or satisfied) citizen to write to a member of the opposition party or an independent party to voice their concerns. Opposition and crossbench members tend to have more time (because they are not occupied with the business of government) though they have less resources (they do not have a **bureaucracy** at their disposal). Citizens can of course engage on social media with their local member.

Bureaucracy. A body of non-elective government officials (also known as the public service).



‘Write a letter to a minister’ activity available online.

Joining political parties

Citizens who are motivated to influence government and policy can join political parties. Despite the increasing ease of joining political parties, membership numbers are dropping. Joining political parties has become easier since the advent of the internet and can be completed online. Despite the speed and ease of joining a party, only 2 per cent of Australians are members, while a healthy democracy is usually one in which political party membership is at about 5 per cent (Reece, 2015).



Benefits of joining a political party

Citizens who join political parties find they can participate more fully in the political process. They can:

- Attend party meetings of their local and state branches.
- Participate in the election campaign by:
 - Door-knocking for their local member;
 - Taking or making phone calls;
 - Promoting the party online;
 - Scrutineering (overseeing the vote-counting process at an election).



Vote counting; photo: Australian Electoral Commission

There are many perceived benefits to joining a political party. Those who do join and participate in the campaign process may find that they become more knowledgeable about the political process and how they can engage in it to benefit themselves and their community.



Activity 1.21 - Joining a political party

If you have previously undertaken the political compass test, you will generally have greater awareness of your own political preferences.

You may also find it useful to visit the websites of some political parties and familiarise yourselves with 2 or 3 policies of each party. Use a table like the one below to record your research findings.

Party name	Policy 1 summary	Policy 2 summary	Policy 3 summary

I would join/not join a political party because _____

What are the roles and functions of the Liberal Party and the Australian Greens?

The Liberal Party

The Liberal Party is a mass party – it exists to appeal to a large cross-section of society rather than just one specific segment. In its present form, the Liberal Party has existed since 1944.

When the coalition (Liberals and Nationals) forms government (as it did from 2013 onwards), positions in the executive are divided between the two parties. Given that the Liberal Party is the senior partner (gaining more votes by about 5:1), the position of Prime Minister and many of the senior ministries go to Liberal Party MPs. A National Party MP occupies the post of Deputy Prime Minister and other Nationals hold some prominent ministries.



Activity 1.22 - Ministries held by coalition partners

Complete the following table

Position	Name of person	Party (National or Liberal)
Prime Minister		
Minister for Foreign Affairs		
Attorney-General		
Treasurer		
Minister for Finance		

Position	Name of person	Party (National or Liberal)
Minister for Defence		
Minister for Defence Industry		
Minister for Education and Training		
Minister for Indigenous Affairs		
Minister for Immigration and Border Protection		
Minister for Health		
Minister for Sport		
Minister for Communications		
Minister for the Arts		
Minister for Employment		
Minister for Social Services		
Minister for Agriculture and Water Resources		
Minister for Industry, Innovation and Science		
Minister for Trade, Tourism and Investment		
Minister for Infrastructure and Transport		

Total number of cabinet ministries	
Total number of Liberal Party ministers	
Total number of National Party ministers	

Is the division of cabinet ministries between the two coalition partners fair? Brainstorm as a class some reasons why the division of ministries is fair (or why not), include in your responses reference to:

- Each party's share of seats;
- Each party's share of first preference votes;
- Whether one of the partners might have a 'balance of power' role (see above).

The Liberal Party (or the Coalition) has held power in Australia for 51 out of the last 73 years. According to 18th century French writer, Joseph de Maistre, (or 19th century French political scientist, Alexis de Tocqueville) 'People get the government they deserve', and certainly, the electorate gets the government that it has voted for.

The Liberal Party's success can be attributed to a combination of policies, funding and possibly a conservative streak in the Australian electorate.

The Australian Greens

The Australian Greens were founded much more recently (in 1992) by Tasmanian GP, Dr Bob Brown, and Queensland academic, Drew Hutton. As the name suggests, The Greens are a pro-environmental issues party. Traditionally, their core philosophies have been anti-mining, anti-deforestation and anti-any damage to the environment, while advocating for issues such as animal liberation and environmental protection. In the past decade or so, The Greens have expanded their policy agenda as they seek greater influence and wider appeal. In contemporary times, The Greens formulate policy in the areas in which their major party competitors formulate policy. Being a party of the left tends to imply The Greens may be considered critical of free trade and recent multilateral free-trade arrangements, such as the Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP). They are also pro-union in general and pro-workers' rights. They are more likely to partner in a coalition with the Australian Labor Party.



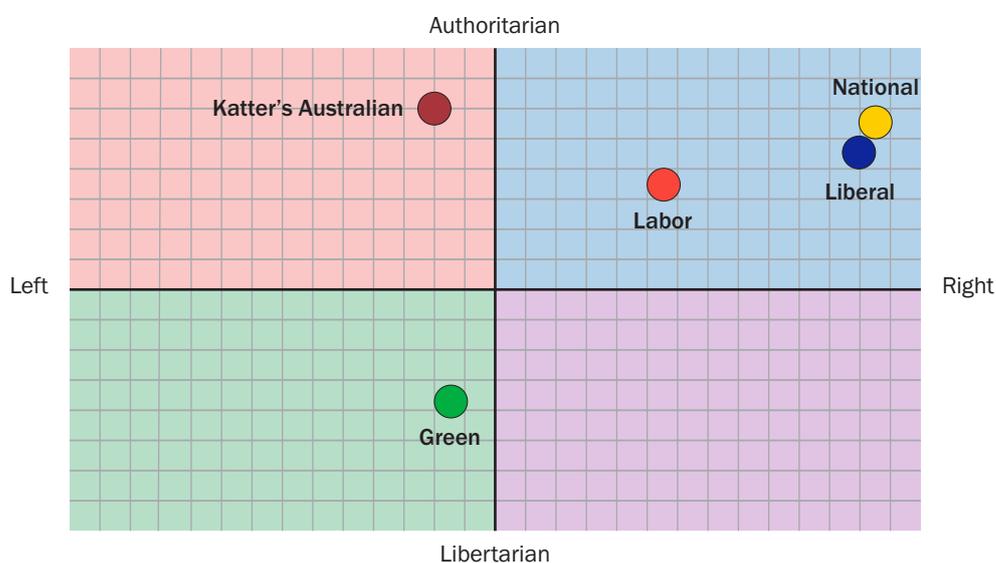
Activity 1.23 - The political compass and coalitions

1. Consider the graph of parties and their policies from the 2016 Australian Federal Election in Figure 1.16 below.
2. In pairs, analyse the graph and discuss why the Australian Greens and the Australian Labor Party might form a coalition, and give reasons why they might not. Then use your ideas to make a decision about whether the parties should join forces (you may find it useful to copy the table below into your notebook).

Refer to previous research about the policies of each party and reasons some of you may have had for wanting to join (/not join) these parties.

ALP and Greens <i>would</i> form a coalition because:	ALP and Greens <i>would not</i> form a coalition because:
Decision (Would you agree to a coalition if one of you was the ALP's leader and the other the Greens' leader?)	

Figure 1.16 – Australia's political compass



Source: The Political Compass, www.politicalcompass.org

Demographics indicate that Greens voters tend to be made up of relatively affluent and educated voters. Greens policies also tend to appeal to younger voters, such as those who are more likely to be actively concerned about the future, the environment and human rights. The Greens have been very vocal on advocating for marriage equality and the rights of asylum seekers.

The Greens now field a candidate in virtually every electorate in Australia at every election. They also field candidates in the Senate where they enjoy the greatest success. They have previously formed a **minority government** with the ALP in Tasmania (in 2010–2014).

Minority government.

When a party forms government without holding a majority of parliamentary seats (i.e. by making a coalition deal after election results are announced).

The Greens present an interesting case study in the leveraging of the balance of power for policy outcomes. In 2010, the Gillard ALP government was re-elected but only because it could form what was called a minority government with the vote of the sole House of Representative's Greens MP (Adam Bandt, the member for Melbourne) and three independent MPs. To secure the Greens' alliance, ALP leader Julia Gillard promised a carbon tax. Many voters considered that this broke one of her government's election campaign promises and, according to then-columnist (and now Liberal MP) Nicole Flint (2013), by recanting her promise to withhold a carbon tax Gillard cost her party government at the 2013 election.



Greens volunteers; photo courtesy of The Australian Greens – greens.org.au



Why is support for major parties declining and why are minor parties emerging?

Long-term factors

Historical political factors may have played a part in eroding the major parties' vote share. The most significant changes since the 1950s involve developments in left-wing parties, from the ALP split to the emergence of the Democrats and the Australian Greens. In the 1950s, the ALP 'split' into two parties, with the newly-formed Democratic Labor Party (DLP) running against the ALP and eroding its vote, costing it a number of parliamentary seats. In 1977, disillusioned former Liberal

MP, Don Chipp, formed a new party, the Australian Democrats (as a 'common sense centre party'). Similarly, in 1992, Tasmanian GP, Dr Bob Brown, created the Australian Greens. These two parties may have attracted the same constituency. While neither has gained more than one seat in the House of Representatives, they have succeeded in gaining sufficient Senate seats to regularly hold the balance of power (the Democrats from 1980 to 1990 and again in 1998, and the Greens in some ways since 2010).

Short-term factors

Relatively recent phenomena may also have decreased the major parties' vote share. More immediate influences may include a larger number of candidates (and the success of some relatively unknown candidates), and social changes, including a weakening of parental influence and the advent of social media. The 2013 and 2016 elections (with 1,717 and 1,625 candidates respectively) featured considerably more candidates running for office than any previous election (the previous highest had 1,421 candidates running in 2004 and 2007) (Australian Election Study, 2016). This increase in choice may have resulted in voters turning away from major parties. A few of the new candidates have achieved success, for example the Australian Motoring Enthusiasts Party's Ricky Muir won a Victorian Senate seat at the 2013 election. Could such success have encouraged more such candidates (such as Derryn Hinch in 2016)? Another crucial cause could be that children just do not vote as their parents did (Edwards, Saha and Print, 2011). These recent factors seem to mainly involve social and procedural changes.

Impact of public perceptions of politicians

There is a perception of increasing voter disillusionment with the major political parties, either because they do not offer any real policy choice, or because they are not seen to uphold society's morals and values, or because it is thought that the major political parties do not actually deliver on the election promises that they make (Bennett, 2013).



Activity 1.24 - Think, pair, share

In this activity, we will consider whether political decisions must be ethical. Ethics are moral principles that govern a person's behaviour or the conducting of an activity. Here are some useful readings to help you:

 Majority of federal MPs refuse to sign up to Tony Fitzgerald's ethical standards:
<http://www.smh.com.au/federal-politics/political-news/majority-of-federal-mps-refuse-to-sign-up-to-tony-fitzgeralds-ethical-standards-20170710-gx820x.html>

Politicians with a 'winning at all costs' mentality are damaging Australia:
<http://www.smh.com.au/comment/politicians-with-a-winning-at-all-costs-mentality-are-damaging-australia-20170411-gvif0c.html>

Copy the following table into your notebooks and brainstorm a list.

Ethical decisions or actions by politicians	Unethical decisions or actions by politicians

Compare your list with that of a classmate and then other students in your class.

Discuss: Should we hold politicians to the same ethical standards as the rest of the community, or does politics require or allow divergence from ethical norms?

The influence of social media on political events and voter choice

Social media may be affecting the vote share of the major parties, though evidence to-date appears inconclusive. Younger people, in particular, have greater access to news, information and opportunities, but are they utilising this? According to Chen and Vromen (2010), younger voters are more likely than older voters to use social media to follow political news. Social media also affords minor party, micro party and independent candidates a more affordable way of competing with the better resourced major parties, as evidenced by former Australian Idol host James Mathison in his bid to unseat former Prime Minister, Tony Abbott, in the Warringah electorate in 2016 (Wordsworth, 2016). Greater consideration and more detailed discussion of social media's effect on voting patterns is certainly warranted.



Activity 1.25 James Mathison vs Tony Abbott

Conduct a search on 'Warringah 2013 election' and 'Warringah 2016 election'.

- Compare and contrast the candidates' first preference vote shares.
 - Is there evidence to suggest that Mathison's use of social media eroded the major parties' vote share? Explain using evidence.
 - Explain what other factors may have played a part in the 2016 result and discuss your ideas as a class.
- Conduct a SWOT (strengths, weaknesses, opportunities, threats) analysis on the effect of social media on major party votes (copy the table below into your notebook).

Strengths	Weaknesses
List the evidence for the claim that social media has affected major parties' votes: • • •	List the evidence for the claim that social media has failed to affect major parties' votes: • • •
Opportunities	Threats
List the opportunities for social media to affect major parties' votes in the future: • • •	List the dangers or hurdles for those using social media to affect major parties' votes: • • •

- Write a reflection: Social media may have affected major parties' votes (because/based on the evidence that/through – i.e. refer to 'strengths' and 'weaknesses'); in the future, social media may affect (or not significantly affect) major parties' votes (because/based on the evidence that/through – i.e. refer to 'opportunities' and 'threats').

What are interest groups and what is their purpose?

The term 'interest group' refers to a collection of people who have united in order to take action about, or bring attention to, a particular area of concern or interest.

Interest groups vary in size, scope and focus. People in your suburb, for example, may form an interest group concerned about local park amenities. Alternatively, interest groups can exist at a state, national or transnational level. Wherever there is democratic freedom to express ideas, there are interest groups.

Interest groups serve a number of purposes or roles including:

- Advancing ideas and policies
- Providing expert information and education about specific issues
- Seeking to influence government decisions
- As international networks and influences
- Engaging with the public to build support and membership
- Providing opportunities for citizen participation.

How do interest groups advance ideas and policies?

Much like political parties, interest groups seek solutions to problems in policy areas. For example, the National Students Union (NSU) has long campaigned for the abolition of various fees, including the Higher Education Loan Program (HELP); the NSU believes in education for the common good and one of the policies they advocate for is free education for students.



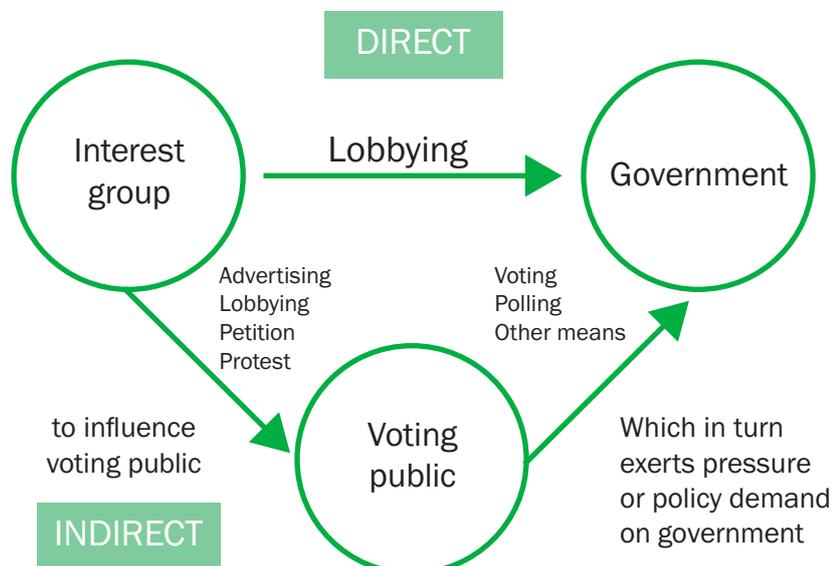
How interest groups can influence

Interest groups can advance policies and ideas by:

- Advertising – via traditional or social media
- Lobbying – campaigning to exert pressure on particular individuals or groups
- Petitions – seeking a large number of signatures to show a demand/need for policy
- Raising awareness – through media and social media
- Appearing before parliamentary committees and inquiries
- Protesting, motivating – using personal or indirect influence to raise public awareness and gain popular support.

(See also Figure 1.17 below.)

Figure 1.17 – How interest groups can influence government





Activity 1.26 - Research interest groups and their methods

This activity may be best conducted as you progress through this section.

Copy the table below into your notebook and find evidence where possible (though this may be difficult for lobbying, which is often hidden from the public eye).

Fill in as many rows as you can with evidence you find about interest groups' activities.

For the local level, a good place to start could be:

-  Yarra Campaign for Action on Transport (YCAT)
<http://www.ycat.org.au/>
- Royal Park Protection Group
<http://royalparkprotect.com.au/tag/east-west-link/>

	Local	National/state	International
Interest group name			
Advertising (via traditional media)			
Lobbying			
Petition			
Protest			
Social media presence			

How do interest groups provide expert information and education?

Interest groups provide information and education in person, via traditional media and through social media (and related applications). Interest groups are generally experts because they comprise members who are interested in particular issues.

Visiting the website of any prominent interest group generally links users to:

- opportunities to participate in person
- publicise the organisation or its issue via social media
- copies of **press releases**
- videos about specific issues or campaigns
- downloadable educational/informative documents.

Press release. Release of information for the purpose of media finding it newsworthy enough to publish it or cover in the media (also referred to as media release, press statement, news release).

Some interest groups even offer learning opportunities, either delivered to the classroom or via a school excursion.



Activity 1.27 - Interest groups

This activity focuses on how interest groups provide information and education.

Choose an interest group and issue to research (you may have chosen one in the previous activity).

Copy the following table into your textbook and complete.

Interest group name:	Details of opportunity: What, where, when, purpose and evidence (e.g. link to url)
In-person educational/information opportunity	
Traditional media educational/information opportunity	
Social media educational/information opportunity	

How can interest groups influence government decisions?

The most direct method of influencing government is lobbying. Lobbying can take the form of a ‘carrot’ or a ‘stick’. Through directly meeting with government figures, interest group leaders or members can seek to convince the government of the worth of their cause and seek government advocacy (the carrot). Alternatively they may exert pressure by reminding the government of the potential costs of ignoring the group’s claims (the stick). The degree of effectiveness of either method depends on the situation. Interest groups can also indirectly influence government policy through the same means used to advance policy ideas. These ‘grassroots’ actions can create a groundswell of public support, which in turn affects government decision-making. Some interest groups have more power to influence government than others. The ability to influence may depend on the issue, the government in power at the time or the relative importance of the issue to the broader constituency.

International networks and influences

Environmental issues and human rights issues are transnational (they stretch across multiple states) by nature. Hence it is vital for some interest groups to draw on their international networks to raise awareness for global change.

An example of the power of an interest group is Greenpeace. In the 1980s, Greenpeace succeeded in campaigning for awareness about nuclear disarmament.



Rainbow Warrior; photo: Greenpeace Local Group Bologna

How do interest groups engage with the public to build support and membership?

While some interest groups face no problems in attracting members (unions, for instance already have workers who are affiliated with a particular industry) other groups must educate the public about the issue they seek to promote. For instance, groups that campaign about environmental damage or human rights abuses often deploy campaigners in the streets to talk to members of the public (as readers might have noticed on a trip to their local shopping centre or the CBD).

What opportunities do interest groups provide for citizen participation?

Interest groups afford citizens political participation directly (i.e. through membership of the interest group) and indirectly (through participating in or supporting the group's cause/s without necessarily becoming a member of the group).



How interest groups build support

Activities or methods in which interest groups build support and awareness for their issue include:

- **Petitions:** Collecting signatures supporting a political, social, legal, economic or other aim. Petitions aim to bring publicity to a cause or impel change through the large numbers of people signing them. A variety of online platforms make this easier than ever for citizens to do themselves, such as change.org/, avaaz.org and gopetition.com among others.
- **Protests:** Members of interest groups are often responsible for organising or providing resources for public protests (which can take the form of marches, demonstrations or strikes, for instance). Such protests aim to attract interested members of the public to participate, in which case (as with petitions), it is the weight of popular participation that casts awareness on an issue or leads to pressure for political change and protests are often visually newsworthy and garner media attention.
- **Phone email campaigns:** Some interest groups ask their members to 'hit the phones', to raise awareness and seek to create pressure for change through contacting friends, associates or people in positions of authority or power (whether in the corporate or political world).
- **Social media activism/campaigns:** Interest groups use social media by seeking to create viral content. For example, the rainbow Facebook cover photo filter raised awareness for marriage equality. Various hashtags are used on Twitter such as #illridewithyou (to denote an anti-Islamophobic sentiment) or #nevertrump (used to denote opposition to then-US presidential candidate Donald Trump).



Demonstration supporting renewable energy; photo: Takver



Activity 1.28 - What are interest groups doing?

1. Follow an interest group via social media or subscribe to its e-newsletter.
2. Prepare a summary of their key activities.

What are the key differences between interest groups and political parties?

It may seem as if there is little or no difference between interest groups and political parties. They both serve a political function, giving voice to groups of people and seeking influence. Moreover, both kinds of organisations use a variety of methods to accomplish these aims.

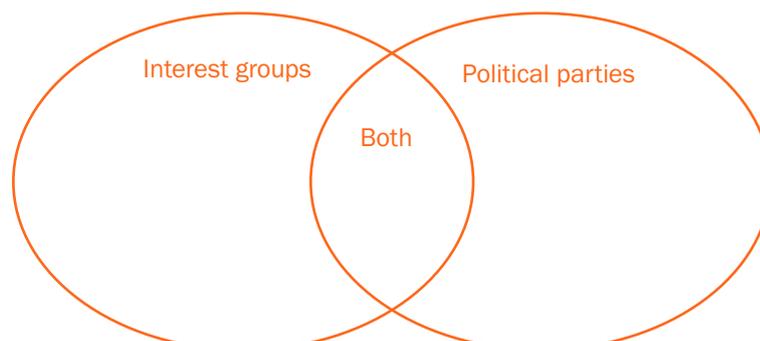
The most important distinguishing factor is that political parties contest elections – interest groups do not. Political parties also differ regarding the nature of their focus and boundaries of organisation. Parties must have policies on a far wider range of issues than interest groups. Though they must focus on more issues, it is vital for Australian political parties to present a united face to the public (or risk the damaging perception that they are disunited). While political parties may have loose associations with international movements (e.g. the Labor party and the International Labour Movement), their organisations do not have a transnational structure and are based entirely in one state (country).

Although interest groups do not contest elections, they do seek to influence the political agenda. Interest groups also contrast with political parties in their discipline and scope. It is less vital for interest groups to present a unified face to the public, since they do not seek to be entrusted with public office. On the other hand, interest groups exist to promote narrower interests: Greenpeace, for example, probably would not have an issue stance on whether Australia's corporate tax rate should be lowered (which is an issue of interest to the Business Council of Australia). Interest groups can be transnational in their organisational structure. Groups such as Save the Children and Amnesty International have a presence in many countries despite being a single organisational hierarchy.



Activity 1.29 - Contrast and compare

Referring to the paragraph above, complete the Venn diagram below with reference to similarities and differences between political parties and interest groups.



The roles and functions of at least two interest groups in Australia

Amnesty International

Amnesty International exists to attract membership and raise money to promote the cause of human rights around the world. It brings attention to abuses of human rights so that all people can hope to have their rights upheld. You can visit the Amnesty International website and download a copy of an educational booklet about human rights.

 <https://www.amnesty.org.au/how-it-works/what-are-human-rights/#humanrights>.

The organisation influences government policy through a variety of channels, including its website, releasing information through social media and organising petitions and protests. It also lobbies government directly. For instance, in August 2016 it lobbied the Queensland government concerning abuses of human rights in the youth justice detention system, which has contributed to the Queensland government reforming youth detention in that state.

 <https://www.amnesty.org.au/amnesty-international-welcomes-queensland-youth-detention-review/>



Amnesty candlestick, Salisbury Cathedral



Activity 1.30 - Amnesty International in Australia

1. Visit the Amnesty International Australia website.
2. Search for its Australian activities and record the who, what, where, why, when and how of a particular campaign. Evaluate whether the campaign was a success.

While there are human rights abuses in Australia, abuses of rights are more prevalent in countries without democratic protections, e.g. in a number of developing and least developed countries throughout the world. For instance, by October 2017, over 600,000 Rohingya people had fled their native Myanmar, reportedly forced out by an ethnic cleansing campaign (in which a government seeks to secure a geographic area for the predominant occupation of one particular ethnic group to the exclusion of another). An interesting and eye-opening resource about this issue from Human Rights Watch, which can be found at:

 <https://www.hrw.org/tag/rohingya-crisis>
<https://www.amnesty.org.au/who-are-the-rohingya-refugees/>



Activity 1.31 - Amnesty International overseas

1. Visit the Amnesty International website.
2. Search for activities and record the who, what, where, why, when and how of a particular campaign. Evaluate whether the campaign was a success.

The Australian Education Union

The Australian Education Union (AEU) exists to protect the working conditions of its members and to promote educational opportunities for all Australians, regardless of social class, ethnicity or citizenship background. The AEU regularly publishes newsletters to inform its members of the latest breakthroughs in educational research, as well as measures that the AEU is taking to promote the cause of educational opportunities in Australia.

The AEU raises awareness and mobilises action for wide-ranging issues around education. These may be related to the working conditions of its members (teachers, support staff and principals) as well as opportunities for students. For example, the AEU Victorian branch mobilised support and awareness to improve the pay and working conditions of Victorian teachers in both 2012-13 and 2016-17 by publicising in newsletters, organising letter, email and social media campaigns and facilitating protests and strike action.



Activity 1.32 - The Australian Education Union (AEU)

1. Visit the AEU Victorian Branch website: <https://www.aeuvic.asn.au/>
2. Find one of the AEU's current campaigns.
3. Record the who, what, where, why, when and how of a particular campaign.
4. Did the campaign succeed in its aims? Show evidence for your answer.



AEU rally against TAFE funding cuts; photo: Takver

Media: roles and functions as a source of political interpretation

What is the role of media?

Media is the plural form of the Latin word medium, which means 'that which comes between two other things'. This is a useful way to understand the term and indeed the

function of media in relation to politics. Media sits *between* what they are reporting on (politics) and the consumers of media (us). With regards to politics, the media are the citizens' eyes and ears.

How do media report on and interpret Australian politics?

Media perform two functions: to **report** on and to **interpret** events. Media 'reporting' on events suggests that media provide a direct, factual account of what actually took place. On the other hand, 'interpreting' events implies that media also imbue some meaning or value to these events. This interpretative function can mean that media provide values and opinions for the public.

Media seek to be objective, because this lends them credibility, which leads consumers (viewers, listeners and readers) to generally choose to consume more of that particular media source. However, it is impossible to be totally objective. There is bias in the choice between what to report and not to report. Why lead the morning news, for instance, with a story about same sex marriage, rather than a story about elephant-hunting?

It is not possible to report everything: TV news reports typically run for only 30 minutes (and about 8 minutes of this time is taken up by advertising on commercial networks); newspapers only have a limited number of pages; websites have limited staff to write copy for them. There is always news excluded from reports. Nonetheless the public expect that media report on events objectively, that they offer a true account of events, particularly when it comes to political events.

In political terms, the media are often referred to as 'the fourth estate' – a reference to the doctrine of the **separation of powers**. The implicit idea is that a free media is vital for democracy – just as vital as the judiciary, legislature and executive being separate. If the media were not separate from the executive, reporting would be merely propaganda. Citizens would simply be informed of what their best interests are, and that the government is carrying them out. This would probably lead to an abuse of power, just as if the legislature, the executive and the judiciary were not separate.

As an example, witness the state of North Korea, which insists that its citizens' best interests are carried out by the state while deploying a great share of its resources to military spending and nuclear arms research, leaving many of its citizens starving, or – literally – eating grass and leaves in times of famine (Le Miere 2017; *The Economist* 1997).

How do media operate and how do they affect and influence government and political participation in Australia?

Traditional media

Traditional media refers to media that existed before the advent of the internet and social media – newspapers, television and radio – all of which report and interpret political events, and includes:

- Newspapers: their reporting is referred to as news, and interpretation of the news is often referred to as the opinion/editorial section of the newspaper.
- Television and radio: they broadcast news (reporting) and 'current affairs' (interpretation).

Reporting. When media publish a literal account of events striving for objectivity.

Interpretation. When media publish a version of events that seeks to contextualise it for consumers.

Separation of powers. Doctrine that the executive, judicial and legislative branches of government should be separate.

In every case, it is supposed that the news function is carried out objectively, whereas the interpretation function is a 'colouring-in', a 'fleshing-out', an illustration or a more in-depth investigation of events.



Activity 1.33 - You make the news!

Imagine you are the editor of one of Australia's most influential daily newspapers such as *The Australian*, *The Age* or the *Herald Sun*.

1. Examine a variety of news websites and choose five stories that appear on the sites, and then rank them from most to least newsworthy. You must justify why a story is ranked and why it is *not* ranked above other stories. Which story would you lead with?
2. Now compare stories and rankings with your class. How much difference is there between story selection and ranking?
3. Write a short reflective paragraph on whether you would like to be the editor of this newspaper, consider both the advantages and the difficulties of the position.

Newspapers

When traditional media ruled, the Australian political media landscape newspapers were king. Rupert Murdoch and his rivals, the Fairfax Press, vied for supremacy and readership. They sought readership so that they could generate advertising revenue, but in so doing these newspaper empires also achieved political power themselves. They were (and remain) participants in the political process. A positive or negative headline in the national daily paper could make or break a government, a minister, or a Member of Parliament.

If you are a political reporter in Australia, it is prestigious to be part of the **Canberra Press Gallery**.

The relationship between the Press Gallery and the Executive is symbiotic – a negative headline leads to political troubles for the person named in the negative headline, but it could also lead to professional troubles for the writer of that headline.

Canberra Press Gallery.

A selection of reporters entitled to sit in their own particular section of Federal Parliament to witness and describe events. More importantly, membership of the Press Gallery means access to the Executive, those who hold the most power, and therefore warrant the most coverage.



Activity 1.34 - The influence of newspapers in Australia

Newspaper circulation figures can be found here:

 <http://www.roymorgan.com/industries/media/readership/newspaper-readership>

1. How many Australians read newspapers regularly by latest count?

At time of writing, there were 16,039,370 enrolled Australian voters

 http://www.aec.gov.au/Enrolling_to_vote/Enrolment_stats/

2. Divide the number of readers by 16,039,370 (the percentage of Australians who read newspapers).
3. Write a brief reflection (2 to 3 sentences) on how influential are newspapers in Australia and what is your evidence for this?

Prime Minister Paul Keating (1991-1996) threatened to “cut off at the knees” a reporter who was impertinent enough to write a negative story about him. He meant that the reporter would be denied access to insider information that enabled her to write unique and valuable stories that attracted readers.

Government insiders and bureaucrats may also ‘leak’ stories to the press, either for personal gain or out of a sense of public duty (this latter is termed ‘whistleblowing’). For example, in October 2017, a senior media adviser employed by the office of Employment Minister, Senator Michaela Cash, secretly informed news media (i.e. ‘leaked information’) that there would be a raid by Australian Federal Police on the Australian Workers Union offices (Yaxley, 2017).

Television and radio

Television news and talkback radio are also influential in their own way. While in the past newspapers swayed the powerbrokers, television and radio swayed the masses. It was mainly through the influence of television reporting, for example, that then Liberal Opposition leader, John Hewson, managed to lose the ‘unlosable’ election in 1993, after a series of prominent slip-ups that were reported on TV news and current affairs programs. Television only reveals slivers of information in political news, but it is perceived as more ‘real’ because you can see it.



Activity 1.35 - The influence of TV news in Australia

1. Visit the website below, click on ‘Read more’ and scroll down to find the ratings for each channel’s news.
 TV news ratings can be found at: <https://tvtonight.com.au/category/ratings>
2. As in the previous exercise, calculate the percentage of Australians who regularly watch TV news.
3. Which is more influential – TV news or newspapers? Why?

Radio has long played a role in Australian politics and so-called ‘talkback’ radio still plays a powerful role. The term refers to radio programs hosted by media personalities, such as Alan Jones, Neil Mitchell and Ray Hadley, who interview prominent Australians while taking calls directly from listeners. With large numbers of people tuning into these broadcasts, these talkback hosts have become political power-brokers themselves. Alan Jones is very much part of the story and not merely reporting on the story – “[People are] not interested in me telling them what to think. They want to know what I think” (Maddox, 2017).



Activity 1.36 - Talkback radio’s power and influence

Ray Hadley estimates that he and Alan Jones may attract between 500,000 and 700,000 listeners at any one time throughout Australia (Maddox, 2017). Does this number surprise you?

