

Politics in the age of uncertainty

AUSTRALIAN POLITICAL STUDIES ASSOCIATION
2021 ANNUAL CONFERENCE – PROGRAM

HOSTED BY

Macquarie University

Monday 20 September – Wednesday 22 September

Faculty of Arts
Arts Precinct
25 Wally's Walk
Macquarie University
Sydney, New South Wales





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Conference introduction

Organising committee

Chair: Sung-Young Kim

Co-Chair: Ian Tregenza

Co-Chair: Francesco Stolfi

Co-Chair: Jumana Bayeh

Conference Secretary: Kelli-Lee Drake

Conference support assistants

Marilyn Kharkongor

Kate Manlik

Lucinda Boxall

Conor Keane

Vince Scappatura

Karim Pourhamzavi

Momoyo Sugimoto

Judging panel for the Postgraduate Conference Paper Prize 2021

Geoffrey Hawker

Ian Tregenza

Francesco Stolfi

Conference program

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Marketing Coordinator: Andrew Nghiem-Nguyen

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Faculty of Arts Project Manager: Felicity Hopkinson

Macquarie University Arts Precinct Project Lead: Erin Claringbold

Research stream leaders

Australian Politics: Stewart Jackson

Comparative Politics: Shaun Wilson

Environmental Politics: Jonathan Symons

Gender and Sexuality: Madi Day, Andy Farrell

Indigenous Politics: Bronwyn Carlson, Tristan Kennedy

International Political Economy: Elizabeth Thurbon

International Relations: Lavina Lee, Steve Wood, Jonathan Symons

Media Politics: Bronwyn Carlson

Policy and Governance: Francesco Stolfi

Political Theory: Ian Tregenza

Regional Studies: Lloyd Cox, Steve Wood, Jumana Bayeh

Religion and Politics: Marion Maddox

Teaching and Learning in Politics: Jumana Bayeh

Events management and promotion

Events Content and Protocol Manager: Dannielle Hennah

Events Content Specialist: Kylie Perry

Events Partner: Yoli Perez

Events Partner: Nicole Kornak

Welcome from the Executive Dean

I wish to extend a warm welcome to the more than 250 delegates attending the Australian Political Studies Association (APSA) 2021 Annual Conference. We are once again proud to host this important national event in partnership with APSA, a decade since the event was held at Macquarie University in 2009.

After almost two years dominated and disrupted by the COVID-19 pandemic, the hosting of the APSA conference is a timely opportunity for reflection. I want to acknowledge the challenges of the last two years on many fronts for members of the Australian scholarly community – many dimensions of work changing and a multitude of alterations to personal, professional and family life. At the same time, I remain impressed by just how adaptive the community has been in responding to the challenges of the pandemic in 2020 and 2021.

While many universities sought a return to a more ‘normal’ life earlier this year – welcoming students back onto campus – the current outbreaks across the nation, particularly in New South Wales, Victoria and Queensland, are a reminder that the pandemic continues to impact Australian universities, testing our response plans.




Macquarie University has responded to the challenges and the opportunities presented above. In the Faculty of Arts, many of our subject areas have been rewarded with increasingly stronger results in global rankings and a burgeoning number of successes in successive ARC rounds. More recently, the completion of the new Arts Precinct is an exciting project in the rich history of our faculty, and it represents a strong commitment and sizeable investment in the future of arts, humanities and social sciences at the University.

The faculty is committed to the continued flourishing of politics and international relations and to the social sciences more broadly in the new Macquarie School of Social Sciences. Indeed, the social sciences are more important than ever in our rapidly changing geo-political, geo-economic and geo-strategic landscape.

I hope the APSA conference provides a platform for political scientists in Australia and around the world to showcase their important research and to open up new connections. I also hope the conference provides an opportunity to deepen relationships between research leaders in the field and early career researchers, which is critical for the future growth and prosperity of any subject area. I am delighted to see the large participation of early career researchers in this year's conference.

On behalf of the University, I wish all delegates a rich and rewarding conference experience.

My warmest regards



Professor Martina Möllering
Executive Dean, Faculty of Arts



Message from the organising committee

Welcome to the APSA 2021 Annual Conference. We are privileged and excited to be hosting this national gathering more than a decade after the Discipline of Politics and International Relations first hosted the conference in 2009. APSA represents all areas of political studies research in Australia, and this is reflected in the diversity of the 60 panels and more than 250 registered participants.

The planning for the conference began in early 2019, and the opportunity to host the conference this year is all the more special given the unprecedented decision to cancel the conference in 2020. With the ongoing uncertainties in relation to the pandemic, this year's conference will be held fully online for the first time in APSA's history.

Coordinating a conference of this scale in the midst of a global pandemic has brought about unforeseen challenges, which have tested even the most well-prepared organisations. Yet, the many individuals at 'Team Macquarie' have worked with endless enthusiasm, even as new obstacles required us to constantly reassess our plans. We wish to express our heartfelt thanks to those individuals in the Discipline of Politics and International Relations, the Macquarie School of Social Sciences, the Faculty of Arts and Macquarie University. We also appreciate the support provided by our political science colleagues at the University of New South Wales and the University of Sydney.

We also wish to acknowledge the unwavering support from APSA and the financial support of our major sponsor, Routledge. Last but not least, a big 'thank you' to delegates for your patience, energy and promotion of the conference.

We are delighted to have Professor John Keane (University of Sydney) as the keynote speaker of APSA 2021. His keynote lecture will reflect upon the upheavals of contemporary politics in light of, but not limited to, COVID-19. Indeed, the theme for this year's conference is Politics in the Age of Uncertainty.

Genuine opportunities for productive intellectual discussion and exchange have become increasingly rare during the pandemic. We hope this year's APSA conference provides such a space.

With our best wishes

Sung-Young Kim, Kelli-Lee Drake, Ian Tregenza, Francesco Stolfi, Jumana Bayeh
Organising committee, APSA 2021 Annual Conference



Chair

Dr Sung-Young Kim



Co-Chair

Associate Professor Ian Tregenza



Co-Chair

Dr Jumana Bayeh



Co-Chair

Dr Francesco Stolfi

Conference Secretary: Kelli-Lee Drake

Discipline of Politics and International Relations, Macquarie School of Social Sciences

Welcome addresses and special events

Welcome address by the Vice-Chancellor

Professor S Bruce Dowton MB BS MD FACMG FRACP FAICD
Vice-Chancellor and President
Macquarie University

Monday 20 September, 9.15am – 9.30am AEST



Professor S Bruce Dowton was appointed Vice-Chancellor and President of Macquarie University in 2012. He is a paediatrician, clinical geneticist, molecular biologist, researcher and academic, and has served as a senior medical executive at a range of universities, healthcare institutions and consulting organisations. Before joining the University, he served as a paediatrician at the Massachusetts General Hospital for Children, and as Clinical Professor of Paediatrics at Harvard Medical School. Since joining Macquarie, Professor Dowton has led the development of a comprehensive strategy to secure the University's renown in education and discovery, based on a concept of 'service and engagement'.

Welcome address by the Executive Dean, Faculty of Arts

Professor Martina Möllering
Executive Dean, Faculty of Arts
Macquarie University

Monday 20 September, 9.30am – 9.45am AEST



Professor Martina Möllering is the Executive Dean of the Faculty of Arts at Macquarie University. An advocate for the important role arts and humanities plays in society, Professor Möllering is dedicated to transformative education and world-leading research. An internationally recognised expert in language studies and linguistics, Professor Möllering's research outputs have covered areas of second language acquisition, pragmatics and intercultural learning as well as computer-assisted language learning. She has presented a substantial number of papers in these fields at national and international conferences, and her research has been published in sole-authored and co-edited books, as well as in numerous book chapters and internationally recognised journals.

Address by the President of APSA

Professor Helen Sullivan
Dean, ANU College of Asia and the Pacific
Australian National University

How political studies can save the world (providing we can get out of our own way)

Monday 20 September, 9.45am – 10.45am AEST



Professor Helen Sullivan is a public policy scholar whose work explores the nature of state-society relationships, and their interaction with public policy systems. Her latest book (co-edited with Helen Dickinson and Hayley Henderson) is *The Palgrave Handbook of the Public Servant*, a major reference work published by Palgrave (2021). Helen is President of the Australian Political Studies Association (2020–21), a Fellow of the Higher Education Academy, and National Fellow of the Institute of Public Administration Australia. She currently serves as the Dean of the ANU College of Asia and the Pacific at the Australian National University.

Address by the Past President of APSA

Professor Rodney Smith
Professor of Australian Politics
University of Sydney

What can we learn about politics from contemporary Indigenous Australian novels?

Wednesday 22 September, 9.05am – 10am AEST



Professor Rodney Smith is Professor of Australian Politics in the Department of Government and International Relations at the University of Sydney. He began his academic career at the University of Queensland, where he studied government and public administration, and also taught at the University of New South Wales. His books include *Contemporary Australian Political Party Organisations* (co-edited, 2015), *From Carr to Keneally* (co-edited, 2012), *Against the Machines* (2006), *Keywords in Australian Politics* (co-authored, 2006), and *Australian Political Culture* (2001). He is the current editor of the *Australasian Parliamentary Review*.



Keynote Lecture

Professor John Keane
Professor of Politics
University of Sydney and WZB (Berlin)



Professor John Keane is Professor of Politics at the University of Sydney and the WZB (Berlin). He is renowned globally for his creative thinking about democracy and is the author of a number of distinguished books including *The Life and Death of Democracy* (2009); *When Trees Fall, Monkeys Scatter* (2017); and *The New Despotism* (2020). He was nominated for the 2021 Balzan Prize and the Holberg Prize for outstanding global contributions to the human sciences.

Thoughts on uncertainty

Tuesday 21 September, 9.15am – 10.45am AEST

There seems to be growing agreement among scholars and citizens that our planet and its peoples are presently living through an era of great political uncertainty. Global pestilence, species destruction, shrinking US power and the birth of a new Chinese global empire are among the forces said to be responsible for the rising tides of uncertainty. Some observers even speak of a great leap backwards, a regression towards catastrophe, a rebirth of the disquiet and fear that marked the world of the 1920s and 1930s. They are sure that the future will bring only threats, rather than new opportunities to live well. This lecture notes the seriousness of things, but it raises doubts about these pessimistic claims about a new age of uncertainty. Historical comparisons are needed. So is greater clarity about the role played by communicative abundance in inflating our collective sense of doom. And a paradox is noted: calamities do more than stir up questions about how best to classify and measure the experience of uncertainty. Definitions of uncertainty also become uncertain. This should be unsurprising, John Keane suggests. Only institutions and everyday experiences unaffected by the flow of time could be defined and lived with any certainty. The insight not only has rich implications for the way we think about politics and democracy and its vulnerability to morbid backlashes and yearnings for demagogues. Doubt can generate fresh ideas and positive practical breakthroughs. Disquiet and incertitude are fickle characters, moody challengers of hubris, capricious tormenters of all forms of human arrogance, including the dogmatic conviction that our world is now headed for hell.



APSA PhD Workshop

Sunday 19 September 2021, 10am – 4.30pm AEST

Registration is required in advance for this workshop.

After registering, you will receive a confirmation email containing information about joining the workshop.

For any questions, contact the APSA PhD Caucus Convenor, Sofia Ammassari, at sofia.ammassari@griffithuni.edu.au.

Registrations 10am – 10.15am	
Welcome by Professor Helen Sullivan, Dean, ANU College of Asia and the Pacific, Australian National University, and APSA President, 10.15am – 10.30am	
Session 1 10.30am – 11.30pm	Writing about your research in the media Dr Jenna Price, Australian National University Columnist for <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> and <i>The Canberra Times</i>
Break 11.30am – 11.45am	
Session 2 11.45am – 12.45pm	Beginning your teaching career Dr Alastair Stark and Dr Sebastian Kaempf, University of Queensland Creators of the podcast series <i>HigherEd Heroes</i>
Lunchbreak 12.45pm – 2pm	
Session 3 2pm – 3pm	How to review (and not be reviewer #2) Professor Nicole Curato, University of Canberra Editor at the <i>Australian Journal of Political Science</i>
Break 3pm – 3.15pm	
Session 4 3.15pm – 4.15pm	Getting a book contract for your PhD thesis Dr Peter Tangney, Flinders University Author of <i>Climate Adaptation Policy and Evidence</i> (Routledge)

Social media

Help promote the conference by using the hashtag **#AusPSA2021** and mentioning the following tags in your tweets:

Discipline of Politics and International Relations, Macquarie University: [@PoliticsandIRMQ](https://twitter.com/PoliticsandIRMQ)

Faculty of Arts, Macquarie University: [@mq_arts](https://twitter.com/mq_arts)

Macquarie University: [@Macquarie_Uni](https://twitter.com/Macquarie_Uni)

APSA: [@AusPSA](https://twitter.com/AusPSA)



APSA research groups and committee meetings

APSA AGM and Prize Ceremony

Wednesday 22 September, 3pm – 4.45pm AEST (open to all registered conference delegates)

Contact Lei Yu at arts-ssps-apsa@unimelb.edu.au

APSA Sub-Committees and Specialist Groups Conveners' Annual Meeting

Monday 20 September, 5pm – 6pm (closed to existing members only)

Contact Lei Yu at arts-ssps-apsa@unimelb.edu.au

Environmental Politics and Policy Standing Research Group

Tuesday 21 September, 12pm – 2.30pm AEST (closed to existing members only)

Contact Cassandra Star at cassandra.star@flinders.edu.au

Policy Studies Research Group

Wednesday 22 September, 2pm – 3pm AEST (open to all registered conference delegates)

Contact Joshua Newman at joshua.newman@monash.edu

Meeting agenda:

1. Chair's report
2. Ratification of organising committee 2021–2022
3. Expected activities for 2021–2022
4. Other business

Political Organisations and Participation

Wednesday 22 September, 12pm – 12.30pm AEST (closed to existing members only)

Contact Ariadne Vromen at Ariadne.Vromen@anu.edu.au

Teaching and Learning Group

Tuesday 21 September, 5pm AEST (open to all registered conference delegates) (Password: 715796)

Contact Diana Perche at diana.perche@unsw.edu.au

Meeting agenda:

1. Apologies
2. Report on activities from the co-chairs
 - a. Open textbook
 - b. Practitioner survey
 - c. Symposia
3. Nominations for new co-chairs
4. General discussion
5. Discussion of priorities for 2022

Women's Caucus

Monday 20 September, 12pm – 12.30pm AEST (closed to existing members only)

Contact Jill Sheppard at jill.sheppard@anu.edu.au

Conference schedule

Schedule at a glance

Day 1 – Monday 20 September 2021							
Welcome by MC, 9.05am							
Acknowledgement of Country, 9.10am – 9.15am							
Welcome address by Professor S Bruce Dowton, Vice-Chancellor and President, Macquarie University, 9.15am – 9.30am							
Welcome address by Professor Martina Möllering, Executive Dean, Faculty of Arts, 9.30am – 9.45am							
Address by Professor Helen Sullivan, APSA President, 9.45am – 10.45am							
Break 10.45am – 11.30am							
Session 1 11.30am – 1pm	International Relations	Australian Politics	Policy and Governance	Religion and Politics	International Relations	International Political Economy	Comparative Politics
Break 1pm – 1.30pm							
Session 2 1.30pm – 3pm	International Relations	Australian Politics	Policy and Governance	Environmental Politics	Regional Studies	International Political Economy	Comparative Politics
Break 3pm – 3.30pm							
Session 3 3.30pm – 5pm	International Relations	International Relations	Gender and Sexuality	Media Politics	Regional Studies	International Political Economy	Comparative Politics

Day 2 – Tuesday 21 September 2021							
Welcome to Day 2 by MC, 9am – 9.15am							
Keynote Lecture by Professor John Keane, 9.15am – 10.45am							
Break 10.45am – 11.30am							
Session 1 11.30am – 1pm	International Relations	Australian Politics	Policy and Governance	Teaching and Learning in Politics	Indigenous Politics	International Political Economy	Comparative Politics
Break 1pm – 1.30pm							
Session 2 1.30am – 3pm	International Relations	Australian Politics	Policy and Governance	Religion and Politics	Indigenous Politics	International Political Economy	Comparative Politics
Break 3pm – 3.30pm							
Session 3 3.30pm – 5pm	International Relations	Australian Politics	Policy and Governance	Political Theory	Indigenous Politics	International Political Economy	International Relations

Day 3 – Wednesday 22 September 2021							
Welcome to Day 3 by MC, 9am – 9.05am							
Address by Professor Rodney Smith, APSA Past President, 9.05am – 10am							
Break 10am – 10.30am							
Session 1 10.30am – 12pm	International Relations		Gender and Sexuality	Political Theory	Regional Studies	International Political Economy	International Relations
Break 12pm – 12.30pm							
Session 2 12.30pm – 2pm	International Relations	Australian Politics	Gender and Sexuality	Political Theory	Gender and Sexuality	International Relations	Comparative Politics
Break 2pm – 3pm							
APSA AGM and Prize Ceremony 3pm – 4.45pm							

Detailed schedule

Day 1 – Monday 20 September 2021

Time	Session	Speaker
9.05am – 9.10am	Welcome to Day 1	MC
9.10am – 9.15am	Acknowledgement of Country	
9.15am – 9.30am	Welcome address by Vice-Chancellor	Professor S Bruce Dowton Vice-Chancellor and President, Macquarie University
9.30am – 9.45am	Welcome address by Executive Dean	Professor Martina Möllering Executive Dean, Faculty of Arts, Macquarie University
9.45am – 10.45am	Address by APSA President	Professor Helen Sullivan Dean, ANU College of Asia and the Pacific, Australian National University
10.45am – 11.30am	Break	
11.30am – 1pm	Session 1	
	Stream: International Relations	
	Day 1/Session 1/Panel 1 – Glo-cal Social Movements	
	Chair: Anita Lacey , University of Melbourne	
	Silent citizens and hidden economies: Theorising gendered power relations in and about marketplaces in the Pacific	Anita Lacey , University of Melbourne Yvonne Underhill-Sem , University of Auckland
	Imperialism in Brazil: An operation of disruption	Flavia Julius , Macquarie University
	Against forgetting: Performing acts of dignity and accountability for migrant deaths in the Mediterranean	Richard Vogt , Australian National University
	Stream: Australian Politics	
	Day 1/Session 1/Panel 2 – Legislatures, MPs and Parties	
	Chair: Emanuela Savini , University of Technology Sydney	

The Australian Greens 2013–2020: A longitudinal study of party membership	Anika Gauja , University of Sydney Stewart Jackson , University of Sydney
Political alienation and council amalgamations: The effect of municipality size on levels of political efficacy and political participation	Joshua McDonnell , University of Western Australia
Against the void: Constituency work and connection building	Pandanus H Petter , Griffith University
Democratic innovations at the local level: How authorising environments shape practice	Emanuela Savini , University of Technology Sydney
Hansard, history and hysteria: How changes in discursive debate reveal politicians as party animals (not the good kind)	Mel Timpson , University of Canberra
Stream: Policy and Governance	
Day 1/Session 1/Panel 3 – The Politics of Immigration Policymaking	
Chair: Anna Boucher , University of Sydney	
The politics of immigration backlogs	Anna Boucher , University of Sydney Mireille Paquet , Concordia University
Explaining policy inaction on international student housing: How, why, and what role for theory?	Gaby Ramia , University of Sydney Emma Mitchell , University of Technology Sydney Alan Morris , University of Technology Sydney Catherine Hastings , University of Technology Sydney Shaun Wilson , Macquarie University
Are liberal democracies living up to their commitment to universalism in migrant selection?	Jake Davies , University of Sydney
The Turkish community in post-communist Central Europe: A diaspora in the making?	Lucie Tungul , Palacky University
Stream: Religion and Politics	
Day 1/Session 1/Panel 4 – Religion, Freedom and Rights	
Chair: Marion Maddox , Macquarie University	
Three discourses of religious freedom: How and why political talk about religious freedom in Australia has changed	Elenie Poulos , Macquarie University
Religion contested: Debates and evidence about religious identification and political influence in Australia	Kate Gleeson , Macquarie University Shaun Wilson , Macquarie University
Human right's philosophical crisis: Neo-colonialism and enforcement issues	Benjamin Cherry-Smith , University of Adelaide

School prayer, burqas and burqinis: Religion in the French and American public spheres	John Tate , University of Newcastle
Stream: International Relations	
Day 1/Session 1/Panel 5 – Norm Research in Theory and Practice	
Chair: Phil Orchard , University of Wollongong	
Interpretation and contestation	Phil Orchard , University of Wollongong Antje Wiener , University of Hamburg
Advancing rights through international norms of accountability? The case of the multilateral development banks	Susan Park , University of Sydney
Norms and the creation of transnational orders	Cecilia Jacob , Australian National University
Of norms and networks: Theorising the missing link	Jacqui True , Monash University
Stream: International Political Economy	
Day 1/Session 1/Panel 6 – The Political Power and Strategies of MNCs in Global Politics	
Chair: John Mikler , University of Sydney	
Global governance and participation in supply chains of critical minerals	Lian Sinclair , Murdoch University
Capitalism for all: Realising its liberal promise	John Mikler , University of Sydney Neil E Harrison , Sustainable Development Institute
Private sustainability governance and corporate power	Kate McDonald , University of Melbourne
Private authority as public authority: The 'weaponisation' of corporate power	Madison Cartwright , University of New South Wales Guillaume Beaumier , Universite Laval
Stream: Comparative Politics	
Day 1/Session 1/Panel 7 – Political Violence	
Chair: Francesco Veri , University of Canberra	
Does deliberative capacity suppress non-state actors' political violence?	Francesco Veri , University of Canberra
Election violence: A latent variable approach	Richard Frank , Australian National University
How prior military experiences shape future electoral violence behavior of leaders	Ernest Akuamoah , Australian National University

