

Teaching Politics During the 2022 Election

A TEACHING RESOURCE FOR THE AUSTRALIAN FEDERAL ELECTION



Australian Political Studies Association Teaching and Learning Group

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ABOUT

This resource provides a set of teaching elements for simple integration into classes being undertaken during the 2022 Australian Federal Election. Each element includes contextual information, specifics of the teaching activity, references and learning outcomes. The resource was compiled by the Teaching and Learning Group of the Australian Political Studies Association. Thanks to the generosity of colleagues for providing these valuable teaching ideas.

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IMAGE CREDITS

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“Under Labor, Crime is out of control in Western Sydney” © Liberal Party of Australia

1

Fiddling While Rome Burns?

DR DAIN BOLWELL

TUTORIAL DISCUSSION

CONTEXT

The 2022 Australian Federal Election will be held against a background of global crisis, which is already altering our planet. In this Anthropocene era, profound political issues centre on the sustainability of human civilisation involving climate change from the burning of fossil fuels, as well as deforestation, species extinction, resource depletion, pandemics, economic collapse, nuclear and biological conflict, and religious and political violence. The federal government response to these grave challenges might well become the crux of the election, albeit focussed differently in different regions: Queensland voters may be concerned about coal mining or the Barrier Reef, Tasmanians about forestry or salmon farming, while Sydney is concerned about how climate change affects water supply and the Western suburbs. The Covid pandemic has altered Western Australia's relationship with the rest of the nation, while street violence has been most obvious in Melbourne. In the Northern Territory fracking looms large. In South Australia the security of renewable energy and water is important, while in the Australian Capital Territory, voters are sensitive to issues of parliamentary integrity and party donations. Yet, other 'normal' issues involving the economy, education, human rights, health and social welfare and infrastructure, as well as foreign affairs (especially China and the Pacific) remain significant. The question is to what extent is the federal election concerned with matters relevant to the Anthropocene as against issues of the 'normal' variety as if blind to a possible apocalyptic future.

ACTIVITY

The week before the tutorial students are asked to monitor media reports on the election, including political advertisements, in either print and online news media, or broadcast media (radio and television), or social media. Are the issues 'Anthropocene' or 'normal'? In what region are they most pertinent?

Discuss in small groups of the student media reporters in the tutorial and then present results for general assessment. Summary question: *For this election, is Australia fiddling while the world burns?*

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

- To recognise the nature and importance of issues that define the 2022 federal election.
- To understand how similar issues may be expressed differently in different regions.

READING

Melanie Randle, 2015, Many fear the worst for humanity, so how do we avoid surrendering to an apocalyptic fate?, *The Conversation*, 12 October, <https://theconversation.com/many-fear-the-worst-for-humanity-so-how-do-we-avoid-surrendering-to-an-apocalyptic-fate-47034>

ADDITIONAL RESOURCES

Stewart Lockie, 2019, People and issues outside our big cities are diverse, but these priorities stand out, *The Conversation*, 28 February, <https://theconversation.com/people-and-issues-outside-our-big-cities-are-diverse-but-these-priorities-stand-out-110971>

Madison Sandy, 2017, The Sixth Extinction: An Unnatural History, book review, *The AAG Review of Books*, 5(3): 159-161. DOI: 10.1080/2325548X.2017.1315239

ALTERNATIVES

Comparative assessment tasks could be based on the nature of political advertisements in each medium compared with subjects of lead news items.

2

Does Traditional “On the Ground” Campaigning Still Matter?

PROFESSOR RODNEY SMITH

RESEARCH FOR THE CLASSROOM

RATIONALE

The focus in contemporary federal election campaigns is on the party leaders and nationwide campaign strategies through old and new media, sometimes called campaigning “in the air”.

But parties and candidates also still spend time, effort and resources trying to win the battle “on the ground”, using traditional methods such as posters, leaflets, and face-to-face conversations with local voters.

Why do candidates persist with this approach? How important is it to the election?

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

- To help students to think critically about: (i) the factors (strategic, resources, etc.) that shape particular local campaigns, and (ii) the relevance of traditional local campaign methods to contemporary elections.
- To help students think about the importance and limitations of different approaches to evidence gathering.

READINGS

Stephen Mills, 2020, Party Campaign Communications, in Anika Gauja et al (eds) *Morrison’s Miracle: The 2019 Australian Federal Election*, ANU Press.

Glenn Kefferd, 2021, Winning the “Ground War”, in *Political Parties and Campaigning in Australia*. Palgrave Macmillan.

PRELIMINARY ACTIVITY

1. Students identify the electorate in which they are living during the election campaign (not necessarily the one they are enrolled in).
2. Students develop a brief profile of the electorate (using AEC resources, Antony Green’s election guide, etc.), answering the following questions:
 - What is the location of the electorate (urban, regional, rural, etc.)?
 - Which party/Independent holds the electorate (notionally, if there has been a redistribution)?
 - How competitive is the seat (very safe, moderately safe, marginal)?
 - Which candidates are contesting the electorate?
3. Students spend an agreed common period during the campaign systematically observing and collecting traditional campaign materials and activities from their local area and recording their observations/materials. Collection/observation might include one or more of the following, to be agreed in advance:
 - A diary record of the timing, content and approach taken in any direct contact with the student by candidates or campaign workers/volunteers (e.g., in face-to-face doorknocking conversation, telephone call, etc.).
 - A photographic record of all election posters within a defined local area (all those along a major road, within a minute’s walking radius of the local shopping centre or train station etc.)
 - Observation of which and how many candidates and/or campaign workers/volunteers are present at local train stations or other centres during peak hour or other periods.
 - Collection of all campaign materials left in the letter box or posted to residents of the students’ place of residence.
 - Observation of which and how many campaign workers/volunteers are present outside early voting centres, collection of all available ‘how to vote’ cards and other campaign materials, photographing posters.
 - Observing which and how many campaign workers/volunteers are present outside polling places on election day, collection of all available “how to vote” cards and other campaign materials, photographing posters.

CLASS ACTIVITY

Students collate and discuss the results of their observations and/or collections, using the results to answer questions such as:

1. The extent to which campaign materials/activities focus on the local or are generic.
2. Whether and why the same parties campaign differently in different electorates (safe vs marginal seats, urban vs rural seats etc.).
3. Whether and why different candidates campaign differently in the same electorate (resources, personalities, safe vs. marginal seats, urban vs. rural seats, etc.).
4. What other research would they ideally undertake if they had more time and resources to improve their analysis of traditional local campaigning.

3

Talking Policy to the Parties

DR SAM BRADSHAW

TUTORIAL ACTIVITY AND/OR ASSESSMENT TASK

TASK NOTES

Students will need to leave sufficient time for the responses to come back (at least a week) and to prepare their work for the tutorial. Students should be given the task at least two-three weeks in advance.

Students should be provided with advice on how best to solicit a response, including how to craft a question that is likely to be answered. Questions should be specific, but not obscure; directly answerable; neutrally posed; well researched; and related to an area of federal policy.

For example, a vague question would be “What is your policy on climate change?” A question that is too obscure would be “How will you support the Yara Pilbara green hydrogen project?”

Some good questions:

- What changes, if any, would you make to HECS or HECS-HELP?
- Do you support any constitutional amendments related to Australia's Indigenous people?

SCAFFOLDING THE TASK

Posing a good question is an important part of the task, so it may be helpful to provide feedback on students' draft questions as an assessed activity using the subject's Learning Management System. In this, have students undertake research on the policy issue area and position of relevant parties and candidates to determine:

- Good question phrasing
- What a good response might look like

CONTEXT

Political parties publish policies in the lead up to elections, but these are typically not comprehensive. This reflects the limited resources of parties, but also that with policy, the “devil is in the detail” and it pays politically to leave out inconvenient specifics until after the election. Deborah Stone has observed that measured ambiguity can be politically useful in building larger coalitions of support.