1. Compare the number of talkback radio listeners to the number of newspaper readers and TV news viewers (from Activity 1.35).
2. Which of the traditional media seems most influential?
3. Could there be reasons why numbers do not entirely capture the total influence of one or more of these media? Conduct a class ‘think, pair, share’, recording your thoughts, those of a partner, and then any new additions from a class discussion.

Social media

It has been said that social media threatens established traditional media.

Social media is interactive media. It offers new platforms for political news and opportunities for politicians and citizens alike to interact. It could be seen that the constituency can now directly interact and respond to political news as it happens in the world by using social media. People can show their 'likes' or dislikes of policy, programs and individuals in comments sections and on various social media sites.

In this busy online world, though, political news competes for attention with celebrities, apps, games and cuddly dogs, and social media becomes news in itself. Among the storytellers are political representatives who use social media to 'build their brand', so they are perceived to be in touch, approachable and possibly even entertaining.

Critics of social media blame it for the fact that, in recent elections, governments have won majorities but lasted only one term, unable to hold together a stable coalition of political groups to carry out any successful long-term policy (Manser, 2015).



Activity 1.37 - Judging social media (think, pair, share)

Is social media merely a distraction from actual political events or is social media a foundation of new democratic opportunities?

Read the following article:

 <https://theconversation.com/time-to-learn-the-many-lessons-from-a-long-campaign-62048>

You may also conduct a search using the terms: 'Australia ungovernable'.

Create a table like the one below in your notebook:

Distraction from actual political events	Foundation of new democratic opportunities

1. Brainstorm your ideas, share with a partner and then discuss as a class, adding more ideas to your table.
2. Write a paragraph response to the question asked at the beginning of this activity.

Some critics thought social media had the power to transform politics and return democracy to its Athenian days of direct citizen participation (Adonis and Mulgan, 1994). This led to coining the term **push-button democracy**.

Push-button democracy.

The idea implies that people could directly decide public policy by using computing technology.

Social media technologies are a sort of instant-feedback mechanism for policy ideas, pronouncements, programs and proposed legislation. Similarly, social media endows governments with a tool to coordinate services and people during emergencies and threats. The Queensland government used social media effectively during 2016 to coordinate its response to flooding, its success possibly demonstrated by a zero fatality count.

New media

While social media serves to connect people to each other, the defining characteristic of new media is the connection of people to content. New media is a term so broad it can include everything from written news sites, video sites, online radio, podcasts and games. In a similar fashion to social media, new media's advent has resulted in an increase in voices and perspectives concerning various issues and debates. In the 20th century, when traditional media dominated information and news dissemination, the consumers were presented with a limited number of lenses through which to view political events.

The rise of new media from the start of the 21st century has resulted in the shattering of those few lenses, and media consumers now see politics through the ever-multiplying shards. The previous top-down media dissemination still influences and shapes the present situation (the shards are still shards of the original lenses); yet the shards themselves are constantly re-shaped and recreated, broken down into ever more and diverse lenses.



Activity 1.38 - New media - What's the point? (think, pair, share)

More political coverage and information is now available to more people in more times and places more frequently than ever before.

1. Has new media, like social media, benefited politics, or has it merely reduced politics to just another form of entertainment or infotainment? If so, does that matter?
2. Prepare some thoughts on your own, share with a partner and expand, then discuss as a class.

The media as a form of political participation and opportunities for citizen participation

“Whenever you do a thing, act as if all the world were watching.” (United States founding father and third President, Thomas Jefferson)

Studies have repeatedly shown that even when we merely believe that someone is watching us, our behaviour is altered – for the better (Linden, 2011).

Media perform this function on our behalf, they function as our eyes and ears on politicians, even when we are not watching. Ever since the advent of mass communication (with the spread of the printing press in the 17th century), political leaders have been more accountable and thus acted increasingly in the public interest. The 20th century proliferation of traditional media ushered in even greater accountability by political leaders for their actions. Similarly, the advent and current hegemony of new media might well heighten participation in politics.

New media increases the opportunities available for citizens to participate in the political process. However, whether it is true that citizens actually do participate more in the political process – and indeed how effective such participation actually is – remains a different question. Social and new media are vehicles for political sabotage, as we have seen through the accounts of Andres Sepulveda (see Activity 1.39 below), the Russian government's intervention in the US election and other similar episodes.



Activity 1.39 - How to hack an election

Read the article 'How to hack an election':

 <https://www.bloomberg.com/features/2016-how-to-hack-an-election/>

1. Summarise the main points of the story – who, what, where, why, when and how.
2. Imagine a scenario in which this occurs in Australia. Create a fictitious scenario (targeting one politician in particular) and give details of who, what, where, why, when and explain how this would affect:
 - the politician concerned
 - politicians more widely
 - Australia's democracy.
3. You could read their mock scenarios to classmates.
4. Write a reflection using the prompt: 'I used to think... now I think...' regarding social media's influence on politics.
5. Discuss as a class.

Differences and similarities between traditional, new and social media in relation to coverage of political issues

Contrasts between and similarities among these three media 'boil down' to function and form. Namely, the three share functional similarities (what they do, how they work), while divergences stem from their formal aspects (what they are, how they are created).

The functional aspects unite the various media. They are all forms of media – they are a layer or a filter in between political issues and citizens. While it may seem as if social and new media offer constituents direct participation, such appearances may be illusory.



Activity 1.40 - A politician on Twitter

1. Examine two to three recent Tweets by a prominent Australian politician – do they reply to comments in their threads?
2. If there is any interaction with public users, does it take place within a politically significant issue, or in a 'feel good' or 'puff' story?
3. Does Twitter (or other social media) offer anything different to press releases?
4. What does this lead you to think about whether social media promotes greater participation by citizens?

All media offer only versions of reality – they are not themselves necessarily objectively true accounts. All forms of media are in some way opinion leaders and shapers of thought. They all distribute political power and influence.



Free media

In a democracy, all media should be free from political influence. The media should be able to comment, report, approve or disapprove without fear or interference. In the modern age, individuals via social and new media must also have this right. Twitter users might immaturely harass the Prime Minister, but even this is vital for democracy (there is a difference between 'free' and 'responsible' speech).

The media differ most of all in form. Crucially they differ in terms of when and by whom they are created. While traditional media were bound to particular times of day and night (the morning papers, the evening news) new and (more emphatically), social media has 24/7 characteristics. Traditionally, political leaders could attempt to influence the news message published about them. Contemporary politicians can also create information directly. Traditional media mostly engage in one-way communication – they disseminate more than they communicate – whereas new media and, in particular social media, are created and contributed to by many.



Activity 1.41 - Hashtags

A hashtag can become a story of its own. Investigate the 2015 #ideasboom. Read the article on the hashtag:

 <http://www.news.com.au/finance/economy/australian-economy/twitter-mocks-malcolm-kevin-rudd-moment-with-innovative-ideas-boom-tweets/news-story/d5c035dd2abb64d7cdf0938bcbc08f2b>

What was the original intent of the message and what happened to it along the way? Discuss as a class.

The impact of the 24-hour news cycle on reporting and interpretation of Australian politics

Democratisation of political news



The 24/7 news cycle

Advocates of the beneficial aspects of the 24/7 news cycle argue that it:

- enriches political debate through broadening access and multiplying salient perspectives
- strengthens accountability
- creates more information ‘signals’ and data points
- allows political leaders to take better account of previously disempowered minority factors (be they ethnic, gender, disabled, sexuality, age, or socio-economic).

With the glare of reporting and interpretation shining on them at all hours, political leaders have become almost constantly accountable. Many and varied types of producers, and instant feedback in the 24/7 news cycle, have meant more policy debate, more debaters and a greater appetite for debate.

Greater political accountability and responsiveness

An increasing number of voices and perspectives also means more data points. If government’s task is to make laws and policies in the public interest, then more data and feedback about the public’s interests result in better decisions. Responding to the idea that social media had made Australia ungovernable, former Australian Prime Minister, John Howard, has pointed out, with regard to New Zealand’s then-Prime Minister John Key: “Last weekend, you saw in New Zealand a prime minister who has had a very strong reformist agenda returned with an increased majority, a remarkable result”. (Key had managed to pass policy reforms including an increase in New

Zealand's Goods and Services Tax!) (Karvelas, 2015). The positive view of the 24/7 news cycle is that, when we see responsible use by voters and responsive use by government, it can drive the political agenda to better achieve the greater good.

A distraction from real news

Some argue that the 24/7 news cycle and new and social media is a smokescreen, a distillation of policy debate to one-liners and clever hashtags. It becomes a contest for attention in which the greater good and the truth become merely part of the scenery rather than valuable assets. As Prime Minister Julia Gillard (2010-2013) said: "With today's frantic media pace, leadership stories can play a role akin to Christmas-stocking fillers – you can always pop in another one with little expense or effort" (Karvelas, 2015).



Julia Gillard; photo: Kate Lundy

"Incidentally, the Gillard government passed over 550 pieces of legislation in its three years" (Van Onselen, 2013).



Activity - 1.42 - 'Fake news'?

Can you recognise fake news when you see it? Read the following article and respond to the questions below.

1. Are you surprised by the proportion of young Australians who cannot discern between real and fake news? Is it important to be able to discern between real and fake news?
2. Brainstorm: What can you do to better equip yourselves to discern between real and fake news? (Work individually, then with a partner, then as a class.)
3. Write a paragraph using the following prompt: By better equipping young people to discern real from fake news, Australian democracy will be enriched through _____.

Most young Australians can't identify fake news online

In September 2017, we conducted Australia's first nationally representative survey focused on young Australians' news engagement practices.

Our survey of 1,000 young Australians aged eight to 16 indicated that while roughly one third felt they could distinguish fake news from real news, one third felt they could not make this distinction. The other third were uncertain about their ability.

In part, we were motivated by the gravity of recent academic and public claims about the impact of the spread of "fake news" via social media – although we are well aware of arguments about the credibility and accuracy of the term "fake news". In our study, we classified fake news as news that is deliberately misleading.

What we found

Age plays a role here. As children get older, they feel more confident about telling fake news from real news. 42% of Australian teens aged 13-16 reported being able to tell fake news from real news, compared with 27% of children aged 8-12.

We found young Australians are not inclined to verify the accuracy of news they encounter online. Only 10% said they often tried to work out whether a story presented

on the internet is true. A significant number indicated they sometimes tried to verify the truthfulness of news (36%). More than half indicated they either hardly ever tried (30%) or never tried to do this (24%).

We also asked young Australians how much attention they pay to thinking about the origin of news stories, particularly those they access online. More than half indicated they paid at least some attention or a lot of attention to the source of news stories (54%). However, 32% said they paid very little attention and 14% said they paid no attention at all.

To us, the circulation of fake news on social media is troubling, given what we know about how social media platforms create news filter bubbles that reinforce existing worldviews and interests.

Even more concerning, though, is the way many social media platforms allow people with vested interests to push content into feeds after paying to target people based on their age, location or gender, as well as their status changes, search histories and the content they have liked or shared.

There is often no transparency about why people are seeing particular content on their social media feeds or who is financing this content. Furthermore, much online content is made by algorithms and “bots” (automated accounts, rather than real people) that respond to trends in posts and searches in order to deliver more personalised and targeted content and advertising.

Where are young Australians getting their news?

Given these concerns, we used our survey to ask just how much news young Australians get through social media.

With all the hype around young people’s mobile and internet use, it might come as a surprise that social media did not emerge as their top news source and nor is it their most preferred.

80% of young Australians said they had consumed news from at least one source in the day before the survey was conducted. Their most frequent source was family members (42%), followed by television (39%), teachers (23%), friends (22%), social media (22%), and radio (17%). Print newspapers trailed a distant last (7%).

However, this is not to diminish the significance of young people’s use of social media to consume news. Two-thirds of teens said they often or sometimes accessed news on social media (66%) and more than one third of children stated they did so (33%).

For teens, Facebook was by far the most popular social media site for getting news with over half (51%) using it for this purpose. For children, YouTube was by far the social media platform used most for news. 37% got news from this site.

What should we be doing?

There is no doubt that legal and regulatory changes are needed to address the issue of fake news online.

However, education must also play a critical role. Media education opportunities should be more frequently available in schools to ensure young Australians meaningfully engage with news media.

Media Arts in the Australian Curriculum is one of the world’s only official systematic media literacy policies for children in preschool to year 10, but it is being under-used. Our survey suggests only one in five young Australians received lessons in the past year to help them critically analyse news, and only one third had made their own news stories at school.

The curriculum also needs to ensure young people understand the politics, biases and commercial imperatives embedded in technologies, platforms and digital media.

Our survey shows that young people are consuming lots of news online. However, many are not critiquing this news, or they don't know how to. The implications of this are not necessarily self-evident or immediate, but they may be very wide-reaching by influencing young people's capacity to participate in society as well-informed citizens.

Article by Tanya Notley, Western Sydney University, and Michael Dezuanni, Queensland University of Technology. From The Conversation – <https://theconversation.com/most-young-australians-cant-identify-fake-news-online-87100>

The roles and functions of the media in the reporting of a contemporary political issue in Australia



Activity 1.43 - Class activity

As a class, select a political news story to follow for a 24-hour period.

1. Assign different media outlets to different people, ensuring you cover a mix of television, radio, newspaper, new media and social media covered.
 - Record: who, what, where, when, why and how of the stories' origins.
 - Record how the stories' details change over time (and how frequently the story is updated/altered).

Present your findings to your classmates.

2. After taking notes on each presentation, you should complete the following tasks and answer the questions:
 - Explain what happened in the story.
 - Explain the media's role.
 - To what extent did the media report responsibly, respectfully and truthfully?
 - How did the story and the media's coverage affect government policy, legislation or action?

Bringing it all together

The following questions are designed as 'exam-style' questions to test your understanding and help prepare for exam conditions.

1. What is meant by the term 'political party'? (2 marks)
2. In Australian politics, what is meant by the term 'forming government'? (2 marks)
3. Outline two functions of interest groups in an issue you have studied in class. (4 marks)
4. Outline two differences between the functions of traditional media and social media. (4 marks)

Sample response:

- Political parties contest elections, and interest groups do not. While interest groups can be affiliated with political parties (such as the ALP and unions), they do not register with the AEC in order to try to gain votes and formal political power.

- Political parties are active in more issues and policy areas. While interest groups focus on specific issues (such as Amnesty International on human rights), political parties (especially major parties) must take up positions on wide-ranging issues because they seek government office.

Comment:

The underlined sentences summarise the response. 1 mark each = 2 marks.

Then the response provides a more detailed explanation, including examples (ALP and unions, and Amnesty international) and includes a clear contrasting term ('while'). 1 mark each = 2 marks.

5. Analyse the short-term causes of the major parties' declining vote in Australia. (5 marks)

Sample response:

Minor and micro parties gained almost one fifth of first preference votes at the 2016 election, which continues an upward trend in their vote share over the last five elections. There is no one clear cause of the decline in major party votes in Australia, but causes may include increases in registered candidates, public perception, micro-party success and weakening political socialisation.

With over 1,600 registered candidates in both the last two federal elections (2013 and 2016), the increased choice may simply be eroding major party votes.

Recent polling and articles have suggested that Australian voters mistrust politicians who have resisted calls to impose ethical guidelines, such as by prominent lawyer Tony Fitzgerald in 2015.

Recent successes by minor and micro parties may have encouraged more candidates and provided models for success – for example media personality Derryn Hinch secured a Senate seat at the 2016 election.

Studies such as the AEC's Youth Electoral Survey show that political socialisation seems to be weakening, with children less likely than previously to follow their parents' political preferences.

Comment:

1 mark: evidence to show knowledge about the question.

Also signposts the rest of the response (which provides the student a useful plan to follow).

4 marks: Explains, using specific contemporary examples, four possible causes of eroding major party vote share. This answers the 'analyse' question, as the prompt word means 'break down to its component parts'.

Total: 5/5

6. Evaluate the extent to which Australian political parties effectively involve citizens in the political process. (6 marks)

Practice Essay

Analyse the role of the Australian media in a recent political issue you have studied in class.

Essay plan:

The media's role in the Duncan Storrar story.

Details of this can be found on the ABC's Media Watch website:

 <http://www.abc.net.au/mediawatch/transcripts/s4463430.htm>

Introduction	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Provide background to the story; • Introduce the three points to be raised in the body paragraphs.
Body paragraph 1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Role of television: • Provided a forum for Storrar to ask questions; • Storrar was attacked by politicians; • Audience was sympathetic.
Body paragraph 2	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Social media and traditional media reaction; • Social media users raised \$60,000 for Storrar; • He was vilified in print media; • Media Watch analysed the story.
Body paragraph 3	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The outcome: • Storrar was placed on suicide watch; • He recovered and founded an interest group to help people in similar positions; • Governments continue to attack unemployed and poorer Australians when it suits them politically.
Conclusion	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Summarise what you have presented in the essay; • Make some justified comment on whether media fulfilled their reporting and interpretation functions.

Sample paragraph:

From the invitation to attend Q&A right through radio debates on the media's merits, Storrar was entrapped into the media machine. Storrar was invited to the Q&A audience and had a list of questions prepared; his preferred question for panellists involved the Royal Commission into Institutional Responses to Child Sexual Abuse, but prior to the show airing, producers asked Storrar to ask another question he had proposed about the tax-free threshold. After he asked the question, the audience applauded, they were clearly sympathetic. Then finance minister Kelly O'Dwyer replied by outlining government policy that was helping small business, before the Greens' Adam Bandt attacked government policy. Finally, the Australian Industry Group's Innes Willox attacked Storrar, claiming that people such as Storrar would not pay much tax, if any at all.

Comment:

Topic sentence should be more clearly related to what the paragraph is about – i.e. it should summarise television media's role in this case, rather than making opinionated comment.

Discussion of evidence is pertinent and specific.

Would need a linking sentence to summarise content of this paragraph and point reader to the next paragraph.

Media centre

The following is a guide to useful resources on Australian politics

- Australian politics – <http://australianpolitics.com/>
Excellent resource for you and teachers from a former VCE politics teacher
- The political compass – <https://www.politicalcompass.org/> An interesting resource to test your political preferences
- ABC news – <http://www.abc.net.au/>
Government subsidised news provider with wide-ranging reporting and interpretation
- *The Guardian Australia* – <https://www.theguardian.com/au>
Independent reporting and analysis
- The Melbourne Age – <http://www.theage.com.au/>
Victoria’s foremost provider of in-depth reporting and interpretation
- The Conversation – <https://theconversation.com/au/politics>
Website offering discussion and analysis of political issues from public figures and academics
- Crikey – <https://www.crikey.com.au/politics/>
Prominent new media site offering political reporting and in-depth analysis
- The New Matilda – <https://newmatilda.com/category/australian-politics/>
Critical perspectives on Australian politics
- Parliamentary Education Office – <https://www.peo.gov.au/>
Useful teaching and learning resource
- Grog’s Gamut – <http://grogsgamut.blogspot.com.au/>
Blog written by a former Australian public servant offering deep analysis of important political issues
- Q&A – <http://www.abc.net.au/tv/qanda/>
Weekly television program on ABC, where audience members can question panellists from political parties, interest groups and the media
- Four Corners – <http://iview.abc.net.au/programs/four-corners/>
Weekly news and current affairs program, frequently delving into Australian political issues
- The Drum – <http://www.abc.net.au/tv/programs/drum/>
Daily current affairs program, examining key political issues
- Insiders – <http://www.abc.net.au/insiders/>
Weekly review of political events by some of Australia’s foremost political experts
- RN Breakfast – <http://www.abc.net.au/radionational/programs/breakfast/>
Daily radio program includes in-depth reporting and interpretation of political news
- Media Watch – <http://www.abc.net.au/mediawatch/>
Weekly television program of 15 minutes offering critical perspectives of Australian media coverage (‘everyone loves it until they’re on it’).

Getting involved

- Join a major, minor or micro political party.
- Write a letter to your local MP about a political issue that is important to you (for more detail, visit our online resource).
- Subscribe to Get Up! <https://www.getup.org.au/> an online political action group that allows subscribers to choose which issues to get involved in and offers a variety of ways to take action.
- Create or sign an online petition about a political issue important to you and publicise it through your own networks. Start with a search for 'online petition', which will lead you to a number of useful websites including gopetition.org, change.org and avaaz.org
- Join an interest group you have researched, or contribute to its cause financially or through promoting an issue in your social network.
- Write a letter to the editor of *The Age* or even your local newspaper.
- Follow prominent Australian politicians, interest groups and media figures on Facebook or Twitter.

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Glossary of terms

Balance of power. The vote of MPs necessary for the government to pass legislation (as was the case, for instance, when the coalition government relied on crossbench votes to pass its budget in 2017).

Ballot paper. A paper used by voters to cast their vote in an election.

Canberra Press Gallery. A selection of reporters entitled to sit in their own particular section of Federal Parliament to witness and describe events. More importantly, membership of the Press Gallery means access to the Executive, those who hold the most power, and therefore warrant the most coverage.

Candidate. An individual who nominates to seek public office at an election.

Coalition. Agreed cooperation between separate parties to campaign in elections for common benefit or to form government together before or after an election.

Conscience vote. This is a vote when each individual member of the parliamentary wing of a political party may vote according to their individual preferences.

Constituency. Refers commonly to a group of voters with a shared interest – e.g. ‘the blue-collar constituency’ refers to voters employed in manual labour sectors.

Crossbenchers. Elected MPs who sit neither with the government, nor with the opposition, but rather on the seat in between them.

Disciplined voters. Those voters who number their ballot papers in a way which conforms to ‘how-to-vote’ cards.

Electorate. A geographical area of Australia (also known as an electoral division) represented by an MP elected at a House of Representatives election.

Ethics. This seeks to address questions of morality and extends to global politics as global actors have underlying ideologies to their actions, such as realism or cosmopolitanism.

How-to-vote card. A leaflet which suggests to voters how a party would like their voters to rank their preferences (based on preference deals the party has made).

Individualism. Moral and political valuing of the rights of individuals within society, over and above the valuing of groups’ rights.

Interpretation. When media publish a version of events that seeks to contextualise it for consumers.

Legislative function. The process whereby laws are made. A proposed bill must be passed by a majority of members of the House of Representatives and then by a majority of Senators to become a law.

Marginal electorates. Those electorates in which the majority enjoyed by the sitting MP is less than 5 per cent.

Minority government. When a party forms government without holding a majority of parliamentary seats (i.e. by making a coalition deal after election results are announced).

Opposition. Party or group that commands the second-largest number of seats in the House of Representatives. Also known as the alternative government.

Party discipline. A convention binding party members to vote as agreed by their party. It is particularly important to the major parties.

Pluralism. A theory of political science that argues that power and decision-making in society are shared among a variety of government and non-government groups. From a pluralist's perspective, the crucial question is: how are power and influence shared through the act of politics?

Political actors. A term or concept sometimes referring only to those who hold formal political power but can also be used to refer to anyone who exercises or seeks political power.

Preference deal. A swap between two parties that make each other their recommended second preference on their how-to-vote cards.

Preferential voting. Voting method, by which voters number from their most to least preferred candidates on a ballot paper.

Press release. Release of information for the purpose of media finding it newsworthy enough to publish it or cover in the media (also referred to as media release, press statement, news release).

Push-button democracy. The idea implies that people could directly decide public policy by using computing technology.

Reporting. When media publish a literal account of events striving for objectivity.

Scrutinising votes. Refers to the role of party members or volunteers in checking vote counts conducted by Australian Electoral Commission (AEC) officials once voting has closed on election days.

Separation of powers. Doctrine that the executive, judicial and legislative branches of government should be separate.

Undecided voters. Voters who are still considering for which candidate to cast their vote at an election. Can also be referred to as swinging voters (though the two are not strictly the same).

Unions. Organisations which represent workers in various industries.



2

GLOBAL CONNECTIONS

Area of Study 1:
Global Links

Area of Study 1: Global Links

On completion of this unit the student should be able to identify and analyse the social, political and economic interconnections created by globalisation and evaluate Australia's participation in the global community. To achieve this outcome the student will draw on key knowledge and key skills outlined in Area of Study 1.

Key knowledge

- the key terms: state, citizenship, globalisation, environmentalism, power, multilateralism, global community
- the political impact of globalisation, such as global political movements, and the potential for these to transcend national borders
- the social impact of globalisation, such as its effect on global communication, networking and international travel
- the economic impact of globalisation, such as the increasing power of TNCs and their effects on global commerce, trade and investment
- the impact of global interconnectedness on human rights, culture and the environment
- the key features of the theories of realism and cosmopolitanism, focusing on the debate around the concept of states' obligations to the global community
- the extent to which Australia has cooperated with or opposed the global community in at least one of the following areas: environment, terrorism, people movement, free/fair trade, international law, aid.

Key skills

- define and explain key global politics terms and use them in the appropriate context
- explain and analyse the social, economic and political impacts of globalisation
- analyse the impact of global interconnectedness on human rights, culture and the environment
- explain key features of the theories of realism and cosmopolitanism
- analyse debates around the obligation of states to the global community
- investigate Australia's participation in the global community and evaluate the effectiveness of this participation
- use contemporary examples and case studies to support explanations, points of view and arguments.

2

Global Connections

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Global Links

'Globalisation is not something that we can hold off or turn off: it is the economic equivalent of a force of nature – like wind or water.' (Former US President Bill Clinton, 2000)

How are people in the 21st century linked – politically, socially and economically? What has been the impact of globalisation? Is there a global community, and do states and their citizens have global responsibilities?

There are hundreds of definitions of globalisation in academic literature. *The Oxford Shorter English Dictionary (2007)* defines it as “the process of making global”. Globalisation is the process of the world becoming more connected: people, organisations and institutions have forged new links worldwide. As most writers on the subject attest, globalisation is largely an economic phenomenon – in that it has resulted in increased production and trade, but it has also widened the scope of human activity and increased the exchange of ideas. However, the economic phenomenon required a series of (ongoing) political events – the breakdown of barriers to free movement and exchange. Arguably the birth of contemporary globalisation was the fall of the **Iron Curtain** in the early 1990s. Breaking that prominent barrier resulted in communication and exchange between Eastern European countries and the western world for the first time in decades.

Iron Curtain. Division between the communist-ruled countries of Eastern Europe and the USSR on the one hand and Western Europe on the other.



Activity 2.1 - What is globalisation?

The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) gives four definitions of globalisation on its website:

 <http://www.unesco.org/new/en/social-and-human-sciences/themes/international-migration/glossary/globalisation/>

1. Read the UNESCO definitions and discuss them as a class.
2. Search for interesting and provocative opinions about globalisation using the term 'Globalisation Quotes'.
3. Using a PMI Chart (see below) each student should find at least one quote to place in each of the three columns and write:
 - An explanation of the quote
 - Their reasoning for placing the quote in its particular column.

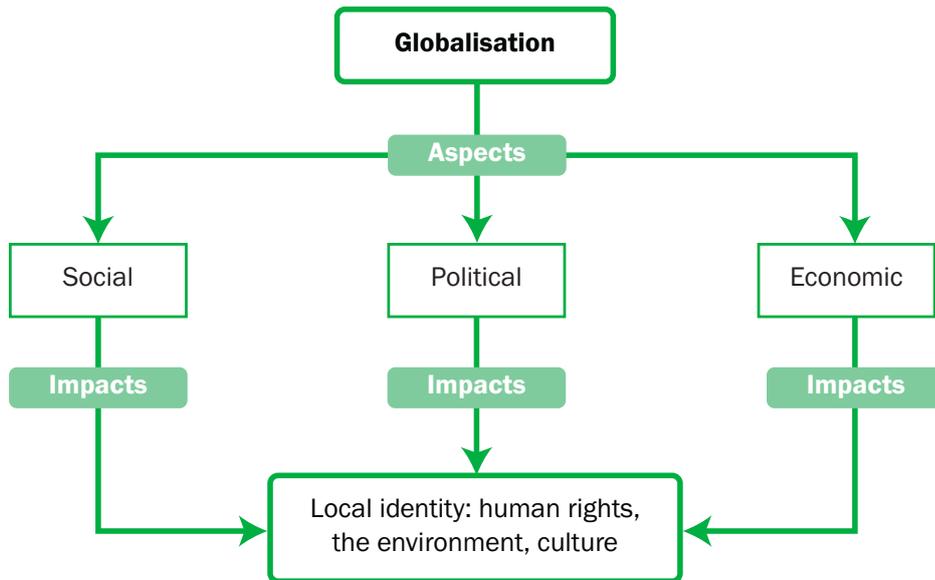
Plus (positive aspects of...)	Minus (negative aspects of...)	Interesting (important, odd or thought-provoking aspects of...)

4. Then write an explanation of globalisation and a sentence definition of globalisation.

In this Area of Study you will consider how citizens and global actors in the 21st century interact and connect with the world. Increased global interconnectedness has transformed lives and created global links and, in so doing, raised the debate over whether or not citizens' responsibilities extend beyond national borders. It could further be asked whether citizens see themselves as belonging within or outside the state.

To help you understand what you will study in this Area of Study, refer to Figure 2.1.

Figure 2.1 – Visualising the Area of Study



This Area of Study considers the impact of global interconnectedness or 'globalisation', and whether Australia acts in its own national interests or as a global citizen in its reaction to international political issues.



Definitions

Term	Definition
State	Traditionally this term refers to the central actor in global politics. States possess a permanent population, defined territory and recognised sovereignty. States are not necessarily culturally homogenous, for example Australia. (States are also known as countries.)
Citizenship	Formally (i.e. legally and politically) belonging to a state, usually accompanied by a set of rights and responsibilities.
Globalisation	Refers to the acceleration and intensification of exchanges of goods, services, labour and capital, which promote global interdependence. These have been facilitated by rapid changes in communication and technology.
Environmentalism	A political, social and philosophical ideology that seeks to prevent human-induced environmental degradation while seeking to improve the state of the environment, often through conservation.

Power	The ability of one global actor to influence the actions of another global actor. Power can be exercised in a range of types and forms – hard, soft, military, diplomatic, trade etc.
Multilateralism	Refers to perpetual reporting and interpretation of news
Global community	The idea that there is a community that extends to all people in all states around the world, united by a common sense of humanity, utilised as a concept in Cosmopolitanism.



Activity 2.2 - Globalisation key term flashcards

1. Define the key terms in your own words.
2. Write your terms and definitions on flashcards. Afterwards, check your interpretation with your teacher, and choose/ create an image that captures their meaning. (This can be done on paper or using an app such as Quizlet.)
3. Display the best examples on a word wall to help the whole class memorise the terms.
4. Also, write definitions for the following terms: Global actors, Global citizenship, Global cooperation, National interests, Non-state actors, Unilateralism.

The political impact of globalisation

While the focus of this unit is on contemporary events, it is helpful to understand some of the 'back-story' of globalisation, in particular what the 'barriers' were and the ways that they were removed or alleviated. These events should not be understood as a final and definitive guide to how globalisation took shape. These events are not the only events/moments/movements that shaped globalisation and indeed the significance and explanation of each of these events is debated.

Globalisation - not a new phenomenon

The essential processes of globalisation are those of people moving between states and exchanging goods, services and ideas. This has been a common feature of humanity across the centuries. The difference between contemporary globalisation and previous human history is the scale and intensity; there are now more than seven billion people, more wealth, more ideas and more technology than ever before.



Activity 2.3 - The globalisation story in maps

Three interesting sites that help explain and contextualise contemporary globalisation can be found at:

-  World Population History: <http://worldpopulationhistory.org>
- 40 Maps that explain the internet: <https://www.vox.com/a/internet-maps>
- Internet users (per 100) 2000-2012: <https://cdn3.vox-cdn.com/assets/4463779/nRzfTEu.gif>

1. Visit the World Population History site:

In what year approximately does the Earth's population growth begin to accelerate?
Comment on the world's population size in the present day.

2. Visit 40 Maps that explain the internet and rank:
 - the continents in order of internet access: earliest to latest.
 - the continents in order of threat of disconnection: lowest to highest.
 - the continents by internet censorship: most to least free.

 - a) Do you notice any patterns emerging?
 - b) Referring to this exercise, explain the extent to which there is a global spread of information.