	Imagining the 'other': How does outgroup trust affect generalised trust?	Michael Kumove , Australian National University
1pm – 1.30pm	Break	
1.30pm – 3pm	Session 2	
	Stream: International Relations	
	Day 1/Session 2/Panel 1 – Global Threats and Diverse National Responses	
	Chair: Xuwan Ouyang , University of Queensland	
	India's foreign aid in South Asia	Supreeta Mehta , Khudiram Bose Central College
	COVID-19 as a national security threat: Implications for new age security	Pahi Saikia , Indian Institute of Technology Guwahati Yuvaraj Gogoi , Indian Institute of Technology Guwahati
	Wither globalisation in favour of vaccine nationalism and 'old alliances'?	Nina Markovic Khaze , Macquarie University Binoy Kampmark , Royal Melbourne Institute of Technology
	Stream: Australian Politics	
	Day 1/Session 2/Panel 2 – Elections, Voting and Reform	
	Chair: Richard Frank , Australian National University	
	Electoral reform in Western Australia: Recent developments	Martin Drum , University of Notre Dame John Phillimore , Curtin University Ben Reilly , University of Western Australia Sarah Murray , University of Western Australia
	Runoff elections under dissimilar procedures: A comparison of Australian and American elections	James D King , University of Wyoming
	Who votes early and why? Evidence from Australia	Ferran Martinez I Coma , Griffith University Rodney Smith , University of Sydney
	Technology, inequality and our evolving democratic culture: Is Australia at risk of democratic decline?	Shireen Morris , Macquarie University Andrew Ball , Accenture
	An argument for compulsory voting	Helen Pringle , University of South Wales
	Stream: Policy and Governance	
	Day 1/Session 2/Panel 3 – Youth, Social Movements and Political Change	
	Chair: Helen Berents , Queensland University of Technology	

Bringing generations together: Exploring intergenerational dialogue in youth-led social movements	Ingrid Valladares , Queensland University of Technology
'Power Shift': Young climate activists reconfiguring the political landscape	Philippa Collin , Western Sydney University
We move different down here: Social nonmovements and everyday politics in authoritarian contexts	Nyasha Mutongwizo , Queensland University of Technology
Raging bulls and fearless girls: 'The participatory condition' and changing political relations	Judith Bessant , Royal Melbourne Institute of Technology
Stream: Environmental Politics	
Day 1/Session 2/Panel 4 – Environmental Politics	
Chair: Jonathan Symons , Macquarie University	
The politics and governance of the Great Pacific Garbage Patch: Can marine plastic pollution be governed?	Babet De Groot , University of Sydney
Accountability as transformative learning? The role of NGOs in the convention on biological diversity	Ana Maria Ulloa , University of Sydney
Curtailing justice? The distribution of the benefits of rooftop solar energy in Australia	Sophie Adams , University of New South Wales Shanil Samarakoon , University of New South Wales
CITES and China: Protecting endangered marine species	Annie Song , University of Technology Sydney
Stream: Regional Studies (the Pacific)	
Day 1/Session 2/Panel 5 – The Future of Pacific Regionalism	
Chair: Joseph D Foukona , University of Hawaii	
Pacific regionalism and ecocide	Joseph D Foukona , University of Hawaii
Mapping the Pacific Islands security architecture	Joanne Wallis , University of Adelaide Henrietta McNeill , Australian National University Anna Powles , Massey University
The new Pacific diplomacy: A case study of West Papua	William B Waqavakatoga , University of the South Pacific
Stream: International Political Economy	
Day 1/Session 2/Panel 6 – The Political Power and Strategies of MNCs in Australian Politics	
Chair: Lian Sinclair , Murdoch University	

	Structural, ideational or instrumental power? How do Australia's major corporates exercise influence?	Lindy Edwards , University of New South Wales
	Change from within: The rise of Australian environmental, social and governance shareholder activism	Ainsley Elbra , University of Sydney
	Corporate capture in Australian environmental decision-making	Annica Schoo , Australian Conservation Foundation Mia Pepper , Mineral Policy Institute
Stream: Comparative Politics		
Day 1/Session 2/Panel 7 – Non- and Semi-Democratic Politics		
Chair: Tamas Wells , University of Melbourne		
	Myanmar's military coup and the meaning of democracy	Tamas Wells , University of Melbourne
	Adjudicating electoral disputes or judicializing politics? The Supreme Court of Ghana and the disputed 2012 presidential election	Christopher Appiah-Thompson , University of Newcastle Jim Jose , University of Newcastle
	Democratic decline without democratic breakdown: Explaining executive interference in accountability institutions	Bermond Scoggins , Australian National University
	An analysis of British 'transformation' policy on the Mahdi Movement in Sudan from 1900 to 1916	Jingwei Zhang , Macquarie University
	When the physician becomes the executioner: evidence from the People's Republic of China	Matthew P Robertson , Australian National University
3pm – 3.30pm	Break	
3.30pm – 5pm	Session 3	
	Stream: International Relations	
	Day 1/Session 3/Panel 1 – The Dynamics of Peace and Conflict	
	Chair: Tobias Ide , Murdoch University	
	Beyond tokenism: The youth, peace and security agenda and the meaningful inclusion of youth	Helen Berents , Queensland University of Technology
	Gendered continuums of peace and conflict	Jacqui True , Monash University
	Lost in space and out of time? Gender, spatiality and temporality in the vernacular of women international peacebuilders	Joanne Wallis , University of Adelaide

Hiroshima in the Anthropocene: Agency, temporality, and spatiality of peacebuilding	Dahlia Simangan , Hiroshima University
The role of gender in the climate-conflict nexus: 'Forgotten' variables, alternative securities and hidden power dimensions	Susanne Kozak , Monash University Tobias Ide , Murdoch University Marisa O Ensor , Georgetown University Virginie Le Masson , University College London
Stream: International Relations	
Day 1/Session 3/Panel 2 – Global Governance and International Law: Conservative and Liberal Approaches in International Relations	
Chair: Zoe Jay , University of Helsinki	
The cultural origins of legitimacy: International law as local knowledge	Zoe Jay , University of Helsinki
Global governance and the immanence of uncertainty	Yasar Bukan , York University
Is there a conservative approach to international relations? US foreign policy from Reagan to Trump	Brendon O'Connor , University of Sydney
Stream: Gender and Sexuality	
Day 1/Session 3/Panel 3 – Gender and Security	
Chair: Helen Pringle , University of New South Wales	
The throat: Vulnerability and gendered killing	Helen Pringle , University of New South Wales
Gender and diversity in security and intelligence: A review of the literature	Elise Stephenson , Griffith University
FAST and the furious: Gender quotas and election lawfare in Sāmoa	Kerryn Baker , Australian National University
Stream: Media Politics	
Day 1/Session 3/Panel 4 – Media Politics	
Chair: Blair Williams , Australian National University	
Fertile wives and barren spinsters: How the print media link women prime ministers to their families	Blair Williams , Australian National University
China's subculture online political participation in the 5G era	Hongyu An , Shanghai International Studies University
Green-collared crime or political protest? The framing of animal activism in public discourse	Serrin Rutledge-Prior , Australian National University
Stream: Regional Studies (Asia)	

Day 1/Session 3/Panel 5 – Dynamics of Government and Civil Society in Asia	
Chair: Lien Pham , University of Technology Sydney	
Protest through print and social media: A case study of citizens' responses to Vietnam's Special Administrative-Economic Zone Bill	Lien Pham , University of Technology Sydney
Explanation of the failure of the mass re-education campaign in Xinjiang and the consequent change in tactics applied to the forced assimilation of Uyghurs	Jan Svec , Prague University of Economics and Business
Regional refugee protection mechanism in ASEAN: A case-study of Rohingya crisis during 2017 and 2018	Thu T A Nguyen , Griffith University
Stream: International Political Economy	
Day 1/Session 3/Panel 6 – Public, Private and Voluntary Responses to the Climate Crisis and Environmental Challenges: Can we have a Just Transition?	
Chair: Susan Park , University of Sydney	
Blowing in the wind: How the market limits wind's role in decarbonisation	Oliver Summerfield-Ryan , University of Sydney Susan Park , University of Sydney
'Developing countries' and environmental treaty-making: Measuring provisions for differentiation and their effect on state behaviour	Deborah Barros Leal Farias , University of New South Wales Charles Roger , Institut Barcelona d'Estudis Internacionals
Rethinking civil society's normative power: Weak narrative on rights and justice in China's climate change activism	Fengshi Wu , University of New South Wales
Can urban mining really be an answer to renewables resource constraints?	Elizabeth Thurbon , University of New South Wales Sung-Young Kim , Macquarie University Hao Tan , University of Newcastle John A Mathews , Macquarie University
Stream: Comparative Politics	
Day 1/Session 3/Panel 7 – Electoral Politics	
Chair: Patrick Leslie , Australian National University	
Greening parties: The impact of internationalisation on political parties' emphasis on environmentalism	Nathan Fioritti , Monash University Robert Thomson , Monash University
Between spectacular and ordinary exits: Varieties of populist exits in comparative perspective (1966–2021)	Cleve Arquelles , Australian National University

	Election promises and government policies in the context of identity and valence politics: Evidence from India	Pankaj Adhikari , Monash University Sania Mariam , Indian Institute of Technology Bombay-Monash Academy Robert Thomson , Monash University
	Keeping election campaign promises when the unexpected happens	Freda Meng , Monash University Robert Thomson , Monash University
	Class, occupation and representation in the Australian Parliament	Patrick Leslie , Australian National University
End of Day 1		

Day 2 – Tuesday 21 September 2021

Time	Session	Speaker
9am – 9.15am	Welcome to Day 2	MC
9.15am – 10.45am	Keynote Lecture	Professor John Keane Professor of Politics, University of Sydney and WZB (Berlin)
10.45am – 11.30am	Break	
11.30am – 1pm	Session 1	
	Stream: International Relations	
	Day 2/Session 1/Panel 1 – Non-State Actors, Politics, Development and the Right to Make War Chair: Sarah G Phillips , University of Sydney	
	What is al-Qa'ida? Undoing the instrumentally rational terrorist	Sarah G Phillips , University of Sydney
	Questioning the moderation dichotomy: Understanding Hamas's continuing moderation	Martin Kear , University of Sydney
	Holding World Vision Ethiopia to account: How state regulation of INGOs enhances effectiveness and accountability	Marcel Kaba , University of Sydney
	Describing the warmaker: A research proposal	Ken Fraser , University of Sydney
	Stream: Australian Politics	

Day 2/Session 1/Panel 2 – Polarization, Political Parties and Political Participation	
Chair: Anika Gauja , University of Sydney	
Democracy in the bush	Anika Gauja , University of Sydney Darren Halpin , Australian National University Carolyn M. Hendriks , Australian National University Madison Cartwright , University of New South Wales
The role of political polarization on American and Australian trust and media use during the COVID-19 pandemic	Andrea Carson , La Trobe University Shaun Ratcliff , University of Sydney Leah Ruppner , University of Melbourne
Modern Labor's migration dilemma: Understanding the Federal Parliamentary Australian Labor Party and temporary migration	Emily Foley , La Trobe University
Conceptualising investor activism as political participation	Erin O'Brien , Queensland University of Technology Justine Coneybeer , Queensland University Martijn Boersma , University of Technology Sydney Alice Payne , Queensland University of Technology
Stream: Policy and Governance	
Day 2/Session 1/Panel 3 – Unintended Consequences of Reform in Australia and Europe	
Chair: Francesco Stolfi , Macquarie University	
More flexible, less productive? A meta-analysis of the firm-level evidence on the economic impact of dualist labor market reform in Europe	Francesco Stolfi , Macquarie University
Another world was possible: Contesting the (re-)residualisation of JobSeeker after COVID-19	Ben Spies-Butcher , Macquarie University Troy Henderson , University of Sydney Elise Klein , Australian National University Kirstin O'Connell , Macquarie University
Risk, rents and the politics of inequality: The unintended consequences of neoliberal social policy in Australia	Adam Stebbing , Macquarie University
Proposals for 'social and economic participation' and a National Autism Strategy: What's the problem represented to be?	Calista Castles , Queensland University of Technology
Stream: Teaching and Learning in Politics	
Day 2/Session 1/Panel 4 – Roundtable on Evaluating Gender and Racial Bias in Student Evaluations in Political Science	
Chair: Katharine Gelber , University of Queensland	

Gendered mundanities: Gender bias in student evaluations of teaching in political science	Katharine Gelber , University of Queensland Katie Brennan , University of Queensland David Duriesmith , University of Sheffield Ellyse Fenton , University of Queensland
Gender bias in student evaluations of teaching: 'Punish[ing] those who fail to do gender right'	Sophie Adams , University of New South Wales Laura Shepherd , University of Sydney Sheree Bekker , University of Bath Yanan Fan , University of New South Wales Tess Gordon , University of New South Wales
Gender and cultural bias in student evaluations: Why representation matters	Yanan Fan , University of New South Wales Laura Shepherd , University of Sydney Eve Slavich , University of New South Wales David Waters , University of New South Wales M. Stone , University of New South Wales
Sexism, racism, prejudice, and bias: A literature review and synthesis of research surrounding student evaluations of courses and teaching	Troy Heffernan , La Trobe University
Stream: Indigenous Politics	
Day 2/Session 1/Panel 5 – Political Violence in the Settler Colony	
Chair: Sarah Maddison , University of Melbourne	
State violence and the politics of refusal: Between the body and the academy	Sana Nakata , University of Melbourne
'The passing of the past that won't pass': A history of Palestinian resistance to settler colonial fragmentation	Jamal Nabulsi , University of Queensland
Incarceration, state violence and settler colonialism in Australia and Palestine	Kim Alley , University of Melbourne
Stream: International Political Economy	
Day 2/Session 1/Panel 6 – Between Conflict and Compromise in International Trade and Investment	
Chair: Deborah Barros Leal Farias , University of New South Wales	
State location in its regional politico-economic structure, trade openness, and anti-government movements	Tianjing Liao , University of Tennessee
Duration of targeted sanctions and the U.S.–China trade negotiation	Yi-hao Su , National Taiwan University
Economic relations between Turkey and the EU in times of political stalemate	Lukas Forytek , Prague University of Economics and Business

	The political economy of bilateral lending from emerging donors	Pippa Morgan , Duke Kunshan
	Stream: Comparative Politics	
	Day 2/Session 1/Panel 7 – Comparative Research: Methods and Applications	
	Chair: Michael de Percy , University of Canberra	
	Diagrammatical approaches to operationalising historical institutionalism as a method in comparative politics	Michael de Percy , University of Canberra Stephen J Darlington , Australian National University
	Varieties of aging in place: A comparative study of Hongkong, Macao, Guangzhou and Shenzhen in Southern China	Shiu-fai Wong , Macao Polytechnic Institute
	Putting regional politics into practice for local economic development in a contemporary Uganda: A participatory action research study of local government empowerment	Kizito Lubuulwa , University of Tasmania Fred Gale , University of Tasmania Joanna Vince , University of Tasmania
	five people power strategies used in Cities – lessons from Cape Town, implications for Australia	Amanda Tattersall , University of Sydney Kurt Iveson , University of Sydney
1pm – 1.30pm	Break	
1.30pm – 3pm	Session 2	
	Stream: International Relations	
	Day 2/Session 2/Panel 1 – Alliance Management: Small State Strategies in Southeast and South Asia	
	Chair: Guangyi Pan , University of New South Wales	
	The necessary silence: The evolution of Philippines and Vietnam’s policy of attention in asymmetric relationships	Guangyi Pan , University of New South Wales
	Temperaments of small states: A Southeast Asian research prospectus	Jan Vincent Galas , Chung-Ang University
	Sacrificing freedom for money? A case study of Taiwan’s response to China’s economic statecraft	Yifei Zhu , Freie Universität
	The US and alliances management in the Asia-Pacific during the early Cold War	Masahiko Nishimura , Kyoto University
	COVID-19 and strategic adjustments in South East Asia	Lavina Lee , Macquarie University
	Stream: Australian Politics	

Day 2/Session 2/Panel 2 – Values and Identities	
Chair: Jill Sheppard , Australian National University	
The burqa ban, Islamophobia, and the effects of racial 'othering' in Australian political discourses	Benafsha Askarzai , Queensland University of Technology
Australian politics and queer identity	Jack Hayes , Griffith University
Surviving underground: The Croatian Revolutionary Brotherhood and the durability of extremist movements	Alexander Lee , Australian National University
Uncovering 'Australian values': Evidence from three major studies	Jill Sheppard , Australian National University
How has Australian and British immigration selection policy been racialised over time?	Jake Davies , University of Sydney
Stream: Policy and Governance	
Day 2/Session 2/Panel 3 – Markets and Public Policy	
Chair: Richard Bell , University of Queensland	
Leeching public value? Questioning the surge to large commercial consulting firms in the era of the APS freeze	Michael Howard , University of Newcastle
Co-creating sustainable places: Exploring the role of place branding in sustainable regional development	Laura Ripoll González , Erasmus University Erik Hans Klijn , Erasmus University Jasper Eshui , Erasmus University
The quality of governance peace: Interrogating macro-level theory at the meso-level	Richard Bell , University of Queensland
Beyond retrenchment? Neoliberalism, 'social policy by other means' and the Australian welfare state	Adam Stebbing , Macquarie University
Stream: Religion and Politics	
Day 2/Session 2/Panel 4 – Religion, Power and Authority	
Chair: Elenie Poulos , Macquarie University	
Politics in the age of uncertainty: anti-intellectualism, expertise, and the technological agenda in Queensland politics, 1911–2011, a paper of local-regional relevance	Neville Buch , University of Queensland
Glocal dimensions of Catholic agency	Marianne Rozario , University of Notre Dame Christian Santos , University of Notre Dame

Democracy and political Islam: The case of Malaysia	Aliye Nur Kelesoglu , University of Malaya
The 2014 presidential election's impact and the decline of democracy during pandemic COVID-19 in Indonesia	Solikhah Yuliatiningtyas , Deakin University
Stream: Indigenous Politics	
Day 2/Session 2/Panel 5 – Settler Colonialism and Indigenous Politics	
Chair: Alissa Macoun , Queensland University of Technology	
Settler investments: Indigenous policy and the racial politics of Australian political imagination	Alissa Macoun , Queensland University of Technology
The politics of the Free Papua Movement: Indigenous anarchism on the periphery	Julian McKinlay King , University of Wollongong
(Un)mapping the political history of Indigenous governance and settler state relations	Sarah Maddison , University of Melbourne Nikkie Moodie , University of Melbourne Morgan Brigg , University of Queensland Elizabeth Strakosch , University of Melbourne Eleanor Benson , University of Melbourne
Stream: International Political Economy	
Day 2/Session 2/Panel 6 – States and Socioeconomic Transformations	
Chair: Fengshi Wu , University of New South Wales	
Who are the developmental states? A comparison of Japan, Korea and China	Fei Su , University of Sydney
Creating a renewables giant: The rise of national champions in India's solar sector	Simran Keshwani , Macquarie University
'Many Chinas?' Provincial Internationalization and Chinese foreign direct investment in Africa	Pippa Morgan , Duke Kunshan
A cleaner pathway to energy security: China's golden age of natural gas	Juan Chen , University of Sydney
The evolution of Chinese approach to peacebuilding: From state-focused to multi-faceted	Xuwan Ouyang , University of Queensland
Stream: Comparative Politics	
Day 2/Session 2/Panel 7 – Cross-Political Perspectives on Response and Impact of the COVID-19 in the South Pacific	
Chair: Géraldine Giraudeau , University of New Caledonia	

	The exercise of public health competence in New Caledonia	Mathias Chauchat , University of New Caledonia Charles Froger , University of New Caledonia
	Mitigation of covid crisis in the South Pacific: the example of Vanuatu	Michael B Krakat , University of the South Pacific
	PNG's response to COVID-19 and lessons learnt	Michael Kabuni , University of Papua New Guinea
	Using available legal framework: The examples of New Zealand and Australia	Géraldine Giraudeau , University of New Caledonia Narelle Bedford , Bond University
3pm – 3.30pm	Break	
3.30pm – 5pm	Session 3	
	Stream: International Relations	
	Day 2/Session 3/Panel 1 – Australian Foreign and Security Policy	
	Chair: David Hundt , Deakin University	
	Australia's response to the Belt and Road Initiative: The case of the Coral Sea Cable Project	David Hundt , Deakin University Simon Hewes , Deakin University
	Cybersecurity in the post-COVID-19 era: The five eyes and the competition with China for 5G technology	Karla Estephany Alvarado Romero , Mexican Centre of International Relations (CEMERI)
	Australia and ballistic missile defence: strategic uncertainty and uninvited participation in a new nuclear arms race	James Dwyer , University of Tasmania
	Is Australia a model or cautionary tale? A critical assessment of Australia's refugee externalization 'model' for Europe	Margherita Matera , University of Melbourne Tamara Tubakovic , University of Melbourne Philomena Murray , University of Melbourne
	Stream: Australian Politics	
	Day 2/Session 3/Panel 2 – Public Policy	
	Chair: Stewart Jackson , University of Sydney	
	Reconsidering the Senior Executive Service – strategic public management under pressure	Linda Colley , Central Queensland University Brian Head , University of Queensland Shelley Woods , Central Queensland University
	Quiet multiculturalism: Evaluating South Australian multicultural policies 2007–2017	Adam Ridley , Flinders University Rod Manwaring , Flinders University

	Anna Ziersch , Flinders University
When Newstart became JobSeeker: Explaining public attitudes to an unpopular benefit and prospects for post-COVID-2019 reform	Shaun Wilson , Macquarie University Shaun Ratcliff , University of Sydney
The gas-fired recovery: An analysis of political discourse used by the Morrison Government in response to COVID-19	Amanda Williams , Southern Cross University
Stream: Policy and Governance	
Day 2/Session 3/Panel 3 – Knowledge and Public Policy	
Chair: Kate Williams , University of Melbourne	
Drug court during COVID-19	Amanda Clarke , Drug Court Prosecutor Anne Broomfield , Office of the Director of Public Prosecutions (NSW)
The search for good intentions: How policy incentives change university educational outcomes	Mel Timpson , University of Canberra
Gap in the NAP: How India's National Action Plan against AMR reflects the Global Action Plan but misses key problems	Erik Baekkeskov , University of Melbourne Azad Singh Bali , Australian National University
Understanding hybridity in policy knowledge creation	Kate Williams , University of Melbourne
Stream: Political Theory	
Day 2/Session 3/Panel 4 – Free Speech, Democracy and the Public Sphere	
Chair: Heba Al Adway , Australian National University	
Reconsidering counterspeech: Speech-based responses to speech-based harms	Molly Murphy , University of Queensland
The Condorcet Jury Theorem and sincere voting in democracies	Syed Reza , Lahore University of Management Sciences
The 3Ds of dirty politics in Pakistan: Political contestation and its disavowal after the student union ban	Heba Al Adawy , Australian National University
Civil society in hybrid regimes: Trade union activism in post-2003 Iraq	Benjamin Isakhan , Deakin University and the University of Johannesburg
Stream: Indigenous Politics	
Day 2/Session 3/Panel 5 – Indigenous in Contemporary Australia	
Chair: Josephine Bourne , University of Queensland	
Towards a theory of Indigenous leadership in 21st century Australia	Josephine Bourne , University of Queensland