Many voters endeavour to contact political candidates, including to ask about their policy positions. This has become easier with the internet. Typical responses usually restate their existing public position, without engaging with the question itself, but occasionally a more detailed response is forthcoming. This activity aims to explore both issues.

ACTIVITY

1. Students should be put into groups of 2-5. Each group should choose a policy issue, and create a question that can be posed to a candidate relating to that issue. The question should be something that can't be answered by simple Googling or reading the candidates' (or their party's) published policies, but shouldn't be overly obscure or difficult to answer. If possible, the issue should relate to the course material.
2. They should pose that question to all the candidates in their local seat, such as by emailing them or sending them a message on social media.
3. Students should then analyse the responses they receive. They might do this in the form of a written work submitted before class, or they can talk about the responses they received in class – examining the responses comparatively to expand the data set (identifying proforma responses).

Consider:

- Does the response answer the question?
- What are the characteristics of the response: Content, Length, Specificity, Format, Tone
- Is there value in voters corresponding with candidates? Does the response help them decide who to vote for? How would they handle policy questions if they were running for parliament?

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

- Explore the policies of different political groups
- Practise posing questions about policy issues
- Critically interpret political messaging

A QUICKER ACTIVITY

Rather than asking students to create and ask the questions, provide prepared questions and replies.

4

Gender Trouble

THE T&L GROUP

DIARY KEEPING AND TUTORAL PRESENTATION TASK

CONTEXT

The 26th Parliament of Australia was rocked by a number of sexual misconduct and assault scandals. This is set against the backdrop of ongoing disproportionate violence against women in Australia.

During this period, the 2021 Australian of the Year, Grace Tame, has questioned the government's policy commitment to gender quality and the safety of women.

These issues highlighted the different approaches to the representation of women by the major Australian parties, with the Labor Party having gender quotas for candidate selection and the Liberal Party employing non-binding targets to improve women's representation in the parliament.

This raises two questions: To what extent will issues of gender equality, the safety of women, and women's representation in politics be a feature of the 2022 federal election, given women have quite different attitudes to men when polled on these questions? Does the presence – or absence – of gender issues have an impact on the election outcome?

ALTERNATIVE ESSAY TASK

You can make this an essay assessment by having students undertake a more formal gender analysis of policies being proposed by the major parties using the Victorian Government's *A Guide to Conducting Gender Impact Analysis*: <https://tinyurl.com/9p8k7z9s>

ACTIVITY

This activity should be undertaken over a six-week time frame and needs to be set up early in the semester. A sensitisation to gender analysis of policy and speech should be provided at the start and should include both constructivist aspects (e.g. discourse reiterating the assumption of women as mainly associated with the domestic sphere) and specific aspects of policy design (such as the different impacts of tax policy on women and men).

Diary activity:

- Over a four-week period, students are set the task of tracking the election campaign through their use of media and noting issues and debates discussed by leaders and party campaigns that are tractable to a gendered analysis.
- Students should record:
 - The nature of the issue
 - The speaker
 - Coverage of the issue
 - Their own analysis of its gendered components
- At the end of the data collection period, students should produce a summation of their findings

Presentation element: One week before the presentations, form groups of students together into small groups to synthesise and present on their findings. Using the literature on gender analysis, have the students structure their analysis thematically.

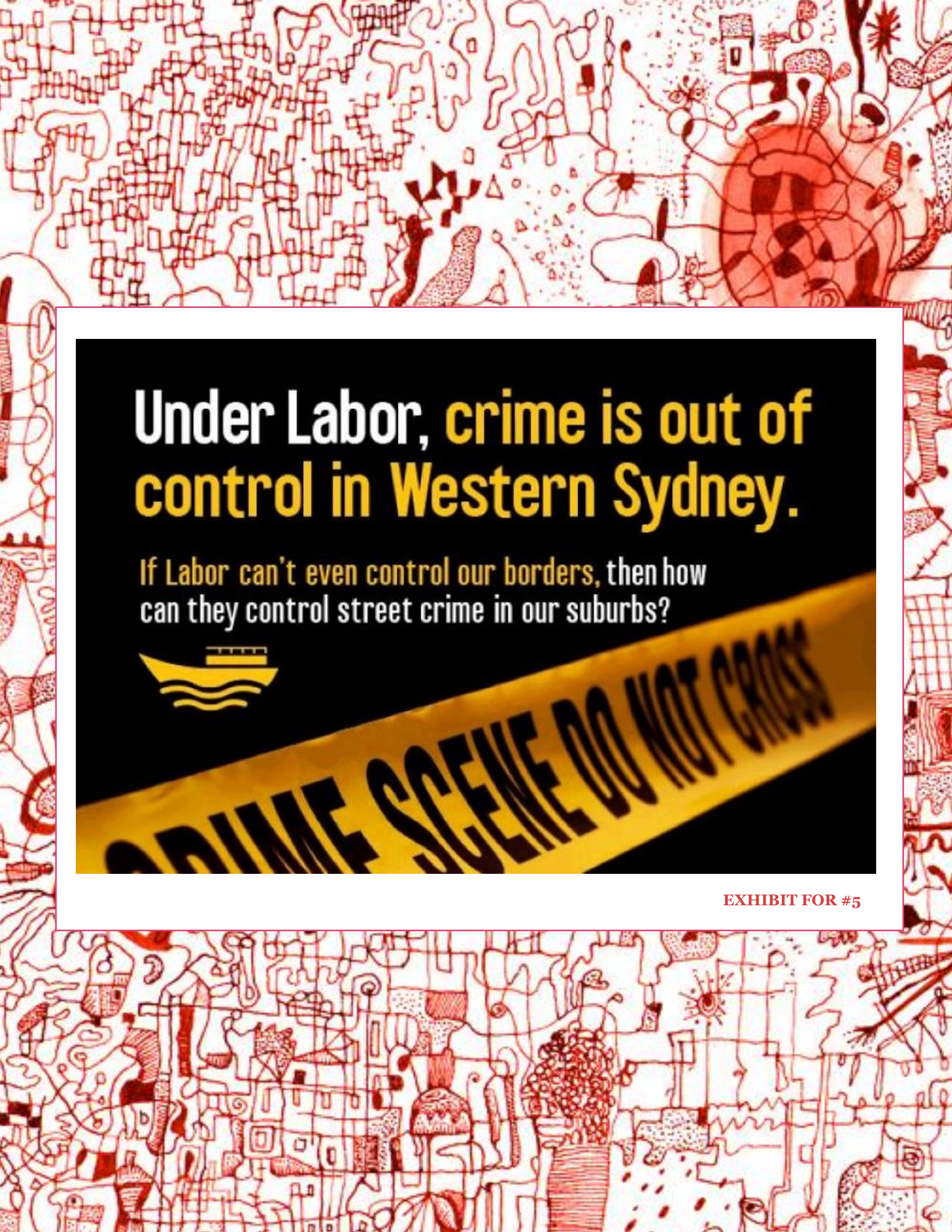
LEARNING OBJECTIVES

- To understand the gendered dimension of the 2022 federal election.
- To track the progress of the election and evaluate policy and political discourse's gendered dimensions.