The Bretton Woods Agreement

Meeting at Bretton Woods, New Hampshire in 1944, delegates of 44 governments agreed to fix the value of each country’s currency in response to economic crises of the time. This stabilised the international economy and prevented the boom-and-bust cycle that had led to the Great Depression of the 1930s. The system worked for almost three decades to maintain living standards and economic stability.

In 1971, however, in response to domestic economic factors, US President Richard Nixon abandoned the Bretton Woods agreement. This meant that the value of international currencies was no longer fixed to a particular standard. Over time this led to currencies themselves being bought and sold as objects of value. This was the beginning of greater economic integration between states and the international financial system as it exists today (Schifferes, 2008).



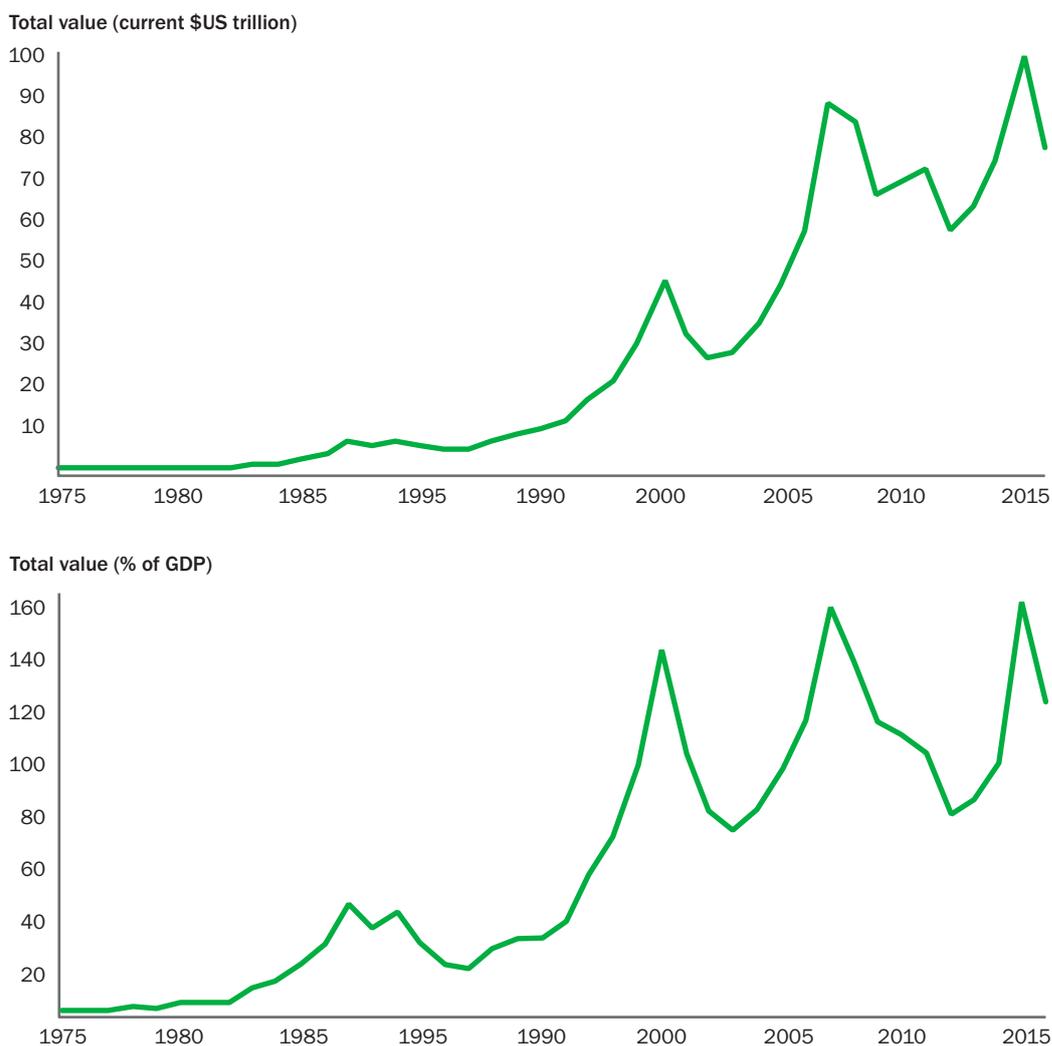
Signing the Bretton Woods agreement; photo: Somerobolivia



Activity 2.4 - Political change: economic impact

1. Read the following article:
 - 'How Bretton Woods reshaped the world' (Schifferes, 2008) available at <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/business/7725157.stm>
2. Explain the other significant measures agreed to at Bretton Woods and the reasons that they were necessary.
3. Consider Figure 2.2 below. For those unfamiliar with the term, ‘stocks’ refers to a share of a publicly-traded company that can be purchased and sold by (almost) anyone, entitling the buyer to receive a portion of the company’s annual profits.
 - Describe the trend in Figure 2.2.
 - What is the unit of measure of each graph and what do they show together and separately?
 - From your reading of Schifferes’s article and the data, list and explain the positive and negative effects of both the Bretton Woods agreement and the abandoning of the agreement.

Figure 2.2 – World stocks traded 1975-2015



Source: Adapted from graph and data at World Bank DataBank

China's economic modernisation

Today China has become an economic powerhouse – it is commonly referred to as ‘the World’s Factory’. Many of Australia’s manufactured goods, and increasingly our hi-tech goods, are Chinese-produced. But this was not always the case.

In 1978, after almost three decades of Mao Zedong’s dictatorship, Premier Deng Xiao Ping set China on a course to modernisation. He created the ‘Special Economic Zones’ (allowing free trade in an ostensibly Communist country) and directed investment towards light industry. Within three decades, this has meant that China has:

- Alleviated extreme poverty (defined as the World Bank’s \$1.90/day poverty line) for over 600 million of its citizens.
- Become the world’s second-largest economy (in terms of gross domestic product (GDP), or total production).



Mao Zedong, China’s Leader
1949-1976; artist: Zhang Zhenshi



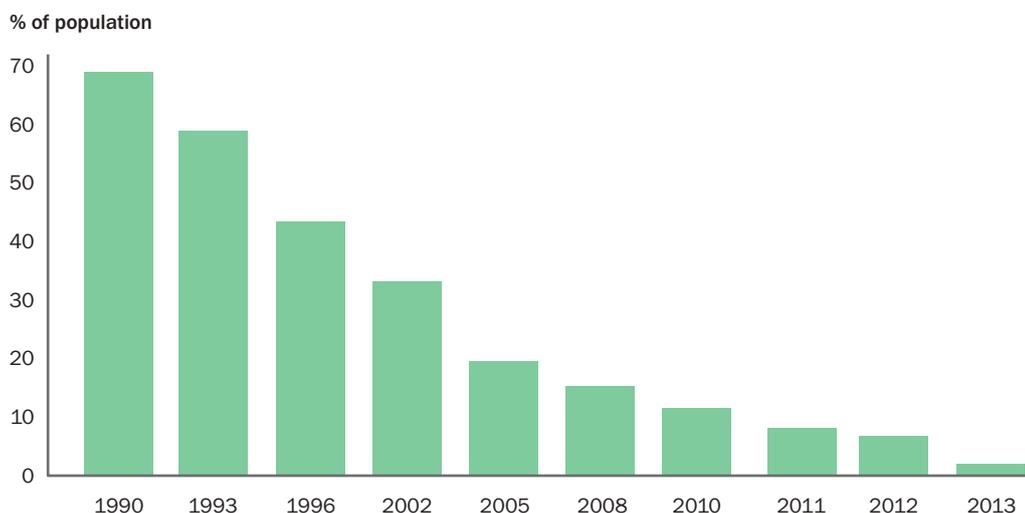
Activity 2.5 - Political change and economic impact in China

- Under Mao's rule, a prominent communist slogan was: "better to be poor under socialism than rich under capitalism".
 - Explain what may have been meant by this slogan.
 - Why would communists have insisted on this slogan? List as many reasons as you can to justify it.
- Deng famously stated: "Whether a cat is black or white makes no difference. As long as it catches mice, it is a good cat" and "Poverty is not socialism".
 - Explain what Deng may have been meant in each case.
- Consider Figure 2.3, below. Poverty headcount ratio at \$1.90 a day (2011 PPP) (% of population) simply refers to the percentage of China's population living in extreme poverty (which the World Bank delineates at \$1.90 per day of income).
 - Describe the graph's trend.
 - Considering this data, explain whether Deng's comments or previous communist slogans were more useful as political ideas
 - Share your ideas in turn with a partner and then discuss as a class.



Deng Xiaoping, China's Leader 1978-1989; photo: Dutch National Archives

Figure 2.3 – China poverty headcount ratio at \$1.90 a day (2011 PPP)



Source: Adapted from graph and data at World Bank DataBank

De-regulation and Neoliberalism in the 1980s

The Thatcher Government in the UK and the Reagan Administration in the US were prominent for their policies of 'smaller government' and free market economic reforms. They sought to free markets and economic activity from taxes and regulations, to 'let the markets do their work'. Their Australian counterpart was the Hawke-Keating Australian Labor Party (ALP) government from 1983 to 1996, which though ostensibly left-wing, set Australia on a course of 'deregulation', introducing competition in many industries including the airline and telecommunications sectors.

The fall of the Berlin Wall and the Iron Curtain

Until the late 1980s, Europe was largely divided into Western Europe and the 'Eastern Bloc'. Germany was divided into capitalist, democratic West Germany and communist, totalitarian East Germany. In late 1989 after repeated protests, residents of East Berlin were permitted to cross into West Berlin, rendering the infamous Berlin Wall irrelevant, and leading to its dismantling (initially broken by civilians and later removed by officialdom). This was the most symbolic of a chain of events that led to revolutions and the overthrow of communist governments throughout Eastern Europe and finally the fall of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) in 1991. The Eastern European countries, as well as all the newly created countries of the former USSR, were brought into the international economic system.



People atop the Berlin Wall on 9 November 1989; photo: Sue Ream



Activity 2.6 - Communist regimes: timelines

Create a timeline of the fall of communist regimes in Eastern Europe.

Some useful resources include:

 Fall of Communism in Eastern Europe, 1989
<https://history.state.gov/milestones/1989-1992/fall-of-communism>

Mapping the fall of communism
<http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/7972232.stm>

Copy the following table into your notebook and complete:

Country	Date	Summary of events
Germany	9/11/89	The fall of the Berlin wall

The advent of the internet

The internet has left an indelible impact on politics. Political reporting and interpretation are now constant and almost universally accessible. The advent of the internet has brought with it the 24/7 news cycle (as discussed in the previous Area of Study). Moreover, anyone with a smart phone or access to a computer can access political news in a variety of formats from all over the globe. Similarly, this mass of users can themselves make the news by uploading content about politics or commenting on political content. The internet has helped globalise the world and it has changed the way we 'do' politics forever.



Activity 2.7 - Globalisation and the Arab Spring

Watch the following video:

 'Social Media and Revolution in the Arab World':
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=EAuxNXmAbY>

1. How did news about the original immolation of Mohamed Bouzizi spread through Tunisia?
2. How did protesters organise demonstrations in various locations?
3. How did the rest of the world find out about Arab Spring events?
4. How long did it take mainstream media to realise what was happening in the Arab world and begin to cover events?

Watch the following video:

 Social Media's Role in the Arab Spring:
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jHLSyn8GnmM>

5. Considering what you have seen in both videos: to what extent did social media bring about the Arab Spring uprising?

Free trade agreements (FTAs)

Most countries protect their local industry through the use of **tariffs**. In Australia, for example, car manufacturing industries were until recently protected by tariffs, which kept local Holden, Ford and Toyota plants in business (creating many jobs directly and indirectly through associated parts industries and services). There is still debate on the benefits of tariffs, as witnessed recently through President Donald Trump's promises to return manufacturing to the US. However, in 1994, many of the world's nations entered into a negotiation called the 'General Agreement on Trade and Tariffs' or GATT. This created the 'World Trade Organization', (WTO), an organisation that ensures countries adhere to their obligations under trade agreements.

Moreover, GATT has given rise to numerous free trade agreements and similar international organisations. Australia, for example, now has numerous free trade agreements, including, in recent years, agreements with the US, New Zealand and China. Such **bilateral** free trade agreements basically involve each partner agreeing to lower or eliminate tariffs on each other's goods and services exports – this is usually good for consumers but not always beneficial for industries.

Tariffs. Taxes on imported goods, rendering them more expensive in comparison to local goods; this can keep local industries in business, even if they could otherwise not compete, either in terms of quality or on price with the imported goods.

Bilateral. Action, relation or agreement involving two states.



Activity 2.8 - Australia's free trade agreements

Details of Australia's FTAs can be found at:

 <http://dfat.gov.au/trade/agreements/Pages/status-of-fta-negotiations.aspx>

1. Use information from this website to complete the following table in your notebook:

Country FTA signed with	Date signed

2. An article on the pros and cons of FTAs can be found here:

 <http://www.abc.net.au/news/2015-06-17/china-australia-free-trade-agreement-pros-and-cons/6553680>

Describe these pros and cons in your own words.



Activity 2.9 - Role play

Choose one of the following and write a brief synopsis about a character in the role (name, location, age, wealth, income) and then how you would react to the China–Australia FTA (CHAFTA):

- The head of an Australian family considering buying new whitegoods
- An Australian mining executive (mining coal, aluminium, or gemstones)
- An Australian miner employed to mine coal, aluminium, or gemstones
- An Australian business exporting goods to China
- An Australian farmer producing beef, dairy, sheep, pork, live animals, hides, skins, leather, horticulture, wine or seafood
- A Chinese farmer producing beef, dairy, sheep, pork, live animals, hides, skins, leather, horticulture, wine or seafood
- A worker at an Australian canning factory
- An Australian tourism or hospitality operator
- The owner of an Australian aged-care company
- The CEO of an Australian company in the industry of agriculture, forestry, hunting or fishing
- An investor wanting to buy into Chinese companies
- The Head of the Foreign Investment Review Board (FIRB)
- An Australian farmer producing sugar, rice, wool, cotton, wheat, maize, or canola
- A Chinese farmer producing sugar, rice, wool, cotton, wheat, maize, or canola
- The head of a Chinese investment company looking to invest \$1 billion in Australia
- The head of a Chinese firm that has just lost money in Australia because of a government action
- An Australian labourer looking for work.

Hold a class discussion from all the role play perspectives: 'Should Australia have an FTA with China?'

What do we mean by the political impact of globalisation?

The previous section asked ‘how has politics affected globalisation’. This section asks: ‘how has globalisation impacted politics’? It will be guided by a number of fundamental questions to help you gain an understanding of contemporary globalised politics:

- What is meant by a bi-polar world?
- Have global issues now become more important than local issues in domestic politics?
- How do political systems deal with transnational problems (also known as third agenda issues) such as climate change, global terrorism, environmental degradation, and trafficking in peoples?

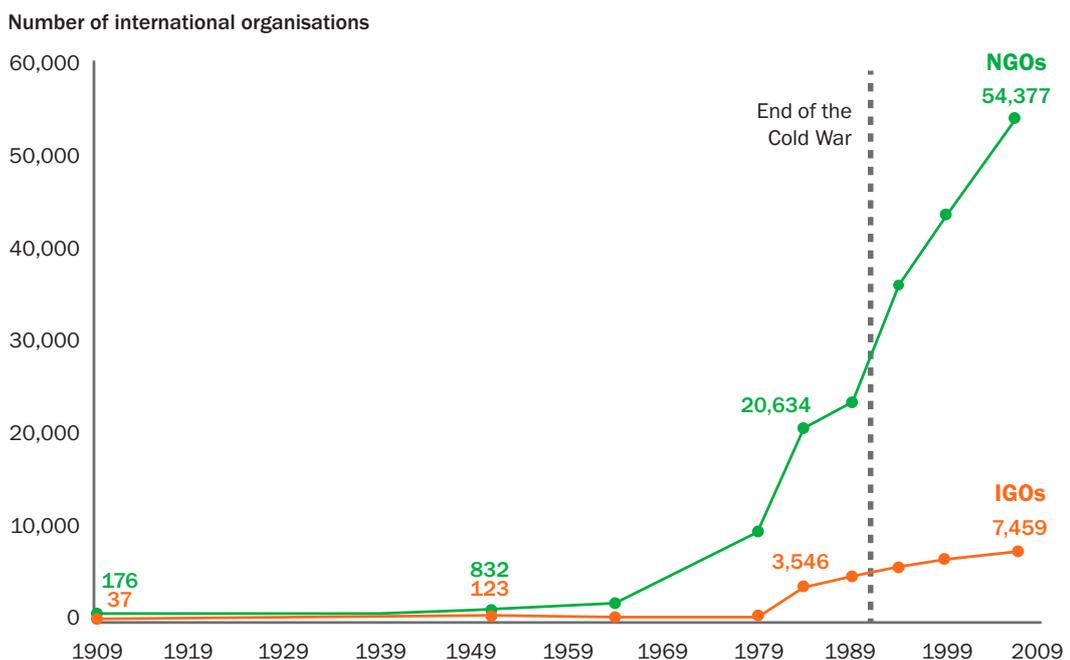
Globalisation has resulted in a proliferation, and an increase in the size and scope, of transnational political entities (as Figure 2.4 shows). This has meant an increase in the number and power of both state actors and non-state actors. Firstly, this is due to the number of new states coming into being since the end of the Cold War (main from the Eastern Bloc). Secondly, there are more state actors because of the increased number of **intergovernmental organisations** (IGOs). There are also considerably more **non-state actors**, organisations such as the Red Cross and al-Qaeda. In addition, there has been a great increase in the number and activities of **transnational corporations** (TNCs).

Intergovernmental organisation. An organisation composed primarily of states. It is established by a treaty, a founding charter for the organisation, and thus subject to international law. Examples include the United Nations and the European Union.

Non-state actor. A global actor that is not a state but still influences global politics. Often this refers to global actors that are not a direct part of global governance and international law, such as NGOs, global terrorist movements and/or organised religions.

Transnational corporations (TNCs). Refers to a company the operations and investments of which extend beyond the boundaries of the state in which it is registered.

Figure 2.4 – Growth in NGOs (non-state actors) and IGOs

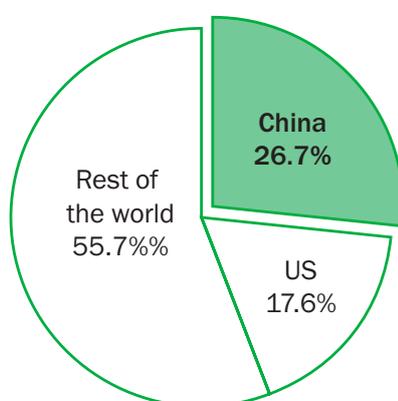


Source: Adapted from graph in *Global Report 2011* – Centre for Systemic Peace

What is bi-polarity and how does it affect the world?

Bipolarity expresses the idea that the US and China have attained global economic power and therefore global political hegemony. The world may be necessarily bipolar: it was bipolar from the end of World War II until the early 1990s – with the US and the USSR as the two superpowers – and has been again since around the turn of the 21st century (with China’s emergence). China and the US together account for more than one third of the world’s entire production of goods and services (see Figure 2.5), and about 40 per cent of greenhouse gas pollution. The US currently holds unrivalled military capability, but China’s leadership has stated that it is on a quest to catch up militarily by midway through the 21st century. Put simply, these two countries are the world’s juggernauts, and the global polity and economy revolve around them.

Figure 2.5 – Global manufacturing (2015)



Source: World Bank DataBank



US-China bipolarity and mutual dependence

Bipolarity does not mean that countries or other types of actors must take sides. Indeed, the US and China themselves have reached a sort of economic symbiosis, in that China exports much of its manufacturing production to the US (the US is China’s largest export partner, and China is the largest importer to the US (according to the CIA World Factbook 2017). This has resulted in China being the largest creditor to the US, with over \$1.15 trillion in US debt owned by China (Mullen, 2017).

Consider, however, the ongoing negotiations over international climate change that began with the ground-breaking Kyoto Protocol of 1997. This agreement was initially signed by more than 55 countries, but could not come into effect until Russia became a signatory in 2004. However, doubts persisted as to its effectiveness, given that the US and China refused to sign (meaning of course that almost half of the world’s greenhouse gas pollution was not subject to the agreement).



Activity 2.10 – Superpower or middle power?

The global political world is generally considered to be a bi-polar world – but must it be? Consider a range of possible arrangements of global power in order to investigate the extent to which the world is truly bi-polar, and whether this is necessary.

Divide the class into seven groups: the US, the UK, China, India, Germany, Japan and Russia. For each group:

- The superpowers (the US and China) must argue why they should be considered superpowers and the others should not.
- The middle powers (the UK, India, Germany, Japan and Russia) must argue why they should be considered superpowers and not the others.

You should consider data from Table 2.1 and Table 2.2 (below).

Other issues to consider include:

- Military size and strength
 -  RANKED: The world's 20 strongest militaries
<http://www.businessinsider.com/these-are-the-worlds-20-strongest-militaries-ranked-2015-9/?r=AU&IR=T/#20-canada-1>
 - 2017 Military Strength Ranking
<https://www.globalfirepower.com/countries-listing.asp>
- Major trading partners, see *CIA World Factbook*:
 -  <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/resources/the-world-factbook/>

Choose a country, expand the section 'Economy', and scroll down to see the sub headings 'Exports – partners:' and 'Imports – partners:'.
- You may also conduct further research to strengthen your case. For instance, you may consider future projections of population, GDP, military growth, or even the effects of climate change.

You or your group might use a SWOT analysis for preparing its case (note that the analysis itself should be thorough and rigorous, but the presentation of arguments might minimise weaknesses and focus on strengths, opportunities and threats).

<p>STRENGTHS of this state/ alliance as an actual/potential superpower</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • • • 	<p>WEAKNESSES of this state/ alliance as an actual/potential superpower</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • • •
<p>OPPORTUNITIES this state/ alliance might create as an actual/ potential superpower</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • • • 	<p>THREATS faced by this and other states which this state/ alliance can help mitigate</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • • •

You or your group may form alliances or coalitions with other states, if there are sufficient ties (cultural, economic, and geographic) and if it supports your argument to be considered a superpower.

Discuss, as a class reasons that the world is, and will remain, bipolar – and reasons that the world may become multipolar.

Extension: essay

Discuss the extent to which the global political order is necessarily bipolar.

Table 2.1: Comparative data indicators of political, economic and military power

	US	UK	China	India	Germany	Japan	Russia
Population, total (billions of people)	0.3	0.1	1.4	1.3	0.1	0.1	0.1
GDP per capita (current \$US billions)	57,466	39,899	8,123	1,709	41,936	38,894	8,748
GDP (current \$US billions)	18,569.1	2,618.9	11,199.1	2,263.5	3,466.8	4,939.4	1,283.2
Military expenditure (current \$US billions)	601.0	60.5	216.0	50.0	40.2	41.6	84.5
Exports of goods and services (current \$US billions)	2,264.3	735.6	2,200.0	434.1	1,594.4	773.0	329.9
Stocks traded, total value (current \$US billions)	42,071.3	2,357.0	18,295.1	792.0	1,124.1	5,230.2	139.6
CO2 emissions (kt billions)	5.3	0.4	10.3	2.2	0.7	1.2	1.7
CO2 emissions (metric tons per capita)	16.5	6.5	7.5	1.7	8.9	9.5	11.9

World Bank Databank, Global Firepower – www.globalfirepower.com

Table 2.2 – Proportional comparative data indicators of political, economic and military power

	US	China	Japan	Germany	UK	India	Russia
Population, share of world total	4%	19%	2%	1%	1%	18%	2%
GDP per capita (current \$US) magnitude greater than global average	5.7	0.8	3.8	4.1	3.9	0.2	0.9
GDP (current \$US) share of world total	25%	15%	7%	5%	3%	3%	2%

	US	China	Japan	Germany	UK	India	Russia
Exports of goods and services (current \$US) share of world total	11%	11%	4%	8%	4%	2%	2%
Stocks traded, total value (current \$US) share of world total	54%	24%	7%	1%	3%	1%	0%
CO2 emissions (kt) share of world total	15%	28%	3%	2%	1%	6%	5%
CO2 emissions (metric tons per capita) magnitude greater than global average	3.3	1.5	1.9	1.8	1.3	0.3	2.4
Military expenditure (% share total expenditure of these countries)	55%	6%	20%	5%	4%	4%	8%

World Bank Databank, Global Firepower – www.globalfirepower.com, author’s calculations

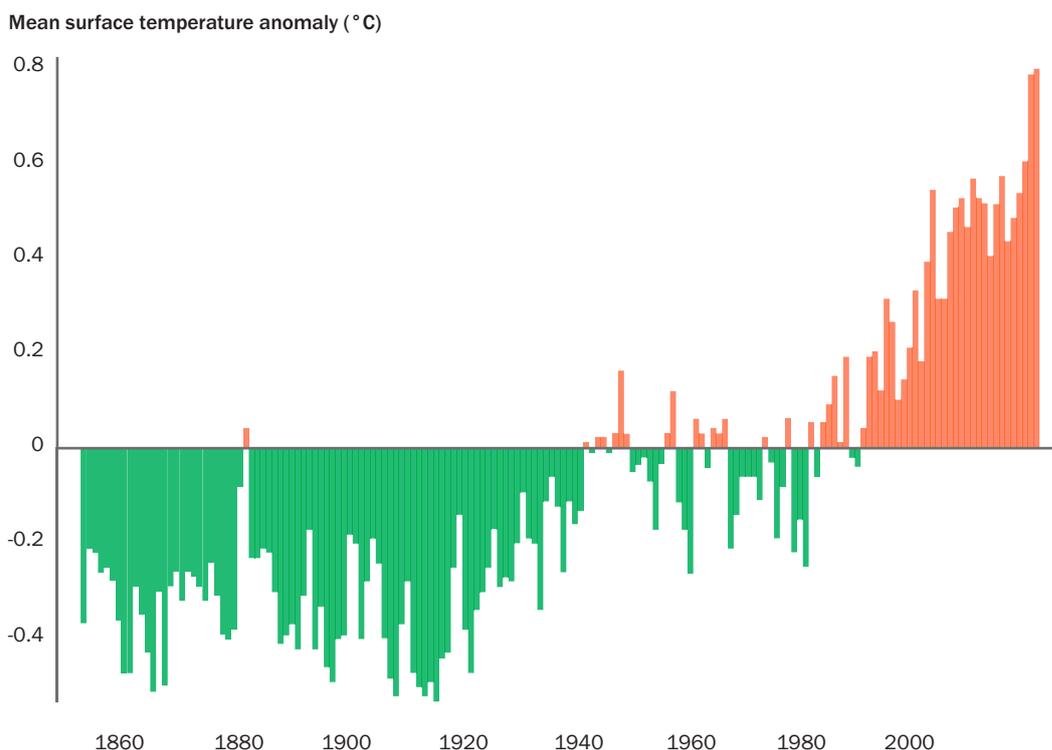
Are global issues now more influential on the domestic political agenda than local issues?

Climate change

‘Climate change is the biggest moral challenge of our time.’ (Australia’s then Prime Minister Kevin Rudd, 2007)

One of the biggest items on the global political agenda is climate change (see Figure 2.6). It is by its very nature a global issue, what occurs in one state often impacts other states, such as the burning of fossil fuels and the resultant pollution and global warming that do not stop at a border; tackling the impacts remains a global problem. There is resistance by some states to make the kind of political decisions required to impact the crisis. Politicians often think in short-term election cycles and can be influenced by interest groups with particular agendas. This means making real and effective decisions on climate change for the long-term benefit of the earth can be often compromised. The recent Paris Climate Accord (2015) is evidence of the globalised level of political will to take action, which is then compromised by the withdrawal of one state that just happens to be one of the world’s largest emitters.

Figure 2.6 – Annual mean temperature anomaly – Global (1850 to 2016)



Source: Adapted from graph and data at Bureau of Meteorology, www.bom.gov.au



Climate change facts

- Since 1896, scientists have observed that greenhouse gas (GHG) emissions affected Earth's atmosphere (Arrhenius, 1908);
- At least 2°C temperature increases are forecast (Earth's average temperature is 14°C) (IPCC, 2014);
- There is greater climatic unpredictability (hot spells in winter, or cold in summer);
- Melting of polar ice caps will lead to rising sea levels (IPCC, 2014);
- Two strategies deal with climate change: 'mitigation' and 'adaptation':
 - Mitigation: reduces the effects of climate change (reducing GHG emissions);
 - Adaptation: reacts to the unavoidable effects;
- In Paris in December 2015, 197 countries signed an agreement to keep warming under 2°C (UNFCCC, 2017);
- Australia ratified its signing of the Paris Agreement in 2016 (Climate Council, 2016);
- In order to meet its obligations (under the 1997 Kyoto Protocol agreement) Australia's Gillard ALP government implemented a Carbon Tax (2012-2014), pressuring polluters to reduce emissions;
- The Carbon Tax was replaced by the Liberal Party's Direct Action policy in 2014.

Personality politics

As you would know from previous Areas of Study, Australians vote to elect their local Member of Parliament (MP). If one party gains a majority of seats in the House of Representatives, it forms government. But do Australian voters actually vote for their local member, or are they voting for (or against) a leader or party to be in government?



Activity 2.11 - Local knowledge vs global knowledge

Conduct the following class quiz and analyse the results. Before analysing the results, you should write a prediction. Rank the questions in order of ‘most likely’ to ‘least likely’ to be known.

1. Name your local federal MP.
2. Name your local state MP.
3. Name Victoria’s premier.
4. Name Victoria’s opposition leader.
5. Name Australia’s prime minister.
6. Name the federal opposition leader.
7. Name the US president.
8. Name the losing candidate of the last US election.

You may even wish to take this further and administer this test in your school (and even the wider community).

In contemporary Australian politics, the major political parties’ leaders (rather than local MPs or the cabinet team) dominate media attention. This ‘presidential’ style of political campaigning in Australia may have its roots in Gough Whitlam’s now-famous ‘It’s Time’ campaign of 1972. This campaign framed Whitlam, as a charismatic, youthful, fresh alternative to the stale old Liberal and Country Party coalition – Whitlam won the election. Alternatively, the ‘presidential’ campaign style might derive from the influence of the US presidential voting system (in which Americans directly elect their head of state, who is also the head of government). Another factor behind “presidential” Australian campaigns could be that it is an inevitable product of the influence of television media or some combination of the two.



Gough Whitlam and the 1972 ‘It’s Time’ campaign; photo: Fairfax Syndication



Activity 2.12 - Think, pair, share

The preceding section outlined some of the more traditional or long-standing influences on campaigns in Australia. The following article by Johnson (2013) outlines more recent, technology-based US influences on Australia.

 <http://www.smh.com.au/federal-politics/federal-election-2013/how-barack-obama-is-changing-the-face-of-australian-political-campaigns-20130803-2r667.html>

Read this article and draw up the following PMI chart in your notebook to classify your findings. After reading, discuss with a partner, then as a class.

Plus Explain what you think are the positive influences on Australian politics that the article discusses (which might benefit politics, democracy, or political leadership).	Minus Explain what you think are the alarming or worrying influences on Australian politics that the article discusses (which might endanger or harm democracy).	Interesting Explain what you think are the thought-provoking, curiosity-arousing, or indeterminate (i.e. not necessarily positive or negative) influences on Australian politics that the article discusses.

Why do some problems require global solutions?

Some problems are caused by more than just a single actor or agency, and they are transnational in scope, thus requiring global solutions. Examples include climate change (and environmental degradation more generally), global terrorism, gender equity issues, poverty and development, the global drug trade, and international slave trading. None of these issues exist wholly in one state alone and they all have impacts and links to multiple countries.

Climate change

Is it hypocritical for now-wealthy countries to prohibit the world's still-developing majority from using inexpensive, polluting power sources in order to accelerate economic growth and development? Throughout much of the 20th century, the world's now-developed economic powers industrialised (and raised living-standards) through carbon-intensive production. The Centre for Global Development (2015) estimated (using the CAIT Climate Explorer database) that developed countries are responsible for 79 per cent of the world's GHG stocks.

 You can explore the CAIT Climate Explorer database at: <http://cait.wri.org/historical>

The 'North (developed countries) versus South (developing countries)' dynamic has been a problem for past climate change negotiations (Ghosh, 2009), though more recent negotiations may have alleviated some concerns (McGrath, 2014). Climate change will not be stopped if only developed, or only developing, states act to reduce GHG emissions – it requires a concerted effort by all countries (IPCC, 2014), a truly multilateral solution is required.