First Nations people in contemporary Australia: Present, but heard?	Friedel Marquardt , University of Canberra
We own you	Colin Herring , University of South Australia Tabitha Lean , University of South Australia
Stream: International Political Economy	
Day 2/Session 3/Panel 6 – Roundtable on Developmental Environmentalism in East Asia: Korea and China’s Efforts to Drive Clean Energy Transitions	
Chair: Sung-Young Kim , Macquarie University	
Authoritarian environmentalism vs developmental environmentalism? The role of the state in East Asia’s greening strategies	Sung-Young Kim , Macquarie University
More ‘creative’ than ‘destructive’? Synthesising Schumpeterian and developmental state perspectives to explain mixed results in Korea’s clean energy shift	Elizabeth Thurbon , University of New South Wales
Leapfrogging to technology leadership: China’s power grid and the UHV surge	John A Mathews , Macquarie University
Overcoming incumbent resistance to the clean energy shift: How local governments act as change agents in coal power station closures in China	Hao Tan , University of Newcastle
Stream: International Relations	
Day 2/Session 3/Panel 7 – Russia’s Foreign, Defence, Trade and Climate Change Policy in the 21st Century: What to Expect from Russia in the Near Future and its Relations with the West	
Chair: Nina Markovic Khaze , Macquarie University	
Antarctica to run red? Russian strategic interests in the South Pole	Elizabeth Buchanan , Deakin University
Domestic policymaking on climate change in Russia	Ellie Martus , Griffith University
Paradigm shift(s) in US national security: implications for US-Russia relations	Gorana Grgic , University of Sydney
Enforcing the red lines: Russia’s security and defence policy prior to 2024	Alexey Muraviev , Curtin University
Post-sanctions Russia: Analysing diplomatic toolbox to explain the u-turn in Russia’s foreign and trade relations since 2014: Where to next?	Nina Markovic Khaze , Macquarie University
End of Day 2	

Day 3 – Wednesday 22 September 2021

Time	Session	Speaker
9am – 9.05am	Welcome to Day 3	MC
9.05am – 10am	Address by the APSA Past President.	Professor Rodney Smith Professor of Australian Politics, University of Sydney
10am – 10.30am	Break	
10.30am – 12pm	Session 1	
	Stream: International Relations	
	Day 3/Session 1/Panel 1 – Rethinking Australian–Italian Relations in the 21st Century Chair: Gabriele Abbondanza , University of Sydney	
	Assessing the scope for cooperation between Australia and Italy in the 21st century	Gabriele Abbondanza , University of Sydney
	21st century populism in Australia and in Italy: A comparative analysis	Francesco Bailo , University of Technology Sydney Kurt Sengul , University of Newcastle
	Italians in 21st century Australia	Simone Battiston , Swinburne University of Technology
	Day 3/Session 1/Panel 2 – No Panel	
	Stream: Gender and Sexuality	
	Day 3/Session 1/Panel 3 – Border and Barriers to Justice Chair: Eda Gunaydin , University of Sydney	
	Translating the international into the domestic – the (gendered) role of amici curiae as messengers in migrant worker cases	Eda Gunaydin , University of Sydney Anne Boucher , University of Sydney
	Refugee women and Uganda’s development: Participation and barriers	Beatrice Alupo , Griffith University
	Embracing/queering uncertainty in international criminal justice: Reflections on the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY)	Caitlin R Biddolph , University of New South Wales
	Stream: Political Theory	
	Day 3/Session 1/Panel 4 – Equality, Sovereignty and Non-Violence	

Chair: Ian Tregenza , Macquarie University	
Civic (in)equality and civil unrest: A Hobbesian analysis	Thomas A Corbin , Macquarie University
Schmitt v. Neumann: Towards a jurisprudence of cosmopolitan self-determination	Juan Caceres , University of the Sunshine Coast Shannon Brinca , University of the Sunshine Coast
Understanding nonviolent defence	Chris Brown , Swinburne University of Technology
Universities and open expression: Sensemaking, free speech, and inclusion	Kristine L Bowman , Michigan State University
Stream: Regional Studies (Europe)	
Day 3/Session 1/Panel 5 – Roundtable on The State of the Discipline: Contemporary Issues in European Studies Education and Research in Australia	
Chair: Gorana Grgic , University of Sydney	
Europe as a security partner in the Indo-Pacific? Opportunities and challenges in teaching EU security and foreign policy in Australia	Gorana Grgic , University of Sydney
Studying Europe: Teaching, learning and research at UWA	Alexandra Ludewig , University of Western Australia
How perceptions change: Discussing Australian parliamentary views on the European Union since 2001	Nina Markovic Khaze , Macquarie University
Stream: International Political Economy	
Day 3/Session 1/Panel 6 – Global Pressures/Domestic Responses in Asia	
Chair: Francesco Stolfi , Macquarie University	
Developmentalism in an era of disruption	Diane Colman , Western Sydney University
Developmental state in disguise versus dual developmental state: Comparing the role of government in the electric vehicle market between the United States and China	Shiu-fai Wong , Macao Polytechnic Institute
The liberalization of professions in Thailand, 2005–2020	Francesco Stolfi , Macquarie University Boonwara Sumano , Thailand Development Research Institute
Stream: International Relations	
Day 3/Session 1/Panel 7 – Feminist Fieldwork in COVID-Times	
Chair: Helen Berents , Queensland University of Technology	

	Insider/outsider: Managing the politics of interpersonal field research in our Covid-shaped world	Nicole George , Australian National University Outi Donovan , Griffith University
	Feminist researching in Myanmar amidst COVID-19 and the coup	Phyu Phyu Oo , Griffith University
	Sustaining long-term research relationships with women workers and activists in global supply chains: on choosing not to research during a global pandemic	Samanthi J Gunawardana , Monash University
	Feminist dilemmas in youth-to-youth research: Collaborations amidst corona, coups and other crises	Caitlin Mollica , Queensland University of Technology Helen Berents , Queensland University of Technology
	There and back again: Feminist researchers and the plague	Maria Tanyag , Australian National University
12pm – 12.30pm	Break	
12.30pm – 2pm	Session 2	
	Stream: International Relations	
	Day 3/Session 2/Panel 1 – Contemporary Europe Chair: Margherita Matera , University of Melbourne	
	Politics of identity and the East Ukrainian conflict	Tobias Hansson , Macquarie University
	Corporate influence over EU trade policy: A Gramscian approach	Nathaniel R Sgambellone , Monash University
	The delegation of discretionary power in international agreements: Evidence from ASEAN and the EU	Hung Pham , Monash University Robert Thomson , Monash University René Torenvlied , University of Twente
	Reflections on the historical turn and the role of 'the enlightenment' in the discipline of international relations	Juliette Gout , University of Queensland
	Stream: Australian Politics	
	Day 3/Session 2/Panel 2 – Political Parties: Members, Supporters and Leadership Chair: Anika Gauja , University of Sydney	
	Australian party youth wings as political boys clubs	Duncan McDonnell , Griffith University
	Gender and party membership in the Bharatiya Janata Party	Sofia Ammassari , Griffith University

Labour compared in the UK, Australia and New Zealand: Understanding political change under Anthony Albanese, Keir Starmer and Jacinda Ardern	Rob Manwaring , Flinders University Charlie Lee , Flinders University Grant Duncan , Massey University
Stream: Gender and Sexuality	
Day 3/Session 2/Panel 3 – Gender Equity Chair: Carol Johnson , University of Adelaide	
Future challenges for Australian gender equality policy in an uncertain, post-Covid world	Carol Johnson , University of Adelaide
Gendered barriers to accessing individualised funding schemes: Women’s experiences with the NDIS	Sophie Yates , University of New South Wales Eleanor Malbon , University of New South Wales Gemma Carey , University of New South Wales
From the labyrinth to river: The barriers to women’s leadership in the higher education sector in Vietnam	Jane Phuong Pham , University of Canberra
Hate speech against women online: Concepts and countermeasures	Louise V Richardson-Self , University of Tasmania
#EnoughIsEnough: A resurgence of women’s voices and the feminist movement	Angelika Heurich , University of New England
Stream: Political Theory	
Day 3/Session 2/Panel 4 – Political Theory, Intuitions and the Nation Chair: Edmund Handby , Australian National University	
The validity of intuitions in contemporary political theory	Edmund Handby , Australian National University
Political theory and uncertainty: The case for a ‘realist’ reset of pedagogical practices	Luke Hennessy , Australian National University
Liberalism, character, and the creation of the Australian Commonwealth, c.1870–1914	Ian Tregenza , Macquarie University Mark Hearn , Macquarie University
Stream: Gender and Sexuality	
Day 3/Session 2/Panel 5 – Decolonial Feminism Chair: Ybiskay Gonzalez , University of Newcastle	
Decolonising methodologies and/as enfolded reason	Sara C Motta , University of Newcastle
New precarities, new resistances: Visibilising the decolonial protagonists of the #feministstrike	Annette Maguire , University of Newcastle

	Popular sovereignty and (non)recognition in Venezuela: A decolonial feminist critique	Ybiskay Gonzalez , University of Newcastle
	Stream: International Relations	
	Day 3/Session 2/Panel 6 – Climate Change and Conflict in World Politics Chair: Annie Song , University of Technology Sydney	
	Seafood trade with China: Cases from Southeast Asia and beyond	Annie Song , University of Technology Sydney Michael Fabinyi , University of Technology Sydney Kate Barclay , University of Technology Sydney
	Disasters as a driver of conflict de-escalation	Tobias Ide , Murdoch University
	Global policy-making around carbon dioxide removal	Jonathan Symons , Macquarie University Bryan Maher , Macquarie University
	Stream: Comparative Politics	
	Day 3/Session 2/Panel 7 – Political Narratives/Political Reality Chair: Thomas B Ron , University of York	
	Corbyn and Anti-Semitism: A Critical Blindspot	Thomas B Ron , University of York
	Normalising Islamophobia: One Nation, the Liberal Party of Australia and the current othering discourse	Heela Popal , University of Sydney
	Narrating success and failure: Framing Boris Johnson's pandemic responses 2020–21	Ben Wellings , Monash University Matteo Bonotti , Monash University Michael Mintrom , Monash University Maria Rost Rublee , Monash University Steven Zech , Monash University
	Australian expatriates' reactions to the government's handling of the COVID-19 pandemic	Anna Larson , University of Adelaide
	Ukrainian schooling of historical narratives during times of revolt	Anastasiya Byesyedina , University of Sydney
2pm – 3pm	Break	
3pm – 4.45pm	APSA AGM and Prize Ceremony	
End of the APSA 2021 Annual Conference		

List of abstracts (by day/session/panel)

Day 1/Session 1/Panel 1 – Glo-cal Social Movements

Stream: International Relations

Silent citizens and hidden economies: Theorising gendered power relations in and about marketplaces in the Pacific

Anita Lacey, University of Melbourne; Yvonne Underhill-Sem University of Auckland

There has been a recent upsurge in attention given to marketplaces in countries as diverse as Liberia and Papua New Guinea. Mostly this interest manifests itself in new buildings to replace the chaotic, informal and insecure spaces of marketplaces of the distant and contemporary past. Despite the apparent quick wins and photo opportunities that come with new buildings, simplistic technical or infrastructural solutions do not address the gendered power relationships which underpin daily marketplace culture (Underhill-Sem et al 2014). These sites and the vendors who operate in them, as well as their customers, will also be targets of new interventions in a pandemic environment. The gendered power relations that operate in and shape marketplaces are increasingly recognised in studies that analyse women's political participation. Building on previous empirical and theoretical work (Lacey and Underhill-Sem 2018), in this paper we assemble our conceptual thinking to allow for women and girl vendors to be understood as economic and political citizens as well as dynamic and opportunistic entrepreneurs.

Imperialism in Brazil: An operation of disruption

Flavia Julius, Macquarie University

Far-right Jair Bolsonaro became President of Brazil in 2019, after winning a polarized election where leftist Luis Inacio Lula da Silva, who was leading in the polls, was illegally imprisoned and forbidden to compete. The mechanism responsible for Lula's ordeal was Operation Car Wash, a judicial inquiry which utilized corruption as a scapegoat, camouflaging its real goals: the removal of the Workers Party from power, and the dismantling of massive Brazilian companies like Petrobras, the state-owned oil firm. Ongoing investigation has been uncovering the dynamics of US imperialism in Car Wash, with a possible reason being the weakening of Brazil's position in the BRICS. Before the Operation commenced in 2014, Brazil was the world's 7th largest economy, it is currently 12th. Bolsonaro's campaign was based on hate speech, which was overlooked by the status quo because it accompanied neoliberal promises. Under Bolsonaro, Brazil has dived into environmental destruction, religious conservatism, subservience to the US and total denial of the pandemic. The history of imperialism in Brazil is comprehensive. The situation that the country occupies now cannot be attributed solely to external forces, however this paper demonstrates that imperialism has collaborated with Car Wash and contributed to the rise of Bolsonaro.

Against forgetting: Performing acts of dignity and accountability for migrant deaths in the Mediterranean

Richard Vogt, Australian National University

From the activist work of Alarm Phone, United Against Racism's refugee death list, the Centre for Political Beauty's controversial political performances, through to Cristina Cattaneo's crusade to name and (in doing so) rehumanise dead migrant bodies with forensics. The ways in which the victims of the Mediterranean borderzone are being exhumed in a political environment that has fought hard to make them invisible are myriad.

However, the basis of much of this activism is also as an attack on the hypocrisy of European declarations of post-World War II human rights and international law. Which is understandable: it is rarely borders themselves that kill but their guardians. The European Union continues to flaunt postwar norms and it aids the repression and torture of those appealing to it for help. This research project aims to uncover how and why some groups still try to name the uninvited dead, through a minimisation of quantitative analysis and a concentration on the responsibility toward lost lives. Does there need to be less of a focus on migrant death by data and more on the dignity that European authorities have stripped from those looking to Europe for refuge?

Day 1/Session 1/Panel 2 – Legislatures, MPs and Parties

The Australian Greens 2013–2020: A longitudinal study of party membership

Anika Gauja, University of Sydney; Stewart Jackson, University of Sydney

The antecedents of the Australian Greens are recognised as one of the world's first Green parties stretch back to 1972. It took a further 20 years for those first green shoots to mature into a more coherent entity, and another decade for the party to finally become a single, unified party active in all states and territories. As such the party has been through several incarnations and has seen fluctuations and changes in its structure and membership over time. This paper compares the characteristics and attitudes of the party's membership over time (2013-2020) using data from two party member surveys conducted with the Australian Greens. These surveys enable a longitudinal analysis of what the membership of the party looks like, their attitudes to politics and party processes, and most of all what they see as priorities, in terms of both policy and party structure/direction. The results suggest that the Greens are now a relatively mature political force. With sustained parliamentary representation has also come stability in party membership, both in terms of overall numbers and characteristics. This suggests that while the party is now an institutionalised actor in Australian politics, it also signifies challenges to the party in terms of future expansion beyond an existing and well-defined support base.

Political alienation and council amalgamations: The effect of municipality size on levels of political efficacy and political participation

Joshua McDonnell, University of Western Australia

In Australia, as in many other liberal-democratic states, citizens are said to be growing ever more alienated from politics and the democratic process. An extensive literature has been dedicated to diagnosing this trend, with a host of plausible explanations offered. Concerned with the way in which institutions shape political attitudes and behaviours, this study concentrates on one, almost wholly overlooked explanation for political alienation: local government amalgamation and the growth in municipality population size. Local government has long been seen as a training ground for democracy. Its human scale means that citizens can contribute effectively and meaningfully to decisions that affect their lives. However, as a result of state government-led programmes of forced amalgamation, implemented in successive fashion over the past three decades, the number of municipalities across Australia has fallen by a third, while their average population size has more than doubled. Drawing upon data from a recent survey of over 500 citizens from across the Adelaide and Perth metropolitan areas, this presentation will consider the link between municipality size, political efficacy, and political participation. It asks the question: are citizens of larger municipalities more politically alienated than citizens of smaller municipalities?

Against the void: Constituency work and connection building

Pandanus H Petter, Griffith University

In many established democracies political parties dominate electoral politics, while exhibiting a relatively diminished capacity to encapsulate and mobilise the support of distinct social cleavages. According to Peter Mair's much cited 2013 book 'Ruling the Void' party representation has become hollowed out, and parties and society have withdrawn from zones of mutual engagement. However, a significant body of literature shows that Members of Parliament (MPs) have increased the time and resources they devote to working within their electorates. This paper explores how MPs, as representatives of their parties, engage with their constituencies, and whether this work takes the disconnected, elitist form expected in a political 'void'. To do so, I interviewed 21.5 percent of the Australian state legislature of Queensland to understand how they use their time and resources. Interviews were analysed using a theoretical framework which sees constituency work as potentially helping MPs to build policy, service, symbolic and partisan connections with citizens. I find that though parties no longer structure political space as they once did, the MPs interviewed are attempting to step into the breach. This paper therefore contributes by highlighting the importance of studying constituency work alongside other forms of engagement to understand contemporary party-society relationships.

Democratic innovations at the local level: How authorising environments shape practice

Emanuela Savini, University of Technology Sydney

Growing dissatisfaction with representative democracy has seen the emergence of various democratic innovations that aim to increase democratic renewal and citizen-led decision-making. Related to this, reforms to the Victorian Local

Government Act now require councils to engage with their local communities in 'deliberative engagement practices' for their long-term strategic planning.

This paper argues that a focus on how authorising environments influence deliberative engagement practices is useful as it has a significant effect on how deliberative processes are designed, and ultimately, whether they inform decision-making. This acknowledges that democratic innovations are not divorced from, or oppositional to representative democracy; instead, they have a symbiotic relationship. In particular, how political actors interpret and conceptualise the benefits of engaging with these practices is instrumental. Whether political actors engage for the normative value of improving democracy, the epistemic value of collecting information that will lead to better quality decisions or potentially see strategic value in sharing risk and mitigating dissent around more contentious policy issues is relevant to understanding how the practice is realised. Framed within the context of the legislative changes to the Victorian Local Government Act, this paper explores how authorising environments engage with, and fundamentally shape, deliberative engagement practices.

Hansard, history and hysteria: How changes in discursive debate reveal politicians as party animals (not the good kind)

Mel Timpson, University of Canberra

In 1988 the Australian Parliament passed legislation that substantially altered the landscape of higher education. In 2014 an attempt was made to pass another large alteration to higher education policy, but it failed. Research using analysis of the Hansard from the House of Representatives from these time periods shows how the nature of Parliamentary debate has altered. What was once a discursive practise (sort of) has become a passing parade of rhetoric. This presentation on this research will discuss the value of Hansard analysis as a data source, as well as the pitfalls. It also present findings in relation to the content of the debate on higher education from both time periods showing what was of concern in 1988 was still current in 2014. Lastly, it will provide insights into how the nature of the debate reveals the true party politics of today compared to that of 1988.

Day 1/Session 1/Panel 3 – The Politics of Immigration Policymaking

Stream: Policy and Governance

The politics of immigration backlogs

Anna Boucher, University of Sydney; Mireille Paquet, Concordia University

Immigration backlogs comprise the administrative queues of visa applicants awaiting determination for immigration entry purposes. These queues can be short and efficacious or long and unwieldy, sometimes even multi-decade in length. Immigration backlogs are important within the administration of immigration systems because they act as an overlay in addition to immigration levels or targets, that influence who actually enters a country and the speed at which such entry is permitted. Backlogs can also shape the priorities, processes and resources of immigration departments. Government decisions about the administration of backlogs can be procedural or political, if either stakeholders or government decide to draw attention to this outcome or a decision to delay or even retract processing resources. In particular, ethnic minorities and family members most affected by non-processing of visas are often key complainants about backlogs. This paper will look at the politics of immigration backlogs in Australia and Canada over the last decade. In addition to describing these backlogs and their outcomes for each immigration system, our analysis will compare the conditions that lead to the politicisation of some backlogs and the more procedural management of others. In doing so, it contributes to the scholarship on policy failures, non-decision-making and to the politization of executive policy-making within the immigration policy domain.

Explaining policy inaction on international student housing: How, why, and what role for theory?

Gaby Ramia, University of Sydney; Emma Mitchell, University of Technology Sydney; Alan Morris, University of Technology Sydney; Catherine Hastings, University of Technology Sydney; Shaun Wilson, Macquarie University

International students pay full fees for education and allied services and most have to find their own way in Australia's housing market. International student housing is mentioned in regulatory instruments, but is absent from policy. This paper will apply McConnell and 't Hart's (2019) theoretical model on 'policy inaction' to seek an explanation for the failure to provide subsidised housing for international students. In doing so it will explore the 'kind' of inaction that characterises

the housing sector. It assesses whether the inaction is 'calculated', 'ideological', 'imposed', 'reluctant', or 'inadvertent'. It also seeks to explain who or what drives the inaction, and in particular whether it is 'individuals', 'public organisations', 'governments', or 'networks'. The perspectives of twenty key stakeholders, gained through semi-structured interviews, will be utilised and analysed using a combination of data-driven and concept-driven coding. Lessons for policy reform are offered and implications for policy theory are discussed.

Are liberal democracies living up to their commitment to universalism in migrant selection?

Jake Davies, University of Sydney

Since the early 1970s, when overtly discriminatory immigration policies such as the 'white Australia policy' were officially ended, policymakers in liberal democratic states have formally committed to a principle of non-discrimination in selecting migrants; distinguishing between migrants on the basis of immutable characteristics such as race, national origin, and gender has been shunned. This paper considers whether policymakers are living up to this egalitarian commitment, particularly focusing on the question of whether national and racial discrimination (which are closely intertwined) continues to this day. The paper asks whether policymakers can achieve universalism in migrant selection through simply refraining from active discrimination based on immutable characteristics, or whether a more interventionist, 'race-conscious' approach is better suited to meeting their professed egalitarian goals. This paper surveys immigration policy from an international standpoint, but pays particular attention is given to Australia and the UK, two white-majority nations with colonial ties and legacies, which have been subjected to limited comparison to date. The paper considers different facets of immigration selection policy, including policy concerning economic or 'skilled' migrants, family reunion policy, and policies towards asylum seekers. This topic is particularly pertinent in this global pandemic era in which governments concerned about public health are increasingly prepared to discriminate between individuals crossing international borders based on their country of origin's record of dealing with the pandemic.

The Turkish community in post-communist Central Europe: A diaspora in the making?