READINGS

Sarah Cameron, 2021, *Will Women Forsake the Liberal Party at the Next Election?* <https://www.sydney.edu.au/news-opinion/news/2021/03/15/will-women-forsake-the-liberal-party-at-the-next-election-.html>

Merrindahl Andrew, 2021, Gender and sexuality in Australian politics, in Open Textbook Editorial Group, *Australian Politics and Policy*, Senior Edition 2021, University of Sydney Press, <https://open.sydneyuniversitypress.com.au/9781743328415.html>



Under Labor, crime is out of control in Western Sydney.

If Labor can't even control our borders, then how can they control street crime in our suburbs?



CRIME SCENE DO NOT CROSS

EXHIBIT FOR #5

5

Criminal Justice Policy: Here Come the Feds?

ASSOCIATE PROFESSOR GARNER CLANCEY

THREE TUTORIAL ACTIVITIES

CONTEXT

Criminal justice policy is generally considered to be the domain of state and territory governments.

State and territory governments fund and manage police forces, courts and correctional agencies (for both young people and adults) and develop laws and policies to guide the work of these agencies. However, there are examples of major political parties making announcements and statements on criminal justice matters in previous election campaigns.

Is this likely to occur in 2022, and what form might this take?

READINGS

Jude McCulloch, 2004, National (in)security Politics in Australia: Fear and the Federal Election, *Alternative Law Journal* 29(2): 87-91.

Chris Vedelago and Royce Millar, 2021, One election later, the lessons from Melbourne's 'African gang' panic', *The Age*, <https://www.theage.com.au/national/victoria/one-election-later-the-lessons-from-melbourne-s-african-gang-panic-20211118-p50a10.html>

Clancey and Lin (with Delahunty), 2019, 'Law and order' policy, *Australian Politics and Policy Open Textbook*, SUP, <https://open.ozdoeruniversitypress.com.au/9781743326671/appsc-law-and-order-policy.html#Chapter8>

THREE ACTIVITIES

[1] Explain the above context to the student group. However, there are times when the politics around “law and order” become Federal election issues or Federal politicians’ comment on “law and order” issues in the context of an election (including state elections). Ask the group to consider why this might be – what might prompt a political party during a Federal election to comment on or introduce policies relevant to crime and criminal justice?

Things to consider in this discussion – the importance of being seen to be “tough on crime”, the conflation of border control and crime for electoral reasons (being seen to be “tough on borders and tough on crime” simultaneously; and the power of fear of crime to mobilise support and condemn the opposition. The party that manages crime can be trusted/the party that can’t manage crime can’t be trusted.

[2] Distribute or display the image on the preceding page. This image was posted on the Liberal Party of Australia’s Facebook page in April 2013. Discuss this image and what it represents/attempted to achieve.

Why might border control be conflated with crime in Western Sydney? Why might Western Sydney be the target area for such commentary? Consider the use of the crime scene tape image and that of the boat.

Distribute this page which fact checks some of the claims made: <https://australiainstitute.org.au/post/are-crime-rates-in-western-sydney-really-out-of-control-check-the-facts/>

Discuss the facts of reported crime levels and the claims made about crime in Western Sydney – i.e. facts inconsistent with rhetoric.

[3] Encourage students to monitor the election campaign for examples of where key parties comment on or introduce policies relevant to the operation of the criminal justice system. Discuss any examples which might emerge.

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

- To become familiar with the engagement of federal political parties in criminal justice policy.
- To understand the different approaches adopted by different parties.

CLOSE THE LOOP

The APSA Teaching and Learning Group would like to hear about your teaching experiences during the 2022, either using the teaching elements including in this resource kit, or your own teaching practice. Let us know how things went at apsatandl@gmail.com

6

A Federal Election?

THE T&L GROUP

RESEARCH AND DEBATE ACTIVITY

CONTEXT

Australia is a federation, but in many election years you might not know it. Dominated by “nationalised” campaigns that focus on fixed, standard messages and themes, questions about federalism itself, as well as policy debates that might be unique to particular jurisdictions are often absent. This is evidenced by the compression of the states and territories into a single chapter in the 2020 election overview volume by Anika Gauja, Marian Sawyer, and Marian Simms.

During the pandemic, however, questions of the federal compact have been highlighted in a way not seen in a generation, with a new co-ordinating body created – the National Cabinet – and considerable debate and disputation over the management of the pandemic by the different states and territories. In early 2022 the Australian Republic Movement released a new Constitutional model for an Australian Republic, putting the question of constitutional change back into the public eye.

Will the 2022 federal election: 1. Consider matters of the “federal compact” in the way in which the states and Commonwealth work together during the pandemic and into the future? 2. See more parochial issues unique to individual jurisdictions play a broader role in the policy debates of leaders and parties?

NOTE

This activity is best conducted late in the semester and close to the election date. It can be developed into a discussion of expert analysis methods (e.g. Delphi and similar) in advanced units of study.

ACTIVITY

Setup: Divide the class 8 groups (one for each jurisdiction) and assign the groups responsibility to review the election using the key media of their allocated jurisdiction in the two weeks prior to the class. This is a good activity to acquaint students with the Factiva database and how to undertake focused searches using that tool.

Analysis activity

1. Students are to collectively undertake an analysis of the election *from the perspective of the jurisdiction* to which they are assigned.
2. Ask: What issues are most prominent? How are these issues framed in the debate? What policies are being proposed for these issues? What elements of the policy appear relevant to the jurisdiction?
3. Rank in descending order of prominence the issues and their presentation by the major parties. Rank no more than 10 issues through consensus by the group.

In the classroom:

Using the whiteboard or similar, have the comparative rankings written up for the class to see.

In discussion with the groups, consider the following questions: How similar are the rankings? How different are they? To what extent are there localised issues and campaigns? What explains differences and similarities in the issues presented?

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

- Encourage students to think about Australia’s federation from both a technical – division of powers – and electoral perspective.
- To consider the relevance of the federal compact giving the changing nature of the Australian population and policy issues.

READINGS

Alan Fenna, 2021, Commonwealth–state relations, in Open Textbook Editorial Group, *Australian Politics and Policy*, Senior Edition 2021, University of Sydney Press, <https://open.sydneyuniversitypress.com.au/9781743328415.html>

Nick Economou, et al, 2020, The election in the states, territories and regions, in Gauja et al (eds) *Morrison's Miracle: The 2019 Australian Federal Election*, ANU Press, <https://press.anu.edu.au/publications/morrisons-miracle>

7

Watching, or Not, the Leaders' Debate

DR PETER JOHN CHEN

TUTORIAL ACTIVITY

CONTEXT

Leaders' Debates are an important part of the election process in Australia, providing a key point in which the leaders' "square off" against each other and present their vision for their government. These are both policy-focused and serve as a way that the comparative "strengths" of the leaders is assessed given that leader images are increasing subject to both careful management by campaign teams, and scrutiny by the media and the wider public.

Debates have been identified as "pseudo events" created for media consumption, and are an important part of the agenda-setting function of the media. Debates generate considerable reporting on what was (and sometimes was not) discussed at the event, providing input into the policy analysis of competing party programs, as well as being interpreted through the lens of "horse-race" journalism that focuses on image and perceptions of media competence.

The impact of the Debate on electors can be direct (for those that watch the Debate) or indirect (for those that only learn about it through reporting or via the "two-step flow" of social media or interpersonal communication).