Environmental degradation, pollution and waste

There is more rubbish, pollution and waste than ever. A study estimated that if food waste was a country, it would rank third in GHG emissions. One third of food is thrown out before it reaches tables (Smith, 2015). Every country produces rubbish and pollution, and this is poisoning the world's waterways, soils and atmosphere. For instance, there are an estimated 5.25 trillion pieces of plastic littering the world's oceans (Parker, 2015). Every country suffers from this and if one country acted alone, it could not hope to solve the problem.



Activity 2.13 - Think global, act local

To grasp the global nature of rubbish and pollution, you might read the following articles:



Ocean Trash: 5.25 Trillion Pieces and Counting, but Big Questions Remain
<https://news.nationalgeographic.com/news/2015/01/150109-oceans-plastic-sea-trash-science-marine-debris/>

Plastic and how it affects our oceans
<http://www.abc.net.au/news/science/2017-02-27/plastic-and-plastic-waste-explained/8301316>

1. Use a KWHL chart to record the knowledge you gain from these (and other) readings.

K What I Know	W What I Want to Know AND What I Want to Solve	H How will I find information? (which resources, web pages, texts, formulas, methods, etc.) – How I will solve it	L What I Learned
Notes and ideas	Notes and ideas	Notes and ideas	Notes and ideas

2. Discuss your reading/findings as a class.
 - List as many steps as you can that you can take to alleviate global rubbish problems.
 - List as many ways as you can in which you can influence others to alleviate global rubbish problems.

Global terrorism

There are multiple definitions of terrorism, but no universally agreed definition. One group – the terrorists – uses violence to affect the conduct of politics. Whether they aim to bring about better outcomes, or merely to induce fear, terrorists’ aims are political.



Definitions of terrorism

FBI: Perpetrated by individuals and/or groups inspired by or associated with designated foreign terrorist organizations or nations (state-sponsored).



<https://www.fbi.gov/investigate/terrorism>

UN: ...criminal acts, including against civilians, committed with the intent to cause death or serious bodily injury, or taking of hostages, with the purpose to provoke a state of terror in the general public or in a group of persons or particular persons, intimidate a population or compel a government or an international organization to do or to abstain from doing any act...



<https://www.un.org/ruleoflaw/files/n0454282.pdf>

CIA: premeditated, politically motivated violence perpetrated against non-combatant targets by subnational groups or clandestine agents



<https://www.cia.gov/news-information/cia-the-war-on-terrorism/terrorism-faqs.html>

Australian Law, Section 100.1 of the Criminal Code defines a terrorist act as ‘an action or threat of action’ which is done or made with the intention of:

- advancing a political, religious or ideological cause; and
- coercing, or influencing by intimidation, the government of the Commonwealth, State or Territory or the government of a foreign country or intimidating the public or a section of the public.

Action will only be defined as a terrorist act if it:

- causes serious physical harm or death;
- seriously damages property;
- endangers a person's life;
- creates a serious risk to public health or safety; or
- seriously interferes with, seriously disrupts, or destroys, an electronic system

 https://www.humanrights.gov.au/human-rights-guide-australias-counter-terrorism-laws#3_1

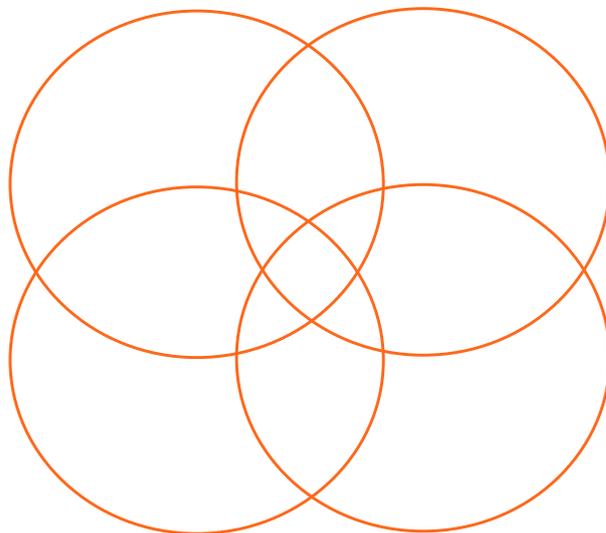


Members of terrorist group Taliban Movement of Pakistan



Activity 2.14 - Defining terrorism

1. Analyse the four definitions of terrorism above and draw up the Venn diagram below in your workbook to indicate:
 - what they have in common
 - what is not common to all of them.
2. Consider various acts and whether they constitute terrorism (and under which definition); for example, the Lindt Café siege (2014), the Charlottesville Attack, the US occupation of Iraq, the Manchester Attack (2017) or other, more recent attacks. Discuss your findings as a class.



Contemporary global terrorism can be traced back to 11 September 2001. The attack orchestrated by Osama bin Laden’s al-Qaeda sent airliners crashing into the World Trade Center Towers (in New York), the Pentagon (the US Defence Force headquarters in Arlington, Virginia) and Shanksville, Pennsylvania (this plane was presumed to be heading for Washington, but was counter-hijacked by passengers from the terrorists).



Activity 2.15 - Think, pair, share

‘A freedom fighter learns the hard way that it is the oppressor who defines the nature of the struggle, and the oppressed is often left no recourse but to use methods that mirror those of the oppressor. At a point, one can only fight fire with fire’ Nelson Mandela (2009).

Brainstorm what you think might be the motivations for terrorists.



Terrorism by the numbers

- 31,419 Afghan civilian fatalities since US operations commenced there in 2001 (Westacott, 2017)
- 179,577 to 201,234 Iraqi civilian fatalities since US operations commenced there in 2001 (Iraq Body Count, 2017)
- 11,288 Western European civilian fatalities from terrorist incidents since 1970 (Alcantara, 2017)
- 3,158 American fatalities from terrorism on US soil since 1995 (START, 2015).

You are encouraged to explore the START (National Consortium for the Study of Terrorism and Responses to Terrorism) database

 <https://www.start.umd.edu/gtd/>

Women and political inequality

Historically, women have had fewer rights, and less power, than men. This also applies for women in relation to the political arena. In almost all states, women gained suffrage some time after men did (The Nellie McClung Foundation; Martin, 2000). At time of writing, women have at least 50 per cent representation in only two legislatures in the world – Rwanda and Bolivia (UN Women, 2017; Women in national parliaments, 2017). Globally, 70 states have had women leaders (Adamczyk, 2016). There has been progress towards political equality for women, though more work remains to achieve this globally.



Rwanda Parliament, 2013; photo: Rwanda Government



Activity 2.16 – Women’s political rights , locally and globally

- Where does Australia rank in terms of:
 - The year suffrage was granted to women? See:
 - <http://www.ournellie.com/timeline-womens-suffrage-granted-country/>
 - Its global ranking of the number of women in parliament? See:
 - <http://archive.ipu.org/wmn-e/classif.htm>
 - The number of women as elected leaders? See:
 - <http://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2017/03/08/women-leaders-around-the-world/>
- Brainstorm:
 - The obstacles that might prevent women achieving political rights and power;
 - Ways to overcome these obstacles.
- Share your ideas with the class and then rank the obstacles from easiest to most difficult to overcome.
- What is the connection between political power and equality for women?
- What can Australia do to achieve political equality for women?

The global drug trade and the ‘war on drugs’

As shown in the UN Convention on Narcotic Drugs (1975), illicit drug trading is a global problem. The annual revenue of the global illicit drug trade has been estimated to be as high as US\$435 billion. The United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC) estimates there are now over 250 million drug users globally, about one tenth of whom are classified as suffering from a drug disorder (UNODC, 2017).

United Nations-designated terrorist groups: Taliban continues to benefit

The Taliban’s involvement in the drug trade is well documented. It has taxed entities involved in illicit opiate production, manufacture and trafficking in Afghanistan. Further, the Consolidated United Nations Security Council Sanctions List contains a number of Taliban leaders who are accused of direct involvement in drug trafficking.

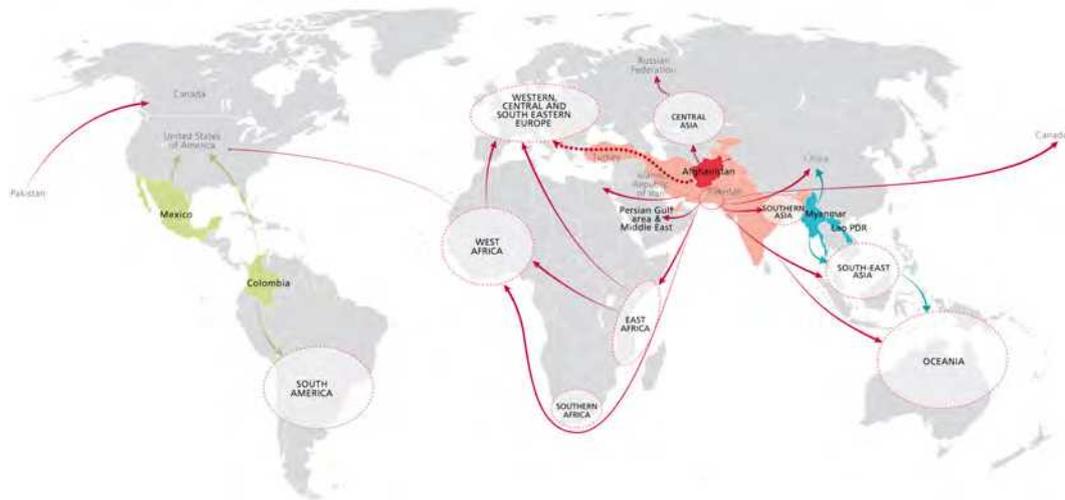
UNODC estimated that non-State armed groups raised about \$150 million in 2016 from the Afghan illicit opiate trade in the form of taxes on the cultivation of opium poppy and trafficking in opiates. The overall drug-related income, however, may be higher still. The Security Council Committee established pursuant to resolution 1988 (2011) estimated the overall annual income of the Taliban at about \$400 million, half of which is likely to be derived from the illicit narcotics economy.

Source: UNODC World Drug Report 2017 Booklet 5 p10.

Governments have diverging approaches to the drug trade. For instance, the US has waged a ‘War on Drugs’ since the early 20th century with little success (Coyne and Hall, 2017). Contrarily, Portugal decriminalised drugs in 2001, which led to the drug overdose fatality rate plummeting to three per million – the global average is 17.3 per million (Ingraham, 2015). The global nature and problem of drugs is compounded by its supply chain (many drugs originate from **fragile states**, as Figure 2.7 overleaf shows) and its association with terrorism (the Taliban, for example, derive half of their revenue from drugs) (UNODC, 2017).

Fragile state. A country characterised by high incidences or risk of violence and low or non-existent government service delivery (including of core institutions such as justice and property rights).

Figure 2.7 – Main trafficking flows of heroin



Flows of heroin from/to countries or regions

- Opiate trafficking generated by production in Latin America
- Opiate trafficking generated by production in Myanmar/Lao People’s Democratic Republic
- Opiate trafficking generated by production in Afghanistan
- Balkan route · · · → Northern route - - - - - → Southern route

Image: UNODC World Drug Report 2016

International slave trading

Most people would think that slave trading and slaves are a thing of the past. However, at the latest count, there are still an estimated 40 million slaves in the world today (Walk Free Foundation, 2017). The highest prevalence of slavery is in Least Developed Countries (LDCs) and Developing Countries, particularly in south-east Asia and sub-Saharan Africa. Australia is a home for slavery too, with an estimated 4,300 slaves, often hidden on worksites or in people’s homes (David, 2017). Australian legislators amended the criminal code in 2013 to include forced labour and marriage as illegal acts (Acland, 2017), and groups including UNSW, Ausbil, WEstjustice, The Freedom Partnership, Anti-Slavery Australia and Uniting Church in Australia (Synod of Victoria and Tasmania) have sought to influence the federal government to further tighten slavery laws (Santow, 2017).



Image from US Department of Defense campaign



Activity 2.17 - What can I do to end slavery?

As a class, brainstorm actions you can take to bring awareness to and end slavery in Australia and the world. A useful place to start could be the End Slavery Now website as well as the Fairtrade website:

 <http://www.endslaverynow.org/learn/abolition-today>
<http://fairtrade.com.au>.

The economic impact of globalisation

Economic theories have helped drive globalisation. For example, Friedman (1962), and Hayek (1944) wrote books that heavily influenced deregulation in the 1980s as discussed above. Three important economic theories to know in order to understand economic globalisation are:

1. The law of comparative advantage
2. The idea of factor price equalisation
3. The concept of economies of scale.



Activity 2.18 - PMI chart on globalisation and economics

As you read through this section and do the activities, use a PMI (Plus, Minus, Interesting) chart to record information, ideas and evaluations of the economic impact of globalisation.

Theoretical underpinnings of globalisation economics

The law of comparative advantage

Comparative advantage was formulated by the British politician and economist David Ricardo in the 19th century. It holds that total wealth is maximised if each state specialises in limited varieties of production and trades with others. For instance, pretend there are only two countries: Australia and China. Australia specialises in producing coal and China specialises in producing rice. Australia can also produce some rice and China can also produce some coal. Through simple mathematics we can show that in total there will be more of everything produced if Australia specialises in producing coal and China specialises in producing rice, even if Australia is better at producing rice than China (see Table 2.3).

Table 2.3 –Specialisation

Specialisation		Secondary production	
Australia: coal production per year (megatonnes)	55	Australia possible rice production per year (millions)	43
China rice production per year (millions)	37	China possible coal production per year (megatonnes)	43
Total production if specialised			92
Total production if each country divides its resources between producing rice and coal			80

Factor price equalisation

In economics there are two kinds of inputs – **capital** and labour. In some states there is a surplus of **labour** and insufficient capital (too many people and not enough tools), in others the opposite may be true (too many tools and not enough people).

Capital. Money, assets or resources (machinery, tools, raw materials) that can be used to create or make products).

Imagine that in the US there are abundant computers and insufficient people and in China there are insufficient computers and abundant people. The US labour price (wages) would be higher and Chinese wages low. Conversely US computers would be relatively inexpensive, and in China computers would be expensive. If workers were allowed to move freely and computers could be freely traded then:

Labour. Human effort exerted in production.

- Chinese workers would move to the US to take advantage of the higher wages and more jobs;
- Computer sellers from the US would sell computers in China to take advantage of the higher prices;
- As long as some profit comes from this (e.g. Chinese workers would continue to move to the US as long as US wages were higher).

This process is called factor price equalisation (Samuelson, 1948).

Factor price equalisation works in theory but has been obstructed in practice. Since the early 1990s goods have been exchanged with increasing freedom, but people have not been allowed to move between countries with the same freedom. The European Union (EU) provides a counterpoint, with people allowed to move freely between EU states.

Economies of scale

Economies of scale exist when the production of additional units costs gradually less money.



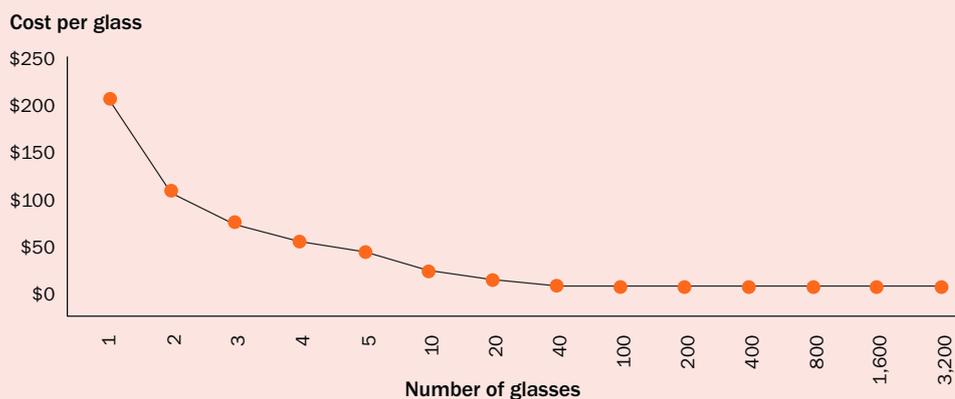
Lemonade stand economies of scale

You decide to put up a lemonade stand in your street and sell home-made lemonade during the summer months. Your original expense includes all the equipment that you need to make the lemonade stand: wood, nails, paint, a juicer, lemons, wheels and other parts. It will be quite costly to set up. Your total cost to enter the lemonade industry is \$200. You will sell your lemonade for \$2 a glass, with each additional glass costing \$1 (the cost of lemons, sugar, water and labour).

Production cost schedule for lemonade stand

Glass number	Cost per glass	Glass number	Cost per glass
1	\$201	40	\$6
2	\$101	100	\$2.99
3	\$67.66	200	\$1.99
4	\$51	400	\$1.49
5	\$41	800	\$1.24
10	\$21	1,600	\$1.12
20	\$11	3,200	\$1.06

Graph of production cost schedule for lemonade stand



A much better example of economies of scale is the software industry; it is no accident that some of the world's most valuable companies are located in Silicon Valley, a hub for software development. Consider that, just like the lemonade stand, most of the cost of software development is paid up-front; teams of coders, designers and other specialists are paid to spend hundreds, probably thousands of hours in producing a game, app, or other kind of program. But then each identical unit is sold millions of times throughout the globe. After a certain point, the profits get larger per unit.

To some extent economies of scale apply to almost every industry, and every form of production. Economies of scale partly explain why companies target the large Chinese market (selling greater volumes is more profitable than selling lesser volumes of a product) and why China has such a large share of the world's manufacturing production. This arrangement is simply cheaper and more profitable.

Perhaps the only criticism of economies of scale is that such mass production encourages mass-consumption. This results in waste, which exacerbates problems such as pollution, environmental degradation and climate change.

Globalisation economics

By the early 1990s, it was thought in developed countries that economic agents left on their own without government interference would produce greater wealth. This was demonstrated through the examples of the recently liberalised Eastern Bloc countries. Their successes, along with the seeming success of free-market policies adopted by Reagan and Thatcher in the 1980s, led policy-makers to suppose that free markets would be universally beneficial. Hence George Bush Senior in his 1989 inaugural address argued:

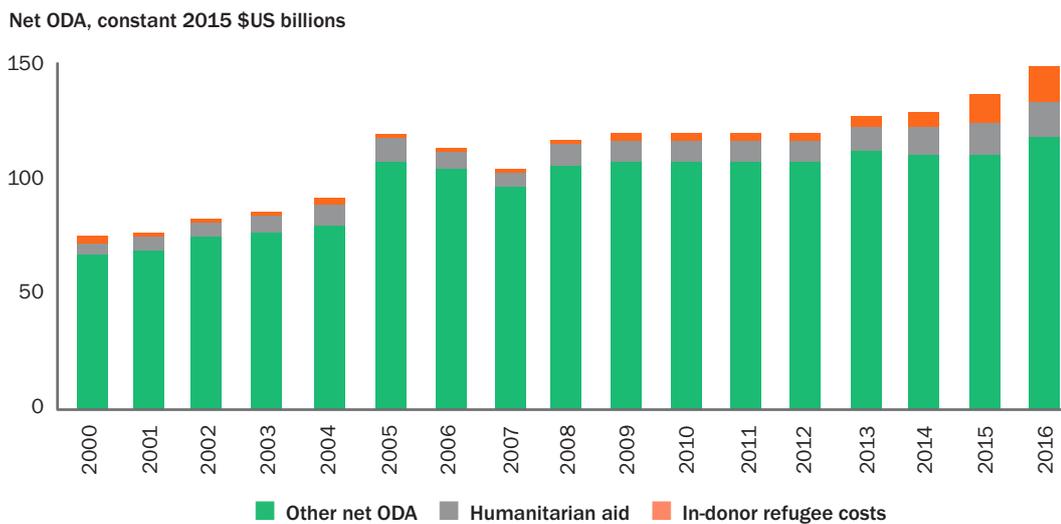
'Freedom works. We know what's right: Freedom is right. We know how to secure a more just and prosperous life for man on Earth: through free markets, free speech, free elections, and the exercise of free will unhampered by the state.'

This concept of the free market has not always played out in a positive way for developing countries. Economic benefits have not raised the standards of living for everyone and the gap between the rich and the poor continue to grow in many states.

Economic development and foreign aid

Economic development refers to developing capacities for greater production in order to increase living standards. Some of the world’s countries are considered (according to World Bank classification) as ‘developed’, others are ‘developing’ and a few are categorised as the least developed countries. In 1970, developed countries agreed to remit 0.7 per cent of annual income to developing countries (OECD, 2017), though at time of writing, only six countries have fulfilled this agreement (Quinn, 2017). However foreign aid – or Official Development Assistance (ODA) – reached a new peak of more than \$US140 billion in 2016 (OECD, 2017) as Figure 2.8 shows.

Figure 2.8 – ODA from developed to developing countries in the 21st century



Source: OECD

International Monetary Fund and the World Bank

The International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank are responsible for helping distribute funds allocated to them for the purpose of global economic development. In the 1990s, the IMF, together with the World Bank and the United States Federal Treasury, formulated a list of rules or principles that would be used to govern allocation of funds to developing countries, known as the Washington Consensus.

The Washington Consensus covered:

1. Fiscal discipline
2. Re-ordering public expenditure priorities toward primary health care, primary education, and infrastructure
3. Tax reform
4. Liberalising interest rates
5. A competitive exchange rate
6. Trade liberalisation
7. Liberalisation of inward foreign direct investment (FDI)
8. Privatisation
9. Deregulation (to abolish barriers to entry and exit)
10. Secure property rights

(Serra and Stiglitz, 2008)



Activity 2.19 - The Washington Consensus

In pairs, rewrite the points of the Washington Consensus in your own words and share with your classmates.

*Remember to keep adding information on your PMI chart from Activity 2.18.

IMF economists traversed the world and reproduced the same document for every developing country around the world to which they would allocate funding. Some results were excellent, but many developing countries experienced economic downturns – particularly in South America (where they speak of the ‘lost decade’ of economic development) and sub-Saharan Africa. Economists now tend to criticise the Washington Consensus for a one-size-fits-all policy, and also as a form of **economic imperialism**. Contrary to its intent, misguided application of the Washington Consensus exacerbated economic (and human) misery in many countries.

Economic imperialism.

Refers to a situation in which one country enjoys considerable economic power over others.



Activity 2.20 - The World Bank and the IMF

1. Visit the World Bank’s projects page:
 <http://projects.worldbank.org/country?lang=en&page=>
2. Choose a country in which the World Bank is offering development assistance and summarise one of its projects (use the 5Ws + H approach).
3. Comment on whether it appears that the World Bank is imposing its views, or appears to be working with the people of that country (does it appear that the World Bank has a different approach than it did under the Washington Consensus?). Discuss your findings as a class.

Extension

4. Visit the IMF projects page and compare approaches:
 http://www.imf.org/external/np/ins/english/capacity_countries.htm
 Add any new information and ideas to your PMI chart.

Approaches to economic development and aid have also been transformed by the United Nations, which developed the Millennium Development Goals in 2000. These have now been superseded by the UN’s 17 Sustainable Development Goals, adopted in 2015. These approaches promise a more holistic and consultative approach to development, targeted to and informed by the needs of local populations.

Transnational corporations, outsourcing, offshoring

Transnational corporations (TNCs) are companies that exist across multiple states. Some prominent TNCs include Apple, Nike, McDonald’s, Microsoft, BP and General Motors. These companies provide many items we use in our day-to-day lives. TNCs use economies of scale to their advantage to produce items in increasing volumes at decreasing prices, leading to greater profits for corporations, providing jobs, and sometimes contributing to rising living standards around the world.

TNCs have captured considerable economic, and therefore political, power. This power can be used to raise developing states’ living standards. For instance, by 1998, it became apparent that Nike Corporation was running ‘sweatshops’ in developing

countries – documentaries showed workers working to the point of exhaustion for a few cents’ wages per hour. This phenomenon is often derided as a ‘race to the bottom’ – with developing countries competing with each other to minimise workers’ entitlements in order to attract investment from TNCs. Evidence of the race to the bottom is contested though and instead it is suggested that developing countries could be using lax enforcement of existing regulations to attract and maintain foreign investment. (The Economist, 2013)



Activity 2.21 - Developing country working conditions

1. Watch one of the following documentaries and add any observations to your PMI chart.



Nike Sweatshops- Behind the Swoosh:

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=M5uYCWVfuPQ>

The Biggest Factory in the World:

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=IKseBx1YPgo>

Inside Chinese Factories – The truth about working conditions at Foxconn, Apple , HP Factories:

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=KqEjaBYXRbA>

Blood In The Mobile:

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Tv-hE4Yx0LU>

Toxicity: life at Agbobloshie, the world’s largest e-waste dump in Ghana:

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mleQVO1Vd1I>

2. Write an inventory of some of the goods you and your family own, and where they were produced, e.g. fridge, washing machine, dishwasher, computer, laptop, tablet, mobile phone, television, microwaves, heaters and coolers.
3. Aggregate the findings of all members of the class from the first step and calculate the percentage of goods produced in various countries.

4. Conduct a class discussion or debate on **ethical consumption**. You could visit the Fairtrade website for more information and to generate more questions



<http://fairtrade.com.au/>.

Some questions to consider could include:

- Does buying goods made in states with poor working conditions contribute to exploitation, or does it positively affect their economic development of states/individuals?
 - Is it possible to find any substitutes for goods that might be produced in ways we find ethically questionable?
 - Do we really need all the goods that we own?
 - Should households with greater wealth or income take a greater share of the burden of sourcing ethically-produced goods?
5. Write a short response to the question: To what extent are we obliged to protect the welfare and working conditions of people in developing countries?

Ethical consumption.

Buying and consuming goods produced using ethically acceptable means.



Advising poor countries to specialise in being poor: criticisms of the theory and practice of comparative advantage

Economist, Eric Reinert, (2008) criticises contemporary economic globalisation, and its basis in the theory of comparative advantage. He argues that wealthy countries advise poor countries to specialise in the production of goods that will maintain poverty – for example, agricultural products. It is only through economies of scale that wealthy countries have attained their status (Reinert, 2008). For example, workers who manufacture golf balls in the US are paid at least US\$12.00 per hour, because

they are produced in massive quantities. Conversely, baseballs are still hand-sewn in countries such as Haiti and Honduras, where workers earn 40c per hour for their labour. Economies of scale result in greater profits and higher wages, whereas the IMF frequently advises countries to specialise in diminishing-return industries.

The economic impact of the internet

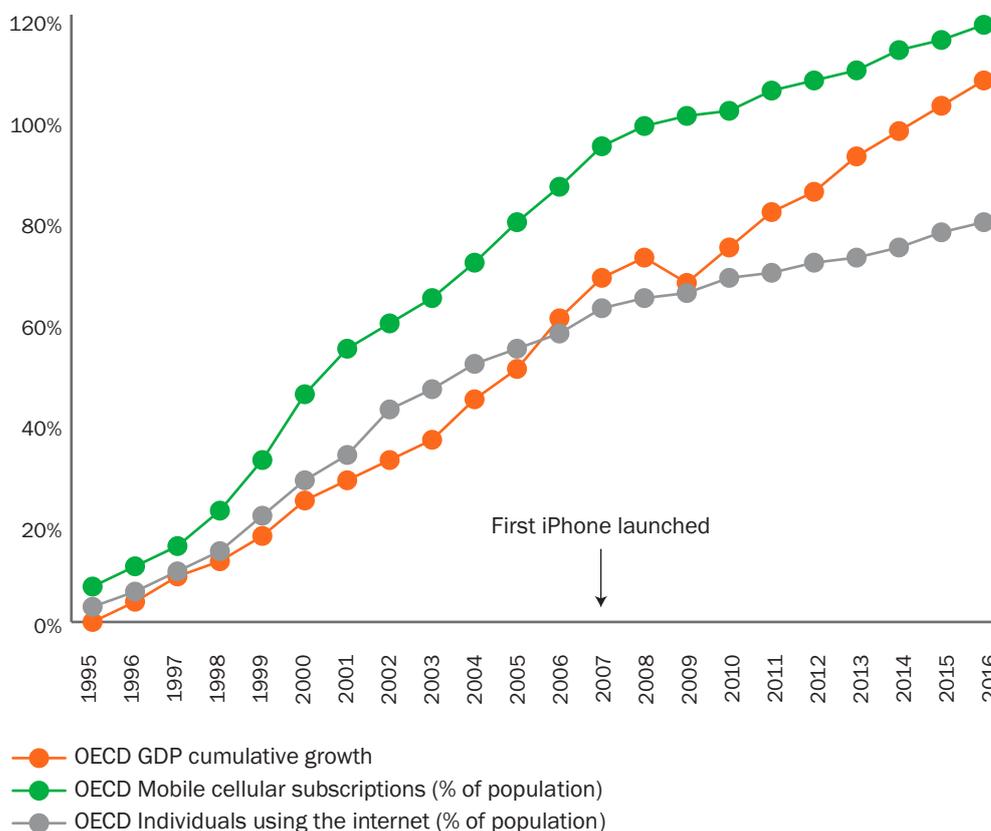
Before the internet, businesses relied solely on print media, television and radio to advertise their goods and services. Many people did not own mobile phones – they were more a luxury than a necessity (see Figure 2.9). The spread of the internet, and of mobile (and later, smart) phones has connected the world in previously unimaginable ways.



Activity 2.22 - Technology driving economic growth

- Examine Figure 2.9 below:
 - In what year does the percentage of the population with a mobile phone subscription exceed 50 per cent?
 - In what year does the percentage of the population with an internet subscription exceed 50 per cent?
 - Describe the trend in economic growth after 2002.
- From your previous responses; in your considered opinion, does there seem to be a relationship between mobile phone and internet usage and economic growth?

Figure 2.9 – OECD mobile phones users, internet connections and economic growth 1995-2016



Source: World Bank DataBank, OECD



Activity 2.23- Case study of an internet corporation

1. Choose a corporation from one of the following:



Amazon:

<http://www.ecommerce-digest.com/amazon-case-study.html>

<https://www.seattletimes.com/nation-world/behind-amazons-success-is-an-extreme-tolerance-for-failure/>

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2vDSGnBGMN4>

Apple:

<http://techland.time.com/2012/05/07/six-reasons-why-apple-is-successful/>

<https://theconversation.com/why-apple-is-the-worlds-most-successful-company-the-power-of-networks-36995>

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rSwhu-Fc4T4>

Facebook:

<https://www.businessinsider.com.au/secrets-to-facebooks-success-2012-5#1-move-fast-1>

<http://fortune.com/2010/11/19/how-facebook-learned-from-myspaces-mistakes/>

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=VI74ypiwlA4>

Ebay:

<https://www.forbes.com/sites/quora/2014/06/03/what-was-ebays-route-to-the-top/#58c03dcb6ddc>

<https://www.theguardian.com/technology/2015/sep/13/how-ebay-built-new-world-little-more-than-trust>

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=UHTCa5QzwbA>

2. Find the following information about the company you have chosen and create a slide show presentation for your class using, for example, Prezi or PowerPoint. In your presentation:

- Describe the corporation's core business.
- List and describe any products of this company that you use.
- Provide a brief biography of its founder or CEO (whichever is most relevant).
- Annual revenue and profit for the past decade – create a graph with 10 data points.
- Give the number of current employees.
- Suggest three reasons for the company's success.

The social impact of globalisation

In the pre-globalisation world, communication was more difficult and laborious than the instant and hi-tech modes people enjoy today. Until the 1990s computers were unwieldy, expensive and unreliable. Mobile phones emerged during the 1980s, generally affordable only to the wealthy. Sending a message to a different country required writing a letter, or making an expensive phone call. Before the fall of the Iron Curtain, travel to many places simply was not possible, especially for those who lived behind the Iron Curtain.

Beginning around the 1990s, new technologies offered new modes of communication, and political changes allowed freer movement between states. The formation of the European Union (EU) established 'freedom of movement' in 1992 – an article that members of the EU must abide by and uphold (Koikkalainen, 2017). Citizens in the 21st century may travel to almost any country and can communicate instantly with people across the globe.