Lucie Tungul, Palacky University

The rising authoritarianism of the Turkish government that escalated after the 2016 failed coup and the deteriorating economic and security situation in the country have been major push factors leading to a steady increase in Turkish asylum applications in the European Union (EU). While research has been mapping the developments in those EU countries, which traditionally have large Turkish minorities, there has been no attempt to investigate the structure of recent Turkish migration to Central Europe even though only in Czechia, the number of Turks doubled since 2016. This paper focuses on the position of Turkish migrants, the second largest Muslim community in Czechia, in the specific context of a post-communist European society. Using the combined data from the Czech Statistical Office, an online survey and semi-structured interviews, it investigates the structure of Turkish community in the country and their assessment of the Czech environment defined by securitization and politicization of migration in the domestic discourses. The findings show that the post-2016 emigration has influenced the structure of Turkish migration patterns and that despite the adaptation difficulties caused by non-transparent immigration policy and anti-Islamic feelings, Turkish migrants plan to permanently settle in Czechia.

Day 1/Session 1/Panel 4 – Religion, Freedom and Rights

Stream: Religion and Politics

Three discourses of religious freedom: How and why political talk about religious freedom in Australia has changed

Elenie Poulos, Macquarie University

The politics of religious freedom in Australia has become, since 2015, a hot potato of a public policy issue. While rarely defined or interrogated, religious freedom does not exist as a value-neutral principle with one meaning – its discursive constructions are varied and serve to promote certain interests at the expense of others. Offering a new perspective on the politics of religious freedom, this paper draws together four separate studies of the public discourse of religious freedom in Australia to chart how its framing has changed over time and explore the implications of these changes. Using methodologies from within critical discourse analysis, the studies examined how policy actors constructed (problematized and framed) the concept of religious freedom. Taken together, the studies reveal three major discourses of religious freedom, and demonstrate how, once used to promote a progressive social agenda, religious freedom is now used to

oppose and undermine it.

Religion contested: Debates and evidence about religious identification and political influence in Australia

Kate Gleeson, Macquarie University; Shaun Wilson, Macquarie University

This paper examines debates about religious identification and religious influence in Australian politics and society over the past two decades. The Howard years witnessed a flurry of interest in the influence of the Religious Right and its impact. In response to the Royal Commission into Institutional Responses to Child Sexual Abuse (2013-2017), debate has shifted to speculation about declining trust in churches. The 2017 Marriage Equality plebiscite passed with a clear majority, seeming to put an end to debates about the enduring influence of religiosity among the Australian public. Still the government has persisted with its Religious Freedoms Bill to extend anti-discrimination protections. Understanding the place of religiosity among Australians is crucial to navigating the post Royal Commission landscape. We rely on Australian Election Study and International Social Survey Program data on religious identification and religiosity to make sense of politics. Key findings are: 1) the incidence of non-religious Australians has continued to rise (45% in 2019) and there is declining religious participation; 2) Australia is not the most secular rich democracy – several countries are less religious on key measures; and (3) there has been a decline in absolute and comparative terms in confidence in religious institutions in Australia.

Human right's philosophical crisis: Neo-colonialism and enforcement issues

Benjamin Cherry-Smith, University of Adelaide

The contemporary international human rights regime is in crisis. The current membership of the United Nations Human Rights Council, the peak international body for the 'promotion and protection' of human rights, consists of states currently carrying out genocide holding others to account and overseeing formal human rights enforcement and hearing mechanisms. With ongoing and profound human rights violations and a lack of international enforcement, I argue that the issue is not in the formal structure surrounding the international human rights regime but a philosophical issue at the core the Universal Declaration of Human Rights itself, the central concept of universalism, its Christian origins and use to justify early European colonialism. This philosophical underpinning has translated into the formal structures, embedding a neo-colonial approach to the enforcement of human rights. This has meant that the UNHRC is a site for the Global South's push back against the Global North's structural neo-colonialism and ongoing international power imbalances at the expense of human rights.

School prayer, burqas and burqinis: Religion in the French and American public spheres

John Tate, University of Newcastle

The United States and France each possess a liberal and a republican tradition stretching back to their origins as revolutionary regimes. However, it is widely believed that each gives rise to very different outcomes regarding religion in the public sphere. This paper investigates these tensions, both within each political regime and between them. However, it challenges the belief that French and American republicanism always give rise to contrasting outcomes on such matters by focusing on instances of parallel between the two.

Day 1/Session 1/Panel 5 – Norm Research in Theory and Practice

Stream: International Relations

Interpretation and contestation

Phil Orchard, University of Wollongong; Antje Wiener, University of Hamburg

Norm research has become an established subfield of International Relations (IR), with norms marking a three-layered theoretical advancement in IR by identifying key fundamental norms on the map, by working with and applying norms, and by increasingly involving questions of order, legitimacy, and normativity in how we study norms. This panel brings together the Australian-based contributors of a new edited volume by Phil Orchard and Antje Wiener which focuses both on how norm research has assumed this critical role and where the future of norm research lies. We argue that these three conceptual layers - norms as social facts, norm implementation, and norm-/ative legitimacy - offer an excellent theoretical background against which to put the value-added of norms research to the test with reference to globally shared crises including climate change and the COVID-19 pandemic. The individual papers will focus on the critical role

that network structures can play in affecting the dynamism and diffusion of norms; the development of the international accountability norm; the role played by regulatory contestation, and finally the roles that both interpretation and contestation play as central concepts for norm research.

Advancing rights through international norms of accountability? The case of the multilateral development banks

Susan Park, University of Sydney

In 2015, the UN Special Rapporteur on Extreme Poverty Philip Alston stated that the World Bank treats “human rights more like an infectious disease than universal values and obligations” because of its understanding of what constitutes political interference in its Articles of Agreement. The World Bank’s interpretation, replicated by the other Multilateral Development Banks, led activists to hold the Banks to their international human and environmental protection standards. This chapter examines how the international accountability norm emerged within the World Bank and spread to be taken as given for the MDBs, as distinct from international human rights and environmental elemental regimes. It then documents how activists seek to protect human and environmental rights through the Banks’ international accountability mechanisms as quasi-legal processes with implications for the Banks’ culpability. Although there is an increasing convergence on recognising some rights such as labour and free, prior and informed consent, the Banks’ continue to view these as standards not legal obligations. The chapter then examines the extent to which the norm needs to be backed by hard law to be enforced, with efforts by the Banks to maintain their international organisation immunity given legal claims as to their culpability.

Norms and the creation of transnational orders

Cecilia Jacob, Australian National University

This paper introduces the concept of regulatory contestation as a lens for analysing the development of transnational normative orders. It critiques mainstream conceptualisations of regulation in international relations (IR) and international law as unnecessarily narrow and advances a broader definition of regulatory governance as actions that steer the flow of events towards specified regulatory goals. This definition allows for the analysis of the creative and generative function of regulation and shows that the process of regulatory contestation - focussing on the decision-making process in the design of regulatory mechanisms (as opposed to the underlying norm itself) - facilitates the mediation of international norms into varied social and political contexts. Studying regulatory contestation provides insight into the power dynamics that are shaping fundamental institutions of international order at a micro-level. The paper illustrates this process through a case study of the accountability turn in the implementation of human protection norms. The recent proliferation of judicial and institutional mechanisms to prevent, protect and prosecute mass violations of human rights is indicative of an emergent transnational human protection order.

Of norms and networks: Theorising the missing link

Jacqui True, Monash University

The globalisation of advocacy and policy networks, including the dynamics of power that shape them, are integral to the emergence and evolution of norms. Yet the relationship between norms and networks has hardly been theorised. How far and in what ways do changes in network structures affect the dynamism and diffusion of norms? Despite the cross-over empirically, and the early scholarship on the role of advocacy networks in diffusing norms, the scholarship on international norms and on transnational networks have subsequently developed largely on their own. This paper explores the missing link between the two by studying the spread and localization of the ‘women, peace and security’ norm bundle. Networks do not merely serve to spread norms. Rather, they are mechanisms of norm emergence, contestation, and transformation as well as diffusion. The transnational network spawned by UN Security Council resolution 1325 established a process to keep building the norm bundle and the dialogue about it. Just as ‘norms’ are works in progress so too are the networks that support them. Thus, more attention needs to be focused on the changing nature of the agents of international diffusion and to the content of evolving norms in discerning their legitimacy or success.

Day 1/Session 1/Panel 6 – The Political Power and Strategies of MNCs in Global Politics

Stream: International Political Economy

Global governance and participation in supply chains of critical minerals

Lian Sinclair, Murdoch University

We are currently witnessing a boom in critical minerals (rare earths, lithium, cobalt, tungsten, nickel and others) driven by the exploding demand for green technology. The sustainable objectives of emerging supply chains present a unique opportunity to examine contestation across sites of extraction, production, manufacture and consumption. Given the urgent role of critical minerals in addressing climate change, critical minerals benefit from automatic legitimacy. However, rapid expansion in new mining areas is already resulting in waves of company-community conflict.

This paper reviews the nascent literature on emerging global governance of responsible supply chains for critical minerals. Like governance mechanisms in extractive industries more broadly, these establish standards for participation of affected communities and civil society at various sites and scales. Unlike traditional governance of extractives, they bring multinational miners together with manufacturers and end users.

I apply the 'modes of participation' approach to trace struggles over corporate power, legitimacy and participation along global value chains. The paper then outlines a research agenda on the critical political economy of global governance and participation in the supply of critical minerals.

Capitalism for all: Realising its liberal promise

John Mikler, University of Sydney; Neil E Harrison, Sustainable Development Institute

Capitalism has lost its glamour. In just three decades since it "defeated" a totalitarian Soviet Union, capitalism is today blamed for slowing growth, a dangerously changing climate, inequality, social misery, and a rise in nationalist populism. How did capitalism fall so far from grace? In our forthcoming book with the same title as this paper we show how, quite simply, the governments of the world's wealthiest countries have forgotten capitalism's initial purpose. It was born out of a liberal philosophy that values the competition of ideas and goods in the service of social progress while respecting the individual and preventing excessive power. Yet, with the aid of governments giant corporations, or "MegaCorps," have usurped power, dominated markets, and reduced competition. The result is not liberal capitalism but what we term "CorpoCapitalism," which results in an unhappy populace seeking radical political change while challenges like climate change continue to race forward largely unchecked. We show why this is not inevitable and explain how governments can wrest back power and create capitalism for all.

Private sustainability governance and corporate power

Kate McDonald, University of Melbourne

The social and environmental impacts of global business activity are now regulated by a bewildering array of standard-setting schemes. These include well-known consumer labels such as Fairtrade, Rainforest Alliance and the Forest Stewardship Council, alongside multi-stakeholder roundtables and working groups promoting sustainable production standards. While these schemes have often been lauded as innovative regulatory tools for promoting global sustainability norms, others have perceived them as tools of global corporate power—reproducing the structural power of business in global markets and commodity producing nations, while operating discursively to insulate companies from societal pressure for stronger regulation. Drawing on empirical analysis of several prominent private sustainability standard-setting schemes across a range of sectors, this paper theorizes and illustrates the multiple, interacting pathways of global corporate influence exercised through these new forms of global governance, and the contested political processes through which corporate power is both asserted and resisted at global and local scales.

Private authority as public authority: The 'weaponisation' of corporate power

Madison Cartwright, University of New South Wales; Guillaume Beaumier, Universite Laval

This paper examines how multinational corporations (MNC) can be used as tools of statecraft, drawing on the concept of 'Weaponized Interdependence' (Farrell and Newman 2019). First, the paper introduces a model for assessing how MNCs can be used by state to extend their authority globally. This is based on two variables: the ability of the state to exercise authority over a firm and the international market dominance of that firm. Drawing on a dataset of the largest firms, the paper measures how many companies are both territorially grounded within a specific state (so as to be subject to state authority), whilst internationally dominant enough (so as to be useful for extending state power). Through this analysis, the paper seeks to identify which, if any, industries may be susceptible to weaponisation and which states are

best placed to use MNCs to internationalise their power.

Day 1/Session 1/Panel 7 – Political Violence

Stream: Comparative Politics

Does deliberative capacity suppress non-state actors' political violence?

Francesco Veri, University of Canberra

Non-state actors' political violence can be explained considering the political system's level of grievance and structural characteristics. Democratic structures play a central role in controlling grievance and defining the parameters in shaping non-state-actor political action. Within this context, deliberative democratic theorists highlight the importance of the system's deliberative capacity, or that the extent to which a political system possesses the structures to host deliberative processes that are authentic, inclusive, and consequential. A system with high deliberative capacity also allows the resolution of conflict without the use of coercion. In this paper, I employ structural equation modelling to test the role of deliberative components of cooperation and dialogue between the empowered and the public space in reducing non-state political violence. First, I define two models that include latent constructs for non-state actors, repression, exclusion, inclusion, institutionalised participatory opportunities, deliberative components, and political violence. Then, I demonstrate that institutionalised participatory opportunities reduce political violence and the sense of non-state actors' exclusion only when they are embedded with deliberative public engagement and deliberative elite consultation. This supports the idea that democratic, participatory channels should have a deliberative dimension that allows for authentic and inclusive dialogue between the public and the empowered space.

Election violence: A latent variable approach

Richard Frank, Australian National University

The last decade has witnessed the rapid growth in election violence research, in part due to high profile elections in Kenya (2009), Cote d'Ivoire (2011), Afghanistan (2014), Bangladesh (2018), and elsewhere. Scholars have used a variety of measures of election violence in their work. The use of different measures has, unsurprisingly, led to a diverse set of empirical results, which hampers the development of this normatively and theoretically important research area. This paper presents a new latent measure of election violence using a Bayesian dynamic item-response-theory model that incorporates information from four distinct event based measures of election violence. It also accounts for significant time variation in event-based datasets through the use of both machine-coded and human coded data. After generating a daily latent measure of violence over the election cycle (and a measure of the uncertainty around this measure), I use it in a multivariate regression model estimating election violence to show how unique theoretical and policy-relevant insights can be reached by using a latent variable approach.

How prior military experiences shape future electoral violence behavior of leaders

Ernest Akuamoah, Australian National University

Incumbent leaders, their governments, and agents have been identified as key perpetrators of electoral violence. Yet, the question regarding whether some leaders are more inclined to use electoral violence than others remain underexplored. This paper shifts the analytic lens on leaders and their individual characteristics. I theorize that prior military service has a long-lasting effect on individuals and may influence a leader's decision to resort to electoral violence. However, leaders most likely to use electoral violence are those with military and combat experience as well as rebel experience. I test my theoretical propositions with data that comprises of more than 2000 heads of state from 1875-2004.

Imagining the 'other': How does outgroup trust affect generalised trust?

Michael Kumove, Australian National University

Numerous studies have identified a negative link between ethnic diversity and generalised trust. The dominant explanation is that individuals display outgroup distrust, and this reduces generalised trust in diverse environments because the presence of distrusted outgroups acts as a 'social cue' to the trustworthiness of the generalised 'other'. However, this mechanism has never been tested explicitly. In this paper, I use data from the South-East European Social Survey Programme (SEESSP) and United States data from the Social Capital Benchmark Survey to examine how

outgroup trust affects generalised trust and whether this depends on the salience of the outgroup in question. Contrary to expectations, I find no evidence that people combine their existing levels of outgroup trust with 'cues' in their social environment when formulating their generalised trust. These results suggest that some other mechanism must be responsible for the negative link between ethnic diversity and generalised trust.

Day 1/Session 2/Panel 1 – Global Threats and Diverse National Responses

Stream: International Relations

India's foreign aid in South Asia

Supreeta Mehta, Khudiram Bose Central College

Uncertainty has been a defining feature of International Politics. The degree of uncertainty has amplified today owing to the pandemic facing us and the destruction it has caused, however, it has only added fuel to a fire that already existed. South Asia, as a neighborhood and as a region, is a complex one. There is nothing sorted or easy when it comes to any form of interaction or cooperation in the region amongst the countries. India, as the biggest country here, both in terms of geographical size and economic strength, faces a challenging task of providing leadership and generating cooperation in South Asia.

Doing that is not as easy as suggesting it and India, over the years has taken some measures, not many, to bring the components of the region together. India's revamped foreign aid policy, that is the Development Cooperation Administration, mirrors the transition that took place around the world in the area of foreign aid distribution. India's Development Cooperation policy is one of the most important measures to increase cooperation in the region and with India bilaterally. This study will focus on understanding the policy and its implications and see whether it brings some degree of certainty in the region.

COVID-19 as a national security threat: Implications for new age security

Pahi Saikia, Indian Institute of Technology Guwahati; Yuvaraj Gogoi, Indian Institute of Technology Guwahati

The paper tries to examine how the covid-19 pandemic has become a national security challenge for India. The impact of covid-19 has been experienced not only in the health sector but in all other sectors like economy, politics, social development as well as tourism. India is going through the second phase of the covid-19 pandemic wave that has hit the country worse than the first one to the extent that the entire healthcare system is virtually on the verge of collapse. National security and state capacity have been challenged. The second wave of the pandemic is not simply an illustration of state failure (Rotberg, 2004) in the political and administrative policymaking process but also India's ill-preparedness to fight against pandemics. The paper argues that the new age security is not just confined to arms building and military capabilities as well as threats but also about fighting health-related security challenges. Preparedness to fight against unforeseen challenges like pandemics, building massive infrastructure and allied facilities in the healthcare sector need to be prioritised in the national security agenda of a state.

Wither globalisation in favour of vaccine nationalism and 'old alliances'?

Nina Markovic Khaze, Macquarie University; Binoy Kampmark, Royal Melbourne Institute of Technology

Our research investigates the links between geopolitics and vaccine nationalism during Covid-19 pandemic. While more affluent countries have been stockpiling the reserves of vaccines, the world's poorest nations are being left behind and struggling with the mounting death toll, the collapse of entire health systems and with more local and regional conflict on the horizon. With an increased inequality, the international system has entered into greater instability and fiercer struggle for state survival where the tensions between great powers are also likely to escalate. The pandemic is exposing pre-existing fault lines that can also compromise public health in favour of vaccine nationalism. Our case studies include the EU, US, UK and Australia (with a special responsibility for the Pacific region), Russia and China. In order to improve their position in the international system, states are reaffirming traditional alliances and power blocs, becoming more self-reliant while snubbing their 'enemies' through the means of geopolitics and propaganda. The pandemic, it follows, has worsened the chances for a global public health cooperation, leading to the most extreme forms of vaccine nationalism which will contribute to the cycle of global inequality and put pressure on both democratic and non-democratic states for the foreseeable future.

Day 1/Session 2/Panel 2 – Elections, Voting and Reform

Stream: Australian Politics

Electoral reform in Western Australia: Recent developments

Martin Drum, University of Notre Dame; John Phillimore, Curtin University; Ben Reilly, University of Western Australia; Sarah Murray, University of Western Australia

Western Australia produced an extraordinary electoral result in 2021, with the McGowan Labor Government winning 53 out of the 59 seats in the Legislative Assembly. There was, however, another story playing out in the Legislative Council, with a Daylight Saving party candidate elected from the Mining and Pastoral region, having received just 98 first preference votes. This result has highlighted two ongoing issues within WA's electoral system – malapportionment and group ticket voting. There are, however, other issues which have been the centre of electoral reform in Western Australia. In this paper, we examine key provisions in the Electoral Act 1907 (WA) and examine how the state's electoral system measures up against normative democratic principles. We also analyse the prospect of reform given the electoral result in 2021.

Runoff elections under dissimilar procedures: A comparison of Australian and American elections

James D King, University of Wyoming

The alternative vote has been used in Australia for a century and is gaining advocates in the United States with several municipalities using the procedure. Only recently has the alternative vote—referred to as ranked choice voting in the U.S.—been adopted for elections to national and state office, being used currently in Maine and to be used in future elections in Alaska. While plurality election is the dominate system in the U.S., majoritarian run-off election procedures are used in seven states. To better understand how outcomes differ under majoritarian and plurality election rules, results for elections to the Australian House of Representatives are compared with elections to the U.S. House of Representatives in states using two-round runoffs and in comparable states using only plurality election.

Who votes early and why? Evidence from Australia

Ferran Martinez I Coma, Griffith University; Rodney Smith, University of Sydney

Many advanced democracies have experienced a 'quiet revolution' in voting, with rapidly increasing numbers of voters casting ballots before election day. This paper advances existing research into early voting in three ways. First, and most importantly, we argue that early voting will be influenced not just by the characteristics of individual voters but by contextual factors of electoral administration and political contestation. Our study uniquely combines aggregate and individual level data on three potential drivers of different rates of early voting: socio-economic characteristics of voters (e.g., education levels); institutional conditions of voting (e.g., number of polling places) and individual and contextual political dynamics (e.g., levels of individual political interest and the intensity of candidate contests in particular electoral districts). Second, we are able to compare the effects of these factors on two different types of early voting--postal voting and in person early voting--allowing us to test whether the availability of alternative early voting channels affects who votes early. Third, we explore these questions over six national elections from 2004 to 2019, across the period of rapid growth in early voting. The data come from Australia, but the analysis has broader importance for understanding early voting.

Technology, inequality and our evolving democratic culture: Is Australia at risk of democratic decline?

Shireen Morris, Macquarie University; Andrew Ball, Accenture

Throughout human history, technological advancements have buttressed the expansion of modern democracies. Yet in recent decades, the ever-quickening pace of technological change is propelling stable democracies in chaotic new directions. It is a key contributing factor facilitating democratic decline in developed democracies, and Australia is not immune. Though Australia is rightly considered a healthy and stable democracy, many underlying drivers of democratic decline are increasingly present. In this collaborative interdisciplinary exploration, we bring scholarship on democratic decline and so-called 'populism' together with data-driven economic and political insights, to paint a fuller picture of how technology is changing Australian democracy.

Three entwined trajectories present cause for concern. First, technology-enabled automation, globalisation and market

liberalisation together are propelling job polarisation, job insecurity and inequality; second, this may be facilitating political polarisation and declining trust in political institutions that fail to address the concerns of those left behind; third, technology is directly disrupting Australian political discourse and culture, supercharging polarisation, amplifying distrust and discontent, distorting our ability to conduct rational and truthful political debates, and therefore hampering our ability to address the above problems. We then outline a holistic package of reforms that may help address these core drivers of democratic decline.