ALTERNATIVE

Leaders' Debates can serve as a good topic for comparative content analysis for an assessment task

ACTIVITY

Setup: The week preceding a Leaders' Debate the role and significance of the Debate is discussed in class and access to the reading is provided. The class is allowed to self-select into four groups:

- Group 1 is directed to watch the Debate, but not read any reporting or social media about the Debate
- Group 2 is directed not to watch the Debate, but to read articles in the newspaper about the Debate the following days
- Group 3 is directed not to watch the Debate, but to follow key Debate hashtags on Twitter
- Group 4 is directed not to watch the Debate, but to discuss it with friends, family members, and acquaintances after the event

In the tutorial:

1. Reconstitute the four groups together to discuss the Debate and each group individually determine the key topics discussed in descending order of importance (they can also select a "winner" if desired).
2. Each group writes these topics on the whiteboard to compare and contrast their different interpretations of the Debate.
3. Draw out and discuss similarities and differences: What are they? Where did they come from? What is the implication for the election/electoral process?

Additional questions:

- Are debates "over" and irrelevant given low public interest in them?
- Should Australia establish a "Debate Commission" to run the debates in a more formal way?

LEARNING OBJECTIVE

- To understand the impact of different exposure methods to political information (direct and indirect) on political learning.

READINGS

Andrea Carson, 2019, Leaders try to dodge them. Voters aren't watching. So, are debates still relevant?, *The Conversation*, 3 May, <https://theconversation.com/leaders-try-to-dodge-them-voters-arent-watching-so-are-debates-still-relevant-115456>

Rodney Smith and Stephen Mills, 2020, Leaders debates in Australian elections, in Juárez-Gámiz et al. (eds) *Routledge International Handbook on Electoral Debates*, Routledge.

8

Assessment Ideas

A. MANIFESTING GOVERNMENT

#Manifestos #HistoricalAnalysis #AgendaBuilding

Elections are about winning, but also about governing. “Rich” informational events they ask citizens to attune to matters of policy and politics to fulfil their duty as citizens. Incoming governments can become bound by the election promises they make, and be limited in their freedom of action if they have failed to build popular support for policy issues they are likely to face in government.

Consider the practice of “agenda building” during elections. Using the manifestos of previous incoming governments and a review of their administration in office ask: To what extent was the administration enabled and constrained by their electoral manifestos? Depending on your findings, argue about the ongoing relevance (or not) of these types of political artifact.

Relevant Resource: Historical electoral manifestos located at <https://manifesto-project.wzb.eu/>

B. ELECTION DIARY

#Leaders #Strategy #Database

In our “presidentialised” campaigns, leaders are the star of the show, travelling constantly throughout the campaign and “spotlighting” issues and locations through their set piece events and announcements. Through following the electorates that leaders travel to we get a sense of the political strategy and analysis underpinning their campaign. For example: what seats do they think are “in play”?

Reverse engineer the campaign strategy: Track the movements of the leaders throughout the campaign and build a database of electorates visited. Investigate key information about these electorates: What are the leaders doing in these electorates? Are they marginal seats (indicating they are “in play”) or “safe” seats (indicating “sandbagging”)? What MPs electorates get visited and why?

Relevant resources: Media Leaders’ tracker sites, Australian Electoral Commission electorate information

C. THE BOYS ON THE BUS 2.0

#Media #HypothesisTesting #ContentAnalysis

The classic book, Crouse’s *The Boys on the Bus*, examined the role of the media in election and posited that journalists that travel with campaign teams become “captured” by the comradery and narratives of the campaigns they follow – with the “campaign bus” a perfect tool to capture and contain these key intermediators of the campaign.

Is this still the case? Identify and follow the social media accounts of journalists embedded with one of the leaders. Capture and classify their social media outputs and journalistic outputs.

Answer the following question: Are “embedded” journalists likely to favour the candidates they are travelling with?

Relevant resources: Twitter, Factiva

9

Engaging the Disengaged

THE T&L GROUP

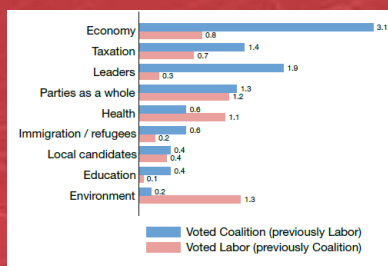
INTERVIEW ACTIVITY WITH CREATIVE DESIGN TASK

CONTEXT

Elections in Australia are commonly won by campaigns that are able to retain their “rusted on” voters while convincing “swing voters” to vote for them.

This can present a paradox that elections are often of most interest to electors for whom political parties do not feel are “at play” and that most of the effort of electoral campaigns is focused on those voters who are least engaged in the electoral process. These voters are sometimes called by a variety of names “winnable”, “low information voters” or “undecided voters”, but in reality the reasons for their level of engagement can be quite varied, as can their level of political and policy knowledge.

These voters are, however, different to other voters, in the 2019 election they were more likely than other voters to see leadership as key to their vote choice. Cameron and McAllister identified the issues of importance to swing voters in 2019:



NOTE

Check your institutional procedure for students undertaking human research.

ACTIVITY

Following a briefing about electoral engagement and the interview method, students are tasked to:

1. Develop a set of research interview questions for an elector who is disengaged from politics.
2. Identify a classmate (hopefully in a different major!), friend or relative who lacks interest in politics and the election.
3. Interview the “swing voter”, producing a transcription of the interview for analysis.
4. Using the known literature on disengaged electors and political campaigning, develop a strategy for a political campaign to best engage this elector. This should include:
 - a. Selection of campaigning technique, such as interpersonal communication, use of social media, etc.,
 - b. Development of message strategy and message content (e.g. script, advertisement, memes, video, etc.), and
 - c. Written justification for the choices made (linking the primary research to the creative output).

TIMING

Complete this activity early in the election and the findings can be revisited late in the semester: were the students’ campaign approaches employed in reality?

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

- To develop and apply the interview technique.
- To understand the political views and behaviours of electors with low levels of political engagement.
- Engagement with research-informed campaign development.

READINGS

Sally Young, 2013, Are swinging voters disengaged? *Election Watch Australia*, <http://past.electionwatch.edu.au/australia-2013/analysis/are-swinging-voters-disengaged>

Open University, 2021, *Conducting an Interview*, <https://help.open.ac.uk/conducting-an-interview>

TEAM-BASED ALTERNATIVE

This activity can be done in collaborative teams (five optimal), either through aggregation of individual interviews or via a team-led focus group of participants.

10

The Mice the Roar? Minor Parties and Independents

DR ZAREH GHAZARIAN

TUTORIAL ACTIVITY

CONTEXT

Australia is often characterised as being a “two party system”. The major parties in Australia gain much of the attention during election campaigns and, collectively, the Australian Labor Party, Liberal Party and National Party continue to win most of the votes cast by Australians.

In recent decades, however, a range of minor parties have been able to win representation in the Australian Parliament. This includes the Australian Greens, Pauline Hanson’s One Nation and the United Australia Party spearheaded by Clive Palmer. Furthermore, there have also been independent candidates, who are not a member of a political party, that have contested, and won, seats in the House of Representatives.

Within this context, it is important to analyse the current Australian party system and the impact minor parties and independents may be having on the national political debate and, potentially, on public policy outcomes.

ADDITIONAL RESOURCE

Narelle Miragliotta and Zareh Ghazarian, 2021, Minor parties and independents, in Alan Fenna and Rob Manwaring (eds), *Australian Government and Politics*, Pearson, Melbourne.

ALTERNATIVE

Independents may be left out of this task to make the focus only on minor parties.

ACTIVITY

Setup: 1. Students are to be allocated into 5 small groups (one group each for One Nation, Greens, United Australia Party, Centre Alliance, Independents) prior to the class.
2. As part of the preparation for class this week, students in each group are to consult the website/literature of the party they have been allocated (the group with independents can select an independent of their choice who is contesting the election).