Early model Apple Macintosh; photo: Marcin Wichary

Globalisation's social effect can be summed up by the word 'connectivity'. Through the advent, rise, and constant improvement of various communication technologies, societies around the world can now be more connected with each other than ever before. Connectivity brings with it both benefits and disadvantages:

- Benefits – the **demonstration effect**, which may be empowering citizens of poorer countries to greater aspiration and new possibilities. For example, women living in isolated villages in developing countries see examples of emancipated women in developed countries and demand similar rights.
- Disadvantages – cultural imperialism (a homogenisation of global cultures, loss of tradition and diminishing cultural diversity).



Motorola DynaTAC cellphone from circa 1986; photo: Mark Wahl



The demonstration effect

Arguably yet another positive social impact of globalisation and the explosion in connectivity can be found in what is called the demonstration effect, attributed to the American social scientist James Duesenberry (1949). When people are exposed to a demonstration of how they could live, they may want to follow suit.



Activity 2.24 - Timeline of globalisation social changes

1. Complete the following timeline to help understand the history of globalisation's social changes.

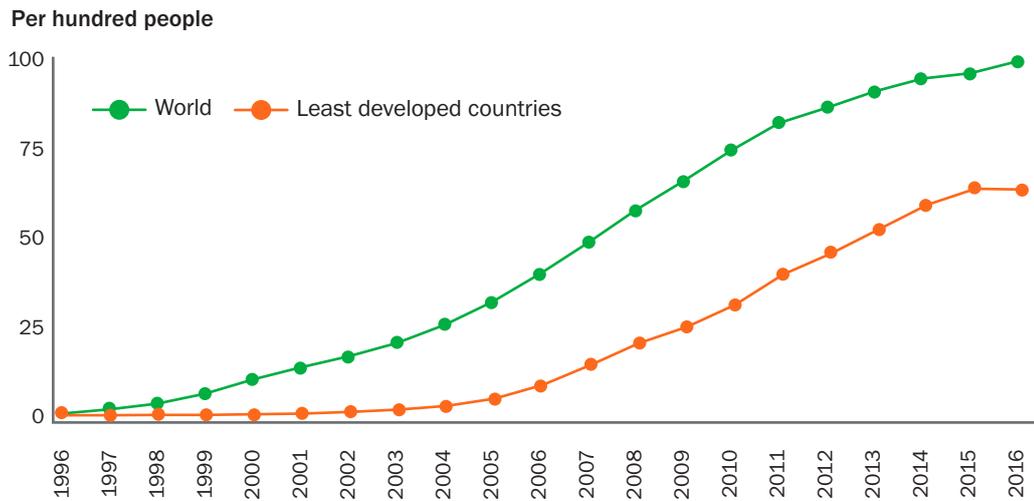
Year	Event	Significance
1975	MITS announced the MITS Altair 8800	The first commercially available personal computer (PC) inspires young William Gates and Paul Allen to adapt the BASIC code for this machine – essentially the birth of Microsoft
1984	First mobile phone commercially available	The precursor to modern light, portable, mobile phones connecting people across the globe and making communication on the move possible.

2. Other events that you should include are: Apple Computer's birth; invention of Global Position Satellites (GPS); first digital mobile phones; advent and rise of the internet; analogue phones phased out; first camera phones; advent of broadband; first smart phone (touchscreen phone); birth of social media (Myspace and Facebook) and others you decide on as a class.
3. Think, pair, share: How would my life be altered if there were no mobile phones and no internet?

Increased connectivity: mobile telephones, the internet and social media

When mobile phones were first available in 1984 few would have imagined their current form. Their earliest forms are now laughed at – you required a briefcase to transport them. As per Figure 2.10 (overleaf), many people around the globe now own or can own a mobile telephone. The generation that has grown up with mobile phones understands that people in various countries are just a few clicks away.

Figure 2.10 – Mobile cellular subscriptions



Source: World Bank DataBank

Figure 2.10 shows that for people in developing countries and LDCs the uptake of mobile phones has been a more recent occurrence. For people in these countries, the mobile phone has led to more than merely social connectivity. Increased access to mobile phones has meant increased commercial opportunities – many traders in LDCs exchange relatively small quantities of goods or services. The spread of mobile phones in such regions results in greater income for some of the world’s poorest.



Activity 2.25 - The spread of mobile phones

Research the positive effects that have come from the spread of mobile phones. The following website details the benefits of mobile phones in some of the world’s poorest countries:

 <https://www.cta.tech/News/Blog/Articles/2015/July/How-Mobile-Phones-Are-Changing-the-Developing-World.aspx>

Visit the website and complete the following table:

Type of benefit	Explanation	The lives of affected people in the absence of this benefit
Money and banking	Mobiles phones have provided millions of people access to banking, reducing the number of ‘unbanked’ people in the world by 20 per cent to 2 billion.	Such people were at constant risk of robbery and would only be able to receive payments in person, meaning increased travel/ transaction costs.
Governance		
Agriculture		
Education		
Health		



Activity 2.26 - The demonstration effect

Working alone, then in pairs; brainstorm ways in which the demonstration effect might change lives in the world's poorest countries. Discuss this as a class, and classify the various effects using a PMI chart.

Cultural imperialism and hybridity

Cultural imperialism refers to the phenomenon of a dominant culture wiping out older, more traditional cultures (Foucault, 1979 and Said, 1978). For example, nowadays, Coca-Cola and McDonald's, along with American cinema and music, are globally ubiquitous. For some critics, this represents mass-produced culture taking over the world (Ritzer, 1993). For others, such phenomenon provides opportunities and access to new clients and audiences.

Hybridity refers to the idea that local populations and cultures adapt imported cultural ideas and products for their own purposes (Bhabha, 1994). Instead of presenting local populations as helpless receptacles of a foreign culture, hybridity suggests active agency in transforming and using symbols and ideas.



Activity 2.27 - Cultural imperialism and/or hybridity

1. Briefly read this article on McDonald's and examine the information on the map in the link below.

 <https://www.express.co.uk/news/world/570567/How-McDonald-s-became-global-phenomenon>
<http://www.princeton.edu/~ina/infographics/starbucks.html>

Explain, in three to five bullet points each, the globalised nature of Starbucks and McDonald's (e.g. 'Starbucks supply chain relies on at least 19 different countries').

2. Read the following article and classify the facts in your PMI chart:

 <https://www.theguardian.com/technology/2017/jul/27/facebook-free-basics-developing-markets>

3. Hold a class discussion on the topic: Globalisation has enriched cultures around the world. Points to consider might include questions such as:

- What is gained through the spread of global brands, ideas and mass-culture?
- What is lost through the spread of global brands, ideas and mass-culture?
- How much do people value the gains as opposed to the losses?
- Does the spread of mass culture endanger the world in any way, e.g. might it reduce people's capacity for critical thinking?

Environmentalism

India's Vandana Shiva studied and worked as a rocket scientist. In the early 1990s she realised that transnational corporations like Monsanto were coming to her native India, buying up the farmland, and replacing the crops – which for generations had been adaptively cultivated by locals – with genetically-modified organism (GMO) crops. Traditional crops had the advantage of being resilient and adapted to local environmental conditions, likewise the farming methods were adapted to local conditions. Shiva became alarmed that GMOs were eroding local traditions and the biological resilience of local crops. She argued that this way of treating cultures and the environment had something in common with the way that men mistreated women around the world (Mies and Shiva, 2014).



Activity 2.28 - GMOs pros and cons

Activists on the one hand, such as Shiva, argue that GMOs are damaging to local cultures. On the other hand, some argue that GMOs offer hope for the world's poor and starving.

1. Before beginning, draw up a KWLE chart (see below) and record what you already know about GMOs and their impact in the first column.

What I <u>K</u> now	What I <u>W</u> ant to Know	What I have <u>L</u> earned	What is the <u>E</u> vidence for this claim or argument?

2. View these three videos below (search for others if you have time and interest):

-  Vandana Shiva explains clearly why GMOs are a death knell to biodiversity and farming: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=o_r6tHdZdhl
 GMOs to benefit hungry, malnourished: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=EGDGbSLcfRQ>
 Should we embrace GM food? – five-minute debate: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5rysVKetHYU>

In recording facts and arguments, be sure to record in the 'E' column the evidence (or leave a space if there is a lack of evidence).

3. It is recommended that you conduct a search for 'GMO crops evidence'.
4. Write a five-minute oral report (together with PowerPoint or other presentation such as Prezi or Haiku Deck) on the topic: GMOs – hope or threat? Include reference to:
 - What are the perils of GMOs?
 - How might GMOs offer hope to starving peoples?
 - What does scientific research tell us?
 - What might be some potential political threats to local autonomy?
 - What might be some potential opportunities for local education and assistance that TNCs could (or do already) provide?

Global gender inequality

Female infanticide

In 1990, Nobel Laureate, Amartya Sen, conducted a study on demographics in Asian nations. His article *More Than 100 Million Women are Missing (1990)* used statistical methods to estimate the population of men and women that is actually reported in a number of Asian countries, and compared this to certain benchmark expectations of what should have been the case with natural growth in population.



Activity 2.29 - Female infanticide

Examine the data in the following table, which ranks countries based on skewed sex ratios at birth.

Rank	Country	Sex ratio at birth
1	Liechtenstein	126 males/100 females
2	China	115 males/100 females
3	America	113 males/100 females
4	India	112 males/100 females
5	Azerbaijan	111 males/100 females

Rank	Country	Sex ratio at birth
5	Vietnam	111 males/100 females
6	Albania	110 males/100 females
7	Georgia	108 males/100 females
8	South Korea	107 males/100 females
8	Tunisia	107 males/100 females
9	Nigeria	106 males/100 females
10	Pakistan	105 males/100 females
11	Nepal	104 males/100 females

Source: Asian Centre for Human Rights

1. Working alone or in pairs, choose one of the countries from this list to focus on (each student/pair should choose a different country).

2. Download the report from which it originated:

 <http://www.indiaenvironmentportal.org.in/files/file/Femalefoeticideworldwide.pdf>

Using the report, explain the following:

- The likely factors or causes for gender skewing in your chosen country;
- Responses to gender skewing (in the country or by international authorities or organisations),

3. Present your summary to your classmates.

Educational outcomes

There has been considerable progress globally in achieving gender equality in education, which is a great benefit to global development. According to the World Economic Forum (WEF 2017), fewer than 20 states worldwide continue to have a significant gender gap in education. Canadian historian Jennifer Lonegran shows that targeting development at women leads to greater, faster development outcomes. She argues that if women are better educated, allowed more equitable economic opportunities, and more equitable political opportunities, families, children, societies, politics and economies come to a point of flourishing faster and more fully.



Activity 2.30 - Women and development - barricades to bridges

Watch and read the following links and prepare business-card size notes (10 per student or group) before commencing the brainstorm questions below.



Women Key to Economic Growth

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ntzpj2LXD4>

Empowering women in developing countries (Jennifer Lonegran)

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=DbtfYNKYing>

The Global Gender Gap Report 2017

<https://www.weforum.org/reports/the-global-gender-gap-report-2017>

Australian Government workplace gender equality agency

<https://www.wgea.gov.au/>

Brainstorm questions

1. What does a world in which women have attained equal opportunity look like? Write down the 'vision' on one of the cards.
2. Describe the 'current state' of women's rights around the world.
3. Write down the current reality on one of the cards.
4. Describe the 'barricades', the factors that prevent women from attaining equality.

5. Place all the cards on a table, ranking the 'barricades' from easiest to hardest to solve (easiest is next to the 'current reality' card, hardest is next to the 'vision' card).
6. Suggest solutions to the barricades – these are the bridges.

Discussion question

What actions/steps can members of the class take immediately to help create equality for women?

The key features of realism and cosmopolitanism: states' obligations to the international community

Theory and practice

Whether states have obligations towards the international community is both a theoretical and a practical issue. The theoretical question is: should states accept that there is an international community towards which they have a moral obligation? In a practical sense, the question is: have states behaved in a way that fulfils some moral obligation to the international community? In this way, the theories of realism and cosmopolitanism both incorporate prescriptive and descriptive elements. The term 'prescriptive' refers to a theory about how the world ought to be. The term 'descriptive', on the other hand, refers simply to a theory describing how the world actually is. Realism and cosmopolitanism both contain prescriptive and descriptive elements.

What is realism?

States' actions can be explained by understanding them as if they were individual people. People generally act in their own self-interest. Realism theorises that states act in the same way – states focus on their own national interest. The national interest is determined by each nation's government. In democracies, the national interest can be decided through public debate, and is founded on national security (without national security, nothing else is possible).

Assuming a state is secure, other priorities form part of the national interest, including maximising national economic interests, forming links with foreign powers, and global citizenship. In most developed countries, the national interest, in practice, prioritises governments promoting citizens' economic interests – creating conditions of rising living standards. Thus, the national interest in democracies amounts to the sum of its citizens' individual self-interests taken in the context of the global geopolitical economy.



Activity 2.31 - Ranking interests

1. Consider some of your self-interests, which may include safety, food, shelter, money, VCE score, having lots of friends, playing video games, excelling at athletics/sport/music, etc., and rank them in order of most to least important (remember that without basic safety and security, little else can be accomplished).

Justify each ranking, both by reference to why it is more important than those ranked below and why it is less important than what you have ranked higher.

2. Consider some elements of Australia's possible national interests and rank these in order of most to least important (as before): aid relief to low-lying South Pacific neighbouring countries, pressuring the Chinese government to respect human rights, a free trade agreement with China, Australia's military alliance with the US, selling uranium to India, meeting agreed GHG emissions targets, assisting refugees, turning boats back to international waters, sending peace-keeping troops to a war-torn African country. Discuss your rankings with classmates.

What is cosmopolitanism?

Cosmopolitanism posits that humans share an identity as global citizens (without excluding the differences between people and cultures, and the borders drawn on a map). Over the 20th century it became increasingly apparent that global problems required global solutions and in turn global institutions of government and organisations (Beardsworth, 2012).

Cosmopolitanism emerged partly because of its emphasis on the liberal idea of human rights, which resonated with people around the world. Many of the events that have driven globalisation have stemmed from citizens' demand for rights: the Iron Curtain's fall, the 1989 Tiananmen Square protests and the recent Arab Spring all involved citizens wanting their humanity recognised through political rights encoded in law.

The Prisoners' Dilemma

The Prisoners' Dilemma is an analytic device frequently used to model many kinds of real life situations, including international climate change negotiations. Its scenario is as follows:

- There are two people accused of murder and imprisoned;
- They cannot communicate with each other;
- Police do not have enough evidence to convict either of them;
- If both stay silent, they will each be convicted of a lesser crime and receive a one-year sentence;
- If both testify against the other, they will receive a two -year sentence;
- If only one testifies against the other (and the other stays silent) then the prisoner who testifies is free and the other receives a three -year sentence.



Activity 2.32 - International relations and the Prisoners' Dilemma

1. Working with a partner, discuss what each of you would do, noting that in the scenario, the two prisoners cannot communicate.
2. Explain ways in which the scenario can be used to understand real life situations such as climate change negotiations. (Hint: think of the two prisoners, one as 'north' (developed countries) and the other 'south' (developing countries).)
3. Discuss your findings as a class.
4. From your findings, respond to the question: Which theory of international relations (realism or cosmopolitanism) best predicts how nations or groups of nations will act? Use reasons and evidence to justify your response.



Activity 2.33 - Global citizen or nationally-interested?

Under the theory of cosmopolitanism, nations are thought to act as global citizens – part of a global community; whereas under realism, they act to maximise national interests.

1. Consider the following scenarios in the table below and categorise them as ‘GC’ (global citizen), ‘NI’ (national interest) or ‘B’ (both) if you cannot decide whether the action is more one than the other.
2. In the right-hand column be sure to explain or justify your labelling.

Action	GC, NI or B	Explanation or justification
Australia provides aid relief to low-lying South Pacific neighbouring countries		
Australia pressures the Chinese government to respect human rights		
Australia signs a free trade agreement with China		
Australia maintains its military alliance with the US		
Australia sells uranium to India		
Australia meets its agreed GHG emissions targets		
Australia assists refugees		
Australia turns refugee boats back to international waters		
Australia sends peace-keeping troops to a war-torn African country		
Australia supports the US in threatening North Korea		

Australia as a global citizen

What is the extent of Australia's obligations to the international community? Australia is referred to as a middle power – neither a superpower, nor without power. For example, Australia is a member of the **Group of 20** but not the **G7**.

Through its interventions in various conflicts – often under the UN banner – Australia has played an active role in international politics:

- It has aided economic development in the South-East Asia and Pacific region;
- It has sent troops and resources to Afghanistan, Iraq and Syria.

It could be argued that Australia should take a leadership role in combating global climate change. As a middle power, Australia has the means to enact policy which sets an example, provides leadership in this area and counter-balances our relatively high contributions to the problem.

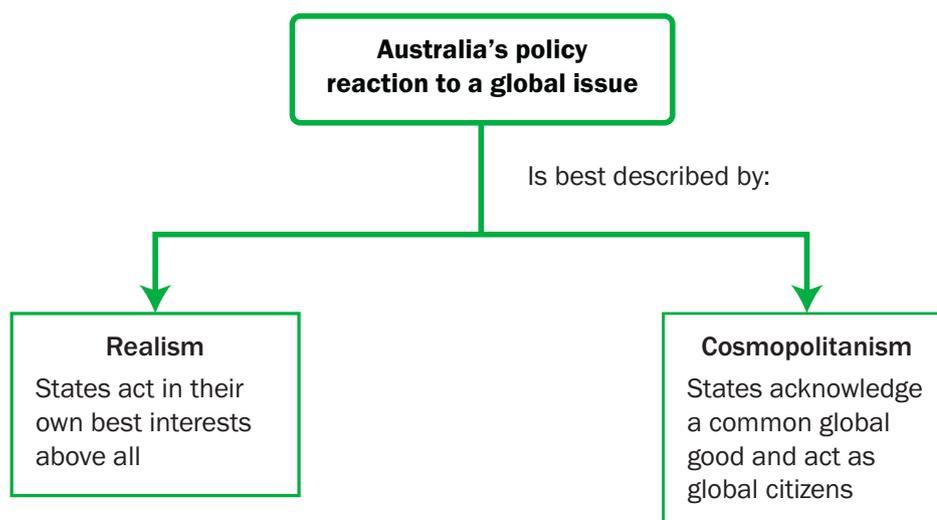
Consider the following:

- Australia is responsible for only 1 per cent of the world's GHG emissions.
- Australia ranks third in the world in emissions per head (among the 87 countries with a population of at least 10 million).
- Australia's coal exports totalled \$42.3 billion (Austrade, 2017) – approximately 3 per cent of Australia's total economic production.
- Coal-mining employed 54,900 Australians (measured in February 2014, see Minerals Council of Australia, 2017), or about 0.5 per cent of Australia's total workforce.

Group of 20 (G20). An international forum for the global economies' 20 leading nations.

G7. The 'Group of Seven' countries representing the world's largest economies.

Figure 2.11 – Describing and defining Australia's response to global issues





Activity 2.34 - National interest and global citizenship

1. Working in pairs or groups, for each of the points above, discuss: 'Should we change this and why/why not?' Write a brief explanation for each. Discuss as a class.
2. Imagine you are a policy adviser paid to help the Federal Government decide on energy and climate change policy. Based on the information above and your discussions, what would you advise and why?
3. More generally, explain the extent to which Australia is obliged to act as a good global citizen.

How effective has Australia been as a global actor?

This section is intended to help you choose a case study to respond to the question above. You should be encouraged to choose and conduct your own case study, for which some starting questions and resources will be provided.

Questions you should answer include:

- Describe and explain the problem;
- Describe and explain the international community's response;
- Describe and explain Australia's past and current role as part of the international response;
- Should Australia's obligation regarding this issue be more focused on the national interest or more focused on good global citizenship?
- Considering Australia's constraints (e.g. population, location, resources, competing obligations), evaluate the extent to which Australia has acted effectively in responding to this problem.

Case study 1 - Environment

The world's states face problems of climate change and pollution. Climate change already affects the world, but its worst effects will occur decades from now (IPCC, 2014). However, pollution and waste are already ruining public space, poisoning animals and ecosystems, and thereby affecting food sources. This damage is occurring despite numerous international treaties to reduce pollution (Vidal, 2012).

Further resources and readings:

-  Vidal, 2012: 'Many treaties to save the earth, but where's the will to implement them?' <https://www.theguardian.com/environment/blog/2012/jun/07/earth-treaties-environmental-agreements>.

The article contains links to treaties and articles, and so provides a good starting point for research.

Conduct an internet search for 'Australia waste, rubbish, pollution reduction', and use information from government departments (e.g. environment.gov), or prominent NGOs (e.g. Greenpeace), to assist your research in responding to the questions above.

Case study 2 - Terrorism

Like many developed countries, Australia has spent considerable resources on combatting terrorism.

- Australia is signatory to multiple treaties on terrorism, as detailed in Parliament of Australia 'Terrorism treaties': https://www.aph.gov.au/About_Parliament/Parliamentary_Departments/Parliamentary_Library/Browse_by_Topic/TerrorismLaw/terrorismtreaties

Australia seeks to protect its citizens from terrorism, as detailed here (Chang, 2016, 'How Australians are being protected from terrorist attacks'): <http://www.news.com.au/national/politics/how-australians-are-being-protected-from-terrorist-attacks/news-story/ffa7644a9371921c818a313dd472782c>

Farr, 2016, 'Turnbull announces tough new laws to combat terrorists' <http://www.news.com.au/national/politics/turnbull-announces-tough-new-laws-to-combat-terrorists/news-story/475412cee06163dd46ade2a8852b59a6>

A government site on Australia's anti-terrorism measures can be found here – Australian National Security: <https://www.nationalsecurity.gov.au/WhatAustraliaisdoing/Pages/default.aspx>

A news story on anti-terrorism measures in the budget (including participation in overseas multilateral military interventions): 'Budget 2017: Defence gets cash reinforcements for counter-terrorism measures': <http://www.smh.com.au/business/federal-budget/budget-2017-defence-gets-cash-reinforcements-for-counterterrorism-measures-20170508-gw0arg.html>

Case study 3 - People movement

Worldwide, there are more than 20 million people who have left their home country seeking refuge in another country. Over 65 million people are displaced in total (UNHCR, 2017).

Points that should be researched and noted by you include:

- The definition of a refugee as opposed to the definition of an asylum seeker;
- The difference between 'genuine' refugees and 'economic' refugees;
- Australia's international obligations;
- Australia's response since 2012: onshore processing, offshore processing; issues at offshore processing centres (Manus Island and Nauru), boat turn-backs, resettling refugees in Cambodia;
- The difference between hosting and resettlement of refugees;
- The costs and benefits of Australia's skilled migrant intake program as opposed to the costs and benefits of Australia's refugee intake program.



Syrian and Iraqi refugees arrive on Lesbos Island, Greece; photo: Ggia

Useful resources include:

- UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR): Figures at a glance: <http://www.unhcr.org/en-au/figures-at-a-glance.html>

The 1951 UN refugees convention: <http://www.unhcr.org/en-au/1951-refugee-convention.html>

Refugee Council of Australia Statistics: <http://www.jrs.org.au/resettlement-not-solution-worlds-refugee-crisis/>

The Problem with the 1951 Refugee Convention: https://www.aph.gov.au/About_Parliament/Parliamentary_Departments/Parliamentary_Library/pubs/rp/rp0001/01RP05

Case study 4 - Free/fair trade

Free trade ought to benefit the entire world. By removing all taxes and tariffs on trade, consumers are allowed to choose freely between competing products. Competition brings down prices, forcing companies to innovate, and this frees up more of consumers' money to buy other things (leading to more industries and more jobs).

In some cases, however, smaller economic entities (companies or states) simply cannot compete with bigger, established entities. Alternatively, states can be forced to implement unacceptable working conditions for their citizens (i.e. 'race to the bottom') or can be forced to sell produce at low, or even below-market, prices. Moreover, as previously outlined, some products are made using slave labour. For these reasons, there can be calls for fair trade rather than free trade.

Some useful resources include:

- Resources from previous learning activities (see above)
 - Free trade versus fair trade: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=VNPkiJrk_Bw
 - How does Fair Trade differ from Free Trade? <http://www.fairtraderesource.org/uploads/2007/09/Free-Trade-Is-Not-Fair-Trade.pdf>
 - Forget Fairtrade – only free trade can help poor: <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/comment/columnists/janetdaley/3555412/Forget-Fairtrade-only-free-trade-can-help-poor.html>
 - Fair Trade: A Just World Starts with You (TED talk): <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xT6TQsXlDOY>
 - The World Trade Organization (IGO which oversees international free trade): <https://www.wto.org/>
 - Fair trade Australia: <http://fairtrade.com.au/>



Case study 5 - International law

In most states you will know of, national laws are created by the legislature, enacted by the executive and enforced by the judiciary. Citizens of states enjoy rights granted by governments (political, economic and social freedoms and benefits) and have obligations or responsibilities (e.g. obeying the law, paying taxes, jury duty, voting).

Questions you might consider in relation to this issue include:

- Are there any rights or responsibilities for countries as global citizens?
- Should organisations be vested with the power (on a transnational level), to:
 - Create international laws;
 - Enact international laws;
 - Enforce international laws?
- If such organisations should exist, should they be democratically elected?
- If they are not democratically elected, how should they be appointed?

Some useful resources include:

- What are the sources of International Law? <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0ViSYjt-wGw>
 - UN – 'What we do' – 'uphold international law': <http://www.un.org/en/sections/what-we-do/uphold-international-law/>

Australian Government Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade – International Law: <http://dfat.gov.au/international-relations/international-organisations/un/pages/international-law.aspx>

An Introduction to the International Court of Justice https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=I-MQQ20F_gE&t=59s

You can also conduct searches for ‘International Law News’ which will lead to the latest contemporary issues.

Case study 6 – Aid

Foreign aid (or Official Development Assistance – ODA) refers to financial grants or technical assistance from one country to another. In 2017, Australia donated less than 0.3 per cent of GDP as ODA. According to the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, much of Australian aid flows to the surrounding Indo-Pacific region, with at least one quarter to Australia’s nearest neighbours, Papua New Guinea and Indonesia. Australia’s aid budget has been continually cut since 2013. Make sure you check for updated and accurate figures regarding ODA as amounts can change regularly.

Questions for you to consider:

- Is trade preferable to aid?
- Is the above question a false dichotomy?
- How does Australia compare to other countries in terms of ODA?
- Has Australia fulfilled its international obligations?

Some useful resources include:

- Australian Government Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade (DFAT) – Where we give: <http://dfat.gov.au/aid/where-we-give-aid/pages/where-we-give-aid.aspx>
Australia’s aid program (DFAT) – <http://dfat.gov.au/aid/pages/australias-aid-program.aspx>
Australian aid budget summary (DFAT), see p5 for breakdown of aid payments by country – <http://dfat.gov.au/about-us/corporate/portfolio-budget-statements/Documents/2016-17-australian-aid-budget-summary.pdf> (or search for latest year)
- The Lowy Institute ‘Australian Foreign Aid’ (source or research and critical perspectives on Australian Foreign Policy <https://www.loyyinstitute.org/issues/australian-foreign-aid>)
- The Australia Institute ‘How foreign is foreign aid?’ <http://www.tai.org.au/content/how-foreign-foreign-aid>
- Esther Duflo: Social Experiments to fight poverty (TED talk) – <https://youtu.be/OzvriGpKvcs>
- Joe Cerrell: In defence of foreign aid (TED talk) – <https://youtu.be/CL-0mCN6-BI>
- Abhishek Parajuli: Friendly fire- how foreign aid hurts development – <https://youtu.be/H-Q3zWv0Evv>

Bringing it all together

Sample essay task

‘Evaluate the extent to which Australia has fulfilled its obligations to the international community in regards to climate change.’

1. Unpacking the question:

This question asks you to ‘evaluate the extent’;

- Evaluate means to judge the worth or effectiveness of, to assess;
- ‘Evaluate the extent’ requires you to explain both the ways in which Australia’s response to climate change has been effective and the ways in which they might have fallen short or criticisms of their effectiveness.

2. Key points to consider:

- Australia’s role in the global community
- Australia’s role in climate change
- Realism and cosmopolitanism
- Australia’s obligations to its own citizens
- Australia’s obligations to surrounding countries
- Australia’s obligations to future generations

Sample essay plan:

Introduction	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Background: The climate change problem; • Main argument: Given the current state of international action on climate change, Australia has acted as effectively as it is obliged to in responding to climate change; • Introduce three body paragraphs.
Body paragraph 1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Balancing the national interest with global citizenship concerns • International action on climate change • Australia’s role
Body paragraph 2	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Australia’s contribution to GHG stocks • Australia’s contribution to reducing climate change – international policy • Australia’s contribution to reducing climate change – domestic policy
Body paragraph 3	<p>Criticisms:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Australia is among the world’s leading per capita emitters • Australia contributes to climate change by continuing to export coal • Australia should do more to help its low-lying neighbours
Conclusion	<p>Recap main arguments and reprise main argument – how has it now been proven?</p>

Sample SAC/Exam questions and responses

1. Define globalisation (1 mark)
2. What is meant by the term ‘realism’? (2 marks)
3. What is meant by the term ‘global citizen’? (3 marks)
4. Outline two global issues that require transnational political responses. (4 marks)
5. Outline two of the social effects of globalisation. (4 marks)
6. Discuss the extent to which the global community has effectively responded to the issue of gender equity. (5 marks).
7. Evaluate the extent to which globalisation has resulted in greater freedom for citizens around the world. (6 marks)

 Some suggested answers and analysis are available as an online resource.

Media centre

15 sources for deeper understanding:

- BBC News: Source of reporting and interpretation for global events
<https://www.bbc.co.uk/>
- World Databank: A rich source of statistics which measure human, economic and even political dimensions <https://data.worldbank.org/products/wdi>
- The Lowy Institute: Australian think tank focusing on domestic and foreign policy issues <https://www.loyyinstitute.org/>
- Aidwatch: Independent monitor of trade and aid <http://www.aidwatch.org.au>
- Harvard University Centre for International Development: Think tank on international development located at one of the world's top five universities
<https://www.hks.harvard.edu/centers/cid>
- United Nations: The most important IGO in global governance; oversees many relevant subsidiaries, such as UNESCO, the UNHCR, UN Women, the UNFCCC
<http://www.un.org/en/index.html>
- The World Trade Organization (WTO): IGO which oversees international trade
<https://www.wto.org/>
- Globalisation – Crash Course: Fast-paced introduction and overview clips about globalisation <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5SnR-eOS6lc>
- The Guardian – world news: Independent news organisation
<https://www.theguardian.com/world>
- Australian Government Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade: Publishes Australia's foreign policy <http://dfat.gov.au/>
- Fairtrade Australia: Helps users support fair trade <http://fairtrade.com.au/>
- End Slavery Now: NGO promoting the cause of ending slavery around the world
<http://www.endslaverynow.org/>
- Amnesty International: NGO promoting human rights around the world
<https://www.amnesty.org.au/>
- Greenpeace: NGO raising awareness for environmental issues around the world
<http://www.greenpeace.org/australia>
- Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change: Transnational scientific organisation providing research and data on climate change <http://www.ipcc.ch/>

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Glossary of terms

Bilateral. Action, relation or agreement involving two states.

Capital. The means of production – can include tools/machinery or human resources used to transform raw materials into a state that can be used or exchanged.

The Demonstration effect. Arguably yet another positive social impact of globalisation and the explosion in connectivity can be found in what is called the demonstration effect, attributed to the American social scientist James Duesenberry (1949). When people are exposed to a demonstration of how they could live, they may want to follow suit.

Economic imperialism. Refers to a situation in which one country enjoys considerable economic power over others.

Ethical consumption. Buying and consuming goods produced using ethically acceptable means.

Fragile state. A country characterised by high incidences or risk of violence and low or non-existent government service delivery (including of core institutions such as justice and property rights).

G7. The ‘Group of Seven’ countries representing the world’s largest economies.

Group of 20 (G20). An international forum for the global economy’s 20 leading nations.

Intergovernmental organisation. An organisation composed primarily of states. It is established by a treaty, a founding charter for the organisation, and thus subject to international law. Examples include the United Nations and the European Union.

Iron Curtain. Division between the Communist-ruled countries of Eastern Europe and the USSR on the one hand and Western Europe on the other.