An argument for compulsory voting

Helen Pringle, University of South Wales

This paper is part of a project to address an under-explored question in studies of voting in Australia, that of compulsory enrolment. There is a great deal of literature on the duty to vote or compulsory voting, both for and against, but very little on the case for mandatory enrolment. This paper charts the arguments that underpinned the introduction of compulsory enrolment in Australia in 1912, in both public and parliamentary forums, with particular attention to the character of opposition to its introduction. The paper aims to locate an argument for enrolment that is separate from that for a duty to vote, with an analysis of the costs and burdens on the state to maintain the practice. This argument has importance for a broader introduction of Automatic Voter Registration in other countries with low voter turn-out, in particular the United States.

Day 1/Session 2/Panel 3 – Youth, Social Movements and Political Change

Stream: Policy and Governance

Bringing generations together: Exploring intergenerational dialogue in youth-led social movements

Ingrid Valladares, Queensland University of Technology

Historically, youth have played a major role in social movements around the world by contributing to social and political transformations. Yet, discourses of youth's political apathy and lack of interest in politics asserts the limited capacity and ability of youth to participate in political activities. Ageism has created a breakdown of interactions among generations that have impacted social and political relationships. As a result, the interaction between youth and adults to discuss issues that are present across generations remain largely unexplored. In Latin America, where human security issues remain the major struggle across generations distinctive relationships between youth and adults have emerged. Social movements offer a space for intergenerational dialogue based on stories, memories and shared experiences that allow cohesion between generations.

This paper examines the dynamics and interactions between youth and adults in youth-led social movements in Latin America. By combining youth sociology and social movements theory, this paper brings to attention how shared generational experiences promote intergenerational dialogue and its impacts on the organization, structure, and strategies of youth-led social movements. The paper highlights the importance of understanding how youth in youth-led social movements engage in intergenerational dialogue to address social and political issues.

'Power Shift': Young climate activists reconfiguring the political landscape

Philippa Collin, Western Sydney University

The SchoolStrike4Climate (SS4C) protests have drawn new attention to youth political participation and the way millions of young people around the world are challenging dominant modes of political power and action. Through a case study of the Australian Youth Climate Coalition (AYCC), this paper argues that youth-led organisations have played a key – as yet unappreciated – role in contemporary environmental social movements. In the Australian context, over 15 years, AYCC has built capacity, organised extensive horizontal networks for action and fostered a growing commitment to climate justice among young Australians. The paper will argue that AYCC fosters political interest through accessible and action-oriented engagement online and in young people's everyday settings. These include online communications and face-to-face workshops that build political interest, as well as novel events and brokered engagements with elected officials and school-based programs. These key tactics are reconfiguring relationships with politicians and asserting a role for young people within the polity over time. The paper argues there is an increasingly urgent need to pay attention to the organisational forms as well as organising and participatory practices of young people to explain the evolving political landscape and the impact of the youth climate justice movement on contemporary politics.

We move different down here: Social nonmovements and everyday politics in authoritarian contexts

Nyasha Mutongwizo, Queensland University of Technology

In global south contexts, political participation and mobilisation do not always follow the typical global north social movement cycles and rather manifest as more discrete and passive participation, particularly in repressed societies. In Zimbabwe (an illiberal, authoritarian country), political participation for marginalised youth is constrained and characterised by patronage, tokenism and exclusion. Given the increase in politically-motivated suppression of media, civil society, opposition and youth leaders in the last two years, Zimbabwean youth have disengaged from formal structures. Youth's absence from formal political spaces is not apathy, disinterest, or disengagement. Political participation and engagement are achieved via alternative, everyday, non-mobilised actions.

This paper draws on the idea of 'social nonmovements', a term originally applied in authoritarian countries in the Middle East. Social nonmovements can be considered an intertwined struggle for both sustenance/livelihoods and citizenship (belonging, participation). The Zimbabwean informal sector where marginalised youth operate in the 'everyday', the streets in particular become a site of economic survival, political socialisation and participation. Individual, seemingly mundane actions have consequential bearings and make an impact to creating political space where opportunity has been denied. This paper examines how social nonmovements can provide youth on the margins a pathway to political participation and citizenship.

Raging bulls and fearless girls: 'The participatory condition' and changing political relations

Judith Bessant, Royal Melbourne Institute of Technology

Who are these people: Greta Thunberg, Emma Gonzalez, Vanessa Nakata, Harriet O'Shea, Malala Yousafzai, Aka Niviãna Morch Pedersen, Autumn Peltier, Bana Al Abed, Howey Ou and Julieta Martínez? They are just some of the new high-profile leaders of major social movements who successfully mobilised millions of young people around the globe. They are also changing the political landscape. This is quite unexpected, especially given the long-standing exclusion of women and young women in particular from the public sphere and the political field more generally. This paper builds on earlier work in which I asked why so many girls and young women have been entering into politics where they play effective high-profile leadership roles? I now ask what the political significance of this is. To do this I draw on an account of the 'participatory condition' focussing the inquiry on relationship between these young women and traditional power holders. While this paper cannot provide a comprehensive account of what is now happening, it identifies some of the ways these newcomers are changing key aspect of political practices and relations. These struggles between young women and political elites reveal important changes in contemporary power relations.

Day 1/Session 2/Panel 4 – Environmental Politics

Stream: Environmental Politics

The politics and governance of the Great Pacific Garbage Patch: Can marine plastic pollution be governed?

Babet De Groot, University of Sydney

The world ocean is becoming a plastic soup. Approximately 8 Mt of land-based plastic enter the ocean each year, adding to a growing sink of mismanaged plastic waste estimated at 6300 Mt in 2016. Recent attention to the human and environmental health impacts of marine plastic pollution have moved IOs, MNCs and ENGOs to address this crisis. However, this has not amounted to a Global Plastics Treaty.

The transboundary and cross-jurisdictional nature of marine plastic pollution has made its governance insurmountably complex. While there is no single binding instrument to govern marine plastic pollution, it is affected by existing international legal regimes, regional agreements, global frameworks and universal rules, norms and standards. Therefore, it is being governed. I show that its governance does not constitute a regime but a regime complex, or a set of overlapping regimes.

I build on constructivist regime theory to contribute to the evolving literature on regime complexes and non-regimes. This analysis lays the groundwork for future research on how the marine plastic pollution crisis is governed at the global level. It provides valuable insights for decisionmakers in public, private and voluntary institutions to cultivate greater institutional

integration to address this tragedy of the commons.

Accountability as transformative learning? The role of NGOs in the convention on biological diversity

Ana Maria Ulloa, University of Sydney

Despite alarming trends of environmental degradation, low implementation, and a culture of non-compliance with Multilateral Environmental Agreements (MEAs) prevail. Enforcement mechanisms are rare in Global Environmental Governance (GEG) and accountability mechanisms have instead been favoured to promote compliance. However, state-to-state accountability mechanisms have neither enhanced implementation of MEAs nor improved environmental outcomes. Using the Convention on Biological Diversity (CBD) as a case study, this paper explores the roles of NGOs in strengthening accountability in GEG. The paper conceptualises accountability as a relational dynamic of giving and demanding of reasons of conduct with potential to influence behaviour. This paper argues that through the provision of constructive criticism of state behaviour (i.e. questions, commentary, and/or demands for change, including but not limited to condemnation), NGOs can enable learning. Learning in turn can facilitate implementation, foster compliance, and ultimately lead to better environmental outcomes. Results from interviews conducted in this study suggests that NGOs can challenge states inertia and facilitate implementation of the CBD through knowledge, expertise, and critical partnerships. These learning dynamics catalysed by NGOs challenge traditional understandings of accountability in GEG as name-and-shame and warrant further research as an avenue to unlock the potential of accountability to improve environmental outcomes.

SYDNEY · AUSTRALIA

Curtailling justice? The distribution of the benefits of rooftop solar energy in Australia

Sophie Adams, University of New South Wales; Shanil Samarakoon, University of New South Wales

As the installation of residential rooftop solar systems expands in Australia ahead of rates of uptake in the rest of the world, the 'curtailment' of solar electricity exports presents a new challenge of energy justice. The curtailment of rooftop solar systems occurs as electricity flows into the grid are cut off in order to maintain stable voltage levels. It means that the value of the solar systems that many households, moving into a new role of producing and selling as well as consuming energy, have chosen to install as a financial investment may be considerably reduced. This raises questions about the distribution of benefits and costs in a context in which the renewable energy transition in Australia is being driven in no small part by the private initiative of millions of these 'prosumers'. It is also a context, however, in which these rooftop solar system owners are cross-subsidised by those without them, who disproportionately bear the cost of maintaining an electricity system capable of meeting the needs of all. Based on focus groups with Australian households, this paper explores how this complex emerging issue might be made sense of and approached as one of energy justice.

CITES and China: Protecting endangered marine species

Annie Song, University of Technology Sydney

This study explores the evolving role of China in protecting endangered marine species since China became a member of CITES (Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species of Wild Fauna and Flora). Existing scholarship has discussed different types of norms in the ways to address extinction of endangered species (i.e., conservative vs. preservation; Global North vs. Global South). Drawing upon this debate of different approaches, this study examines China's engagement in the CITES in the past decade by tracing the development of China's positions and interviewing with experts. The findings will have far-reaching implications for understanding how China shapes and is shaped by existing global environmental governance.

Day 1/Session 2/Panel 5 – The Future of Pacific Regionalism

Stream: Regional Studies (the Pacific)

Pacific regionalism and ecocide

Joseph D Foukona, University of Hawaii

There is a connection between climate change and ecocide. Pacific Island leaders have highlighted under the Boe Declaration on Regional Security that "climate change remains the single greatest threat to the livelihoods, security, and well-being of the peoples of the Pacific." Pacific Island countries continue to be confronted with climate change-induced disasters such as island erosion due to sea-level rise, cyclones, tsunamis and flooding. The frequency and intensity of

these climate change induced disasters is caused by the transforming of the landscape and seascape from activities such as nuclear testing, mining and logging activities. These activities cause a destruction of the ecosystems within the region, which could be defined as ecocide. According to Polly Higgins: "Ecocide is the extensive damage to, destruction of or loss of ecosystem(s) of a given territory, whether by human agency or by other causes, to such an extent that peaceful enjoyment by the inhabitants of that territory has been or will be severely diminished." There is debate and campaign at the international level promoting ecocide as an international crime to address climate change. This paper discusses the position of the Pacific region about ecocide. It examines how people leaders and the Pacific Islands Forum are engaging with the ecocide debate. Are they prepared to consider ecocide a crime to address climate change?

Mapping the Pacific Islands security architecture

Joanne Wallis, University of Adelaide; Henrietta McNeill, Australian National University; Anna Powles, Massey University

In the 2018 Boe Declaration on Regional Security, Pacific Islands Forum leaders recognised that their region is facing 'an increasingly complex regional security environment driven by multifaceted security challenges'. To help meet these challenges Australia has expressed its 'commitment to strengthened regional security architectures' (DoD 2016). This echoes wider conversations about the perceived importance of regional security architectures, including the United States' intention to bring its alliances and partnerships together in the Indo-Pacific in a 'networked security architecture' (US DoD 2018). It has been said that an ideal type 'regional security architecture' is 'an overarching, coherent and comprehensive security structure for a geographically-defined area, which facilitates resolution of that region's primary concerns and achieves its security objectives' (Tow & Taylor, 2010: 96). However, by attempting to map 'different geographic 'layers' or 'levels' of collaborative security arrangements' and shared norms (Tow & Taylor, 2010: 96), we instead found that security cooperation in the Pacific Islands is best described as a patchwork of agreements, arrangements, and institutions. This paper analyses the role of partners' and Pacific Islands states' interests and agency in creating such a patchwork, and considers the implications of our finding both for wider discussions about regional security architectures and for future security cooperation in the Pacific Islands.

The new Pacific diplomacy: A case study of West Papua

William B Waqavakatoga, University of the South Pacific

This presentation provides a case study of the "new Pacific diplomacy", which emerged against the backdrop of Pacific governments' dissatisfaction with the existing regional architecture, new regional geopolitics, and Fiji's suspension from the Pacific Islands Forum. Within this changing diplomatic landscape, the issue of West Papua achieved regional prominence. Through the use of qualitative research, this thesis assesses the approaches by Pacific Island Countries (PIC), non-state actors and regional bodies in addressing West Papua. In 2014, the United Liberation Movement for West Papua (ULMWP) became the official representative body to address self-determination aspirations by indigenous West Papuans, and advocate for greater human rights accountability by Indonesia, and in 2016, the Pacific Islands Coalition for West Papua was created (made up of PIC and CSO aligned to ULMWP objectives) to vigorously address the West Papua issue, in response to the lack of action by the Melanesian Spearhead Group and Pacific Islands Forum. This presentation examines these two developments and attempts to interpret what West Papua 'diplomatic' strategies tell us about the new Pacific diplomacy and the state of Pacific agency.

Day 1/Session 2/Panel 6 – The Political Power and Strategies of MNCs in Australian and Global Politics (2)

Stream: International Political Economy

Structural, ideational or instrumental power? How do Australia's major corporates exercise influence?

Lindy Edwards, University of New South Wales

This paper outlines a methodology for assessing what kinds of power major corporates are utilizing to exercise influence in democratic decision making. Scholars have examined the role of structural, ideational and instrumental power as sources of corporate influence. Scholarship has focused in particular focus on structural power in an globalizing economy, and ideational power shaping and driving the neoliberal reform agenda, meanwhile the extent of instrumental power has been under examined. It has also been acknowledged that it is difficult to unpack and identify exactly what types of power are being exercised. This paper will offer a methodology for distinguishing which of these different types of power are at

work, with view to identifying when structural power and ideational power can be discounted as the course of democratic outcomes, indicating that instrumental power is in play.

Change from within: The rise of Australian environmental, social and governance shareholder activism

Ainsley Elbra, University of Sydney

Shareholder activist groups, wealthy investors, and fund managers are increasingly engaging directly with company directors and executives to reform corporate behaviour. This engagement, known as environmental, social, and governance (ESG) shareholder activism is on the rise, and listed company boards have never been under greater pressure to fully explain the ESG footprint of their business. In recent years, Australia has experienced a marked increase in ESG shareholder activism, particularly in the mining, oil and gas, and finance sectors. A growing number of activist groups and investors are pressuring companies to respond to the challenges of climate change, indigenous land rights, and corporate governance. There is preliminary evidence that ESG shareholder resolutions may have wide-ranging effects, as seen through the targeting of miner BHP on its climate stance. This paper will explore the political implications of the growth in ESG shareholder activism in Australia, highlighting the particular difficulties in raising shareholder resolutions in Australia. In doing so, it will conclude that this activism represents a challenge to our existing understanding of the power of corporations, an emergent area of effective private governance, and a growing and under-examined space for activism and political participation.

Corporate capture in Australian environmental decision-making

Annica Schoo, Australian Conservation Foundation; Mia Pepper, Mineral Policy Institute

The paper focuses on environmental approvals and corporate capture in Australia. Specifically, the culture around implementation of those laws that has developed from decades of corporate influence. We argue, using Braithwaite's (2008) responsive regulation theory, that corporate capture has thrived with a lack of tripartism in environmental decision-making in Australia.

We will focus on three recent case studies involving multi-national corporations (MNCs) where there has been legal action that focuses on critical environmental issues including extinction and carbon pollution.

We use the case studies of a pastoral development by Pardoo Beef Corporation at Pardoo in West Australia, Yeelirrie uranium mine proposed by Cameco in West Australia and Carmichael coal mine developed by Bravus (formerly Adani) in Queensland. Limited third-party participation in environmental decision-making in these case studies is juxtaposed with the deep influence of MNCs.

We demonstrate that lack of tripartism is resulting in NGOs 'going nuclear' in order for environmental concerns to be heard. Further, we demonstrate that corporate capture is leading to highly politicised decisions that are inconsistent with environmental law objectives and advice from experts and Government Departments.

Day 1/Session 2/Panel 7 – Non- and Semi-Democratic Politics

Stream: Comparative Politics

Myanmar's military coup and the meaning of democracy

Tamas Wells, University of Melbourne

In the last decade, Burmese activists and political leaders, and military elites, have attached a variety of meanings to the word 'democracy'. In the years of transition away from authoritarianism, and even following Aung San Suu Kyi's historic election victory in 2015, the word democracy has not signified one widely agreed upon destination. In Berlin's terms, differences in meanings of democracy amongst activists and democratic leaders largely related to contrasts in expectations of positive, rather than negative, democratic freedoms.

Yet how have the dramatic events of 2021 – with the military coup and widespread street protests and civil disobedience - shifted the way the word democracy is given meaning amongst these actors? Drawing on articles by activists and civil society organisation leaders, this paper argues that the military's hardline stance and crackdown since February 2021 has galvanised activists and democratic leaders around an emphasis on democracy as negative freedoms. Yet the coup

and military crackdown has also precipitated both new overlaps, and greater divergence, in expectations of positive freedoms considered through religious, moral and ethnic lenses.

Adjudicating electoral disputes or judicializing politics? The Supreme Court of Ghana and the disputed 2012 presidential election

Christopher Appiah-Thompson, University of Newcastle; Jim Jose, University of Newcastle

The constitutional role of Supreme Courts to adjudicate disputed electoral outcomes is a well-accepted within contemporary democracies. How a Supreme Court's judicial reasoning is portrayed in the popular press will impact on citizens' understandings of and commitment to democratic processes. In the protracted litigation in the aftermath of Ghana's disputed 2012 election, its Supreme Court found its judgments and management of proceedings represented as partial, in terms of an unelected body determining political outcomes. The paper explores two key questions: what was the nature of the coverage of the Court's reasoning, and to what extent did this coverage fortify or threaten the legitimacy of the Supreme Court within the political system? We conclude that the specialist politics and law journalists failed to demystify the constitutional reasoning of the Court in such a way that ordinary citizens were able to gain an understanding of the judicial reasoning being applied.

Democratic decline without democratic breakdown: Explaining executive interference in accountability institutions

Bermond Scoggins, Australian National University

The literature on democratic decline and backsliding largely conceive of governments who attack democratic institutions like the judiciary and media as being inherently anti-democratic. I argue, on the other hand, that executives have constant incentives to manipulate democratic institutions when faced with more powerful oppositions and greater uncertainty about whether they will win the next election. That interference in accountability institutions merely functions as a strategic tool to realise policy preferences and survive elections helps account for the puzzle that backsliding rarely leads to autocratic transition. Using data on backsliding from V-Dem and the Democratic Erosion Event Dataset, I provide survival and count model evidence for these claims while highlighting the persistent inferential problems that researcher degrees of freedom and poor measurement pose for such research questions.

An analysis of British 'transformation' policy on the Mahdi movement in Sudan from 1900 to 1916

Jingwei Zhang, Macquarie University

After the failure of the Mahdi Movement in Sudan in 1898, Britain and Egypt reoccupied Sudan. The Anglo-Egyptian Condominium government did not exterminate the Mahdi forces after defeating them during the war, but cultivated them into a tool for British rule of Sudan and resistance to Egyptian nationalism by means of both hard and soft, showing a strong purpose during this process. The "transformation" policies towards Mahdi promoted Sudan's economic development, intensified Sudan's dependence on Britain, split Sudanese society, and had a negative impact on the political structure of Sudan for quite a long time after its independence. Moreover, it has become one of the main sources of Islamic extremism in contemporary Sudan.

When the physician becomes the executioner: Evidence from the People's Republic of China

Matthew P Robertson, Australian National University

Of the few countries who punish criminals with death, the People's Republic of China is by far the most prolific. Until recently, China also acknowledged that the primary source of its transplant organs was condemned prisoners. How does the Chinese state conscript transplant surgeons into – or allow them to participate in – its coercive project? Given the inherent difficulties in studying how these two policies overlap, there has heretofore been little empirical research on this question. I conduct a computational text analysis of over 4,000 Chinese-language publications in medical journals to explore the role of physicians in administering executions by procuring the hearts and lungs of what could only have been prisoner donors. This research is significant for understanding the role of authoritarian governance in eroding the boundaries of professions – in this case de-professionalising health care workers by deploying them as executioners – and contributes to a growing understanding of authoritarian health politics and its global relevance.

Day 1/Session 3/Panel 1 – The Dynamics of Peace and Conflict

Beyond tokenism: The youth, peace and security agenda and the meaningful inclusion of youth

Helen Berents, Queensland University of Technology

In a global context where stereotypes and assumptions about young people as dangerous or apathetic have dominated policy discourse, arguing for meaningful inclusion of youth in peacebuilding policy and practice is a significant statement. The Youth, Peace and Security (YPS) agenda, established in 2015, offers opportunities for formal inclusion of youth in peace and security governance. However, as the YPS agenda becomes more established, attention must be paid to the implications of connecting an agential vision of youth inclusion to the mechanisms and institutions of international governance. This paper highlights three sites of tension: discursive commitments to youth 'participation', claims to seriousness and legitimacy in including youth, and finally who is included and excluded in the idea of the 'good youth' who is encouraged to participate in institutional processes. It draws on a critical discourse analysis of key documents in the establishment of the YPS agenda, interviews with key youth and adult civil society and UN representatives who advocated for a YPS Security Council resolution, and observations of YPS related meetings. It traces the tensions and opportunities of the emergent YPS agenda that sits between an agential vision for youth inclusion and the sometimes-depoliticising effects of institutionalising an agenda.

Gendered continuums of peace and conflict

Jacqui True, Monash University

Gender is one of the major fault lines of global politics and contemporary conflicts intersecting with the politics of ethnicity, religion, and extremism. This paper will reflect on the continuums of violence and peace from a feminist perspective. It will consider the gender dynamics of violent extremism, including the growing risks of female as well as male radicalisation, the increasing use of sexualised violence in conflict settings, and the explicit targeting of women leaders and human rights defenders by the state and armed groups. The latter gender-related killings that remain under-reported and largely ignored in the peace and conflict studies scholarship. Employing a gender lens to understand the continuum of violence and risks of conflict provides critical opportunities to identify agents and structures for long term stability and peace.

Lost in space and out of time? Gender, spatiality and temporality in the vernacular of women international peacebuilders

Joanne Wallis, University of Adelaide

My paper joins a growing body of critical peace and conflict scholarship that has engaged in a 'micro-turn' to analyse the impact of the everyday practices, habits, and assumptions of international interveners on peacebuilding. This recognises that international peacebuilders are seldom merely conduits of international policy, but instead exercise individual agency to interpret and reinterpret their mandates. My paper focuses on women international peacebuilders, as previous micro-level analyses have not foregrounded gender. It considers how explicit discrimination and violence, as well as implicit, embedded gender norms and structures, shape the ontological security of women international peacebuilders. Their ontological security is important, since it can affect their self-identities and either enable or constrain how they realise and exercise their agency. This can in turn effect the way they practice peacebuilding and ultimately the security of the populations in which they have been deployed to help build peace. Influenced by the commitment of vernacular security studies to understanding how people construct and describe their experiences of security and insecurity, it uses narratives to analyse the ontological security of women international peacebuilders as an intersubjective construct, influenced by gender, space, and time and expressed both in discourse and practice.