In the tutorial:

1. Each group will be presented with the same two or three policies or issues (such as reducing the voting age to 16; implementing a “cash for clunkers” scheme; whether Australia should become a republic; increasing income tax, etc.).
2. Each group works to craft a response to each issue through the lens of their minor party or through the lens of their selected independent candidate and presents this to the rest of the class.
3. A discussion with the entire class can be moderated to draw out the similarities and differences between the minor party/independent candidate approaches and what this means for national politics and public policy.

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

- To become familiar with the different perspectives and policy traditions of minor parties and independents in Australia.
- To build an understanding of the potential role and power of minor parties and independents in national politics.
- To build an understanding of the composition of parliament may impact on public policy outcomes.

READINGS

Joey Watson, 2019, Minor parties are relatively new in Australian politics. This is how they became a big deal, *ABC Radio National*, 4 May, <https://www.abc.net.au/news/2019-05-04/history-minor-parties-in-australia-elections/10800580>

Jackson Gothe-Snape, 2019, Fenced out: Why independents are the eternal underdogs of Australian politics, *ABC News*, 11 March, <https://www.abc.net.au/news/2019-03-09/zali-steggall-helen-haines-independents-australian-politics/10786984?nw=0&r=HtmlFragment>

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The Uluru Statement and the Struggle to Find a Heart in this Election

JASON O'NEIL

TUTORIAL ACTIVITY

BACKGROUND

In 2017 the Uluru Statement from the Heart called for a constitutionally enshrined First Nations Voice to Parliament, and a Makarrata Commission to oversee a national treaty-making process and truth-telling. This was a First Nations demand for a “rightful place in our own country” and the right “to be heard” when the Parliament makes policy affecting First Nations people. Some First Nations people view the Voice proposal as a distraction from the priority of Treaty and the recognition of sovereignty.

Political parties have taken different positions on this, and the outcome of the election will determine the nature of the government’s response to the Uluru Statement.

The Coalition has adapted the “First Nations Voice” into a legislated Indigenous Voice model, which they hope to embed within the existing policy-making structures of state and federal government.

The Australian Labor Party has endorsed the Uluru Statement, and committed to holding a referendum to change the Constitution and establish the Voice within their first term of government. At the state level, Labor governments have begun treaty-making processes in Victoria, Queensland and the Northern Territory. These processes have been criticised by some First Nations people as unfit for purpose, and at risk of being thrown out by the next state government.

The Australian Greens have come out in support of Treaty-making across Australia, and announced a commitment to a national “Truth and Justice Commission”, prioritising truth and treaty over the Voice called for by the Uluru Statement.

Full text of the Statement:

<https://ulurustatement.org/the-statement/>

ACTIVITY

In small groups, ask students to:

1. Identify the Coalition/Labor/Greens response to the Uluru Statement from the Heart.
 - a. What ideological approaches to First Nations politics might be influencing each party’s approach to responding to the Statement?
2. Identify the political institutions and processes that would be influenced by a constitutionally-enshrined First Nations Voice.
 - a. How might these same institutions and processes make it difficult for a proposal like the First Nations Voice to be put in place?
3. Search for mentions of the Uluru Statement by politicians or political during the 2022 election campaign.
 - a. How many can you find? Why might it be difficult for Indigenous political issues to gain mainstream attention during an election?

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

- Identify the ideological and institutional influences that can challenge sustained reform in Indigenous politics and policy
- Understand the reform agenda of the Uluru Statement to the Heart and identify the differing responses by Australian political parties in the lead up to the 2022 election.

READINGS / MATERIALS

Centre for Ideas, 2022, *10 Minute Genius* | Megan Davis: *The Power of Voice* [9:58] <https://www.centreforideas.com/article/10-minute-genius-power-voice>

Dani Larkin and Amy Maguire, 2020, Lidia Thorpe wants to shift course on Indigenous recognition. Here’s why we must respect the Uluru Statement, *The Conversation*, <https://theconversation.com/lidia-thorpe-wants-to-shift-course-on-indigenous-recognition-heres-why-we-must-respect-the-uluru-statement-141609>

Australian Greens, 2020, *Introducing Lidia Thorpe*, YouTube [1:58] https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=cmLq077_934

Shahni Wellington and Kristie Wellauer, 2021, Indigenous Voice to Parliament plan revealed after years of lobbying, but Labor gives it a “fail”, *ABC News*, 17 December at <https://www.abc.net.au/news/2021-12-17/indigenous-voice-to-parliament/100708186>

ADDITIONAL MATERIALS

Megan Davis and George Williams, 2021, *Everything You Need to Know about the Uluru Statement from the Heart*, UNSW Press.

Diana Perche and Jason O’Neil, 2021, Indigenous politics in Open Textbook Editorial Group, *Australian Politics and Policy, Senior Edition*, University of Sydney Press, <https://open.sydneyuniversitypress.com.au/9781743328415/9781743328415-indigenous-politics.html#Chapter35>

The Impact of Leaders' Discourse on Minority Groups

HEELA POPAL

TUTORIAL ACTIVITY INVOLVING MINI-SURVEY EXPERIMENT

CONTEXT

Democracy is facing challenges with the rise of authoritarianism, populism, and exclusivism. The rise of far-right politicians in recent decades has undermined the multicultural consensus.

Australia is the only country that detains refugees or grants temporary protection rather than permanent protection (Millar, 2015). Religious minority groups such as Muslims are marginalised.

The media can have a significant impact on how the public perceives the political landscape. For example, studies by OurWorldInData.org reveal that media coverage of terrorism is highly unequal. What's striking is the much larger coverage if the perpetrator was Muslim. This presents an unbalanced overview of terrorism to the public given far-right terrorism poses bigger threat to Western countries than terrorism by individuals inspired by ISIS and al-Qaeda.

In Australia's "presidentialised" political system, party leaders are influential social actors, able to shape perceptions about minority groups through their public discourse.

ADDITIONAL RESOURCE

Scott Poynting, 2006, What caused the Cronulla riot?, *Race & Class*, 48(1):85–92.

ACTIVITY

Setup

Contact Heela to become an administrator to access the survey results: heela.popal@sydney.edu.au

Have the class to self-select into three groups. These will be provided with a quick survey to complete:

https://sydney.au1.qualtrics.com/jfe/form/SV_3laeJ7ng15sg6BE All the three groups are provided the same survey but different treatment: Group 1 is provided with the survey with treatment 1 (negative/biased statement) which will have a statement from a politician that will imply that terrorism by a (Muslim) terrorism perpetrator is motivated by his religion and community.

Group 2 is provided with the survey with treatment 2, which will have a statement from a politician that will state that terrorism by a (Muslim) perpetrator is like any other criminal that could have a troubled life and / or mental health issues.

Group 3 is provided with the survey without any treatment text.

In the tutorial:

1. Responses are anonymously presented by the tutor, with the discussion of the effects of political discourse and the impact on audiences' opinions/perceptions. The tutor will discuss the responses according to the treatment presented to each group and its effects.
2. The survey responses can demonstrate the fact that some politicians marginalise certain groups, and certain events / incidents can be interpreted to be either an individual issue or a fundamental issue linked with their religious belief and community.

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

- To become familiar with the role of Leaders' discourse in the Australian Federal Election and politics of fear.
- To understand the impact of political discourse, particularly, with regards to the discussion of minority groups and immigrants.

READINGS

Danielle Every and Martha Augoustinos, 2007, Constructions of racism in the Australian parliamentary debates on asylum seekers, *Discourse & Society*, 18(4): 411–436.