Tariffs. Taxes on imported goods, rendering them more expensive in comparison to local goods; this can keep local industries in business, even if they could otherwise not compete, either in terms of quality or on price with the imported goods.



2

GLOBAL CONNECTIONS

Area of Study 2:
Global Cooperation and Conflict

Area of Study 2: Global Cooperation and Conflict

On completion of this unit the student should be able to describe and analyse the extent to which global actors can effectively manage cooperation, conflict and instability in relation to selected case studies. To achieve this outcome the student will draw on key knowledge and key skills outlined in Area of Study 2.

Key knowledge

- the key terms: global community, national interest, multilateralism, unilateralism, realism, cosmopolitanism, global actors, non-state actors, instability, global cooperation, crisis diplomacy
- case studies of cooperation or conflict:
 - the nature of the global issue
 - key global actors and their roles in relation to international cooperation and conflict
 - responses of global actors
 - effectiveness of responses
 - challenges to effective resolution of issues
- at least one case study of contemporary international cooperation from:
 - the environment
 - animal welfare and biodiversity
 - health
 - people movement
 - disarmament
 - international crime
 - human rights
 - action and aid relating to natural and/or human made disasters
- at least one case study drawn from the following types of international conflict:
 - border disputes
 - war
 - separatism
 - terrorism
 - human rights
 - people movement.

Key skills

- define and explain key global politics terms and use them in the appropriate context
- explain and analyse the social, economic and political impacts of globalisation
- analyse the impact of global interconnectedness on human rights, culture and the environment
- explain key features of the theories of realism and cosmopolitanism
- analyse debates around the obligation of states to the global community
- investigate Australia's participation in the global community and evaluate the effectiveness of this participation
- use contemporary examples and case studies to support explanations, points of view and arguments.

2 Global Connections

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Global Cooperation and Conflict

“We believe that today, more than ever before, we live in a global and interdependent world. No State can stand wholly alone.” (2005 United Nations World Summit)

What constitutes global cooperation? What is the nature of global conflict? What roles have global actors undertaken in relation to global cooperation and conflict on specific global issues? How effectively have global actors responded to specific global issues? What are the various challenges to effective resolution of global issues?

In this Area of Study you will explore the nature of global cooperation and conflict in the 21st century relating to a range of global issues. The extent to which global actors have been able to effectively cooperate and manage conflict and instability globally has been a source of increasing concern for the international community in the 21st century. Despite the international community’s widespread acceptance of collective responsibility for responding to global issues at the United Nations World (UN) Summit in 2005, limited, timely, and/or ineffective, responses to the United Nations General Assembly’s outcome document’s stated goals continue to challenge the effective resolution of global issues.



Definitions

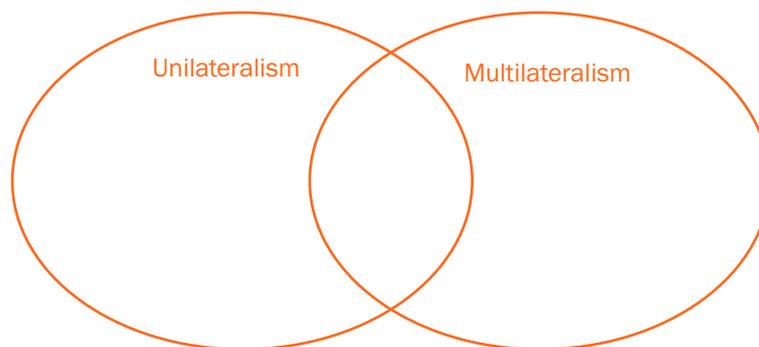
Term	Definition
Cosmopolitanism	The theory that emphasises links between people as citizens of the world rather than the state or nation-state and posits that global actors should act in the interests of human beings across the globe.
Crisis diplomacy	Global actors conducting negotiations to manage global crises.
Global actors	The various entities that play a role in the global political arena including: states; intergovernmental organisations (IGOs), such as the United Nations (UN), International Monetary Fund (IMF), and International Criminal Court (ICC); non-state actors such as non-government organisations and global terrorist movements; and transnational corporations (TNCs).
Global community	Individuals and states being connected through shared rights and responsibilities in an interdependent world.
Global cooperation	States working together to deal with global issues.
Instability	Situations of political change in policies, regimes or governments, or through violence and upheaval.
Multilateralism	Actions or decisions taken jointly by three or more states involved in an issue.
National interest	The most vital objectives a state pursues.

Term	Definition
Non-state actors	Individuals or groups who have power to influence change but are not members of any particular state.
Realism	The theory that a state functions only to increase its power and to pursue its national interests in the national and/or global arena.
Unilateralism	Action or decisions taken by one state involved in an issue.



Activity 2.35 - Vocabulary

- With a partner:
 - Examine the definitions of the terms in the table above
 - Re-write the definition in your own words
 - Identify an example of the word
 - Identify a visual or symbol that best represents the word
 - Create the visual
 - Share definitions and visual examples with the class.
- Create a Venn diagram (see example below) outlining your understanding of the following key terms in the Study Design, placing common features in the crossover:
 - Unilateralism and multilateralism
 - Realism and cosmopolitanism
 - Global actors and non-state actors
 - National interest and global cooperation
 - Instability and crisis diplomacy



A global ethic

Advances in technology and communication have facilitated the process of globalisation and, in the 21st century, have brought people together socially, politically and economically.

With the emergence of this more interconnected and interdependent world it is no longer possible to ignore instability and conflict, regardless of where it is situated or occurs. These global connections have also given rise to what former UK Prime Minister Gordon Brown referred to as the idea of a global ethic – a global community that brings people together through a sense of shared rights and responsibilities (TED Talk, 2009).

This idea of a global ethic, and by extension global citizenship, suggests that the various global actors in the international community need to work closely to deal with global issues and to manage global crises. While states have traditionally put their own national interests ahead of issues of global significance, the biggest challenge of the 21st century is for global actors to respond positively in the global interest, whether in relation to the environment or terrorism.

Global issues and international cooperation and conflict

The global issues worth considering in terms of international cooperation include the following topics and case studies:

- **The environment:** climate change and international environmental agreements.
- **Animal welfare and biodiversity:** animal rights and international agreements on biodiversity conservation.
- **Health:** development and the UN Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs).
- **People movement:** asylum seekers and refugees, e.g. the UN Refugee Agency (UNHCR).
- **Disarmament:** nuclear and conventional weapons and the UN arms control and disarmament system.
- **International crime:** crimes against humanity, and the International Criminal Court (ICC).
- **Human rights:** children's rights and the international human rights treaty system.
- **Action and aid relating to natural and/or human-made disasters:** such as the Rohingya crisis and the United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs.

Global issues worth considering for international conflict include the following topics and case studies:

- **Border disputes:** Crimea, Timor Sea dispute, South China Sea, Israel and Palestine and Kashmir.
- **War:** Syria, Yemen, Ukraine, Democratic Republic of Congo and South Sudan.
- **Separatism:** separatists from Basque, Catalan, Republika Srpska, Chechnya or Kurdish separatists.
- **Terrorism:** Islamic State, Boko Haram, Hezbollah, al-Qaeda, al-Shabaab and the Taliban.
- **Human rights violations:** mass atrocity crimes in Syria; crimes against humanity in the Democratic People's Republic of North Korea; genocide, war crimes and crimes against humanity, e.g. by the Islamic State in Iraq.
- **People movement:** European migrant crisis, Rohingya refugee crisis, Syrian refugee crisis, Australia's refugee policy and the refugee crisis in central Africa.



Image courtesy of the United Nations



Image courtesy of the UNHCR



Activity 2.36 - Examining ethical questions

1. In the 2009 TED Talk 'Gordon Brown on Global Ethic vs National Interest', former UK Prime Minister Gordon Brown was asked the following question:

"So, you're on vacation at a nice beach and word comes through that there's been a massive earthquake and that there is a tsunami advancing on the beach. One end of the beach, there is a house containing a family of five Nigerians. And at the other end of the beach there is a single Brit. You have time to alert one house. What do you do?"

Answer this question yourself. What do you think a national leader should do in this situation?

For further discussion on this ethical dilemma, watch Gordon Brown's response:

 http://www.ted.com/talks/gordon_brown_on_global_ethic_vs_national_interest.html

2. Explain opposing views around the responsibilities states have to the global community.
3. Select a global issue of your choice. Research this issue by completing the questions below to evaluate the benefits and risks of international responses to your selected global issue. These questions use a consequentialist ethical approach to understand the consequences of international action in response to global issues:

- What is the issue?
- Who/what is affected by this issue?
- What are the possible benefits for those affected?
- What are the possible harms for those affected?
- Which option(s) will produce the most good and least harm?
- If one is harmed and another benefits, how do you decide who or what matters most?

 http://biotechlearn.org.nz/thinking_tools/ethics_thinking_tool/using_ethical_frameworks_in_the_classroom#Consequentialism

Analytical framework

Consider the framework immediately below as you read through the following selected case studies of both international cooperation and international conflict.

The nature of the global issue

Describing the nature of a global issue refers to the basic or inherent features of a global issue, that is its key characteristics or key aspects.

What are some responses by global actors to the global issue?

Global actor responses (actions/decisions) can include:

- Executive orders
- Financial restrictions
- Military intervention
- Economic sanctions
- UN Security Council (UNSC) resolutions
- European Union (EU) resolutions
- Domestic law
- International law
- Implementation reports.

Please note that 'no action' can also be considered a response.

How can we examine the effectiveness of global actor responses?

The effectiveness of responses can be examined from the perspective of these four elements:

1. The role and interest of each global actor involved
2. Several potential responses and solutions to the crisis
3. A comparison of the aim and outcome of different responses
4. The extent to which responses have been successful.

What are the challenges to the effective resolution of issues?

Challenges to effective resolution of global issues can be linked to:

- Lack of suggested solutions
- Levels of violence
- Conferring of authority
- Questioning of facts and data
- National interests
- Deadlocked UNSC
- The asymmetric nature of the conflict
- Ideology
- Ideological differences, religious and/or ethnic differences
- Undermining and challenging state sovereignty
- Non-state actors: terrorist organisations and alternative governments (such as Islamic State) that are not open to negotiation
- Responsibility to Protect – implementation of doctrine complicated by no agreement on type of action despite human rights violations, displacement of people and death toll.

A number of case studies in the international cooperation and international conflict sections of this Area of Study have been provided for you. The frameworks and activities can be used as a guide for how to investigate alternative case studies.

International cooperation

The environment

The nature of the global issue: the environment

The increase in the nature and scope of environmental problems in the second half of the 20th century saw the emergence of the environment as a global issue. Technological advancements have been the driving force of globalisation and have facilitated economic growth.

But they have also seen an increase in environmental problems including climate change, deforestation, overpopulation and urban sprawl. The recognition of the environment as an issue of global concern that has transcended national boundaries necessitated global cooperation measures for its management.

The establishment of environmental protection measures through global collective action can be seen in the creation of the first UN environmental body – the United Nations Environment Program (UNEP) – in 1972 at the first United Nations Conference on the Human Environment. The global community has since adopted further common measures to manage the environment and associated climate change concerns.



Activity 2.37 - Investigating environmental issues

1. Use the 'layers of meaning' framework below to examine the example of environmental concern depicted in the visual. (You may substitute this image for another contemporary or recent environmental issue; for example, climate refugees). Complete the visual analysis questions.
2. What is the nature of your chosen issue? How do the visual analysis questions support your understanding of the issue?

What other questions do I need to ask?

What doesn't this source tell me?

What guesses can I make? What can I infer?

What does this source tell me?



3. Watch Leonardo di Caprio's 2016 documentary *Before the Flood* and discuss the nature and scope of the problem as depicted in the documentary. For example:
 - What is the documentary about?
 - What position does it take on the issue?
 - List five facts mentioned in the film that were interesting and/or intriguing.
 - Were any aspects of the documentary weak or misleading?
 - To what extent did the documentary change your mind on the issue?
4. Research and write a petition for an environmental issue that you are interested in. Think about which people can help with the specific issue, what changes you want, what recommendations you might put forward and the reasons that this action is important.

Global actor responses to people movement

The following timeline includes responses under international law to deal with the issue of climate change.

International law on climate change timeline

November 1988	The Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) was established to provide scientific assessments and risk management programs.
June 1992	At the Earth Summit in Rio, the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) was opened for signature, along with its sister Rio conventions, the UN Convention on Biological Diversity and the UN Convention to Combat Desertification.
April 1995	The first Conference of the Parties (COP1) took place in Berlin.
December 1997	The Kyoto Protocol was formally adopted at COP3. The protocol legally binds developed countries to emission-reduction targets.
February 2005	Entry into legal force of the Kyoto Protocol.
December 2007	The IPCC's Fourth Assessment Report was released. At COP13, parties agreed on the Bali Road Map, outlining a plan for tackling climate change.
December 2009	Copenhagen Accord drafted at COP15 in Copenhagen. Countries later submitted emission-reduction pledges or mitigation action pledges – all non-binding.
December 2010	Cancun Agreements drafted and largely accepted by COP at COP16, with countries making their emission-reduction pledges official.
December 2011	The Durban Platform for Enhanced Action drafted and accepted by the COP at COP17. In Durban, governments clearly recognised the need to draw up a blueprint for a fresh, universal legal agreement to deal with climate change beyond 2020.
March 2014	IPCC's Fifth Assessment Report is released.
December 2015	COP21 held in Paris, France. The Paris Agreement is adopted with 195 nations agreeing to combat climate change – through actions and investments – towards a low-carbon, resilient and sustainable future.
November 2017	COP23 was held in Bonn, Germany.

Sources: <http://unfccc.int/timeline/> and <http://www.un.org/sustainabledevelopment/climate-negotiations-timeline/>

Case study: Kyoto Protocol to the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change

The Kyoto Protocol to the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (1997) has 84 signatories and 192 parties as of August 2017. The United States (US) is a signatory to the protocol but not a state-party.

The provisions of the Kyoto Protocol include the following articles:

Article 1

“Conference of the Parties” means the Conference of the Parties to the Convention.

“Convention” means the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change, adopted in New York on 9 May 1992.

Article 2

“promote sustainable development” through measures such as:

- (i) Enhancement of energy efficiency in relevant sectors of the national economy;
- (iv) Research on, and promotion, development and increased use of, new and renewable forms of energy, ... and innovative environmentally sound technologies;
- (v) Progressive reduction or phasing out of market imperfections, fiscal incentives, tax and duty exemptions and subsidies in all greenhouse gas emitting sectors that run counter to the objective of the Convention and application of market instruments;

Source: <http://unfccc.int/resource/docs/convkp/kpeng.html>

Australia’s response to climate change and the effectiveness of responses

Australia’s international response to concerns for the environment in relation to climate change can be traced to the Rudd Labor government’s ratification of the Kyoto Protocol in 2007. This came after years of lagging behind the international community consensus on the issue of climate change under the Howard coalition government.

The Kyoto Protocol was formally adopted in December 1997 at the COP3. The protocol set out to legally bind developed states to emissions reduction targets. Australia sought huge concessions at the conference and set its targets at 8 per cent above 1990 levels, rather than committing to reductions as other states and regional groupings had undertaken for the five-year period between 2008 and 2012.

By contrast, Europe had promised an 8 per cent reduction of its emissions and the US committed to a 7 per cent reduction of emissions (Hamilton, 2015).

The Turnbull government ratified the second phase of the Kyoto Protocol in 2015 at the Paris Climate Conference, committing Australia to emissions reductions of 5 per cent below 2000 levels by 2020 (Parr, 2015).

Reality Check

1.  **Carbon dioxide** concentration is 40% higher than in pre-industrial times.
2.  **Human activity** caused most of the warming between 1951 and 2010.
3.  Earth’s surface **warmed 0.85°C** over the period 1880 to 2012.
4.  **Heatwaves and heavy rains** have become more frequent since the 1950s.
5.  Arctic sea **ice has declined** on average 3.8% per decade since 1979.
6.  Global **sea level is expected to rise** between 26 and 82 cm by 2100.
7.  Only an **aggressive mitigation scenario** can keep temperature rise below 2°C.

Source: IPCC Working Group I - Fifth Assessment Report

Image courtesy of the UNFCCC

The Gillard government's carbon tax

Australia's international position on climate change has been constrained by differing interpretations of the issue of climate change. The Gillard government introduced a 'carbon tax', the *Clean Energy Act 2011*, which commenced on 1 July 2012.

The scheme aimed to reduce greenhouse gas emissions by 5 per cent below 2000 levels by 2020. At the time, Julia Gillard called the scheme "a win for Australia's children". A budget report in February 2013 estimated that the carbon tax raised \$3.8 billion in its first six months (ABC News, 2014).

Responses to the carbon tax

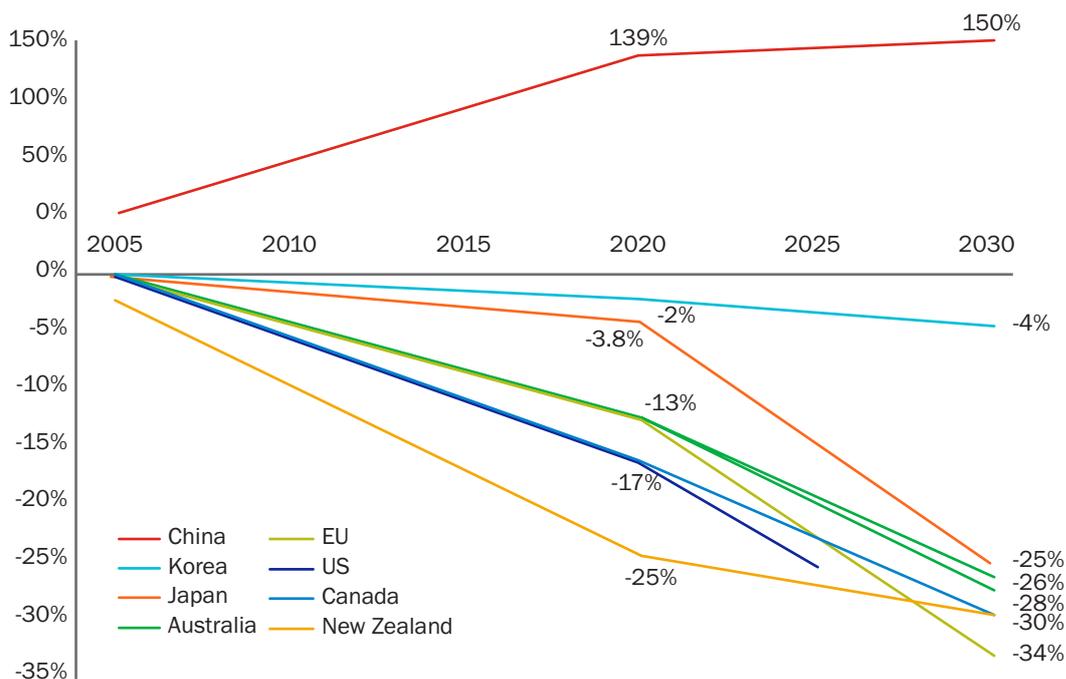
However, the scheme was opposed by the federal opposition, which was then led by Tony Abbott. In 2011, Abbott described the carbon price as "socialism masquerading as environmentalism".

The coalition's win at the 2013 federal election saw the Abbott coalition government repeal the carbon tax, effective from July 2014. The Abbott government's alternative climate policy, the 'Real and Direct Action plan', which included funding for the creation of an initial \$2.55 billion emissions reduction fund, replaced Labor's carbon tax. The scheme effectively paid polluters to reduce their emissions rather than taxing polluters for the carbon they release into the atmosphere, which was at the centre of the Gillard Labor government's carbon tax policy.

The Turnbull coalition government signed the Paris Agreement in 2015 and ratified it in 2016, agreeing to reduce emissions from 2005 levels by between 26 per cent and 28 per cent by 2030.

In 2017, Australia's Department of the Environment and Energy reported that Australia's efforts in reducing emissions are in line with other countries (see Figure 2.12 below).

Figure 2.12 – Australia's climate change targets compared with other countries



Source: Adapted from graph from Department of the Environment and Energy, www.environment.gov.au

Overall, however, the Turnbull coalition government has been working within the framework of the Abbott coalition government’s Real and Direct Action Plan. Prime Minister Turnbull described his government’s energy policy as being “grounded in economics and engineering. Not in ideology like the Labor Party.” (Coorey, 2017)



Activity 2.38 - Australia’s response

1. Watch the following short clip from the ABC’s 2015 *Insiders* programme, *The Ever-Changing Story*, which satirises Tony Abbott’s response to climate change:

 <http://www.abc.net.au/news/2017-10-29/huw-parkinson-the-ever-changing-story/9096986>

Answer the following questions:

- What is the argument put forward by the Abbott government on climate change?
 - Is this approach to the environment still significant in the Australian political arena? Why?
2. Using Figure 2.13 below as your starting point, research Australia’s response to climate change at a national and international level. Identify the key policy responses and the different interpretations by key stakeholders on the issue.

For example, a national response may include the carbon tax and its repeal. An international response might be the 2015 Paris Agreement. Different interpretations on environmental security concerns might involve an analysis of Labor and Coalition views on the issue.

3. After exploring your selected state’s response to your specific environmental issue (for example, climate change), list five of the responses (actions/decisions) to the issue and rank them from 1 (the one you think is most important/effective) to 5 (the one you think is least important/least effective).

Explain why you have ranked the effectiveness of the state’s responses in this way by giving three reasons for your evaluation and three reasons that others might disagree with you.

Figure 2.13 – Australia’s responses to climate change



Source: Adapted from image from Department of the Environment and Energy, www.environment.gov.au

Challenges to effective resolution of issues

The challenges to resolving climate change concerns against the broader global issue of the environment include:

- differing interpretations of the national interest, e.g. economic growth versus environmental sustainability;
- industry interests in 'traditional' energy resource use;
- lack of investment in 'clean' energy technologies;
- states not ratifying international law, for example, the failure by the US to ratify the Kyoto Protocol; and
- burden-sharing being allocated differently among developed and developing states; for example, the UN treaty system imposing obligations on developed states to reduce greenhouse gas emissions while recognising that developing states' global emissions may grow to meet their development needs



Activity 2.39 - Climate change working papers

The UN's climate change conferences are held every year under the auspices of the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC). The UNFCCC meets regularly at the Conference of the Parties (COP) and comprises state representatives who meet to deal with climate change. The Kyoto Protocol was formally adopted in COP3 in 1997. The 2017 COP23 on climate change was held in Bonn, Germany. At these meetings, countries submit their Intended Nationally Determined Contribution (INDC) to communicate to all parties their intentions towards the adoption of an agreed outcome. This activity requires you to write a working paper that addresses the issue of climate change.

1. Select a stakeholder on this issue: the US, China, India, Canada, Egypt, Ecuador, Norway, Russia, Kiribati, Japan, Germany, Switzerland, the UK, Indonesia, Iran, Tanzania, Bangladesh.
2. The problem: Provide an outline of the reasons that climate change is an issue of global concern. (150-200 words)
3. Your state: Provide background about your state (150-200 words) – include the official state name, capital city, geography, population, development, economy, etc.
4. Your state's climate change concerns: Outline the reasons why climate change is an issue of concern for your state. (150-200 words)

Example: Kiribati

- Kiribati comprises 33 atolls, which are low-lying and vulnerable to rising sea levels and storm surges.
 - Rising sea levels will make Kiribati uninhabitable even before it becomes completely submerged.
 - Coral bleaching caused by warming ocean waters increases the risk of rising sea levels (Union of Concerned Scientists, 2011).
 - In 2014, President Anote Tong bought an island in Fiji as a future refuge for Kiribati citizens (Caramel, 2014).
5. Your state's 'action plan': Provide an outline of the target and supporting measures (the ways that you will achieve the target set) you will be recommending, e.g. governments must invest in renewable energy. (100-150 words)
 6. Share your working paper with your class.

Extension question

Undertake a model UN climate change conference (see weblink below):

 <http://unaavictoria.org.au/what-we-do/model-un-conferences/>



Activity 2.40 - Analyse challenges to international cooperation

After completing your working paper and/or your model UN conference, analyse the challenges to international cooperation on the environment as a global issue of concern.



Activity 2.41 - Research

In small groups, research one of the following specific environmental issues using the climate change working paper model as a guiding framework:

- deforestation
- overpopulation
- urban sprawl
- global warming
- pollution.

Find out the nature of the global issue, the responses of global actors to the issue, the effectiveness of their responses and challenges to effective resolution of the issue. Present this information as a report under the suggested headings outlined above.

People movement

The nature of the global issue: people movement

The movement of people across borders as asylum seekers is a humanitarian concern that requires international cooperation. However, it is a global issue that governments and opposition groups have hijacked for their own political interests. The Australian government has sought to manage the movement of people through a strict policy of 'zero tolerance' for asylum seekers, implemented through such policies as Operation Sovereign Borders. Yet as academic Stewart Firth argues:

“convention makes it legal for refugees to enter the territory of another state without proper authorisation, because its whole purpose is to enable people who are being persecuted to be given a chance of finding security elsewhere. To distinguish between ‘legal’ and ‘illegal’ refugees, then, is false:...”

Defining refugees and asylum seekers

Refugee

Article 1(A)(2) of the 1951 Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees defines the term ‘refugee’ as applying to any person who:

“owing to well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the state of his nationality and is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that state; or who, not having a nationality and being outside the state of his former habitual residence as a result of such events, is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to return to it.”

Source: <http://www.refugeelaidinformation.org/1951-convention>

Asylum seeker

UNESCO describes an asylum seeker as someone who:

“has applied for protection as a refugee and is awaiting the determination of his or her status. Asylum seekers can become refugees if the local immigration or refugee authority deems them as fitting the international definition of refugee.”

Source: <http://www.unesco.org/new/en/social-and-human-sciences/themes/international-migration/glossary/asylum-seeker/>



Irish Naval personnel from the LÉ Eithne rescuing migrants in the Southern Mediterranean; photo: Irish Defence Forces



Activity 2.42 - Asylum seekers and refugees

1. How much do you know about asylum seekers and refugees? Complete the online quiz on the Oxfam UK website:

 <https://www.oxfam.org.uk/education/resources/refugees-quiz>

2. *Go Back to Where You Came From* – SBS On Demand

- Draw up the KWL table below in your workbook and complete the first two columns before you watch *Go Back to Where You Came From*.
- Use the SBS website for further information about the issue of asylum seekers coming to Australia. Discuss the program as a class.
- Complete the last column in the table after watching the program.

What I <u>K</u> now	What I <u>W</u> ant to Know	What I <u>L</u> earned

Global actor responses to people movement

International law

The Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees (1951) has 144 signatories and 145 parties as of August 2017. The provisions of the treaty that relate to the rights of the refugee include the following articles:

- **Article 2 general obligations.** Every refugee has duties to the country in which he finds himself, which require in particular that he conform to its laws and regulations as well as to measures taken for the maintenance of public order.
- **Article 3 non-discrimination.** The contracting states shall apply the provisions of this convention to refugees without discrimination as to race, religion or country of origin.
- **Article 5 rights granted apart from this convention.** Nothing in this convention shall be deemed to impair any rights and benefits granted by a contracting state to refugees apart from this convention.

Source: <http://www.unhcr.org/protect/PROTECTION/3b66c2aa10.pdf>

Case study: Australia's response to people movement

Both Labor and coalition governments have undertaken to protect Australia's territorial sovereignty from maritime arrivals of asylum seekers to Australia – adopting the policy mantra 'stop the boats'.

Australia's current maritime border security policy Operation Sovereign Borders was implemented on 18 September 2013, just 11 days after the coalition's election win. The Abbott government conferred responsibility on the immigration minister and the customs and border protection service to implement the policy.

The government also appointed Lieutenant-General Angus Campbell to oversee the Operation Sovereign Borders Joint Agency Task Force, using the Australian military to implement its strategy.



Australia's approach to asylum seekers since 2001

- August 2001** Tampa crisis. A diplomatic dispute developed between Australia, Norway and Indonesia after Tampa rescued 438 Afghans from a sinking fishing vessel in international waters. (Howard coalition government)
- October 2001** The Children Overboard affair. In the lead up to the federal election, there were public allegations from Howard coalition government ministers that a group of asylum seekers had thrown children overboard in a presumed ploy to secure rescue and passage to Australia. (Howard Coalition Government)
- 2001 – 2007** The Pacific Solution. This was the Australian government's policy of transporting asylum seekers to detention centres on small island nations in the Pacific Ocean, rather than allowing them to be detained or settled on the Australian mainland. (Howard Coalition Government)

October 2009	The Oceanic Viking and the Indonesian solution was an operation to apprehend 78 Sri Lankan asylum seekers and move them to an Australia-funded immigration detention centre in Indonesia. This was part of a wider strategy by the Australian government to pay Indonesia hundreds of millions of dollars to intercept and detain asylum seekers. (Rudd Labor government)
July 2011 –	Malaysian Solution. In a swap deal, Malaysia would accept 800 'boat people' from Australia, while Australia takes 4,000 'genuine refugees' from Malaysia and resettles them into the community. The policy was not implemented after a successful legal challenge. (Gillard Labor government)
September 2013 –present	Operation Sovereign Borders is currently Australia's maritime border security policy. (Abbott/Turnbull Coalition governments)

Note: Australia's policy of mandatory immigration detention was introduced in 1992 during the Keating Labor government. Under the *Migration Act 1958*, any non-citizen who is in Australia without a valid visa must be detained (Keating Labor government).

Consider Figure 2.14 overleaf that details some interesting and intriguing facts about asylum seekers and refugees in Australia.

As the timeline above suggests, Australian Labor and coalition governments have differed in their pursuit of direct border security measures in the area of asylum seeker and refugee policy. The Howard coalition government (from 1996 to 2007) sought to prevent an influx of 'unlawful' asylum seekers to Australia through the implementation of a policy of mandatory detention and the Pacific Solution, which ran from 2001 to 2007.

The Rudd Labor government put an end to the Pacific Solution in December 2007, closed the Manus Regional Processing Centre and opened the Christmas Island detention facility in late 2008. The Gillard Labor government re-opened the offshore processing centre on Manus Island in 2012, following recommendations from an expert panel reviewing Australia's asylum arrangements and coinciding with an increase in the number of maritime arrivals seeking asylum in Australia.

In 2016, the Supreme Court of Papua New Guinea found the centre to be in breach of the PNG constitution and, thus, illegal. The centre on Manus Island was 'officially' closed on 31 October 2017.

The major Australian political parties have both sought deterrence measures to stop asylum seekers from coming to Australia by boat but the parties differ on the 'toughness' of their policies on asylum seekers. The debate continues on which policy is most effective in stopping the boats and protecting Australia's border security and territorial sovereignty.