Hiroshima in the Anthropocene: Agency, temporality, and spatiality of peacebuilding

Dahlia Simangan, Hiroshima University

The Anthropocene marks the time when humans have collectively become the main geological force behind the changes in the Earth system. One of the proposed starting dates of the Anthropocene was the first nuclear detonation in 1945 in New Mexico--a prelude to the bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. For this reason, Hiroshima can be considered as a significant local site for understanding peace in the Anthropocene and the socio-ecological challenges of peacebuilding. Using a content analysis of policy documents adopted since the bombing, this article substantiates the concept of reflexive peacebuilding by examining the agency of the survivors in building peace, the temporality of peace narratives

that emerged from the bombing, and the peace objectives of spatial reconstruction after the bombing. Hiroshima's post-war reconstruction, framed in this article as an early exercise of reflexive peacebuilding, demonstrates the prospects and challenges of building peace in the age of the Anthropocene.

The role of gender in the climate-conflict nexus: 'Forgotten' variables, alternative securities and hidden power dimensions

Susanne Kozak, Monash University; Tobias Ide, Murdoch University; Marisa O Ensor, Georgetown University; Virginie Le Masson, University College London

The literature on the security implications of climate change is burgeoning. Up until now, gender considerations have only played a marginal role in this research area. This is despite growing awareness of intersecting goals between protecting women's rights, building peace and security, and addressing environmental changes. This article advances the claim that adopting a gender perspective is integral for understanding the conflict implications of climate change. We substantiate this claim via three arguments. First, gender is an essential, yet insufficiently considered intervening variable between climate change and conflict. Gender roles and identities as well as gendered power structures are important in facilitating or preventing climate-related conflicts. Second, climate change does affect armed conflicts and social unrest, but a gender perspective alters and expands the notion of what conflict and violence can look like, and whose security is at stake. Third, gender-differentiated vulnerabilities to both climate change and conflict stem from inequities within local power structures and socio-cultural norms and practices, including those related to social reproductive labor. Recognition of these power dynamics is key to understanding and promoting resilience to conflict and climate change.

Day 1/Session 3/Panel 2 – Global Governance and International Law: Conservative and Liberal Approaches in International Relations

Stream: International Relations

The cultural origins of legitimacy: International law as local knowledge

Zoe Jay, University of Helsinki

Constructivist accounts of international law frequently place legitimacy at the heart of their explanations of compliance and obligation, but offer only partial explanations of the origins of legitimacy: where the perceptions that international law are legitimate come from in the first place. Focusing primarily on shared understandings produced among international actors, constructivists neglect or underspecify the roles of domestic cultural influences in shaping actors' notions of what is or is not acceptable in international law. This paper therefore offers an account of the construction of legitimacy from the domestic side, focusing on the European Convention on Human Rights. Drawing on insights from legal anthropology and sociology, it argues that states have unique domestic human rights cultures which generate local understandings about what law and human rights are, and by whom they should be protected. These cultures are heterogeneous and dynamic, but they nonetheless play a crucial role in shaping how state actors view and interact with international legal systems. By focusing on local or 'unshared' understandings of legitimacy, the paper provides insight into how notions of the legitimacy and authority of international legal systems are made and maintained or contested, and how such notions vary within legal systems.

Global governance and the immanence of uncertainty

Yasar Bukan, York University

This paper examines the immanence of uncertainty in global governance. It will argue that the very existence of states is an expression of certainty, of a desire for certainty. Knowing and choosing one's leader and having defined boundaries, flags, and capital cities are all in many ways expressions of the desire for certainty. That is to say, the political operates on certainties. It generally detests uncertainties. It configures uncertainties through certainties. For example, it develops short and long term plans, such as emergency shutdowns, in order to shape the uncertain realm. With that in mind, this paper will first examine the phenomenon of uncertainty and its immanence in the political. Second, using the COVID-19 pandemic and the global response to it as a case study, it will study how states via multilateral cooperation deal with this phenomenon in their everyday conduct and planning. Last, it will conclude that the phenomenon of uncertainty is immanent and an integral part of the political and of global governance and that it is due to such immanence that the political is capable of both engaging with uncertainties and often escaping its unknown and unforeseen consequences.

Is there a conservative approach to international relations? US foreign policy from Reagan to Trump

Brendon O'Connor, University of Sydney

Liberalism is rightly understood as a theory of both domestic politics and foreign affairs. In contrast, conservatism is understood as largely being concerned with domestic politics, not international relations. This paper will examine why this is the case and will argue that Republican presidents from Reagan to Trump have generally adhered to a set of relatively consistent foreign policy ideas that can usefully be presented as a conservative approach to international politics. What makes the conservative approach outlined distinct and deserving a place alongside other widely discussed international relations theories is the particular significance that conservatives give to nationalism in foreign policy making. This is particularly apparent during the presidencies of Ronald Reagan, George W. Bush and Donald Trump. It is this nationalism that is at the core of the conservative approach and what separates this understanding from those who claim Republican presidents draw on realist, neoconservative or even liberal ideas, but have no common set of ideas that they rely upon.

Day 1/Session 3/Panel 3 – Gender and Security

Stream: Gender and Sexuality

The throat: Vulnerability and gendered killing

Helen Pringle, University of New South Wales

In this paper I address the question of gendered violence in terms of how death enters the bodies of women in sexual intercourse. I focus on the throat as a point of particular vulnerability in what are commonly known in the media as cases of “a sex game gone wrong”, that is, where women are choked to death. The paper explores the way in which the bodies of women are constituted as vulnerable in a gendered erotics that maps on flesh the places of openness to wounding. The paper draws on the work of the classical historian Nicole Loraux in its approach, and makes reference to a number of cases of choking deaths of women in Australia from 1950 to 2020.

Gender and diversity in security and intelligence: A review of the literature

Elise Stephenson, Griffith University

Intelligence and security are important sites of contestation, often the foci of reform and calls for greater transparency. Yet, whilst growing attention has been paid to gender equality reform in other areas of international affairs, little attention has been paid to diversity in the intelligence sector. The lack of transparency, data, and knowledge on the interplay of gender, sexuality and race in intelligence is troubling. It hampers our knowledge of how the sector may be ‘gendered’ or otherwise experienced, as well as how the sector may or may not be integrating gender and other perspectives into their work. This paper comprises a systematic review of the literature on gender, diversity, and inclusion in the intelligence sector to identify strengths and gaps in the literature and set an agenda for future research. Broadly, the literature focuses on building the ‘business case’ for gender diversity in intelligence, how diversity is integrated into intelligence, and progress to date. Most research focuses mainly on gender, with gaps in understanding other dimensions such as sexuality and race. The absence of research in contexts like Australia is concerning, particularly given the mandated focus on diversity at a broader Australian Public Service level.

FAST and the furious: Gender quotas and election lawfare in Sāmoa

Kerryn Baker, Australian National University

Parliamentary gender quotas, increasingly widely adopted throughout the world, are an important measure to guarantee the presence of women in legislatures; in various cases, however, they have been perceived as political tools, used to consolidate the power of incumbents. This paper examines controversy over implementation of a parliamentary gender quota, the colloquially titled ‘10 per cent law’, in Sāmoa following the 2021 general elections. These elections resulted in a shock hung parliament: after 40 years of almost complete electoral dominance by the Human Rights Protection Party, and over 20 years of tenure for the incumbent prime minister, a new opposition party, FAST, threatened to take power. Yet the potential election of Sāmoa’s first woman prime minister, FAST leader Fiamē Naomi Mata’afa, was complicated by dueling interpretations of the ‘10 per cent law’ provisions, and the impacts of implementing the quota on the formation of government. Investigating the controversy over the use of the parliamentary gender quota in 2021, this paper seeks to contextualise it within the long tradition of legal challenges to election results in Sāmoa – so-called election ‘lawfare’ –

and draw out its implications for women's representation and support for gender quotas in Sāmoa and more broadly.

Day 1/Session 3/Panel 4 – Media Politics

Stream: Media Politics

Fertile wives and barren spinsters: How the print media link women prime ministers to their families

Blair Williams, Australian National University

This paper examines how the mainstream print media position women prime ministers in relation to their familial roles. I argue that such relegation of women leaders to the familial realm, often tying them to male relatives, can both trivialise them as leaders and highlight their supposed gendered transgressions. Using a Feminist Critical Discourse Analysis (FCDA) I examined newspaper coverage of the respective prime ministerial ascensions of the United Kingdom's Margaret Thatcher and Theresa May, Australia's Julia Gillard, and New Zealand's Jenny Shipley and Helen Clark, analysing a representative sample of 1039 mainstream newspaper articles published during the first three weeks of each leader's prime ministerial term. This study finds that women leaders are portrayed as either fertile wives or barren spinsters, depending on their choices, which ensnares them in a gendered double bind that invites judgement on their personal life and family choices and questions their suitability for office.

China's subculture online political participation in the 5G era

Hongyu An, Shanghai International Studies University

The development of network media in the 5G era has transformed the group of Chinese subculture from being far away from politics to actively engaging in political participation, making the way of social mass political participation affected by subculture become "non-mainstream". Affected by sub-cultural humanism, the participation purpose of Chinese online political participants has undergone new changes, gradually focusing on self-expression, eager to be recognized and followed by others. Under the influence of the cultural connotation of subculture, the expressions of political participants have derived politically meaningful sub-cultural products-political participation emoticons and buzzwords. These new expressions are more interesting and dispel the seriousness of political discussions. These new changes attract more social individuals to participate and expand the influence of online political discussions. This article takes the participants of Chinese Internet politics as the research object, and analyzes the new changes brought about by the subculture in China's 5G era for the purpose and expression of online political participation.

Green-collared crime or political protest? The framing of animal activism in public discourse

Serrin Rutledge-Prior, Australian National University

Animal activism is entering mainstream public discourse, with unprecedented attention from the media, industry, and government. Yet the public discussion has tended to equate animal advocacy with veganism, with the latter often framed as an individual's dietary or life-style choice. Furthermore, animal activists are often accused of criminal, or even terrorist, behaviour – as was highlighted when Prime Minister Morrison recently labelled animal activists as "green-collared criminals". In this paper, an example of the "veganisation" and "criminalisation" of animal activists is discussed via an analysis of mainstream media coverage of a day of co-ordinated protests that took place on April 8, 2019, in major cities and rural sites around Australia. I find that most news sources refer to veganism in their reporting, even though the lead organiser of the protests stated their goal was not to promote veganism, but rather to increase transparency in the agricultural industry. I suggest that the political claims of activists are being obscured by public narratives that conflate the animal rights/justice movement with veganism, and frame advocates as criminals. I conclude that greater care should be taken by journalists in discussing animal advocacy, and by animal advocates themselves, in how they present their campaigns.

Day 1/Session 3/Panel 5 – Dynamics of Government and Civil Society in Asia

Stream: Regional Studies (Asia)

Protest through print and social media: A case study of citizens' responses to Vietnam's Special Administrative-Economic Zone Bill

Lien Pham, University of Technology Sydney

This paper examines Vietnamese people's online protest against the government's Special Administrative-Economic Zone draft law released to the public in April 2018. Applying Foucault's knowledge-power and Habermas' public sphere, the analysis of a range of media sources including Facebook posts, expert opinions, and print media shows how state-society relations are tacit knowledge about 'politics' that produce dialectical deliberations of voices with different political emotions and intentions. In speaking out, the people and experts aim to speak 'truth' about the government's lack of transparency, weak governance capacity, risking economic problems and foregoing rights of Vietnamese workers to foreigners. The actual speech acts of protest expose a deep-rooted anti-Chinese sentiment that generates much more power of the people in shaking up the domestic stage of public information, forcing the government media to comment on the emerging voices. The public sphere is thus also the space where contentions of political elites take place which impact the nature of political participation itself. This paper illustrates the value of capturing political participation by looking at the not-easily-visible structures of media and how they act as forces to manage and shape political agency and the extent to which state rules can be enforced or resisted.

Explanation of the failure of the mass re-education campaign in Xinjiang and the consequent change in tactics applied to the forced assimilation of Uyghurs

Jan Svec, Prague University of Economics and Business

Around 2015, the Chinese authorities have launched a systematic massive campaign to dominate and forcibly assimilate Turkic minorities in Xinjiang. The campaign consisted of several measures, the most intrusive being the detention of at least hundreds of thousands of people in re-education camps under the guise of vocational centres. Based on theories of repression and research on the psychological effects of wrongful convictions, the author argues that the mass detention in Xinjiang has led to an increase in grievances and a decline in trust in the government among Turkic minorities. In addition, the drastic measures have caused significant damage to the international reputation of the PRC. The author suggests that the failure of the mass re-education campaign forced the Chinese authorities to change the tactics applied to the forced assimilation of Uyghurs in the second half of 2019. Re-education camps have been largely closed and most Uyghurs are now being organized to less coercive long-term labour transfers accompanied by short-term vocational training. These assumptions are supported by additional evidence based on content analysis of open source materials from Chinese Internet.

Regional refugee protection mechanism in ASEAN: A case-study of Rohingya crisis during 2017 and 2018

Thu T A Nguyen, Griffith University

In October 2017, the Myanmar military conducted a clearance operation of Rohingyas to retaliate the attacks by Arakan Rohingya Salvation Army. They continued with another clearance operation against Arakanese Army who were labelled "terrorist group" in late 2018. This critical humanitarian crisis caused thousands of Rohingya refugees to leave Myanmar. As a key regional institution, ASEAN has yet to successfully develop regional mechanism on refugee protection despite early regional cooperation to establish a regional refugee protection mechanism, with the introduction of the 2011 Regional Cooperation Framework, the 2013 Jakarta Declaration on Addressing Irregular Movement of Persons, and the 2015 Special Meeting on Irregular Migration in the Indian Ocean. This paper examines ASEAN's response to the Rohingya crisis from 2017 to 2018 using the norm localization framework, and explores the implications on the norm of regional refugee protection. Its central question is: What are the barriers to the formation of a regional refugee protection mechanism in ASEAN during 2017 and 2018? This research builds on the literature on Asian regional institutions in norm socialization under crisis and suggests strategies to improve regional cooperation over refugee protection.

Day 1/Session 3/Panel 6 – Public, Private, and Voluntary Responses to the Climate Crisis and Environmental Challenges: Can we have a Just Transition?

Stream: International Political Economy

Blowing in the wind: How the market limits wind's role in decarbonisation

Oliver Summerfield-Ryan, University of Sydney; Susan Park, University of Sydney

The global shift to renewable energy is imperative for preventing climate catastrophe. Increasingly dominated by China, wind energy is expected to play a leading role in meeting emissions reduction targets under the 2015 Paris Agreement. Wind is one of the fastest growing, most competitive, and least harmful of the renewable energy technologies. However,

we identify common structural weaknesses across the bifurcated wind energy market (China and the world) that may hamper the future of wind as a major component of the sustainable energy transition. Using the concept of value articulating institutions, we argue that the advantages of wind energy for the sustainable transition are not recognised by market fundamentals, which emulate fossil fuels. We document how the economic, environmental, and social benefits of wind energy remain undervalued compared with traditional and new energy technologies, particularly solar PV. This has significant implications for the future trajectory of wind energy and the impacts of energy sources used for decarbonisation.

'Developing countries' and environmental treaty-making: Measuring provisions for differentiation and their effect on state behaviour

Deborah Barros Leal Farias, University of New South Wales; Charles Roger, Institut Barcelona d'Estudis Internacionals

It is common knowledge that many environmental agreements contain special provisions for 'developing' countries. Yet, surprisingly, there is no clarity regarding the details of this scenario. There are no studies comparing the broad range of environmental agreements with details, such as: which treaties make such differentiation, what are their legal impacts, which countries are considered 'developing', etc. This research seeks to fill this gap. It starts identifying agreements mentioning "developing countries" (or equivalent term) in the over 1,300 multilateral environmental agreements (MEAs) listed in the International Environmental Agreement's Database (IEAD). We show that these provisions have grown in number, especially since the 1970s, but only appear in a small share of international environmental agreements. They are particularly common in much larger "universal" agreements that bring together diverse sets of actors. In the final section, we illustrate the value of our data and the substantive importance of these provisions, both theoretically and from a policymaking perspective. We do so by engaging with the existing literature that has explored the "depth versus participation" trade-off that is often posited to exist at the heart of international treaty-making and show that such trade-off exists after we account for differentiation in obligations within international agreements.

Rethinking civil society's normative power: Weak narrative on rights and justice in China's climate change activism

Fengshi Wu, University of New South Wales

Although a recognizable group of climate-related non-governmental organizations (NGOs) have emerged in China in the past decade, there is insufficient bottom-up activism to advocate for equity, environmental rights, and social justice in climate politics in China. The official climate policies implemented by the Chinese state remain primarily focused on carbon emission reduction, renewables, and energy efficiency, short of addressing the long-term impacts of climate change on disadvantaged communities and populations. The paper intends to explain the weak (or even missing) narrative on rights and justice in China's climate politics by applying the framework of knowledge politics and examining the asymmetric state-society relations in both global environmental governance and contemporary China.

Can urban mining really be an answer to renewables resource constraints?

Elizabeth Thurbon, University of New South Wales; Sung-Young Kim, Macquarie University; Hao Tan, University of Newcastle; John A Mathews, Macquarie University

It is well known that the clean energy shift is a natural resource-intensive shift, in that the manufacture of clean energy equipment such as wind turbines, solar panels and batteries is currently dependent upon critical materials like lithium. And it is increasingly well established that the mining of critical materials involves serious environmental and human rights risks and burdens, which are falling disproportionately on developing countries. In this context, 'urban mining' appears to be an idea whose time has come; the idea that critical materials can be recovered and recycled from city-based waste, and thereby offset the need for virgin mining, holds both environmental and economic promise, not least for developing nations. But how likely is it that urban mining can meet the rapidly growing demand for renewables, especially in the context of ambitious net-zero by 2050 goals? In this paper we seek to answer this question and to ascertain: can urban mining really be an answer to renewables resource constraints?

Day 1/Session 3/Panel 7 – Electoral Politics

Stream: Comparative Politics

Greening parties: The impact of internationalisation on political parties' emphasis on environmentalism

Nathan Fioritti, Monash University; Robert Thomson, Monash University

A prominent feature of modern party competition is that parties emphasise environmentalism to a greater extent than they did in the past. This paper documents the increasing attention paid to environmentalism by national parties more comprehensively than previous research. It also offers a new theoretical perspective on this trend, one which highlights the relevance of international integration. Previous studies have accounted for the increasing attention paid to environmentalism mainly by looking inward to the dynamics of party competition within states. Notwithstanding the insights offered by these studies, they largely ignore the fact that environmental problems and governance are highly international in nature. Our theory specifies how distinct dimensions of international integration interact with characteristics of national parties and party competition in ways that compel some parties to place more emphasis on environmentalism. We test our theory in a mixed-methods design. The quantitative analysis examines the established Manifesto Project dataset on parties in 34 democracies in the period 1960-2020. To examine the causal mechanisms in more depth, we conduct a case study of the Canadian Liberals who increased the emphasis they placed on environmentalism during a period of deepening international integration.

Between spectacular and ordinary exits: Varieties of populist exits in comparative perspective (1966–2021)

Cleve Arguelles, Australian National University

Many populists have left office in ways that are as breathtaking as their rise to power. But there has been comparatively little attention on populist exits in populism scholarship. My paper identifies and analyzes the varied ways populist rulers lose power. Through a descriptive study of 62 populists across the world and their 137 terms in power from 1966 to 2021, my research shows the major pathways for populist exits, describe in detail within-and cross-pathway differences, and explores how these affects our understanding of populism. 45% of elected populists leave power through 'spectacular' exits. These populists do not complete their terms of office. And they are usually forced to resign or are kicked out of power due to big political scandals, popular protests, or coups. 55% of populist rulers exit power in ways that are 'ordinary' in politics including electoral defeats and facing term limits. Even so, ordinary exits are usually temporary for many populists. Those who lost elections ran for office again and were subsequently elected. And those who were term-limited have consistently attempted to circumvent term restrictions. These findings on the variations in populist exits show the fragile nature of populist mobilizations and point to clear directions on understanding how populists are kept out of power.

Election promises and government policies in the context of identity and valence politics: Evidence from India

Pankaj Adhikari, Monash University; Sania Mariam, Indian Institute of Technology Bombay-Monash Academy; Robert Thomson, Monash University

Comparative research on democratic representation, based on mainstream democratic theory on promissory representation, has described and explained differences in the amount and kinds of choices that parties offer during election campaigns, and the strength of the linkages between parties' manifestos and subsequent government policies. However, little of this comparative work has examined the world's largest representative democracy as measured by population size, India. This study examines the extent to which the Indian parties fulfil their campaign promises after getting elected, and the political conditions impacting the fulfillment of those promises.

The study examines the manifestos of the two main Indian parties, the Bharatiya Janata Party and Indian National Congress, in the two most recent full government terms (2009-2014 and 2014-2019). Policy issues and election pledges are coded according to two established comparative frameworks, the Comparative Agendas Project and the Comparative Party Pledges Project respectively. We assess how fulfillment of campaign pledges varies between valence issues and identity issues, and explain the variation in pledge fulfillment. By providing detailed narratives of pledges on economic, caste, religion and gender issues, we provide insight into conditions affecting pledge fulfillment in the context of valence and identity politics.

Keeping election campaign promises when the unexpected happens

Freda Meng, Monash University; Robert Thomson, Monash University

Promissory representation maintains that political parties should make promises to voters during election campaigns and keep those promises when governing after elections. But what happens when things change dramatically and unexpectedly between the times of promising and governing? We develop and test a theory of how change affects

promise keeping. The theory covers different kinds of unexpected change, including economic upturns and downturns and natural disasters. The impact of change depends on the kind of change and the nature of what is promised. For instance, unexpected economic upturns make it more likely that pledges to expand programs are kept. We test the implications of the theory using a mixed methods approach. A quantitative analysis assesses the impact of unexpected economic performance on pledge fulfillment in thirteen countries using an existing dataset on over 8,000 pledges in thirteen countries. We also present new evidence on pledge fulfillment by Australian parties, including pledges made following the May 2019 federal election, which was followed by the unexpected events of the 2019-20 bushfire season and the 2020 COVID pandemic. The findings demonstrate the differential impact of change on the likelihood of pledge fulfillment.