Scott Poynting and Victoria Mason, 2008, The new integrationism, the state and Islamophobia: retreat from multiculturalism in Australia, *International Journal of Law, Crime and Justice*, 36(4): 230–246.

#12 TREATMENT TEXT, GROUP 1

Senator Pauline Hanson - 14/9/2016

"In my first speech in 1996 I said we were in danger of being swamped by Asians. This was not said out of disrespect for Asians but was meant as a slap in the face to both the Liberal and Labor governments who opened the floodgates to immigration, targeting cultures purely for the vote... Now we are in danger of being swamped by Muslims, who bear a culture and ideology that is incompatible with our own...I call for stopping further Muslim immigration and banning the burqa, as they have done in many countries around the world. Burqas are not a religious requirement. Most Australians find them confronting, as did two of our former prime ministers. I am sure a lot of the women forced to wear them would love to cast them aside but live in fear to do so. In addition, no more mosques or schools should be built, and those that already exist should be monitored with regard to what they are teaching until the present crisis is over."

Prime Minister Scott Morrison - Door stop interview in response to Melbourne attack by a Muslim perpetrator - 13/11/2018

"Well look I'm not going to get into personalities. What I am going to say is simply what I said on the weekend, that the violent extremist Islamic terrorist who did this on this street was radicalised in this country. He wasn't radicalised in a suburban mall, he wasn't radicalised in a schoolroom. He was radicalised in a community here in Melbourne. Now, we all have jobs to do to keep Australians safe. It's my job to ensure that our intelligence agencies and our law enforcement agencies both have the resources and the powers to enable them to do their jobs. It's the job of state governments to do similarly. It's the job of communities to protect themselves and to keep the wolves from coming in amongst the sheep in their own religious communities."

#12 TREATMENT TEXT, GROUP 2

Member for Granville, Julia Finn - 15/9/2016

"Yesterday One Nation Senator Pauline Hanson gave her inaugural speech in the Australian Parliament again, and again she chose to malign hundreds of thousands of Australians in a divisive, negative and callous way. Twenty years ago Hanson warned that we were in danger of being swamped by Asians and now she thinks we are in danger of being swamped by Muslims. She is as wrong now as she was then. I am not sure how she is going to react when she realises there are hundreds of millions of people in the world who are Asian and Muslim. She talks of high unemployment and escalating crime and attributes these directly to immigration and multiculturalism even though unemployment and crime rates are much lower than when she was first elected...Returning to Pauline Hanson's latest pet hate, the Muslim community, she is wrong and her views are abhorrent. She claims: Muslims ... bear a culture and ideology that is incompatible with our own. This is just utter nonsense. There is no one Muslim culture or ideology. It is an Abrahamic faith with similar origins to Judaism and Christianity—the faith of over one billion people. Hanson claims: Australia is now seeing changes in suburbs predominantly Muslim. Tolerance towards other Australians is no longer the case. That is also utter rubbish. Members of the Muslim community have more in common with their neighbours than she is prepared to acknowledge. Hanson's other comments about the burqa and halal certification are equally divisive and ridiculous. Women should be free to wear whatever they want, even the tiny number of women who wear burqas."

In response to Morrison's comments on Bourke Street attack, Melbourne

[Greg] Barns, who as a barrister has advised and appeared in cases involving anti-terrorism laws, told Guardian Australia that attackers rarely interacted with Islamic leaders nor regularly attended mosques. He said the comments from Dutton and Morrison were "scapegoating, racist and simplistic".

"These people who commit these crimes fly under the radar, including who they associate with," Barns said.

"The reason why people commit actions of the type committed in Bourke Street are complex, and simplistic slogans and solutions by politicians have not resulted in a violence-free Australia and never will."

Barns called for a holistic approach that included examining the mental health system and ensuring it was accessible to people from other countries, and on programs to keep people well-connected and integrated with their communities.

"What we shouldn't do is draw a conclusion that all people who are refugees from Somalia are dangerous or that all those with mental illness are dangerous," he said.

Source: The Guardian 12/11/2018

Assessing Third Party Campaigns

THE T&L GROUP

TUTORIAL GROUP ACTIVITY

CONTEXT

In recent years Australia has seen a considerable increase in the number of non-party organisations that are active campaigners during the election. Following a model commonly associated with the United States, a variety of campaign groups, non-government organisations, industry groups, and think tanks are raising money and using it to buy advertising, run online campaigns and even organise “on the ground”.

The motivations, professionalism and impact of these groups is contestable, with some clearly aimed at changing the outcome of the election through supporting and attacking particular campaigns, some interested in policy change via agenda setting, and some simply active in the election to meet the expectations of their members and donors.

Regardless of their actual impact (which has been contested), the presence of groups like GetUp! have led some politicians to question the legitimacy of these groups and accuse them of being “fronts” for their political rivals. In 2021 the Government, with support from the Opposition, introduced laws regulating “significant third parties” if they spend more than \$250,000 on electoral expenditure a year. This has new registration and reporting requirements for these organisations.

VARIATIONS

If the class has been tracking the election actively, this is a simple “one shot” activity. If not, divide the activity into parts: 1. Briefing for an environmental scan undertaken in the preceding week. 2. Activity discussion as outlined.

ACTIVITY

Form the class into groups of about 8, prevent one student dominating by rotating leadership for each stage.

Mapping stage:

1. Using a brainstorming tool (whiteboard, shared writing space) map out the non-party campaigns active during the election.
2. Flesh out the identified actors, articulating: (i) who are these groups, (ii) what are their interests, resources and campaigning techniques, (iii) where are they active, and (iv) what do their campaigns proport to achieve.

Evaluation stage:

3. Evaluate the various groups’: (i) strategy and likely effectiveness (considering both direct electoral and agenda setting activities), and (ii) transparency and accountability.

Reflection stage:

4. Debate the: (i) relative merits of the current regulatory approach to third party campaigns, (ii) the organisations’ democratic value (pros and cons) (theories of pluralism can be reprised here), and (iii) the actual capacity of groups to influence the outcome of the election.

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

- To recognise that elections are more than simply competitions between the two major party groups, but a “space” for wider political actors.
- To identify and assess the motivation of, and significance of, third party campaigns.
- Consider the value of these campaigns from competing perspectives on democratic participation.

READINGS

Ebony Bennett, et al, 2020, Third parties and think tanks, in Gauja et al (eds) *Morrison's Miracle: The 2019 Australian Federal Election*, ANU Press, <https://press.anu.edu.au/publications/morrison-miracle>

Sarah Cameron and Thomas Wynter, 2019, Campaign finance and perceptions of interest group influence in Australia, *Political Science*, 70(2): 169–188. DOI: 10.1080/00323187.2018.1562307

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Assessment Ideas

D. ATTACK ADS

#PoliticalAdvertising #PoliticalBehavior #FramingAnalysis

“Attack ads” and other forms of negative campaigning have a bad reputation: undermining democratic dialogue and civic discourse with vitriol and character assassination. However, the evidence of their impact is mixed, with some political scientists arguing that they do engage and inform some voters.

Collect a representative sample of negative advertisements and examine their content using a “framing analysis”. Ask the following questions: What do they focus on? To what extent do they fulfil a fatalistic view of being empty of content and highly personalised? Are policies discussed in these ads? What might a “low information voter” learn from them?

Defend or condemn negative advertising in the Australian electoral context

Relevant resources: Political Party YouTube channels

E. CONSPIRACY-MANIA?

#ConspiracyTheory #Populism

During the last decade concerns have been raised that we are increasing living in a “post-truth” era, when assertions replace facts. This has been seen as particularly prevalent in the political realm and has been associated with the rise of populist political figures. During the Covid-19 pandemic, an increased level of misinformation about the source, severity and response to the disease has been circulating, not just on the political fringe, but also within mainstream political parties in Australia.

