

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

A. Background

Australia, internationally known as kangaroo, west-influenced, developed, and federal parliamentary country. Australia with the GDP of US\$1,434 Trillion, ranked 6th world-largest pool of investment valued US\$2,1 Trillion, and ranked 14th world highest GDP in 2018, successfully made its path into a member of G20. The existence of Australia could not be underestimated, as one of the founding-members of APF (Asia-Pacific Forum) and Asian Development Bank in 1966, Australia actively exercised its influence in Asia Pacific Australia. Although the bigger economy cooperation held with US and Europe, neighboring with Asia countries, and of course south-east Asian countries, Australia ties its focus and development more with the Asia. Australia remain under British-kingdom since the last attempt to be republic in 1999 (ADFAT n.d.).

As glamorous as the international portrayal of their states, dynamics around the top leadership position, the Prime Minister, lately had been taken to next level with the so called "Killing Season." A documentary-series, "Killing Season" is an enthralling account of one of the most turbulent periods of Australian political history. It's a word which Australian Broadcasting Corporation used to describe leadership instability which costing the existing party leader and prime minister thrown from the position, injected with political ambitions, that costing the stability

of everything. The sequence of Killing Season took place during Kevin Rudd, Julia Gillard and Kevin Rudd administration, known as the leaders of Australian Labor Party. The "Killing Season", consequently shows a drama show which public like it or not witnessed. Perception, opinion, and comprehension of people towards the political elites shifted. Public saw the Canberra filled with vile people which only concerning their own ambitions. Political arena fairly changed, now one of the enemies are no longer the outside group but within. ALP was struggling to deliver positive impressions towards the public, the party popularity decline (The Killing Season 2013).

Foreign policy of Australia experienced quite transformation, between Rudd and Gillard administration, from a more open and active policies under Rudd to unclear and vague foreign policy by Julia, this of course unhealthy towards the continuity of policies which made by the government towards other countries. The already-cooperated countries will be aware and perhaps disappointed if the new leader didn't act collaboratively as the previous. Generally, many issues are at stakes if leader of the country shifted, specifically shifted by ambitions which vested with different interest. It came as a surprise, when the "Killing Season" repeats its cycle, but this time it is no longer within the Australian Labor Party, instead it happened within Liberal-National coalition, the opposition which operates during the time of Australian Labor Party ruling the government, the opposition which utilized the chaos of incumbent-party to tear the party down. In 2018 Australia political situation went into chaos-week whereas the prime minister of Australia, Malcolm

Turnbull spilled from the position of the prime minister. Therefore, the study aims to investigate why Malcolm Turnbull spilled from prime minister.

B. Research Question

Why Malcolm Turnbull Spilled from Prime Minister of Australia in 2018?

C. Theoretical Framework

Faction

Faction according to Cambridge Dictionary is phenomenon where within a group or community resides different attributes such interest, believe, ideology, etc. For instance, within a group there are people with different background and purpose, they tend to get along with those who offer similar background and purpose, though the group has common goal, these people are exist to drive the common goal into what they desire to. In more realistic evidence, within a political party, it's obvious that the members of a party usually possess distinct norm, value, belief and interest. Those who shared similarity in the matters tends to gather in order to set the conditions and outputs within the party towards to their preferences.

According to Zariski, “faction is any intra-party combination, clique, or grouping whose members share a sense of common identity and common purpose and are organized to act collectively—as a distinct bloc within the party – to achieve their goals” (Zariski 1960). Zariski defines faction as a group which has clique or similar orientation. The group distinct itself from others, and perform collective

action in order to achieve their goal. Thus, the criteria according to Zariski, a faction should contain similar orientation, distinctive identity, and stable collective action.

Meanwhile Belloni & Beller also given their definition about faction, which essentially not quite differs from Zariski but emphasizing on well-organized permanent grouping. Therefore, the indication of faction according to Belloni & Beller should contain a leadership, be it collective or personal, which collectively compete relatively consistent to dominate influence within the party. The term leadership in general accommodate iconic figure which represent a group, it becomes the face of a group and effectively direct the group according to the leader's own vision to achieve the group goal. Members within a group collaborate with their leader to engineer the step towards group objectives according to the guidelines which approved by group consensus.

In the other hand, Nicholas argued that faction at the very least implicitly brings conflicts, while it's obvious that faction is political group, faction according to Nicholas are not corporate groups, which the member recruited by the leader and they're recruited on diverse principles. Nicholas emphasizes on the nature of faction which undoubtedly brings conflicts due to diverse interest among each other. He also underlined the importance of a leadership in recruiting the members by establishing different kind of connections in attempt to utilize all possible ties to draw supporters into the faction. In doing so, the leader of the faction will exercise multiple way to attract people to join the faction (Nicholas 1977).

According to Zuckerman's (1975) political party faction is structured group within a political party which seeks, at a minimum, to control authoritative decision-making positions of the party. It's a 'structured group' that contains the establishment of patterns of behavior and interaction for the faction members over time. Thus, party factions are to be distinguished from groups that coalesce around a specific or temporarily limited issue and then it dissolved.