Class, occupation and representation in the Australian Parliament

Patrick Leslie, Australian National University

Hanna Pitkin in *The Concept of Representation* (1967) proposes and returns several times to a metaphor for representation as a kind of mirror on the populace. A 'perfect' political assembly, therefore, reflects both the political and demographic composition of the country without distortion. Progress toward more statistically representative parliaments may be measured easily in some cases and political science has tracked the slow but steady improvement in the descriptive representation of women and marginalized groups across liberal democracies. However, the representation of class, while no less crucial to a functioning representative democracy, has received less scholarly attention. This is because class is a contested concept, requires careful operationalization and presents non-trivial challenges for statistical analysis. This study brings together three sources of data to analyse class and occupation-based representation in the Australian Parliament over 35 years; specifically labour market statistics, the Australian Election Study, and data on MPs in the Australian House of Representatives. I propose a method derivative of the Gallagher score to quantify disproportionality of social class in Parliament. The initial analysis suggests that, while the representation of women and other marginalized groups has improved significantly since the 1980s, the representation of social class has declined slightly.

Day 2/Session 1/Panel 1 – Non-State Actors, Politics, Development, and the Right to Make War

Stream: International Relations

What is al-Qa'ida? Undoing the instrumentally rational terrorist

Sarah G Phillips, University of Sydney

Scholars of terrorism face a common problem: the subject of their inquiry resists even a broad consensus definition. A standard practice is to acknowledge that terrorism remains a subjective designation, and that its meaning is not stable across time and space, before proceeding with a preferred conception of what constitutes terrorism, its root causes, or its most likely solutions. But the lack of definitional consensus is far from unique to terrorism studies, and while some suggest that it may be "a sign of [the field's] intellectual vigour, not poverty" (Horgan and Boyle 2008, 57), others argue that achieving consensus around "at least a 'good enough' definition" should remain the goal (Schmid 2011, 42). This paper does not seek to define terrorism. Rather, it argues that the ontological instability of terrorism is crucial to the persistence of the phenomena that the term is used to describe. I use a granular analysis of Yemeni discourses about al-Qa'ida and Islamic State to question the presumption that terrorist actors are best understood as instrumentally rational organisations, illustrating instead how terrorism knowledge practices reproduce their subjects.

Questioning the moderation dichotomy: Understanding Hamas's continuing moderation

Martin Kear, University of Sydney

In the literature on political moderation the impetus for movements to moderate their political behaviour is depicted as being driven by either inclusive or exclusive political forces. While each analytical camp produces cogent and nuanced analyses, the lack of any analytical consensus further complicates our understanding of the moderation process overall. However, this paper seeks to challenge this analytical dichotomy. Using the behavioural shifts of the Islamist movement Hamas post-2004 as its case study, this paper argues that concentrating solely on examining the structural causal mechanisms of moderation exhibited by inclusion or exclusion does not adequately capture the full ambit of the moderation process. The paper demonstrates that between 2004 – 2006 inclusion was the dominant driving force behind

Hamas's moderation. However, after Hamas's election victory in 2006, exclusion was the main force driving Hamas's continuing moderation.

Therefore, to provide a richer and more nuanced account of the causal drivers of moderation, this paper argues for the need to concentrate on examining a group's own active agency within the moderation process. Thus, any causal framework for moderation needs to place greater emphasis on understanding the ramifications of changes in a group's political environment, how it responds to those changes, and how it justifies those responses to its constituencies.

Holding World Vision Ethiopia to account: How state regulation of INGOs enhances effectiveness and accountability

Marcel Kaba, University of Sydney

Studies of NGO accountability have been growing exponentially over the last twenty years, with much of the literature suggesting that upward accountability to host-states is problematic and can undermine NGO work. Oversight of NGOs in host-states like Ethiopia, Africa's largest recipient of official development assistance, is often perceived with suspicion and described with terms such as crackdown or shrinking space. However, there exist few empirical studies of accountability that a) look at how oversight mechanisms are interpreted and implemented [at different administrative levels, particularly in developing countries], and b) incorporate the perspectives of all parties to an accountability relationship. Addressing those gaps, I show that an environment of strict accountability to the state, like in Ethiopia, can (1) enhance the accountability of NGOs to their beneficiaries, and (2) contribute to important aspects of development effectiveness such as coordination, learning, avoiding duplication, and continuity. World Vision Ethiopia (WVE) serves as a case study for examining the extent and effects of state oversight on development INGOs in Ethiopia. Highlighting important beneficial outcomes of strict upward accountability to the state, and thus challenging the conventional wisdom, this article offers valuable contribution to our understanding of accountability between NGOs and host-states.

Describing the warmaker: A research proposal

Ken Fraser, University of Sydney

To prepare for a larger research project aimed at a comprehensive description of the warfighting unit, I demonstrate the need for it. International relations can be defined as the interaction of multiple entities claiming a sovereign right, entailing a capability, to make war. Many kinds of collective entities, or political units, cannot fight wars, on any reasonable definition. Specifying the necessary elements for distinguishing one from the other is essential in three key areas of uncertainty.

First, it leads to a more nuanced approach to the ontology of levels. The claimed right to war is not limited to states. Many entities have the ability, to make war. Theorists need a heuristic to examine the distribution of these capabilities, and to situate these entities in world politics.

Second, one of the great uncertainties is the point at which autonomous weapons systems become able to prosecute military operations independently of human beings (the Terminator scenario). At what point does a botnet, for example, emerge as a coherent unit, able to make war?

Finally, such a model assists with the ethics of maintaining a military establishment, and of deciding when and where to deploy it, by establishing a parsimonious bottom line of capabilities.

Day 2/Session 1/Panel 2 – Polarization, Political Parties and Political Participation

Stream: Australian Politics

Democracy in the bush

Anika Gauja, University of Sydney; Darren Halpin, Australian National University; Carolyn Henriks, Australian National University; Madison Cartwright, University of New South Wales

Commentators warn that rural Australians are disconnecting from conventional institutions of political participation and representation, which points to a potential 'representative gap' facing almost a third of our nation's population living outside major cities. These Australians face unique social and political challenges due to their geographic isolation and

often have poorer health and welfare outcomes than people living in metropolitan areas. Rural communities are also at the frontier of some of Australia's largest policy threats including changing population dynamics, climatic conditions, water insecurity, and economic restructuring. Introducing the ARC SRI project 'Transforming Democracy in the Bush: A Study of Politics in Rural Australia', this paper examines the diverse ways that rural Australians are seeking voice and policy impact in contemporary politics. Through a diverse range of methods, we ask rural people to explain how they participate in politics, where, and on what issues. This approach enables us to better understand why traditional institutions representing rural interests, such as the National Party and other longstanding civic associations, might be suffering long-term declines in both members and income, while – at the same time – new or hybrid forms of political participation have emerged in some rural communities, including the success of rural independents and their support groups, and civic associations that straddle farming and non-farming communities.

The role of political polarization on American and Australian trust and media use during the COVID-19 pandemic

Andrea Carson, La Trobe University; Shaun Ratcliff, University of Sydney; Leah Ruppner, University of Melbourne

Understanding citizens' use and trust in media are essential during a global health crisis when governments need to provide reliable information to enact public measures to reduce rates of illness and death. This chapter examines these relationships through repeated surveys in two comparable liberal democracies, the United States of America and Australia during the COVID-19 pandemic. It finds that news engagement increased markedly in both countries in 2020 during the pandemic with television and newspapers the most relied upon sources. Media trust was higher for citizens who prioritised established news sources and medical experts for coronavirus information. Yet, there is clear evidence that people's news preferences are associated with their level of concern about the virus and support for government measures to contain it. Trump supporters were more inclined to trust information from family and friends on social media than from professional journalists. They were the group least concerned about catching the virus and most dissatisfied with government lockdown measures. The chapter finds greater political and media polarization and partisan distrust of experts in the United States compared to Australia. It concludes that polarization has serious real-world consequences for governments' capacities to protect public health in this time of crisis

Modern Labor's migration dilemma: Understanding the Federal Parliamentary Australian Labor Party and temporary migration

Emily Foley, La Trobe University

The values and priorities informing Australia's immigration program have undergone a monumental change in the twenty-first century, from building a permanent settler-migrant nation to privileging the economic benefits of temporary migration. While temporary migration has greatly impacted Australia's economy and social fabric, literature on political party organisations has not comprehensively documented how major political parties in Australia have approached this phenomenon. The Federal Parliamentary Australian Labor Party (FPLP) has historically opposed temporary migration citing the protection of Australian worker's rights, however, as globalisation and neoliberalism have facilitated the acceleration of global economic migration, the FPLP's position on temporary migration in the twenty-first century has been relatively ambiguous. This paper will present the preliminary findings of qualitative in-depth interviews conducted with current and former FPLP politicians, staffers and members to understand the extent to which the transformation of Labor tradition and party structure have influenced its approach to temporary migration and the challenges this presents for Social Democratic Parties.

Conceptualising investor activism as political participation

Erin O'Brien, Queensland University of Technology; Justine Coneybeer, Queensland University of Technology; Martijn Boersma, University of Technology Sydney; Alice Payne, Queensland University of Technology

Social movement organisations (SMOs) striving to combat major global issues including modern slavery and environmental degradation often seek to mobilise both individual and institutional investors to engage in divestment campaigns, indirect boycotts, shareholder resolutions, and legal action. Politically-motivated shareholder activism is recognised as a form of political participation under the banner of 'political consumerism' as one example of 'discursive political consumerism', however, this designation does not adequately capture the diversity of investor activism, and may conceal the unique role of investors as political actors. Building on Berger's recent suggestion for the establishment of a field of 'political investorism', this paper offers an initial conceptualisation of 'political investorism', as a counterpart rather than sub-set of political consumerism. Drawing upon six case studies in Australia, we use process-tracing and semi-

structured interviews to map the politically motivated actions that investors engage in, and analyse the strategies used by SMOs to mobilise investors, demonstrating the multi-dimensional nature of 'political investorism'.

Day 2/Session 1/Panel 3 – Unintended Consequences of Reform in Australia and Europe

Stream: Policy and Governance

More flexible, less productive? A meta-analysis of the firm-level evidence on the economic impact of dualist labor market reform in Europe

Francesco Stolfi, Macquarie University

Since the early 1990s, academic economists, the OECD and the European Commission have advocated the deregulation of employment relations as a strategy to boost economic growth in Europe. Consistently with these recommendations, for the past three decades several European countries have embarked on employment protection legislation (EPL) reforms as a strategy to bolster their competitiveness.

These reforms have often been at the margin. This is to say, they have reduced the regulatory constraints on temporary work while leaving the EPL for permanent workers largely intact, which has incentivized employers to make use of temporary rather than permanent contracts.

This paper assesses the impact on productivity and innovation of temporary employment in Europe through a systematic review of the firm-level evidence published over the past thirty years. We find that, ironically, the increased use of temporary employment has reduced productivity and innovation.

Another world was possible: Contesting the (re-)residualisation of JobSeeker after COVID-19

Ben Spies-Butcher, Macquarie University; Troy Henderson, University of Sydney; Elise Klein, Australian National University; Kirstin O'Connell, Macquarie University

The COVID-19 pandemic shook political economies around the world. Virtually overnight governments committed to market liberalism and paternalist welfare embarked on ambitious schemes of public spending and direct management of industry. In Australia, changes to unemployment and related benefits were a key part of this change. Benefit levels were temporarily raised, means-testing significantly relaxed and other forms of conditionality suspended. As the pandemic came under control and the economy and employment rebounded, so these measures have been unwound, returning to a mean and highly conditional norm. However, experience under COVID created a lived experience of an alternative, and growing resistance to a return to workfare. Drawing on a new collaborative research project, this paper explores how the experience of COVID has reshaped debates over welfare and how it might be mobilised towards less conditional and more adequate provision in the future.

Risk, rents and the politics of inequality: The unintended consequences of neoliberal social policy in Australia

Adam Stebbing, Macquarie University

Neoliberalism is widely held to have eroded the institutions of affluent welfare states over the last four decades. Yet, there is persistent debate over the extent to which neoliberalism has ushered in institutional changes that are transforming the financing and/or the distributive effects of social policy. Assessing the impact of neoliberalism on the Australian welfare state is complicated further by its unique tradition of 'social policy by other means', exemplified by the policies that comprised what Castles (1985) famously termed the wage-earner's welfare state. This paper claims that neoliberal reforms are gradually reorienting the Australian welfare state. Rather than involve wholesale retrenchment, neoliberal reforms have employed social tax expenditures, contract tenders and social regulations to facilitate and subsidise the shift to the private provision. This paper explores recent trends in the use of 'social policy by other means', then discusses the unintended consequences of recent reform for equity and efficiency. In conclusion, it considers the political implications of recent social policy reforms during the COVID-19 pandemic.

Proposals for 'social and economic participation' and a National Autism Strategy: What's the problem represented to be?

Calista Castles, Queensland University of Technology

In an age of uncertainty, it is crucial to question taken-for-granted assumptions in policy. This study is interested in how the issue of 'autism' is represented in submissions to a senate inquiry related to the establishment of a National Autism Strategy. More specifically, this study explores proposals for 'social and economic participation' of autistic adults in Australia and how the (un)employment of autistic adults is represented (problematized) as a policy 'problem'. Exploring problematizations matters because how something is put forward as a 'problem' carries with it material implications. These include discursive effects (what is or can be discussed and what is not or cannot be discussed); lived effects (material impact on lives); subjectification effects (how people are thought about by others and how they think about themselves).

Applying a poststructural approach to policy analysis called What's the Problem Represented to be? (WPR; Bacchi, 2009), this study reveals the grounding presuppositions and assumptions behind conceptualizations of inclusion, participation, disability and autism. Specifically, that (un)employment is represented as a 'problem' of awareness, skills development, and opportunities. These problem representations are underpinned by assumed knowledges (biomedicine, economics, psychology), that delimits the terms of response and possibilities for progressive change.

Day 2/Session 1/Panel 4 – Roundtable on Evaluating Gender and Racial Bias in Student Evaluations in Political Science

Stream: Teaching and Learning in Politics

Gendered mundanities: Gender bias in student evaluations of teaching in political science

Katharine Gelber, University of Queensland; Katie Brennan, University of Queensland; David Duriesmith, University of Sheffield; Ellyse Fenton, University of Queensland

Much research has been undertaken on gender bias in student evaluations of teaching (SETs). While findings in this literature have been inconsistent, when researchers have taken a broader, qualitative approach to their analysis it tends to render visible the mundane expectations that students have of male and female identified teaching staff. When this occurs, the results have tended to show the presence of gender bias. Building on this extensive literature, we undertake here a qualitative analysis of the short answer responses in four years of SETs in a school of political science and international relations in a highly regarded Australian university. Our findings support the argument that gender bias is revealed through analysis of the qualitative responses in SETs. We find that male and female identified students evaluate female staff similarly, but evaluate male staff differently. Female identified staff are evaluated positively for undertaking time-intensive, stereotypically feminine, emotional labour. Male identified staff, by contrast, are evaluated positively primarily for their expertise and knowledge. Female identified staff are expected to do more unrewarding and unrewarded emotional labour to improve their teaching, whereas male identified teachers are not. These findings recognise the existence of a higher burden of unrewarded labour on female identified teaching staff.

Gender bias in student evaluations of teaching: 'Punish[ing] those who fail to do gender right'

Sophie Adams, University of New South Wales; Laura Shepherd, University of Sydney; Sheree Bekker, University of Bath; Yanan Fan, University of New South Wales; Tess Gordon, University of New South Wales

A significant body of work problematises the assumption that student evaluations of teaching (SET) actually measure teaching quality. This is concerning, given that SET are increasingly relied upon not only to evaluate candidates for employment (so job acquisition is influenced by flawed data) but also to inform performance metrics for those in employment (so job security is influenced by flawed data). This paper presents qualitative research conducted at a large public university in Australia. The findings suggest that student evaluations of teaching seem to measure conformity with gendered expectations rather than teaching quality, with particularly negative effects for women. The integration of SET into performance management practices within institutions of higher education could be entrenching inequalities amongst university staff that could ultimately disadvantage female academics.

Gender and cultural bias in student evaluations: Why representation matters

Yanan Fan, University of New South Wales; Laura Shepherd, University of Sydney; Eve Slavich, University of New South Wales; David Waters, University of New South Wales; M. Stone, University of New South Wales

Gendered and racial inequalities persist in even the most progressive of workplaces. There is increasing evidence to suggest that all aspects of employment, from hiring to performance evaluation to promotion, are affected by gender and

cultural background. In higher education, bias in performance evaluation has been posited as one of the reasons why few women make it to the upper echelons of the academic hierarchy. With unprecedented access to institution-wide student survey data from a large public university in Australia, we investigated the role of conscious or unconscious bias in terms of gender and cultural background. We found potential bias against women and teachers with non-English speaking backgrounds. Our findings suggest that bias may decrease with better representation of minority groups in the university workforce. Our findings have implications for society beyond the academy, as over 40% of the Australian population now go to university, and graduates may carry these biases with them into the workforce.

Sexism, racism, prejudice, and bias: A literature review and synthesis of research surrounding student evaluations of courses and teaching

Troy Heffernan, La Trobe University

This paper analyses the current research regarding student evaluations of courses and teaching. The article argues that student evaluations are influenced by racist, sexist and homophobic prejudices, and are biased against discipline and subject area. This paper's findings are relevant to policymakers and academics as student evaluations are undertaken in over 16,000 higher education institutions at the end of each teaching period. The article's purpose is to demonstrate to the higher education sector that the data informing student surveys is flawed and prejudiced against those being assessed. Evaluations have been shown to be heavily influenced by student demographics, the teaching academic's culture and identity, and other aspects not associated with course quality or teaching effectiveness. Evaluations also include increasingly abusive comments which are mostly directed towards women and those from marginalised groups, and subsequently make student surveys a growing cause of stress and anxiety for these academics. Yet, student evaluations are used as a measure of performance and play a role in hiring, firing and promotional decisions. Student evaluations are openly prejudiced against the sector's most underrepresented academics, and they contribute to further marginalising the same groups universities declare to protect, value and are aiming to increase in their workforces.

Day 2/Session 1/Panel 5 – Political Violence in the Settler Colony

Stream: Indigenous Politics

State violence and the politics of refusal: Between the body and the academy

Sana Nakata, University of Melbourne

The final chapter to Audra Simpson's landmark *Mohawk Interruptus* opens with the questions, 'How to stop a story that is always being told? Or, how to change a story that is always being told?' (2014, 177). This paper pays particular attention to Simpson's theorising of refusal as sovereignty in relation to its embodied and methodological practices, and reads these against two sites: state-sanctioned violence in the form of policing against Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples; and the academy as a site of knowledge production and authorisation. It contends that where state-sanctioned violence is enacted in order to bring about an end to political contestation that embodied acts of refusal take on heightened risk to Indigenous life. While the sovereign legitimacy of settler colonial states can be refused in various ways, refusing the exercise of its monopoly on 'legitimate' violence is a different kind of wager. This paper explores what the responsibilities and complicities of the academy might be at these violent 'end' points of the political, and the forms of methodological and institutional refusal that might be necessary within the academy in order to protect Indigenous life and sovereignties beyond.

'The passing of the past that won't pass': A history of Palestinian resistance to settler colonial fragmentation

Jamal Nabulsi, University of Queensland

For Palestinians, history is a nightmare from which we are struggling to awaken. Given that Zionist/Israeli settler colonialism has functioned to erase the Palestinian from history, recalling Palestinian pasts is necessarily a simultaneous writing and righting of history. In this paper, I recount the events of and leading to the 1948 Nakba, the 1967 Naksa, the First Intifada, the Oslo "peace" process, and its aftermath, stressing that the various stages of Zionist/Israeli settler colonialism have been resisted by Palestinians at every turn. Recognising Palestinian resistances provides insight into the settler colonial strategies they challenge and undermine. I find that Zionist/Israeli settler colonialism is characterised not only by the elimination of Palestinians, but by the fragmentation of Palestine and Palestinians to achieve this. Fragmentation works through dismantling Palestinian institutions, fracturing bodies, rupturing Palestinian space, time and memory, breaking up families and shattering selves. These varied forms of fragmentation are shot through one

another, with cracks and tears extending through Palestinian lives. It is vital to recognise this settler colonial strategy of fragmentation, as it is a crucial site of ongoing Palestinian struggle.

Incarceration, state violence and settler colonialism in Australia and Palestine

Kim Alley, University of Melbourne

Aboriginal Australians and Palestinians face some of the highest incarceration rates in the world. This paper will examine settler colonial structures of domination in both Australia and Palestine, exploring incarceration the structural violence of the state on Indigenous bodies. In doing so it will examine the relationship between such political and structural violence, as well as ongoing settler colonial structures of domination and elimination. It will examine the role of the state and how incarceration and systemic carceral violence contributes to the act of nation building in settler colonial societies, both in Australia and Palestine. In doing so, this presentation will also explore the Indigenous responses to such violence, exploring both resistance and refusal in relation to political, structural and carceral violence in both colonising projects.

Day 2/Session 1/Panel 6 – Between Conflict and Compromise in International Trade and Investment

Stream: International Political Economy

State location in its regional politico-economic structure, trade openness, and anti-government movements

Tianjing Liao, University of Tennessee

The existing research that examines the political consequences of fraternalistic (intergroup) relative deprivation focuses on its effects on public attitude towards or actions against political entities outside groups; whether such relative deprivation leads to protesting within-group leadership is at question. This study examines the impact of interstate income discrepancy on anti-government movements. Based on an originally built model for the cognitive processes of causal attribution for interstate relative deprivation, it is argued that anti-government protests are more likely to be staged in a state that has a lower regionally polity-distance-weighted interstate relative individual income, and particularly, the effect is conditioned by its trade openness level. The research analyzes 157 states from 1990 to 2018, finding that as trade openness grows and crosses some threshold, a state's lower location in its regional politico-economic structure is significantly associated with a higher likelihood of domestic anti-government protest.

Duration of targeted sanctions and the U.S.–China trade negotiation

Yi-hao Su, National Taiwan University

Why does the U.S. government sanction some Chinese companies longer than their counterparts? The Trump administration employed targeted sanctions to suppress Chinese multinational corporations. However, the U.S. executive agencies have issued exemptions and lifted sanctions on some leading Chinese firms. Removing sanctions is puzzling because it sends a signal of unwillingness to escalate conflicts. Unfortunately, trade politics literature fails to answer this puzzle as scholars pay little attention to the connections between targeted sanctions and trade negotiations.