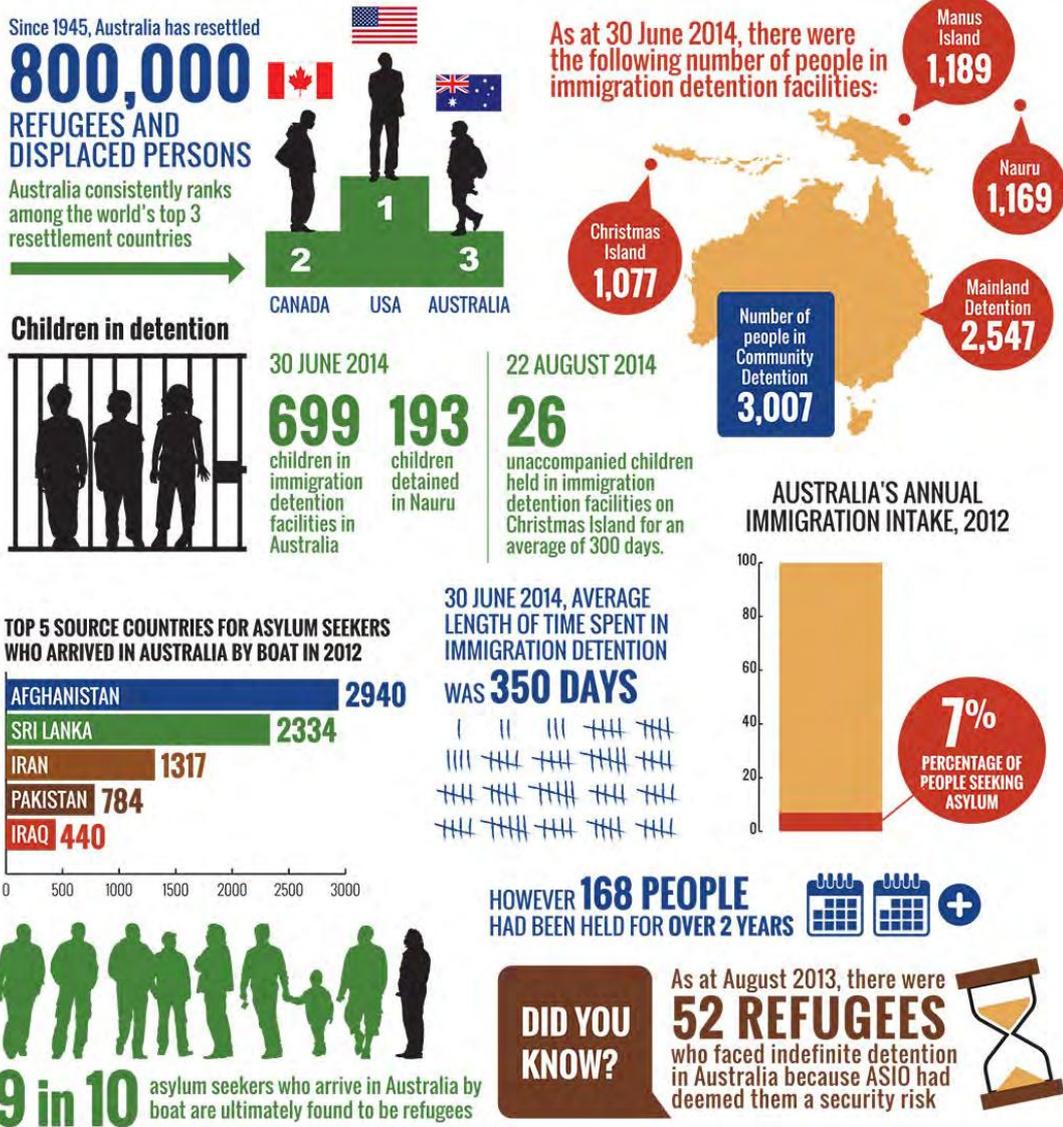


Activity 2.43 - Review questions

1. Identify the key phases of Australia's asylum seeker policy. Compare and contrast the responses of the Labor and coalition governments.
2. Using the outline of the key phases of Australia's asylum seeker policy, explain the extent to which Australia is meeting its international obligations under the Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees (1951).
3. Refer to Figure 2.14 and write a brief paragraph summarising the key facts that interest or intrigue you.

Figure 2.14 – Australia’s asylum seeker and refugee facts

Asylum Seekers and Refugees



2014 Face the Facts www.humanrights.gov.au/face-facts



Source: Australian Human Rights Commission

The effectiveness of global actor responses

The effectiveness of global actor responses can be determined by the stated aims. Tables 2.4 and 2.5 below provide an overview of the ‘effectiveness’ of the Abbott/Turnbull coalition government’s asylum seeker policy in terms of the reduction of boat arrivals and the number of ‘turnbacks’ (the return of people and vessels to their point of departure) achieved.

The flipside to any measure of effectiveness, from a national perspective, can be seen in responses from the international community, with the UN, in particular, criticising Australia’s asylum seeker and refugee policy.

Table 2.4 – Boat arrivals since 2009 by calendar year

Year	Number of boats	Crew	Number of people (excludes crew)
2009	60	141	2,726
2010	134	345	6,555
2011	69	168	4,565
2012	278	392	17,204
2013	300	644	20,587
2014	1	N/A	160
2015	0	0	0
2016	0	0	0

Table 2.5 – Boat ‘turnbacks’ since 2013

Date	Boats	Crew	Number of people
December 2013 to July 2014			
19 December 2013	1	2	47
24 December 2013	1	1	49
28 December 2013	1	2	38
6 January 2014	1	2	45
8 January 2014	1	2	25
15 January 2014	1	2	56
5 February 2014	1	2	36
24 February 2014	1	2	26
4 May 2014	1	2	18
4 May 2014	1	1	2
20 May 2014	1	2	1
6 July 2014	1**	1	40
July 2014 to August 2015			
27 November 2014	1**	N/A	37
9 February 2015	1**	N/A	4
17 February 2015	1**	N/A	N/A
22 March 2015	1	N/A	N/A
18 April 2015	1***	N/A	46
June 2015	1	N/A	N/A
July 2015	1***	N/A	N/A
September 2015 to October 2016			
September 2015	1	N/A	21
November 2015	2	N/A	N/A
February 2016	1	N/A	N/A
March 2016	1**	N/A	6
May 2016	1**	N/A	12
June 2016	1***	N/A	21
16 August 2016	1**	N/A	6
Total	29⁽¹⁾	N/A	740

Notes to the tables:

**'Take-backs' (transfers at sea) to Sri Lankan authorities; and

***'Take-backs' of Vietnamese nationals to Vietnamese authorities.

The exact dates are provided where possible.

(1) The total numbers are provided by Prime Minister Malcolm Turnbull in a doorstep interview transcript, Bungalow, Qld, 23 June 2016; and one further boat identified by Peter Dutton (Minister for Immigration and Border Protection), *People smuggling boat returned to Sri Lanka*, media release, 17 August 2016. Details on 27 of the 29 vessels are publicly available and included above. On 17 October 2016, these figures were confirmed in Senate Estimates (a total of 740 people from 29 vessels had been returned to their country of departure since December 2013).

The terms boat 'turnbacks', 'take-backs', 'turnarounds' or 'pushbacks' are often used interchangeably. Operation Sovereign Borders, established by the Abbott government in 2013, defines 'turnbacks' as 'the safe removal of vessels from Australian waters, with passengers and crew returned to their countries of departure'; and 'take-backs' as a transfer (often at sea) of passengers from one sovereign authority to another 'where Australia works with a country of departure in order to see the safe return of passengers and crew'.

Source: Parliament of Australia website, www.aph.gov.au

United Nations response to Australia's policy on asylum seekers and refugees

The UN has criticised Australia's asylum seeker policy on a number of occasions. In 2017, the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees criticised Australia's approach for lacking "common decency" and being "contrary to the fundamental principles of ... refugee protection."

In 2015, the UN's special rapporteur on torture criticised Australia for "violat[ing] the right of the asylum seekers, including children, to be free from torture or cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment".

The response from then-Prime Minister Tony Abbott to the UN report was particularly controversial when he came forward and said, "I really think Australians are sick of being lectured to by the United Nations" (Butler, 2017).

Challenges to effective resolution of issues

Some of the challenges to resolving people movement as a global issue are as follows:

- there are differing interpretations of the national interests within states, or at an international level
- states are not ratifying international laws on human rights or the human rights of refugees
- there's a failure to honour international obligations on asylum seekers
- burden-sharing is being allocated differently among developed and developing states, e.g. developing states taking in more refugees than developed states because they are often the state of first asylum
- maintaining control of a state's own migration program
- high-risk brinkmanship between navy personnel and boat people on the high seas
- mandatory detention and offshore processing of asylum seekers impacts regional neighbours.



Activity 2.44 - Review questions

1. Use the statistics in tables above to provide an evaluation of the effectiveness of Australia's asylum seeker policies.
2. Research and explain the response of the UN to Australia's asylum seeker policy.
3. Research and explain the response of a non-government organisation, such as Human Rights Watch, to Australia's asylum seeker policy.
4. Evaluate the challenges to effectively resolving the global issue of people movement as it relates to Australia's asylum seeker policy.
5. Research one of the following case studies of people movement using the Australian response to asylum seekers and refugees as a guiding framework:
 - European migrant crisis
 - the Rohingya refugee crisis
 - Syrian refugee crisis
 - refugee crisis in central Africa.

Find out the nature of the global issue, the responses of global actors to the issue, the effectiveness of their responses and the challenges to effective resolution of the issue. Present this information as a report under the suggested headings outlined above.

Human rights

The nature of the global issue: human rights and the rights of the child

The pursuit of universal human rights was the key reason for the creation of the UN on 26 June 1945 in response to the atrocities of World War II. This stated aim was expressed in the UN's Charter, which the original 50 member states and the 193 member states today are obliged to promote, namely "universal respect for, and observance of, human rights" (Article 55) and to take "joint and separate action" (Article 56) to that end (UN, 1945).

The adoption and proclamation of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) by the UN General Assembly on 10 December 1948 under resolution 217 A reaffirmed the UN Charter's pledges on human rights.

The declaration has as its central purpose the standard that everyone is

"entitled to all the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration, without distinction of any kind, such as race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status" (Article 2 UDHR).

The declaration is extended by a range of UN instruments that oblige states under international human rights law to respond to human rights concerns, including the rights of the child, which are mandated in the Convention on the Rights of the Child (1989).

The Convention on the Rights of the Child (1989) has 140 signatories and 196 parties, some with stated reservations (as of August 2017). The US is the only UN member that is not a state party.

Children in armed conflict

The provisions of the treaty (54 articles in total) that relate to the rights of children in armed conflict include the following articles:

Article 1

Everyone under 18 years of age has all the rights in this Convention.

Article 34

Governments should protect children from sexual abuse.

Article 35

Governments should make sure that children are not abducted or sold.

Article 38

Governments should not allow children under 15 to join the army. Children in war zones should receive special protection.

Source: www.unicef.org/crc

Case study: Child soldiers

The website of the Office of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General for Children and Armed Conflict provides a detailed account of the situation of children in armed conflict:

 <https://childrenandarmedconflict.un.org>

The international definition of a child soldier is:

“A child associated with an armed force or armed group; refers to any person below 18 years of age who is, or who has been, recruited or used by an armed force or armed group in any capacity, including but not limited to children, boys and girls, used as fighters, cooks, porters, spies or for sexual purposes.” (UNICEF, 2007)



The UN and children in armed conflict

The UN Security Council has identified six grave violations affecting children in armed conflict. They are:

1. Killing and maiming, including murder, mutilation, cruel treatment and torture.
2. Child recruitment and use, includes children being abducted and beaten into submission, others joining military groups to escape poverty or to defend their communities out of a feeling of revenge or for other reasons.
3. Sexual violence against children, including rape, prostitution, trafficking and sexual slavery.
4. Abductions to be killed or maimed, to become victims of sexual violence or to be recruited to the ranks of an army or armed groups.
5. Attacks on schools and hospitals, including direct and physical damage to schools and hospitals, forced closure or the disrupted functioning of schools and hospitals, threats to children, teachers, doctors and nurses.
6. Denial of humanitarian access, including blocking the passage or timely delivery of humanitarian assistance and deliberate attacks against humanitarian workers.

The prohibitions under international human rights law relating to each violation are elaborated on the UN website:

 <https://childrenandarmedconflict.un.org>.

Why are children recruited as soldiers?

Children are recruited to become child soldiers for a range of reasons – because they are economically more cost-effective and because it is easier to indoctrinate them into the beliefs of the non-state group they are ‘recruited’ to or the government forces them to ‘volunteer’ for.

Poverty and conflict are also broad contextual factors for understanding the reasons for why children become child soldiers.



The Family III, from the series 8 Lessons on Emptiness, 2008; chromogenic print © Marina Abramović. Courtesy of the Marina Abramović Archives, Licensed by Viscopy, 2017

Global actor responses to child soldiers



International law

Some of the significant phases of responses under international law to dealing with the issue of child soldiers are:

26 June 1945	United Nations Charter
10 December 1948	Universal Declaration of Human Rights
12 August 1949	The fourth Geneva Convention
8 June 1977	Geneva Convention – Additional Protocol I and II
20 November 1989	The Convention on the Rights of the Child
11 July 1990	African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child
12 July 1998	Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court
17 June 1999	International Labour Organization, Convention 182 on the Worst Forms of Child Labour
25 May 2000	Optional protocol to the Convention on the Rights of the Child on the involvement of children in armed conflict
25 May 2000	Optional protocol to the Convention on the Rights of the Child on the sale of children, child prostitution and child pornography
6 September 2000	United Nations Millennium Declaration

Source: <https://childrenandarmedconflict.un.org/virtual-library/international-law/>

The effectiveness of global actor responses

Table 2.6 overleaf outlines contemporary examples of international cooperation on this issue and the capacity of the global community to respond through the UN’s key decision-making body – the Security Council.

These decisions propose a range of specific measures that UN member states will undertake to protect the rights of children.

Table 2.6 – UN documents for children and armed conflict: Security Council resolutions

18 June 2015 S/RES/2225	This was a resolution that added abductions as an additional violation to trigger a response.
7 March 2014 S/RES/2143	This resolution urges parties to armed conflict to respect the civilian character of schools and to protect schools from attacks and use.
19 September 2012 S/RES/2068	This resolution expressed deep concern about perpetrators who persisted in committing violations against children and reiterated its readiness to adopt targeted and graduated measures against them.
12 July 2011 S/RES/1998	This resolution expanded the criteria for listing parties to conflict to include parties that attack or threaten schools and hospitals.
4 August 2009 S/RES/1882	This resolution expanded the criteria for the secretary-general's 'list of shame' in his reports on children and armed conflict beyond the recruitment of children to include the killing and maiming of children and/or rape and other sexual violence against children.
19 June 2008 S/RES/1820	This addressed sexual violence in conflict and post-conflict situations.

Source: Security Council Report – www.securitycouncilreport.org

 For a full list of reports and resolutions, go to: <https://childrenandarmedconflict.un.org/virtual-library/>

Challenges to effective resolution of issues

When it comes to the human rights issue of child soldiers, there are significant challenges to reaching effective resolutions. They include:

- the use of veto to block action to stop armed conflict;
- the level of violence in situations of armed conflict;
- non-state actors, including terrorist organisations and alternative governments, that are not open to negotiation;
- the Responsibility to Protect – implementation of this doctrine is complicated by no agreement on types of action despite human rights violations, displacement of people and death toll; and
- the number of armed conflicts where children are still being used as soldiers.



Activity 2.45 – Review questions

1. Watch the the following clip from 'Dangerous Games' by Marina Abramovic from Stories on Human Rights:

 <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=VxsPq3yviRU&list=PLA996FB5D5B2E3F40&index=5>

Discuss Abramovic's interpretation of the human rights issue of child soldiers.

2. Select one of the states below and read about the situation of child soldiers in the selected state using the Office of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General for Children and Armed Conflict website and other sources as required.

 <https://childrenandarmedconflict.un.org/countries-caac/>

States with situations on the agenda of the UN Security Council: Afghanistan, Central African Republic, Democratic Republic of the Congo, Iraq, Israel and State of Palestine, Lebanon, Libya, Mali, Myanmar, Somalia, South Sudan, Sudan, Syrian Arab Republic, Yemen.

Briefly outline the situation in the selected state, including:

- the areas from which children are recruited
- the number of children recruited
- the type of violations against children
- the parties that recruit and use children
- government responses to the situation
- the international community's responses
- the effectiveness of responses
- the challenges to effective resolution on the issue
- the extent of progress on preventing violations against children.

International conflict

Border disputes

The nature of the global issue: border disputes

State sovereignty can be challenged internally (secessionism) or externally (invasion). State sovereignty can also be challenged as a result of border disputes. The range of border disputes since the start of the 21st century (some of which began in the 20th century), include the following case examples:

- Border zone violations (e.g. The Heglig Crisis in 2012 and the second civil war in Sudan and South Sudan from 1983 to 2005)
- Separatist movements and secessionist groups (e.g. West Papuans in Indonesia from 1961 to present day)
- State versus state conflict (e.g. Israel and Lebanon, 1948 to present day)
- Intervention (e.g. No-fly zone over Libya in 2011)
- Invasion (e.g. Afghanistan in 2001 and Iraq in 2003)
- Occupation (e.g. Palestine territories)
- Annexation (e.g. the Russian Federation's annexation of Crimea from the Ukraine in 2014).

Border disputes and nationalism

Governments have used nationalism and public opinion to justify and gain support for their actions. The origins of the crisis in Crimea in February 2014 can be attributed to nationalist sentiment and secessionist claims in Crimea from the majority ethnic Russian population.

Following Ukrainian President Viktor Yanukovich's overthrow, and the appointment of a pro-European government in the Ukraine, Crimean authorities called for Russian intervention to protect Russians in Crimea. Russia sought to justify its involvement

in Ukraine on the basis of protecting the rights and liberties of Russians in Crimea. Ukraine, on the other hand, held the maintenance of its territorial integrity and sovereignty as its primary concern.



Map of Crimea, Ukraine, and Russia

Case study: the Russian Federation's annexation of Crimea from Ukraine

The annexation of Crimea was an international crisis that lasted for 24 days from 23 February to 19 March 2014. It unfolded against the backdrop of the Ukrainian Revolution (18 to 23 February 2014), which saw violent protests in Kiev.

On 21 February 2014, then-President of Ukraine, Viktor Yanukovych, fled Kiev and was subsequently deposed by the Ukrainian parliament. President Oleksandr Turchynov was then appointed to head the interim government. While the interim government was recognised by the US and the EU, Russia condemned it as illegitimate and the result of a coup d'état.

Protestors took to the streets in Sevastopol against the new authorities and as a show of support for the Russian Federation. Pro-Russian forces gradually took control of the Crimean peninsula and, on 16 March 2014, a referendum was held on whether Crimeans wanted to join the Russian Federation. With a turnout of 83 per cent, the results were 96.77 per cent (Crimea) and 95.6 per cent (Sevastopol), affirming Crimean support for being integrated within the Russian Federation (BBC News, 2014).

Global actor responses to border disputes

The European Union

In 2014, the EU stated that it “deplore[d]” the Russian Federation’s use of military action in Ukraine, with an EU spokesperson arguing that the actions were an “unwarranted escalation of tensions” in the region.

On 5 March 2014, the EU gave Ukraine €11 billion (US\$15 billion) worth of loans and grants to support its economy during the conflict. In May 2014, the European Commission issued €610 million in financial assistance to the new Ukrainian government.

In June 2014, a further €500 million was released as part of a second macro-financial assistance program totalling €1 billion. The EU's assistance package is aimed at supporting Ukraine in the consolidation of its democracy, its independence and unity (European Commission, 2015).

The United States

The US, under executive order 13660 (2014), authorised sanctions on individuals and entities that were responsible for violating the sovereignty of Ukraine or of stealing Ukrainian assets. This included restrictions on travel for certain individuals and officials. Australia also froze the assets of 50 Russians and 11 Russian companies.

On 20 March 2014, President Obama issued an order to block the “property of additional persons contributing to the situation in Ukraine”, including sanctions limiting the financing of five of Russia's largest banks and two energy companies. The freezing of assets and the restrictions on travel can be seen as a way of imposing diplomatic pressure on Russia.

However, the actions were largely symbolic rather than decisively resolving the border dispute and the ‘invalidity’ of the referendum and the Russian annexation of Crimea (US Department of State).

United Nations

The UN General Assembly responded to the Crimean crisis by adopting resolution 68/262 on 27 March 2014. The vote count stood at 100 for, 11 against, 58 abstained and 24 absent.

The non-binding resolution affirmed the UN commitment to recognise Crimea within Ukraine's international borders and emphasised the invalidity of the 2014 Crimean referendum.

 http://www.un.org/en/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=A/RES/68/262

On 1 March 2014, UN Secretary-General Ban Ki-Moon delivered a statement saying that he was “gravely concerned about the deterioration of the situation” in Crimea. He called for “full respect for and preservation of the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Ukraine” and “immediate restoration of calm and direct dialogue between all concerned”.

The UN Security Council agreed that it was important that all political actors in Ukraine “exercise maximum restraint” and called for an “inclusive dialogue recognising the diversity of Ukraine society” (Daily Mail Associated Press, 2014).

Challenges to the effective resolution of issues

The challenges for effectively resolving the issue of border disputes includes:

- the potential for Russia to use its veto to block action against it, as it is a member of the Permanent 5 (P5) on the UN Security Council;
- the potential for violence should the EU or the US seek to use military force to intervene or reverse the process of annexation;
- the balance of power in the region, with the EU pitted against Russia in seeking to reinforce their respective spheres of influence;
- No international agreement for action, despite Ukraine's direct territorial security and sovereignty being challenged.



Activity 2.46 - Review questions

1. Explain the nature of the border dispute as it relates to Russia's annexation of Crimea.
2. Evaluate the effectiveness of responses to Russia's annexation of Crimea.
3. Analyse the challenges to effectively resolving Russia's annexation of Crimea.
4. Select one of the border disputes listed below and read about the situation in the selected state, using a range of sources as required.

Border disputes: Crimea, Timor Sea dispute, South China Sea, Israel and Palestine, Kashmir, Brexit, other (seek advice from your teacher).

Briefly outline the border dispute in the selected state, include information on:

- the borders in dispute;
- the states involved;
- the type of border issues/violations occurring;
- government responses to the situation;
- the international community's responses;
- the effectiveness of responses;
- the challenges to effective resolution on the issue; and
- the extent of progress on resolving the border disputes.

War

The nature of the global issue: war

Prussian general and military theorist Carl von Clausewitz wrote in his book *On War* (1816-1830) that war is a mere continuation of policy "with other means" or sometimes "with the addition of other means".

By extension, war can be described as an instrument of state policy. While war as an instrument of state policy may have traditionally been understood as a foreign policy strategy in the pursuit of a state's national interests, it can also be seen as an instrument of domestic policy in the pursuit of a state's national interests.

The war in Syria is a contemporary case study of both the Syrian regime's use of war to achieve its interests in maintaining its sovereignty and territorial integrity and the use of war as an instrument of state policy through the involvement of other states in the war. Russia, for example, has sought to defend its strategic interests of maintaining its access to the Mediterranean sea. The US' interests in Syria have largely centred on eradicating Islamic State (IS) in Syria and, ultimately, to seeing regime change through the removal of the Assad government.

Case study: Syria

In March 2011, Syrian security forces arrested protestors gathered in Damascus' Marjeh Square for the Day of Dignity protests. The protestors were demanding the release of relatives held as political prisoners against the backdrop of the 48-year-long state of emergency law. By the end of April 2011, the wave of unrest saw the resignation of the Syrian government and the end of Syria's 48-year state of emergency.

Syria is a diverse society, divided along lines of ethnicity (Arabs, Kurds and other groups), location and religious affiliation (Sunni Muslims, Shi'a Muslims – including Alawi and Ismaili subgroups, Druze and Christians). The rule of the minority Alawite leadership – mainly due to their prominence within the Syrian military – in a largely Sunni state was a key contributing factor to the popular discontent, which ultimately descended into civil war by the middle of 2011.

Explainer: the war in Syria and the possibility of removing Assad

This is a complex war, but it helps to look at the key players in three interlocking layers.

First layer

In the first layer are the local players within Syria. Since the 2011 Arab spring uprisings, all local players wanted to get rid of the 17-year-old regime of Syrian President Bashar Al-Assad. He desperately tried to cling to power and proved surprisingly resilient under immense political and military pressure.

Assad's strength comes from Russian, Chinese and Iranian support – as well as support from the large portion of secular Arab Syrians and religious minorities (Alawites, Assyrian Christians and Druze).

Initially, there were three main insurgent groups opposing Assad. The first was the moderate Islamic coalition made up of Sunni Syrian elite who established the Free Syrian Army (FSA), made up of officers who had defected from the Assad forces. The FSA's initial promise soon gave way to pessimism, as it could not deliver a decisive blow against Assad.

Second, Kurds in northern Syria organised themselves as the YPG (a militia group whose name translates to "People's Protection Units") and established the Syrian Democratic Forces (SDF). They received widespread acclaim and support, particularly from the US and other Western nations, for their strong defence against Islamic State (IS) forces.

Third are the Salafist jihadist groups such as the al-Nusra Front, which changed their name to the Front for the Conquest of the Levant, and claimed independence from al-Qaeda. It was these jihadist groups that led the chief military opposition to the Assad regime for the last six years, including in Aleppo until its fall in 2016.

IS emerged as a key political and military force in Syria in 2014. Unlike other insurgent groups, it did not fight Assad. Rather, it opportunistically claimed large swathes of uncontrolled land and declared an independent caliphate state, becoming the chief source of radicalism threatening Western societies.

Second layer

The second layer in the Syrian conflict is occupied by regional powers such as Turkey, Iran and Saudi Arabia.

Iran has been a longstanding ally of the Assad regime because of its sectarian, political and economic interests. Assad and his entourage are Alawites, an off-shoot of Shia Islam.

Syria is an important corridor for Iran to press its influence over Lebanon's Shi'ite Hezbollah and provide access to the Mediterranean. Iran's regional ambitions require the continuation of the Assad regime.

Worried about Iran's growing influence in the region, Saudi Arabia and Qatar have supported the Salafist insurgent groups. Fearing the spread of IS ideology and popularity in its realm, the Saudi government has supported US-led air strikes on IS since 2014.

Turkey has been the most active regional player in the Syrian conflict. Turkish President Recep Tayyip Erdogan has supported all Sunni insurgent groups with weapons, training and logistics since the beginning of the conflict, with the exception of the Kurdish YPG.

Turkey fears that an independent Kurdish region in Syria (combined with Kurdish northern Iraq) would encourage its Kurdish population to also seek separation.

Erdogan pushed the Turkish army into Syria in August 2016. Although he desperately wanted to become involved in the impending US-backed offensive on the IS capital of Raqqa, he was left out of the US plans.

Third layer

The third layer of the Syrian conflict is occupied by Russia and the US. They are major geopolitical players whose conflicting interests over Syria are the source of the current impasse, and the reason why removing Assad has become exceedingly difficult.

Unhappy with the increasing US and Western influence in the Middle East, Russian President Vladimir Putin saw an opportunity to expand his economic and military interests in the Syrian conflict, and staged a challenge to the geopolitical world order.

In the course of the Syrian civil war, Putin has become the custodian of the Shi'ite alliance between Iran, Syria and Shi'ite political forces in Iraq and Lebanon. Deep down, Russia fears a destabilised Syria falling under IS control would mobilise radical Muslim groups within its borders.

Under the Obama administration, the US consistently stayed out of direct involvement in the Syrian conflict. Busy with the Iraq exit, Barack Obama missed the window of diplomatic opportunity in the crucial early months of the Syrian uprising. When violence started, Obama elected to provide limited military support to YPG and FSA, hoping they could muster enough opposition to dismantle Assad.

Obama admitted his strategy failed as the “US was muscled out of Syria” by an increasingly bold Putin. His support allowed Assad to gain the upper hand in Syria with the fall of Aleppo in December 2016.

This is why it was bizarre that Assad would launch a gas attack at this crucial juncture. He had nothing to gain and everything to lose. Assad vehemently denied the use of chemical weapons, while Russia claimed the Syrian air strike hit a rebel chemical munition depot.

The reason is now irrelevant, as the swift US missile attack has sealed the issue. US President Donald Trump served notice not only to Assad and Russia, but all the players in the conflict.

Even though Russia and Iran responded with no-crossing-red-line tough talk, the missile attack opens a large ground for a US-led offensive on the key IS stronghold of Raqqa. The US intends to use this space to eliminate IS and dismantle the Assad regime.

However, this is not likely anytime soon. Western powers suffer from a dissidence – they would like Assad to go, but cannot see a viable alternative. With his secular outlook and promise of protecting religious minorities, Assad still wields much support.

Trump's impulsive nature is the US's greatest weakness in world diplomacy, but counter-intuitively, is its greatest strength in a conflict like Syria.

The impulsive courage of Trump, coupled with the military prudence of the Pentagon, gives the US the best advantage in the region and disturbs the Assad, Iran and Russian alliance. They can no longer act with impunity, knowing Trump would have no qualms about hitting Syrian regime targets, which were untouched by the Obama administration.

Trump has tasted the rush of being commander-in-chief. He is likely to follow with other bold military steps, and insist on the demise of the Assad regime.

Assad's future lies with Putin's obstinacy and ability to withstand US pressure. As the FBI investigation into the Trump election campaign's Russian links deepens, Trump is likely to use the Assad card to deflect attention and prove his disassociation with Russia.

Betting all his money on Assad, Putin will use the Syrian leader as a bargaining chip to press Trump to accept a place for Assad in the post-IS Syria, at least in the Western part of the wrecked country. This could save Assad's skin, but at the expense of Syria remaining a divided country.

The YPG will emerge as the main winner securing an autonomous polity in northern Syria in exchange for its help in the US-led Raqqa military offensive, driving another

wedge toward the eventual division of Syria. It will follow the trajectory of the northern Iraq Kurdish region, with the prospect of future independence.

Sunni insurgent groups are likely to be the biggest losers. They may have to contend with the remaining remote regions while Syria harbours the propensity to be another Iraq and a breeding ground for IS-inspired radicalism threatening societies the world over.

Article by Mehmet Ozalp, Charles Sturt University. From The Conversation – <https://theconversation.com/explainer-the-war-in-syria-and-the-possibility-of-removing-assad-76006>

Global actors' involvement in Syria

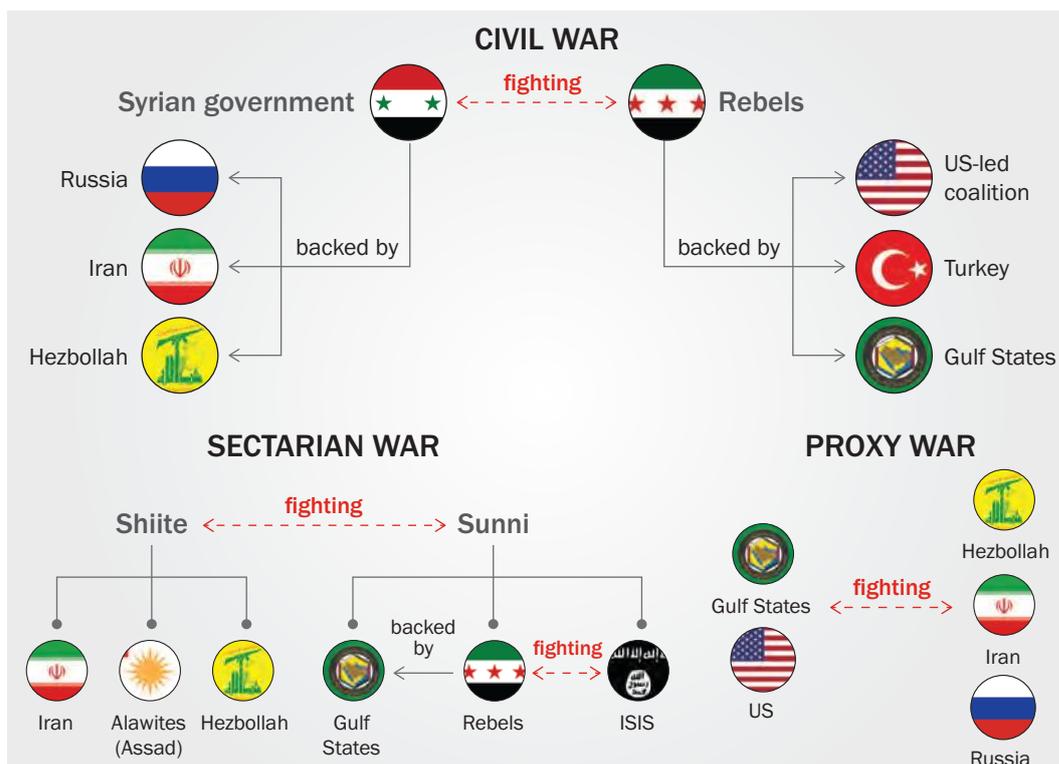
A range of global actors have been involved in the Syrian war. The conflict has seen intervention, including militarily, from many global actors, such as:

- Russia against opposition groups;
- the US against pro-Assad supporters;
- neighbouring states such as Turkey with its concerns over Kurdish independence movements;
- Iran with its sponsorship of Hezbollah and its broader support for the Ba'athist government; and
- IS is also heavily involved, with the Syrian city of Raqqa being its effective capital from 2014 until October 2017.

The conflict has also featured 'Syria only' factions, such as Islamist terrorist organisation al-Nusra Front and rebel or opposition groups such as the Free Syrian Army.

Figure 2.15 below is a good starting point in determining who's who and what their interests are in relation to the Syrian war.