Formal faction is faction which acknowledged officially within a party, the faction also actively informative about their identity, some of the characteristic of formal faction includes, open structure, organizational legitimacy, and even paying membership fee. Thus, formal faction contains all of the formal indication, with clear information related to the goals, method and value which accessible to be examine by those who inclined to participate. Formal faction possess advantage that they are visible in the eye of public, in this context their very existence tends to be easier to get support compared to the informal faction, also with the formal recognition from the party any occurring conflict are manageable compared to informal one. (McAllister 1991, 211).

Informal faction is the opposite, which they are not officially acknowledged by the party. The informal faction moves through soft and underground mission to infiltrate or influence the party policies. In practice the informal faction requires important figure to carry out their interest within the party. If within "informal faction" is absence of important figure then the "informal faction" could only be

called tendency¹. In the case of informal faction, to identify if one is part of the group, public can see one's consistency towards policies within the party in amount of time which is not short. Later, any incurring problem will be difficult to handled completely (McAllister 1991, 212).

Factionalism

The very existence of faction within political party consequently triggers factionalism. A phenomenon where a competition between factions inside the party occurs; be it arranging party vision and objectives, rivalry process of party leaders and public officials, party policies within the government, party's maneuver on general election campaign, party's member recruitment or simply setting up a party's discourse direction for particular faction's interest. This argument supported by (Nicholson 1972, 292) that factionalism is "a political system (or subsystem) characterized by the informal competition of a plurality of amorphous segments (factions) operating within a cultural context which places a high value on diffuse and unrestrained personal power and led by an elite whose orientations are self-centered and instrumental." Thus, all of the political activities did nothing except that it was meant to favor towards particular faction's sake.

Concetta Vierravanti-Wells, one of the ministers under the Malcolm Turnbull administration once stated in the ABC interview that the Liberal party consist of 2 "wings" or factions, which are moderate and conservative (Drum,

¹ Tendency according to Rose (1967,37) as "a stable of set of attitudes rather than a stable set of politicians".

McGregor, and Farrow 2018, l. 14:21). Meanwhile Katharine Murphy², an editor of Australian Politics from The Guardian media confirm that the Liberal party have 2 factions, Liberal and Conservative. In the other hand Grant Wyeth³, an independent writer of The Diplomat and political analyst & researcher at the Asia Institute, University of Melbourne; also confirmed that liberal and conservative are the roots of the Liberal Party of Australia. Thus, clinically by the statement of the liberal party official, independent journalist of The Guardian media, and another researcher of University of Melbourne; the very existence of factions inside the Liberal party is approved. Within the subject of the study, the writer would like to rationalize that this factionalism dominantly contributes or influences in the spill of Malcolm Turnbull as the prime minister of Australia in 2018.

D. Hypothesis

Based on the background, research question, and theoretical framework, Malcolm Turnbull spilled from prime minister because of:

1. The political maneuver from the conservative faction, using Turnbull's leadership weaknesses against him.
2. The political crisis between Turnbull and the conservative faction on 2 left-signature issues, namely National Energy Guarantee and Same-sex Marriage.

² See <https://www.theguardian.com/profile/katharine-murphy>

³ See <https://thediplomat.com/authors/grant-wyeth/>

E. Research Objectives

To explain the cause of spill motion in 2018 that caused Malcolm Turnbull spilled from prime minister.

F. Research Methodology

In order to find, develop and to test the credibility of the study, a method required to assess everything that is related with the factors of Malcolm Turnbull's spill. There are some aspects that should be given more attention to optimize the scientific level of this study, these are type of research:

1. Type of Research

Descriptive research by describing the phenomena that occurs and to find out behind the Malcolm Turnbull spill 2018.

2. Type of Data

Secondary data type, obtained from various literature. The author uses qualitative data by describing and explaining problems that based on the facts and data related to spill of Malcolm Turnbull in 2018.

3. Data Collecting Method

Library review (library research), which how is to collect data by reviewing numbers of literatures related to the issues taken, forms of books, journals, documents, papers, newspapers and articles, documentaries and e-article (internet).

G. Research Limitations

To maintain the effectiveness of this thesis, the writer limits the scope of research. The study focused on the transition of prime minister of Australia (from Tony Abbott to Malcolm Turnbull) in 2015 by liberal party until the fall of the prime minister in 2018.

H. Writing Structure

In order to give easier overview for the reader, the writing structure provided as below:

- Chapter I** : **Background**
The chapter discuss related of the background of the study
- Chapter II** : **Australian Political Dynamic**
The chapter discuss about overall political dynamic of Australia, the “Killing Season” phenomenon.
- Chapter III** : **Malcolm Turnbull Spilled**
The chapter discuss about leadership crisis phenomena that struck Malcolm Turnbull as prime minister and Liberal party leader which later result in Turnbull’s spill.
- Chapter IV** : **The Reasons Behind Malcolm Turnbull Spill**
The chapter discuss about the causes of Turnbull’s spill, mainly factionalism and particularly the conservative revolt that against Turnbull; political misstep of Turnbull also mentioned to further explain why Turnbull’s stance was severely injured.
- Chapter V** : **Conclusion**
The chapter summarize all the answer behind the reason why Malcolm Turnbull spilled.