Research essay question: To what extent have conspiracy theories and post-truth politics been expressed in the 2022 Australian federal Election? What impact has this had on the electoral process and the political outcome?

Relevant resource: Lee McIntyre, 2018, *Post-Truth*, MIT Press.

F. TIKTOK THE VOTE

#SocialMedia #TargetMarketing #StudentsTeachTheInstructor

Political candidates and parties are keen adopters of new media in their ongoing efforts to “out campaign” their political rivals. Today, with media channel proliferation, campaigners can find it difficult to reach and capture the attention of key voting groups, like “swing voters” and the young. In 2022 TikTok (Douyin in mainland China) is likely to be a lively place where parties, individual candidates, and third-party campaigns will be active. This raises questions about what are they using TikTok for and how effective these communications are.

Part 1: Research the political use of social media and TikTok and create a 5-item assessment tool to evaluate the use of TikTok in the election. Answer: Why did you include these 5 items?

Part 2: Find five TikTok creators using the app to campaign during the election and evaluate their content against the assessment tool you have developed. Who’s using the service well? Who isn’t? Why?

Teaching with the Australian Election Study

DR SARAH CAMERON

TUTORIAL ACTIVITY

CONTEXT

The Australian Election Study is the leading study of political attitudes and behaviour in Australia. The study has surveyed a representative sample of voters after every federal election since 1987.

This tutorial activity introduces students to the Australian Election Study interactive charts tool, which provides a resource for students to explore: how political behaviour and attitudes in Australia have varied over time, the differences in political behaviour and attitudes by age, gender, education level and vote choice, and areas of interest to students, with over 100 graphs grouped into three themes: elections and voting; politics and politicians; and policy issues.

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

Introduce students to the Australian Election Study interactive charts tool.

Understand how political attitudes in Australia vary between sub-groups of the population.

READINGS

Sarah Cameron and Ian McAllister, 2019, *The 2019 Australian Federal Election: Results from the Australian Election Study*.
www.australianelectionstudy.org

FURTHER RESOURCES

Australian Election Study questionnaire is available on Dataverse. Students may find this useful to refer to specific question wording:
<https://dataverse.ala.edu.au/datasets.xhtml?persistentId=doi:10.26193/KMAM3W>

EXAMPLE ACTIVITIES

The Australian Election Study interactive charts tool includes over 100 graphs: <https://australianelectionstudy.org/interactive-charts/> Below are example activities using just two of these graphs. These activities could be modified to reflect other topic areas of interest. Students could also explore the tool more generally to find areas of interest to them and unpack trends over time / across different sub-groups of the population.

Who is most interested in politics?

Ask students to consider which sub-groups of the population would be more / less interested in politics by: 1) age group; 2) gender; and 3) education level. Students can write down their hypotheses and discuss their reasoning.

Then to test their hypotheses students can follow these instructions:

- Go to the Australian Election Study interactive charts: <https://australianelectionstudy.org/interactive-charts/>
- Select 'Politics and Politicians' from the menu
- The top graph is 'interest in politics', explore the drop down menus within the chart to examine the trends by age, gender, and education level.
- Assess whether or not your hypotheses are supported by the data and discuss as a group.

How do voters evaluate the political leaders?

Ask students to discuss the popularity of political leaders in the 2019 election:

- How popular were different party leaders in the 2019 election?
- What role may leader popularity have played in the 2019 election result?
- Among what groups of the population was Scott Morrison more / less popular?

Students can then examine these questions further with data from the Australian Election Study:

- Go to the Australian Election Study interactive charts: <https://australianelectionstudy.org/interactive-charts/>
- Select 'Politics and Politicians' from the menu
- Scroll down to the section on 'The Political Leaders'. The first graph explores the average popularity of leaders in 2019 on a scale from 0 to 10 (click 'show data' for scale details).
- Explore the drop down menus within the chart to examine the trends by age, gender, education level, and vote.
- Drawing upon the data, discuss the role of leadership in the 2019 election, and any implications for party leadership in the 2022 election.

Handle with Care: What do the Opinion Polls Really Tell Us?

DR DIANA PERCHE

TUTORIAL ACTIVITY

BACKGROUND

The lead-up to every election will see widespread media coverage of public opinion polls measuring voter preferences and seeking to predict the election result.

The 2019 Federal Election outcome was notable for the surprise result, with a clear Coalition win despite published polls having predicted a narrow Labor lead through most of the previous electoral term, right up to election day. The public opinion pollsters had predicted the 2016 election result with much greater accuracy.

In the aftermath of the 2019 “disaster”, several major pollsters held internal reviews of their own practices, and a larger review was conducted by the peak body, the Association of Market and Social Research Organisations and the Statistical Society of Australia.

A new Australian Polling Council was established, with members agreeing to a code of conduct and providing information to journalists about how to interpret and report published polls. Some pollsters have stopped publishing regular polls or limited their frequency.

Observers pointed to many potential reasons for the failure of the polls, including speculation about voter behaviour (such as a late swing to the Coalition) or criticism of the pollsters’ methods.

For this Federal Election, the public polling will be much scrutinised. Will we learn the lessons of the 2019 failures?

ACTIVITY

Setup, one week before:

1. provide students with a background of some of the core elements of good survey design and reporting, such as question design, sampling, margin of error, reliability and validity,
2. Ask students to find a report in the mainstream media of a recent public opinion poll related to the election, and bring the link or report to class. (Suggest looking in the database Factiva, in order to find some examples behind paywalls).

In the tutorial:

Ask students to form small groups to examine the media reports of polls that they have found, and answer these discussion questions:

- Evaluate the media report of the poll. How reliable is it? What are the headline findings, and how accurately are they presented?
- Are the potential limitations of the poll disclosed?
- Can you find the full details of the poll online? Are there significant differences between the media coverage and the poll itself?
- Has the pollster followed the Australian Polling Council’s code of conduct, in your view?
- How confident are you of the reliability and validity of the poll?

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

- To identify potential flaws in polling methodology and media reporting of polling results.
- To critically consider the impact of public polling on media coverage of the election campaign, and on parties and election candidates.

READINGS

Darren Pennay, 2020, How can Australia reduce the risk of another “systemic polling failure”?, *The Conversation*, 18 November, <https://theconversation.com/how-can-australia-reduce-the-risk-of-another-systemic-polling-failure-149984>

Murray Goot, 2019, Did late deciders confound the polls? *Inside Story*, 19 September, <https://insidestory.org.au/did-late-deciders-confound-the-polls/>

Australian Polling Council website:

<https://www.australianpollingcouncil.com>

How “Clean” is Clean Energy?

DR MICHAEL DE PERCY

TUTORIAL ACTIVITY OR POLICY ANALYSIS ASSIGNMENT

CONTEXT

Addressing the threat of global warming presents a challenge to policymakers because no single jurisdiction can address the challenge in isolation. Global warming affects all nation-states but the day-to-day politics of doing so encompasses various levels of engagement, including the global, international, regional, national, municipal, and individual levels.

Many policy makers plan and operate within the jurisdiction of nation-states or international bodies such as the UN. However, this state-centric conception does not allow for the spaces in between nation-states where the potential for cooperation exists. The politics of environmentalism often conflicts with the politics of powerful lobby groups such as mining industry associations and trade unions that represent the interests of investors, employers, and employees. Further, the various levels of governance that connect the “top-down” institutional frameworks with the relevant “bottom-up” characteristics of lobby groups and voters are influenced by conceptions of the “science” of global warming and the various ideologies that manifest in strategies to address the threat.