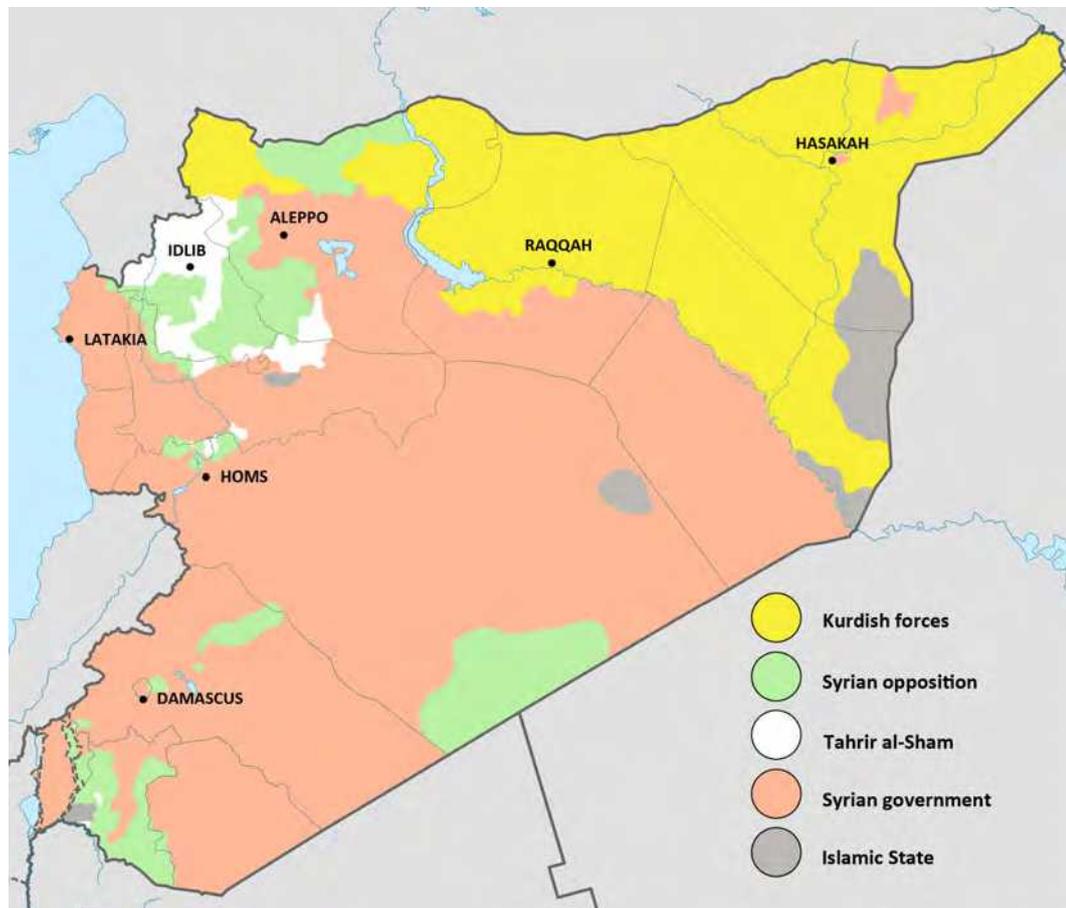
Figure 2.15 – Syria's war within a war



Adapted from image from The Atlantic – *The Confused Person's Guide to the Syrian Civil War*

The map in Figure 2.16 provides an outline of the areas of influence, or presence, of the key players in the Syrian conflict.

Figure 2.16– Syria: approximate zones of control, November 2017



Global actor responses to the war in Syria

League of Arab states

The League of Arab States issued an action plan aimed at achieving a peaceful resolution of the crisis in Syria with the deployment of the League of Arab States’ observer mission from 2 November 2011 to 22 January 2012. The escalating violence meant that they were unable to fully implement their plan. The mission was suspended on 28 January 2012 and the situation was referred to the UN.

UN Security Council resolutions on the situation in Syria have included a range of measures, including compelling the regime to accede to the Chemical Weapons Convention in 2013. There has been no UN mandate for the use of ‘all necessary means’ under Article 42, Chapter VII of the UN Charter to intervene in the Syrian war.

Table 2.7 – The United Nations’ resolutions concerning Syria

31 December 2016 S/RES/2336	Welcomed efforts by Russia and Turkey to end violence in Syria and jumpstart a political process.
21 December 2016 S/RES/2332	This resolution renewed the authorisation for cross-border aid delivery until 10 January 2018.

19 December 2016 S/RES/2328	This resolution demanded UN access to monitor evacuations from Aleppo.
17 November 2016 S/RES/2319	Renewed the mandate of the UN-OPCW Joint Investigative Mechanism for a further year.
31 October 2016 S/RES/2314	Extended the mandate of the UN-OPCW Joint Investigative Mechanism to 18 November 2016.
26 February 2016 S/RES/2268	This was a resolution that endorsed the cessation of hostilities and called for the resumption of political talks.
22 December 2015 S/RES/2258	Renewed the authorisation for cross-border aid delivery until January 2017 and included language calling on member states to prevent and suppress the flow of foreign terrorist fighters in and out of Syria.
18 December 2015 S/RES/2254	This was the first resolution focused exclusively on a political solution to the Syrian crisis. It was adopted unanimously.
20 November 2015 S/RES/2249	Called for member states to take all necessary measures in the territory under the control of ISIS to prevent terrorist acts committed by ISIS and other Al-Qaida affiliates.
7 August 2015 S/RES/2235	This was a resolution that requested the UN Secretary-General and OPCW Director-General to recommend the establishment and operation of a UN-OPCW Joint Investigative Mechanism to determine responsibility for the use of chemical weapons in Syria.
6 March 2015 S/RES/2209	This resolution condemned the use of toxic chemicals such as chlorine, without attributing blame; stressed that those responsible should be held accountable; recalled resolution 2118; and supported the 4 February 2015 decision of the OPCW.
12 February 2015 S/RES/2199	Was on ISIS and Al-Nusra's illicit funding via oil exports, traffic of cultural heritage, ransom payments and external donations.
17 December 2014 S/RES/2191	Renewed authorisation for cross-border humanitarian access until 10 January 2016.
24 September 2014 S/RES/2178	This resolution expanded the counter-terrorism framework by imposing obligations on member states to respond to the threat of foreign terrorist fighters.
15 August 2014 S/RES/2170	Condemned the recruitment by ISIS and al-Nusra of foreign fighters and listed six individuals affiliated with those groups under the 1267/1989 Al-Qaida sanctions regime.
14 July 2014 S/RES/2165	This resolution authorised cross-border and cross-line access for the UN and its partners to deliver humanitarian aid in Syria without state consent and established a monitoring mechanism for 180 days.
22 February 2014 S/RES/2139	This resolution demanded that all parties, in particular the Syrian authorities, allow humanitarian access in Syria across conflict lines, in besieged areas and across borders and expressed the intent to take further steps in the case of non-compliance.
27 September 2013 S/RES/2118	This resolution was adopted unanimously by the Council and required the verification and destruction of Syria's chemical weapons stockpiles, called for the convening of the Geneva II peace talks and endorsed the establishment of a transitional governing body in Syria with full executive powers.

20 July 2012 S/RES/2059	This resolution extended UNSMIS for a final period of 30 days.
21 April 2012 S/RES/2043	This resolution established UNSMIS.
14 April 2012 S/RES/2042	This resolution authorised the deployment of 30 military observers to Syria.

Source: Security Council Report – www.securitycouncilreport.org

Challenges to effective resolution of issues

The challenges to the effective resolution of the global issue of war include:

- use of the UN Security Council veto to block action to stop the civil war in Syria;
- the level of violence in the Syrian civil war;
- the asymmetric nature of warfare involving non-state actors, including terrorist organisations and alternative governments in Syria; and
- Responsibility to Protect – implementation of the doctrine is complicated by no agreement on the type of action despite human rights violations, use of chemical weapons, displacement of people and death toll.

The following examples of vetoes in the UN Security Council by Russia and/or China of draft resolutions relating to the situation in Syria illustrate the challenges that the global community faces in effectively resolving the Syrian war.

Table 2.8 – UN Security Council veto list (in reverse chronological order)

Date/Draft	Draft	Vetoed by
17 November 2017	S/2017/970	Russia
16 November 2017	S/2017/962	Russia
24 October 2017	S/2017/884	Russia
Three resolutions relating to the use of chemical weapons in the Syrian conflict. Two of the resolutions were to extend the Joint Investigative Mechanism established in 2015, the other was “expressing grave concerns” regarding additional allegations of chemical weapon use.		
12 April 2017	S/2017/315	Russia
A resolution condemning the chemical weapons attack on Khan Shaykhun on 4 April 2017.		
28 February 2017	S/2017/172	China, Russia
A resolution regarding the Joint Investigative Mechanism’s findings – condemning “in the strongest terms” the use of chemical weapons by the Syrian government, and by the Islamic State.		

Date/Draft	Draft	Vetoed by
5 December 2016	S/2016/1026	China, Russia
A resolution to have a ceasefire in Aleppo within 24 hours, to allow humanitarian needs to be addressed for a period of seven days.		
8 October 2016	S/2106/846	Russia
A resolution that “demands that all parties to the Syrian conflict, in particular the Syrian authorities, immediately comply with their obligations under international humanitarian law and international human rights law as applicable... that all parties immediately end all aerial bombardments of and military flights over Aleppo city... calls on all parties to prevent material and financial support from reaching individuals, groups, undertakings and entities associated with Al Qaeda or ISIL (also known as Daesh), and other terrorist groups”.		
22 May 2014	S/2014/348	China, Russia
A resolution that “reaffirms its strong condemnation of the widespread violations of human rights and international humanitarian law by the Syrian authorities and pro-government militias, as well as the human rights abuses and violations of international humanitarian law by non-State armed groups”.		
19 July 2012	S/2012/538	China, Russia
A resolution that “expresses grave concern at the escalation of violence, and the failure of the parties, in particular the Syrian authorities, to implement the Envoy’s six-point plan as annexed to resolution 2042 (2012)”.		
4 February 2012	S/2012/77	China, Russia
A resolution that “condemns the continued widespread and gross violations of human rights and fundamental freedoms by the Syrian authorities... demands that the Syrian government immediately put an end to all human rights violations and attacks against those exercising their rights... condemns all violence, irrespective of where it comes from, and in this regard demands that all parties in Syria, including armed groups, immediately stop all violence or reprisals”.		
4 October 2011	S/2011/612	China, Russia
A resolution that “strongly condemns the continued grave and systematic human rights violations and the use of force against civilians by the Syrian authorities, and expresses profound regret at the deaths of thousands of people including women and children... demands an immediate end to all violence and urges all sides to reject violence and extremism”.		

Source: United Nations <http://research.un.org/en/docs/sc/quick>



Activity 2.47 - Review questions

1. Research the Syrian civil war using at least five different source materials. Take notes as you read to assist you in completing the table below.
2. Complete the table below to provide a selection of global actor responses, the effectiveness of the responses and the challenges presented to the resolution of the situation in Syria or another case study of your choice.

Global actor response	Type of response	Effectiveness of responses	Challenges to effective resolution of issues
1. 14 April 2012, UN resolution 2042, authorising 30 military observers	Peace plan	Resolution was adopted unanimously; the observer force is established.	Neither government nor opposition forces have been willing to stop hostilities – lack of progress on peace.
2.			
3.			
4.			
5.			

Terrorism

The nature of the global issue: terrorism

A single formal definition of terrorism does not exist. Instead, there are several that are used in different forums in the global political arena. Most of the definitions agree that terrorism is the threat or use of violence to encourage or coerce political change.

Defining terrorism:

“One man’s terrorist is another man’s freedom fighter.”

“Terrorism involves violence threatened or employed against civilian targets for political objectives”. (Jonathan Barker, 2003)

UN Security Council resolution 1566 (2004) defines terrorism as:

“criminal acts... committed with the intent to cause death or serious bodily injury, or taking of hostages, with the purpose to provoke a state of terror in the general public or in a group of persons or particular persons, intimidate a population or compel a government or an international organization to do or to abstain from doing any act.”

The nature of terrorism can be described as involving the following aspects: non-state terrorism, terrorism as an instrument of state policy and the role of asymmetric warfare, which involves conflict between opposing groups that possess unequal military resources and capabilities. These aspects can be demonstrated in non-state examples of terrorism (such as IS), the use of terrorism as an instrument of state policy (such as the Syrian government’s sponsorship of Hezbollah – a political party that has supported the Assad regime during its civil war – and in its fight against Syrian opposition forces) and through non-state actors’ use of asymmetric tactics to achieve their political aims.



Activity 2.48 – Source analyses

- Review the following situations and determine which, if any, are examples of terrorism.
 - A radical environmental group burns a vacant hotel that was recently legally built in a wilderness area.
 - State X, during a time of war, accidentally kills civilians while conducting bombing raids in State Z.
 - State X hires an organised crime group in State Z to assassinate civilian leaders of a group opposing the international policies of State X.
 - A national separatist group in State X blows up a railway station in State Z to discourage that government from supporting policies of the government in State X.

 <http://www.crf-usa.org/america-responds-to-terrorism/what-is-terrorism.html>

- Referring to the three images below, explain what you understand to be the difference between a terrorist and a freedom fighter.

Terrorist or freedom fighter?



Nelson Mandela



Osama bin Laden;
photo: 2winTradez



Malcolm X

- Is the Kurdistan Worker's Party (PKK) a terrorist group?

The US Department of State designated PKK as a terrorist group in 1997. Yet, the PKK has been fighting IS forces in Iraq and Syria since 2014 and has been instrumental in protecting the Yazidis who were being attacked by IS forces in the area. Research the PKK and evaluate their designation as a terrorist group based on your reading and the US Department of State legal criteria below.



Kurdish PKK Guerillas in Shingal, Iraq; photo: Kurdishstruggle



The US Department of State's legal criteria for designation of a terrorist group

1. It must be a foreign organisation.
2. The organisation must engage in terrorist activity, or terrorism, or retain the capability and intent to engage in terrorist activity or terrorism.
3. The organisation's terrorist activity or terrorism must threaten the security of US nationals or the national security (national defense, foreign relations, or the economic interests) of the US.

Source: <https://www.state.gov/j/ct/rls/other/des/123085.htm>

Non-state terrorism

Non-state terrorism involves violence threatened or employed against civilian targets for political objectives. This notion of terrorism understands the combatants to be non-state actors such as IS and Hezbollah. Non-state terrorist groups undertake attacks ranging from suicide bombings to kidnapping and hostage-taking.

For example, IS kidnapped American journalist James Foley in November 2012 in northwestern Syria and beheaded him in August 2014 in response – it was claimed – to American airstrikes in Iraq.

Terrorist weapons

The types of weapons used by terrorists range from sarin gas to car bombings and shoulder-fired missiles. IS, and groups opposing the Assad regime, have commonly used improvised explosive devices (IEDs) during the Syrian civil war.

Some non-state terrorist groups also have considerable infrastructure to carry out their attacks, including training camps, weapons suppliers and money-laundering opportunities. IS's major revenue source has been from the oil fields captured in Syria and Iraq and from black market smuggling across neighbouring states.

Terrorism as an instrument of state policy

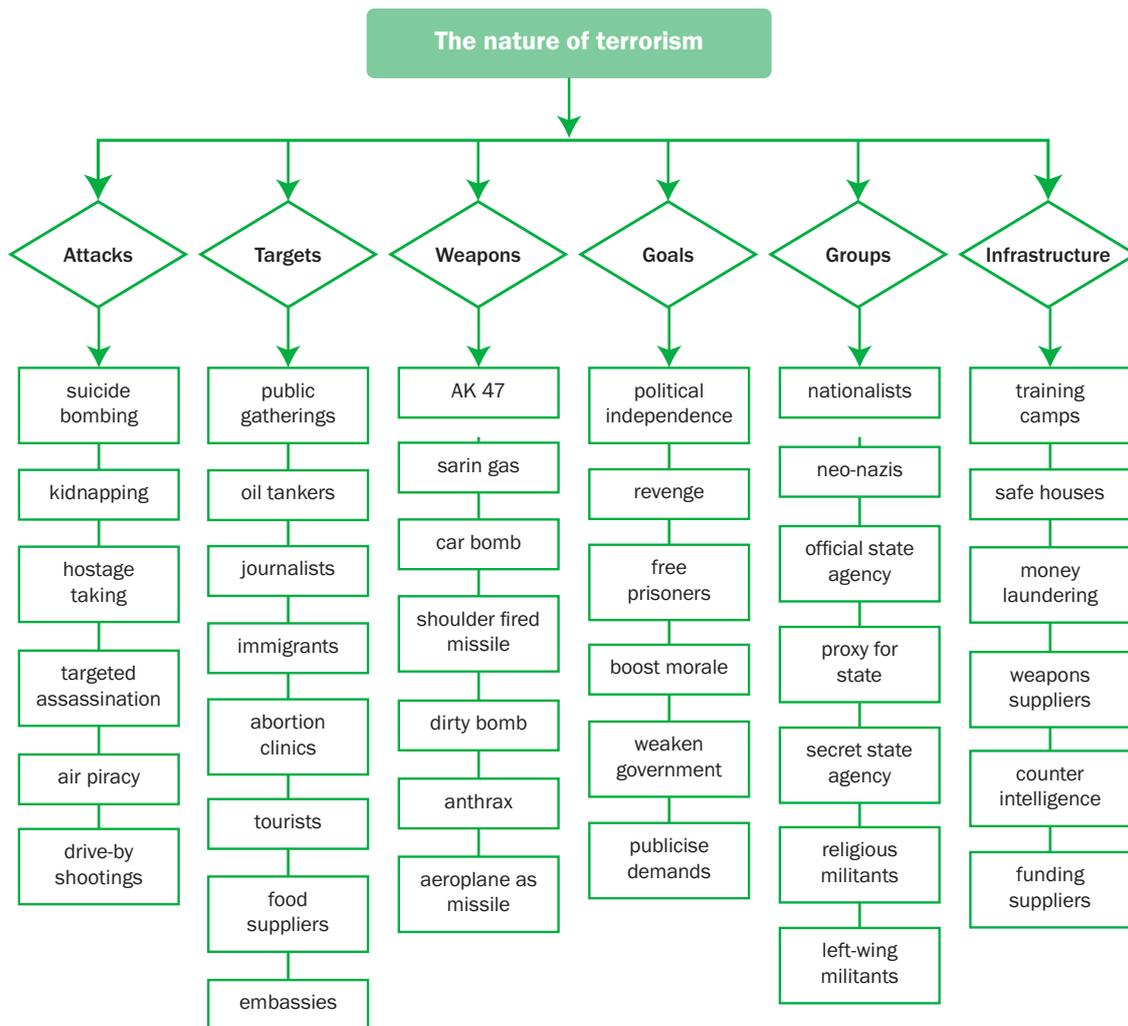
Terrorism as an instrument of state policy often involves violence threatened or employed against civilian targets for political objectives. This notion of terrorism understands the combatants to be state actors such as the Syrian government, with its use of chemical weapons against its own people, or with its sponsorship of terrorist groups.

As discussed previously, Hezbollah is a Shi'a Islamist political party and militant group based in Lebanon. It first came to prominence in the 1980s after the Israeli invasion of Lebanon and has long fought against Israel either directly or as a proxy for Iran and Syria.

The Syrian conflict has seen asymmetric warfare across the state as opposition forces combat the Syrian government as well as IS. Non-state groups generally have been unable to engage symmetrically with government forces and have had to resort to asymmetric tactics such as suicide bombings and targeted assassinations.

Asymmetric warfare also makes it difficult for the global community to achieve its objectives because of the nature of the warfare. Australia’s Foreign Minister, Julie Bishop, has said that the challenge in eliminating IS and its use of asymmetric tactics in war is that you are trying to defeat an ideology and, therefore, the conventional tactics of an army may not be an effective response to defeating the group or resolving the issue of terrorism.

Figure 2.17 – The nature of terrorism



Adapted from: Jonathan Barker – *The No-Nonsense Guide to Global Terrorism*



Activity 2.49 – Concept learning: Frayer model

1. Use the Frayer model (below) of concept learning to develop your understanding of the nature of terrorism. The Frayer model is intended to help you select and organise information relating to the key concepts you are learning as a visual reference.

Concept: Terrorism

<p>Essential characteristics</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • • • • 	<p>Other characteristics</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • • • •
<p>Examples</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • • • • 	<p>Non-examples</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • • • •

2. Define the term terrorism in your own words.
3. Explain how asymmetric warfare challenges effective resolution of terrorism.

Global actor responses to terrorism

The UN Security Council has issued a number of resolutions to try to limit or defeat the threat of terrorism globally, as shown in Table 2.9.

Table 2.9 – UN documents for terrorism: Security Council resolutions

31 December 2016 S/RES/2336	Welcomed efforts by Russia and Turkey to end violence in Syria and jumpstart a political process.
21 December 2016 S/RES/2332	This resolution renewed the authorisation for cross-border aid delivery until 10 January 2018.
19 December 2016 S/RES/2328	This resolution demanded UN access to monitor evacuations from Aleppo.
17 November 2016 S/RES/2319	Renewed the mandate of the UN-OPCW Joint Investigative Mechanism for a further year.
31 October 2016 S/RES/2314	Extended the mandate of the UN-OPCW Joint Investigative Mechanism to 18 November 2016.
26 February 2016 S/RES/2268	This was a resolution that endorsed the cessation of hostilities and called for the resumption of political talks.
22 December 2015 S/RES/2258	Renewed the authorisation for cross-border aid delivery until January 2017 and included language calling on member states to prevent and suppress the flow of foreign terrorist fighters in and out of Syria.
18 December 2015 S/RES/2254	This was the first resolution focused exclusively on a political solution to the Syrian crisis. It was adopted unanimously.
20 November 2015 S/RES/2249	Called for member states to take all necessary measures on the territory under the control of ISIS to prevent terrorist acts committed by ISIS and other Al-Qaeda affiliates.

7 August 2015 S/RES/2235	This was a resolution that requested the UN Secretary-General and OPCW Director-General to recommend the establishment and operation of a UN-OPCW Joint Investigative Mechanism to determine responsibility for the use of chemical weapons in Syria.
6 March 2015 S/RES/2209	This resolution condemned the use of toxic chemicals such as chlorine, without attributing blame; stressed that those responsible should be held accountable; recalled resolution 2118; and supported the 4 February 2015 decision of the OPCW.
12 February 2015 S/RES/2199	Was on ISIS and Al-Nusra's illicit funding via oil exports, traffic of cultural heritage, ransom payments and external donations.
17 December 2014 S/RES/2191	Renewed authorisation for cross-border humanitarian access until 10 January 2016.
24 September 2014 S/RES/2178	This resolution expanded the counter-terrorism framework by imposing obligations on member states to respond to the threat of foreign terrorist fighters.
15 August 2014 S/RES/2170	Condemned the recruitment by ISIS and al-Nusra of foreign fighters and listed six individuals affiliated with those groups under the 1267/1989 Al-Qaida sanctions regime.
14 July 2014 S/RES/2165	This resolution authorised cross-border and cross-line access for the UN and its partners to deliver humanitarian aid in Syria without state consent and established a monitoring mechanism for 180 days.
22 February 2014 S/RES/2139	This resolution demanded that all parties, in particular the Syrian authorities, allow humanitarian access in Syria across conflict lines, in besieged areas and across borders and expressed the intent to take further steps in the case of non-compliance.
27 September 2013 S/RES/2118	This resolution was adopted unanimously by the Council and required the verification and destruction of Syria's chemical weapons stockpiles, called for the convening of the Geneva II peace talks and endorsed the establishment of a transitional governing body in Syria with full executive powers.
20 July 2012 S/RES/2059	This resolution extended UNSMIS for a final period of 30 days.
21 April 2012 S/RES/2043	This resolution established UNSMIS.
14 April 2012 S/RES/2042	This resolution authorised the deployment of 30 military observers to Syria.

Source: Security Council Report – www.securitycouncilreport.org

US response to terrorism as an instrument of state policy

The US State Department designated Syria as a state sponsor of terrorism in 1979 to place international pressure on the Syrian government to cease its support of non-state terrorist groups, namely Hezbollah. The US has imposed a number of sanctions against Syria, including:

- a ban on arms-related exports and sales;
- limits on economic assistance (aid); and
- a range of other financial restrictions.

UN resolutions 1373 (2001), 2162 (2014) and 2170 (2014) have also been put in place to compel Syria to cease its support of terrorist organisations.

US response to non-state terrorism

The following is an outline of the measures the US has undertaken in response to IS:

- The US and multilateral coalition launched airstrikes on IS targets in Iraq beginning in August 2014.
- The US supported Iraqi military and Kurdish forces in both defensive and offensive military operations.
- The US has been providing ‘train and equipping’ assistance to Iraqi forces.
- The US supported Arab Sunni anti-Assad forces and Kurdish forces.
- The US implemented diplomatic and surveillance measures to restrict the flow of foreign fighters into Syria and Iraq.
- The US implemented measures to disrupt the terrorist group’s revenue streams by targeting those that trade in IS oil.
- The US imposed financial sanctions on IS officials and external financial backers.

Challenges to effective resolution of issues

The challenges to the effective resolution of the global issue of terrorism includes:

- the asymmetric nature of terrorism;
- ideology;
- undermining and challenging state sovereignty;
- non-state actors, such as terrorist organisations and alternative governments (IS) that are not open to negotiation; and
- high levels of violence.



Activity 2.50 - Review questions

1. Watch the Al Jazeera documentary ‘Enemy of Enemies: The Rise of ISIL’ (two-part documentary, each part is 47 minutes long)

 <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xsHrULpYeFk>

Investigate the following link for the interactive that accompanies the documentary. Read through the interactive and complete the questions for the framework below.

 <http://interactive.aljazeera.com/aje/2015/riseofisil/index.html>

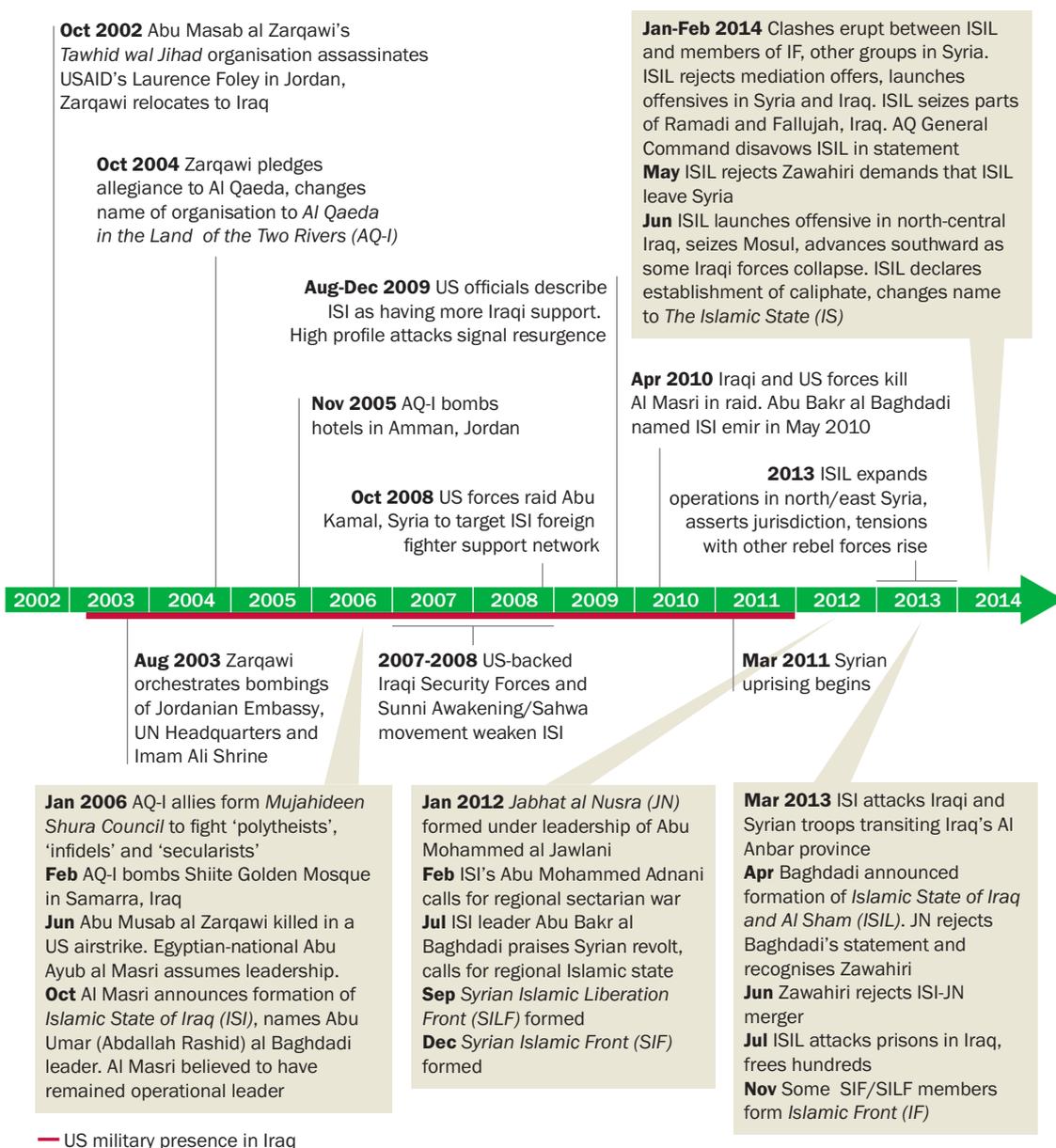
2. Examine the timeline of the rise of IS in Figure 2.18 opposite. Explain the roots of IS as outlined in the timeline in 300 words.
3. Complete a profile of IS, or another group or state of your choice, and present to the class as a slideshow presentation.

Provide the following details in your presentation:

- A brief overview of the social, political or historical context that forms the backdrop to your selected terrorist group’s rise
- Explain the causes of terrorism

- Explain the causes of terrorism in this specific case example
- Outline the terrorist group's stated aims
- Explain the methods used to achieve their aims
- Describe the range of terrorist incidents attributed to this group
- Explain the effects or consequences of the group's use of terrorism to achieve their aims
- Identify and explain the responses of key global actors (global actors can include citizens, states, institutions of global governance, NGOs and TNCs)
- Evaluate the effectiveness of the group in achieving their aims
- Evaluate the effectiveness of global actor responses to this group
- Analyse the challenges to achieving effective resolutions (these could be economic, political, diplomatic, social or cultural) to the global issue of terrorism.

Figure 2.18 – Timeline of the rise of Islamic State



Source: Adapted from *The Islamic State and U.S. Policy* – Congressional Research Service, February 2017



Activity 2.51 - Review questions

1. 'The sovereignty of states and their national self-interests remain the greatest challenge to resolving global issues.' Discuss.
2. Analyse the challenges to the effective resolution of a global issue that you have studied this year.
3. Analyse the effectiveness of responses of two global actors to a global issue you have studied this year.
4. Analyse the nature of international cooperation relating to two global issues studied this year.
5. Analyse the nature of two types of international conflict studied this year.

Essay question

6. Evaluate the effectiveness of global actor responses to a global issue. The response should clearly identify and discuss:
 - the role and interest of each global actor involved;
 - several responses, and offered solutions, to the crisis;
 - a comparison of the aims and outcomes of different responses; and
 - the extent to which responses have been successful.

References and further resources

Use the Global Terrorism Database (GTD) to find specific information about the nature of terrorism and specific terrorist organisations. GTD is a project led by the University of Maryland: <https://www.start.umd.edu/gtd/>

Use the Global Issues website to find specific information about a range of environmental issues – there are fifty articles online relating to this issue at the Global Issues page below:

<http://www.globalissues.org/issue/168/environmental-issues>

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<http://www.refugeelegalaidinformation.org/1951-convention>

<http://www.sbs.com.au/programs/go-back-to-where-you-came-from/article/2015/07/08/quiz-how-much-do-you-really-know-about-asylum-seekers-and-refugees>

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ISBN 978-0-9953545-2-4



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Social Education Victoria

Suite 2, 490 Spencer Street,
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www.sev.asn.au

Australian and Global Politics VCE Units 1 & 2, 1st Edition
Authors: Nick Melaisis, Olivera Nikolovska,
Andreas Vaszolyi, and Timothy Bush (ed.)