The media has become increasingly polarised and political scientists examining policies to address global warming are not immune to this polarisation. In the meantime, energy sources are being touted as panaceas for global warming and the use of terms such as “clean energy” and “clean hydrogen” tend to mask the logistical, technological, and environmental challenges that such energy sources present. There is also an institutional perspective where our lifestyles rely upon “on demand” access to ingrained energy sources.

ACTIVITY

Students are to discuss the following questions. The aim is not to entertain any particular solution, but to comprehend the complexity of energy policy in light of carbon emissions reduction strategies and the information / misinformation that is used in formulating energy policy through political processes and ingrained habits of energy use.

- What ideologies are expressed through the various interest groups in Australia’s energy sector?
- What is “clean energy” and how do we know?
- Can renewable energy sources such as solar and wind meet Australia’s energy demands?
- What are the potential social, economic, political, environmental, diplomatic, and national security consequences if Australia stopped mining coal by 2030?
- What would replace coal? Is nuclear power a green alternative? Why/why not?
- Our current energy system relies on dispatchable (“on demand”) energy. To what extent can the system be reversed (i.e. dispatchable lifestyles), and what are the barriers?

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

- To develop a sense of Adam Smith’s (1759/1976, p. 227) “impartial and well-informed spectator” in assessing energy policy options.
- To consider complex policy problems in light of fragmented governance architectures and polarised opinions.

READINGS

International Energy Agency, 2019, *The Future of Hydrogen: Seizing Today’s Opportunities*, Report prepared by the IEA for the G20, Japan, <https://www.iea.org/reports/the-future-of-hydrogen>

Michael Mazengarb, 2021, UN chief demands Australia ends “deadly addiction” to coal by 2030, *Renew Economy*, 3 March, <https://reneweconomy.com.au/un-demands-rich-countries-end-deadly-addiction-to-coal-by-2030/>

Robin Smit et al. 2021, We must rapidly decarbonise road transport – but hydrogen’s not the answer, *The Conversation*, 19 November, <https://theconversation.com/we-must-rapidly-decarbonise-road-transport-but-hydrogens-not-the-answer-166830>

Adam Smith Institute, 2022, Adam Smith’s *The Theory of Moral Sentiments*, <https://www.adamsmith.org/the-theory-of-moral-sentiments>

Ideology and Elections: Left vs. Right?

DR DIANA PERCHE

TUTORIAL ACTIVITY AND DISCUSSION

BACKGROUND

Elections give voters a choice. For most voters, the candidates they can choose in their own electorate may not be familiar to them. Instead, they are likely to choose candidates based on the party they belong to, as the party affiliation gives an indication of the ideology that the candidate will follow. Party leaders play a critical role in articulating the party's values and priorities.

The two major parties in Australia, Labor and Liberal, are broadly associated with the left and right, respectively. In recent decades, the parties have converged ideologically, particularly on economic policy, as both have adopted strongly neoliberal agendas. However, in the 2019 election, a clear ideological divide was clear between the two parties as the Labor Party presented a policy platform which was more clearly aligned with social democratic values.

For the past two years, the COVID-19 pandemic has necessarily dominated the Coalition government's agenda, and the early stages of the government's response to the pandemic saw an apparent shift away from neoliberalism in favour of welfare support and direct government intervention. The pandemic continues, but attitudes are changing. What will be the ideological position that the major parties take to this election? Will there be a clear difference between the two, as in 2019?

ALTERNATIVE ACTIVITIES

1. Ask the students to look at the election materials on the websites of the major parties, and observe the ideological values reflected in their promoted policies.

2. Ask the students to observe the major parties' advertising materials on mainstream and social media and observe the ideological values reflected in them.

3. If undertaken late in the election, you can use the campaign launch speeches of the leaders.

ACTIVITY

Setup: This task assumes that students have been introduced to the key ideologies that are represented in Australian politics, and have an understanding of the ways in which political parties represent distinct ideological positions.

Divide the class into small groups, and ask half the class to focus on the speech by Liberal leader Scott Morrison, and the other half to examine the speech by Labor leader Anthony Albanese.

- Scott Morrison, 2021, *Speech, Sydney Institute Dinner*, 13 December, <https://www.pm.gov.au/media/remarks-sydney-institute-dinner>
- Anthony Albanese, 2022, *Australia's Best Days Are Ahead: Address to the National Press Club*, 25 January, <https://anthonyalbanese.com.au/media-centre/australias-best-days-are-ahead>

Answer the following questions in the small groups, and then discuss the findings with the whole class:

- Who is the audience, for the speech?
- What are the party's core values, as highlighted by the leader in the speech?
- How do the leaders explain the importance of these values?
- Identify the key areas of convergence and divergence between the two parties.
- What impact has the COVID-19 pandemic had on the ideological positions presented by the leaders? Have the party positions changed, since the 2019 election? Explain why or why not.

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

- Identify and compare core ideological values associated with the two major parties.
- Observe the ways in which these values are signposted and explained to audiences by the party leaders.

READINGS

Carol Johnson, 2019, *Ideology and populism in Anika Gaujaed al. (eds) Morrison's Miracle: The 2019 Australian Federal Election*, ANU Press <https://press.anu.edu.au/publications/morrison-miracle>

Nicholas Barry, 2021, *Australian political thought*, in Open Textbook Editorial Group, *Australian Politics and Policy*, Senior Edition, University of Sydney Press, <https://open.sydneyuniversitypress.com.au/9781743328415/9781743328415-australian-political-thought.html#Chapter>

USEFUL OPEN ACCESS RESOURCES

Australian Politics and Policy Open Textbook, Sydney University Press,
<https://open.sydneyuniversitypress.com.au/9781743326671.html>

Poll Bludger's *Electorate guide*: <https://www.pollbludger.net/fed2022/>

The Conversation, Australian Federal election 2022 articles,
<https://theconversation.com/au/topics/federal-election-2022-72598>

Electoral Maps for Google Earth – *the Tally Room*: <https://www.tallyroom.com.au/maps>

Antony Green's Election Blog: <https://antonygreen.com.au/>

Aggregated Australian Polling Data:
https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Opinion_polling_for_the_2022_Australian_federal_election

ABC *Vote Compass* (to be re-released for 2022): <https://votecompass.abc.net.au/>

Morrison's Miracle: The 2019 Australian Federal Election, Australian National University Press,
<https://press.anu.edu.au/publications/morrisons-miracle>

AEC 2019 *Election Pocketbook*: <https://education.aec.gov.au/teacher-resources/electoral-pocketbook.html>

ABOUT THE APSA TEACHING AND LEARNING GROUP

ASPAs is comprised of a diverse community of academics engaged in the production and distribution of knowledge. The Teaching and Learning Group exists to support the practice of teaching and learning in the higher educational context in Australia, encourage the development and distribution of evidence about best practice teaching methods to and from practitioners, and to encourage the creation of resources that can be employed in teaching and learning about politics, public policy, and international relations in Australia.

The group's focus on teaching praxis sees it engaged in:

- Fostering communication of evidence-based teaching approaches and methods
- Supporting educational research on relevant teaching and learning practices
- Running and promoting events on teaching and learning across Australia
- Developing and promoting open source and open-access educational resources

The Group encourages broad participation in its activities, avoiding attempts at regulating the teaching practices of peers in favour of promoting best practice, innovation in teaching, and sharing resources useful for the teaching of politics, policy, and international relations.

<https://www.facebook.com/groups/APSA.TL>

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