I conceptualize targeted sanctions as bargaining chips and intend to test two competing explanations. First, based on the logic of the two-level game, this proposal hypothesizes that sanctions against Chinese firms that have violated human rights are less likely to be lifted because normative claims restrict the win-set's size more than rationality claims do. Second, selectorate theory indicates that board members of state-owned enterprises (SOEs) are often supporters of authoritarian leaders. Thus, to undermine the economic lifeline of Chinese leadership, the U.S. is supposed to keep sanctions on Chinese SOEs. I will generate an original firm-level dataset and conduct a comparative case study. I gleaned cases from the U.S. enforcement agencies' sanctions records since 2001 when China became the World Trade Organization's member.

Economic relations between Turkey and the EU in times of political stalemate

Lukas Forytek, Prague University of Economics and Business

Deterioration of Turkey-EU political relations and stalemate in the accession process raise the question what (if any) impact does it have on economic cooperation. The paper analyzes and evaluates data of three crucial pillars of the economic cooperation: The Customs Union, the European Investment Bank loans, and the Pre-accession assistance

funds. The findings of the research say that metamorphosis of political relations did not influence the economic collaboration through Customs Union. Turkey's bilateral trade with EU has been stably growing and slumps that occurred were caused by macroeconomic conditions (i.e. world financial crisis). On the other hand, the value of the Turkish projects funded by EIB decreased substantially in 2016 and since 2019 the lending to Turkey has been suspended. Data for pre-accession assistance programs show that allocations to Turkey declined. Moreover, 2021-2027 EU pre-accession assistance program brought higher flexibility that enables EU promptly react on a development in particular country. To conclude, the economic collaboration based on Customs Union seems to be stable with no deeper impact of deterioration of political relations, on the other hand, Turkey has lost access to loans from EIB, and its economic development can be negatively influenced through changes in EU pre-accession assistance programs.

The political economy of bilateral lending from emerging donors

Pippa Morgan, Duke Kunshan

A paucity of data has thus far made systematic quantitative analysis of emerging bilateral donors such as China a major challenge. This study takes advantage of new World Bank data on the sovereign creditors of a panel of 120 low- and middle-income countries from 2000-2019 to first chart the growing importance of key emerging donors during the twenty-first century, focusing on the BRICS (Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa), before statistically analyzing the political, strategic, and economic factors that drive their lending and investigating whether they are different from the "traditional" (mostly) Western donors that comprise the Paris Club. Finally, using data on the average grant elements, interest rates, and grace periods of bilateral official loans to the same panel of borrowers, this study will analyze whether low- and middle-income countries which borrow proportionately more from the emerging bilateral donors tend to receive better or worse terms than those who stick to the conventional Paris Club lenders. Given the growing importance of countries such as the BRICS as bilateral creditors, a more systematic comparative understanding of their motives and behavior has substantial policy relevance, in particular in the wake of COVID-19 induced debt distress across much of the developing world.

Day 2/Session 1/Panel 7 – Comparative Research: Methods and Applications

Stream: Comparative Politics

Diagrammatical approaches to operationalising historical institutionalism as a method in comparative politics

Michael de Percy, University of Canberra; Stephen J. Darlington, Australian National University

Historical institutionalism is often regarded as the least rigorous and the more tautological of the 'new institutionalisms', but this reputation is undeserved. We argue that historical institutionalism, when viewed as a method for, rather than a theory of, examining institutional stasis and change, can provide a rigorous approach to process tracing that is useful in examining the impact of institutional legacies on contemporary political issues. Famous historical institutionalist scholars, including Kathleen Thelen, suggest that systematic approaches to comparative temporal analyses can help to overcome the shortcomings of the inductive method in comparative politics. While many comparative political studies adopt historical institutionalism as an approach to examining temporal sequencing, few studies specify how historical institutionalism is used as a method and even fewer do so explicitly. Borrowing from other disciplines that have a long history of using diagrams to explain changes to the status quo, this paper examines the benefits of adopting visual heuristics to operationalise historical institutionalism in comparative political studies. Benefits include a systematic approach to capturing past legacies that inform present choices, identifying key periods of stasis and change, and identifying the specific exogenous and endogenous pressures and tensions that result in critical junctures within a temporal sequence.

Varieties of aging in place: A comparative study of Hongkong, Macao, Guangzhou and Shenzhen in Southern China

Shiu-fai Wong, Macao Polytechnic Institute

Aging in place has become popular across the world as it aims to relieve financial and resource pressures on society by enabling older adults to live more independently in their homes and thus become healthier/happier and less dependent on nursing homes. While this concept is already beginning to find acceptance in the Anglo-Saxon world, it does not necessarily extend to urban China, which has a more densely-populated society and a family-oriented culture. The obstacles to the practice of aging in place vary in Chinese cities in different ways, leading to frustration on the part of

Chinese practitioners. This paper argues that a malleable structure to meet the contradictory goals, instead of the conventional one-size-fits-all one to reduce social welfare demands inherent in Western-style reforms, may improve the performance of aging in place in China. This finding is based on a synthetic literature review supplemented by a comparative study of Hongkong, Macao, Guangzhou and Shenzhen in Southern China, which are neighboring cities with similar variables but different varieties of aging in place.

Putting regional politics into practice for local economic development in a contemporary Uganda: A participatory action research study of local government empowerment

Kizito Lubuulwa, University of Tasmania; Fred Gale, University of Tasmania; Joanna Vince, University of Tasmania

The general problem of stalled African development has been linked to poor governance, a key proposed solution being political, administrative and/or financial decentralisation to regional governments to empower communities to foster local economic development (LED). Focusing on political decentralisation, this paper investigates its effectiveness as a governance approach. Combining a qualitative social science approach with the Participatory Action Research (PAR) methodology, the paper analyses the experience of political decentralisation in two Ugandan Sub-county communities from the perspective of those directly affected by it. The research methods employed also included literature review of decentralised governance in Uganda and content analysis of governmental and non-governmental organisation documents, supported by interviews, council meetings, and workshops with local governmental officials, with observation of local government practices. The study found that decentralisation as currently practiced leads to the disempowerment of local leaders via a lack of accountability, transparency, participation, financial systems practices, money-politics and alleged corruption, and deferential cultural orientations. The paper demonstrates how, these challenges can significantly reduce through gradual and continued conscientisation of local government officials via collective, community learning. Also, the paper highlights the large gap between theories of decentralised governance and on-the-ground practices.

Five people power strategies used in cities – lessons from Cape Town, implications for Australia

Amanda Tattersall, University of Sydney; Kurt Iveson, University of Sydney

From Hong Kong to the Movement for Black Lives citizens are rising up to assert their needs in an environment of crisis, inequality and climate uncertainty. As recent social movement scholarship suggests, it is important to understand the strategic choices that social movements make as well as analysing the issues that they contest. This paper outlines a framework that unpacks the different strategic choices that urban movements are making in trying to build and enact their power. Building on a database of 120 cities and case studies of five, the paper overview the five forms of people power that are commonly used to contest for power in cities across the world. These strategies are playing by the rules, mobilizing, organizing, prefiguration and parties. These forms of people power are then analysed the context of a battle over urban land in Cape Town, South Africa. The Reclaim the City movement experimented with all these people power forms as it sought to create affordable housing for Black residents in the inner city. Most powerfully, they demonstrate the use of prefigurative power, which has important lessons for Australian urban social movements.

Day 2/Session 2/Panel 1 – Alliance Management: Small State Strategies in Southeast and South Asia

Stream: International Relations

The necessary silence: The evolution of Philippines and Vietnam's policy of attention in asymmetric relationships

Guangyi Pan, University of New South Wales

Compared to the high-profile policy of drawing extensive and intensive international attention a few years ago, Philippines and Vietnam's South China Sea (SCS) policy became more self-restraint recently. Duterte almost reversed the previous government's China policy and pivot to toward China. Meanwhile Hanoi and Beijing held multiple high-ranking visits after 2016, mitigating their tensions in the region. Why did they to some extent downplay the issue of SCS after internationalizing it and adopted such policy adjustments? Putting them in the perspective of asymmetric relationships, both the Philippines and Vietnam embraced radical SCS policy in the first place for attracting over-attention from international audiences in order to increase the audience cost of China's expansion, maximize the territorial interests as possible and to reaffirm the strategic values to great powers. When political tensions and the possibility of conflicts rose, they began shifting the international attention away from themselves to avoid becoming the center of great power conflict

and to share the political and economic burdens by managing their relations with both China and the US. This paper explains how these two smaller states leverage the international attention to reduce the uncertainty in the hedging policy, ensure the obtained interests from China's assertiveness and simultaneously maintain a stable and sustainable relations with both China and the US.

Temperaments of small states: A Southeast Asian research prospectus

Jan Vincent Galas, Chung-Ang University

Southeast Asia is playing an increasingly important role in the international community due to its continuous economic growth prospects, complex position with US-China hegemonic contest, and security concerns such as the South China Sea conflict, that involve global powers. This requires a research prospectus that both recognizes the complexities and subtleties of the region and of the states consisting it. Various scholars have noticed the paradoxical relations within and without the region, specifically the growing economic interlinkages vis-à-vis deepening security tensions. Hence, this paper proposes an academic framework to analyze these paradoxical tendencies. It offers structured research questions and methodologies that are appropriate in studying the individual and collective characteristics of Southeast Asian states which are contingent on conflicting forces, compounded processes, and puzzling tendencies. I propose a juxtaposed analytical framework that investigates what happens in the intervening spaces of intra-Southeast Asian and inter-Southeast Asian relations, where social forces drift and collide. Taken as a whole, I aim to help better understand and explain the complex and empirical realities of Southeast Asia.

Sacrificing freedom for money? A case study of Taiwan's response to China's economic statecraft

Yifei Zhu, Freie Universität

In recent years, China (PRC) has increasingly opted for economic statecraft in dealing with other countries or regions, which connotes economic means to influence actors' behaviors for strategic purposes. Many related studies focus on China's side, such as the way it manipulates the economic interaction and the effectiveness of these strategies. However, fewer studies are conducted from a recipient's side to investigate how countries respond to China, particularly when advanced capitalist democracies are involved.

Among others, Taiwan has probably experienced the most profound and protracted use of China's economic statecraft. Being said so, a puzzle arises from Taiwan's response. Since the early 1990s, there has been a clear tendency of liberalization in its economic policy toward China, although the speed and scope varied from time to time.

I argue that it is Taiwan's industrial-upgrading interest that is the core impetus behind, which is associated with its long-lived legacy of the developmental state. On top, the post-Cold War structure in East Asia, characterized by economic globalization and political rapprochement, played a critical role in shaping Taiwan's strategy.

My findings demonstrate that systematic differences of economic governance are crucial to the understanding of foreign economic policymaking.

The US and alliances management in the Asia-Pacific during the early Cold War

Masahiko Nishimura, Kyoto University

Why did the US choose a network of bilateral military alliances (hub-and-spokes system) in the Asia-Pacific and not a comprehensive regional alliance like NATO in Europe? IR theorists have tried to explain this question, but they have not scrutinized the historical facts. From a historical perspective, this presentation explores why the US abandoned its last regional alliance program during the early cold war.

This presentation points out that the US government, which prioritized sharing military burdens with the Asia-Pacific countries at first, found the regional alliance undesirable for the US interests in late 1950s. At the time, the principal way of waging cold war shifted from military to non-military approach and the US preferred to avoiding all-out war in the Asia-Pacific. The US concerned that the collective alliance would make it difficult to localize conflicts because it would involve countries which were not directly attacked and could be used as a cause of broadening a conflict by People's Republic of China.

Instead of the collective alliance, the US asked the allies to share military burdens on ad hoc basis. The hub-and-spokes system was more flexible and so better than a collective alliance for the US.

COVID-19 and strategic adjustments in South East Asia

Lavina Lee, Macquarie University

It is commonplace to describe various Southeast Asian states as following hedging strategies when it comes to their relations with both the United States and China. This paper focuses on three Southeast Asian maritime states – Indonesia, Singapore and Malaysia – and analyses the types of hedging strategies pursued by each state, and how they have evolved since 2014 (especially in light of the COVID-19 pandemic) in the face of China's sustained and aggressive efforts to exert strategic, economic, diplomatic and political influence over the region. The paper will argue that the strength of each states hedging strategy falls on a spectrum from light to heavy, with Chinese influence activities already eroding the ability of some of these states to maintain an independent foreign policy in the long term, which is the ultimate aim of the hedging strategies they have pursued.

Day 2/Session 2/Panel 2 – Values and Identities

Stream: Australian Politics

The burqa ban, Islamophobia, and the effects of racial 'othering' in Australian political discourses

Benafsha Askarzai, Queensland University of Technology

Racism and 'othering' of ethnicities is an enduring feature of Western politics. In Australia, Senator Pauline Hanson is one of the highest profile disseminators of racist political opinions. One of her most notorious anti-Muslim campaigns came in the form of her support for a burqa ban, with engagement in constant media commentary and a publicity stunt in 2017 in which she wore a burqa into the Federal Senate Chamber. This article analyses the public discourse surrounding Hanson's call for a burqa ban, focusing on Twitter as an online media forum for the sharing and dissemination of political beliefs. In analysing twitter posts and responses linked to Hanson's twitter handle referring to #burqaban and related terms between January 1st, 2016 and December 31st, 2018, clear themes depicting orientalism, dualism and Islamophobia emerge. I argue that the propagation of these political discourses perpetuates a perception of the burqa as epitomising fear of dangerous and harmful mischaracterisations of Australian Muslims. The normalisation and continued utilisation of orientalist, dualist and Islamophobic themes in political and public discourse, linked with the political profile and positional authority of Pauline Hanson, legitimises calls for impositions on Muslims' religious freedoms, manifesting in debates such as the Burqa Ban.

Australian politics and queer identity

Jack Hayes, Griffith University

Australian politics to date has largely neglected the study of queer identity. Yet, with the political success of gaining marriage equality in 2017, as well as growing calls for more dynamic, representative political representation, the study of sexuality and politics is increasingly important. This paper presents research from one of the first qualitative studies of Australian queer politicians. It draws on semi-structured interviews with ten queer sitting members of local, state and federal politics to understand: what are the experiences of queer politicians in Australia? Using queer theory to analysis findings, the paper argues that queer politicians' sexuality is never taken-for-granted. It informs the choice of political party, processes of nomination and campaigning, as well as their experience of being in office. Whilst there is some evidence that participants' are 'queering' politics in positive ways, such as building coalitions across party lines, a lack of diversity in the queer politicians nominated to office (typically white, cis-gender gay men) has led to a disparity of queer representation. Overall, the paper highlights the considerable gaps that remain in understanding the queer political experience, a gap that will only grow more pronounced as the presence of queer people in elected office increases.

Surviving underground: The Croatian Revolutionary Brotherhood and the durability of extremist movements

Alexander Lee, Australian National University

International uncertainty was the catalyst for the re-activation of one of Australia's most durable and capable Cold War era extremist groups, the Croatian Revolutionary Brotherhood (HRB). After launching a serious armed incursion into Yugoslavia in 1963 the Australian government believed that law enforcement had successfully disbanded the

organization. Canberra assumed the problem of violent Croatian nationalism was in decline and focused attention towards more salient international crises. However, a decade later the group re-emerged. In direct response to the Croatian Spring or Maspok and the Warsaw Pact invasion of Czechoslovakia, the group reconstituted and launched an even larger attack on Yugoslavia, surprising Australia and infuriating Belgrade. Using the HRB as a case study, this paper examines how extremist movements can survive repression by going deeper underground. It explores how international events, that may or may not be understood by the Australian government, can become the catalyst for the re-activation of violent movements.

Uncovering 'Australian values': Evidence from three major studies

Jill Sheppard, Australian National University

Australian politicians and policy actors regularly refer to 'Australian values', with the implication that these values are both universally held and understood. Previous research into the nature of universal Australian values has been largely critical of existing policies and stated-initiated rhetoric (Johnson 2007; Walsh and Karolis 2008; Chisari 2015). This study takes an alternative approach, using secondary survey data – from the 2018 World Values Survey, 2018 Asian Barometer Survey, and the 2019 Australian Election Study – and established, comparative survey-based measures of democratic and national values to identify latent Australian values using item-response theory analyses. Although the values identified are constrained to those measured in these survey projects, they reflect widely established and common values across democracies and non-democracies internationally. This project both identifies Australian values in the domestic context, with important policy and political implications, as well as situating those values in comparative context.

How has Australian and British immigration selection policy been racialised over time?

Jake Davies, University of Sydney

This paper addresses the phenomenon of 'racialised' immigration selection policy, which refers to policies pertaining to migrant selection disproportionately discriminating against people of colour. It assesses the racialisation of immigration selection policies over time in Australia and the UK, two white-majority nations with colonial ties and legacies, which have been subjected to limited comparison to date. The paper introduces a novel typology of racialised immigration selection policy, which qualitatively maps the two countries' different historic trajectories based on an analysis of the relevant literature. This topic is pertinent to policy-focused studies of the gap between espoused and effective immigration policy. We are presently in an era in which policymakers are normatively committed to achieving universalism in migrant selection, but in practice, discrimination continues to different degrees. Indeed, a recent example can be found in the ongoing Covid-19 pandemic, with governments concerned about public health increasingly distinguishing between individuals crossing international borders based on their country of origin's record of dealing with the pandemic, with potentially racialised consequences.

Day 2/Session 2/Panel 3 – Markets and Public Policy

Stream: Policy and Governance

Leeching public value? Questioning the surge to large commercial consulting firms in the era of the APS freeze

Michael Howard, University of Newcastle

Relative to in-house staffing costs, spending at the Commonwealth level on external consultants and contractors has been increasing for at least three decades. From 2013, during a prolonged Coalition freeze on APS (Australian Public Service) staffing, this shift accelerated. In a context of improved digital access to the summary details of contracts, this post-2013 surge has given rise to increasing attention and questioning from a diverse spectrum - audit bodies, politicians, former senior public servants, unionists, journalists, and some academics. Are consultancies functioning as 'legitimation' devices for the political executive - as handy alternatives to more robust or public forms of policy formulation? Are the large firms winning an increasing share of contracts merely by dint of PR imagery plus donations to, and recruitment from, the political class?

What maladies might flow from this interaction? Despite recruitment of in-house bureaucrats, does the business accounting background and global profile of the firms tend to prioritise cost over quality, to feature inappropriate benchmarking, to result in exorbitant fees from partner expectations and firm collusion? Given the opaqueness of

'commercial in confidence', where is the evidence of knowledge transfer to the bureaucracy, protection of APS capability or value for money evaluations? The paper will mainly relay, but partly assess these concerns, while noting their precursors in earlier years.

Co-creating sustainable places: Exploring the role of place branding in sustainable regional development

Laura Ripoll González, Erasmus University; Erik Hans Klijn, Erasmus University; Jasper Eshui, Erasmus University

Current place marketing approaches are mainly externally-focused and short-term oriented. Following economic development imperatives, place brands based on positive attributes of places are developed to increase visitation, attract talent and investment (increase competitive advantage). Despite the little benefit and huge taxpayers' cost of such practice, it often brings about social and environmental negative consequences to the local community. Public administration scholars mirroring theoretical developments in co-creation of public services and the need for more interactive governance models to solve complex societal issues, have begun to explore alternative and participatory place branding approaches, warranting greater stakeholder involvement and resource integration towards a more balanced approach to sustainable regional development.

This paper reports findings from the first phase of a larger, mixed-methods international comparative study (Australia, Netherlands, and Spain, see brandsus.eu) combining quantitative survey methodology with action research. Employing computer assisted analysis software we present a document analysis of publicly available primary data (strategies and policies) on regional place branding and development. Our analysis focuses on exploring stakeholder participation at both process and outcome levels. We outline the policy and governance implications of our findings for sustainable regional development.

The quality of governance peace: Interrogating macro-level theory at the meso-level

Richard Bell, University of Queensland

Political conflict manifests not only at a country-level, but also at the sub-state level. New datasets and the 'subnational turn' enable exploration of whether effects predicted by macrolevel theory are replicated at the mesolevel. The Quality of Governance Peace has emerged as both an academic and practitioner basis for understanding the conditions in which long-run stability can be achieved in modern polities. This paper extends the existing governance quality arguments to the sub-national level in order to test micro-level assumptions and implications of the macro-level theory. I interrogate existing transnational quantitative research by applying the same frameworks to a case study of Nepal at the sub-state (District) level. Semi-structured, elite level interviews focusing on the Madhes Movement as the most recent major political movement in Nepal are used to provide further evidence around the impact of governance quality on conflict against government. The results point to a strong negative relationship between governance quality and the occurrence of political violence, with a particular emphasis on political exclusion and repression, rule of law, and formal democratic institutions as having the most explanatory power rather than the day-to-day role of bureaucracy, corruption, or the states handing of economic policy.

Beyond retrenchment? Neoliberalism, 'social policy by other means' and the Australian welfare state

Adam Stebbing, Macquarie University

Neoliberalism is widely held to have eroded the institutions of affluent welfare states over the last four decades. Yet, there is persistent debate over the extent to which neoliberalism has ushered in institutional changes that have transformed the financing and/or the distributive effects of social policy. Assessing the impact of neoliberalism on the Australian welfare state is complicated further by its unique and long tradition of 'social policy by other means'. This tradition notably includes the policies that comprised what Castles (1985) famously termed the wage-earner's welfare state and more recent innovations such as the Superannuation Guarantee. Inspired by recent scholarly literature that highlights the increasing use of social tax expenditures, contract tenders and regulations in the neoliberal age, this paper explores recent trends in the use of 'social policy by other means' in Australia. It presents preliminary analysis that updates existing accounts and asks what this may imply about the impact of neoliberalism on the Australian welfare state before and during the COVID-19 pandemic (so far).

Day 2/Session 2/Panel 4 – Religion, Power and Authority

Stream: Religion and Politics

Politics in the age of uncertainty: Anti-intellectualism, expertise, and the technological agenda in Queensland politics, 1911–2011, a paper of local-regional relevance

Neville Buch, University of Queensland

The author's Quadrant article (2007) has come into play with Kevin Rudd's recent The Guardian article. The Australian political discussion has again drawn around the relationship between the role of the Prime Minister and his personal beliefs within Pentecostalism. What is too missed in the recurrent and fleeting discussion are the different, permanent, intellectual frames of expectations in policy formation (2007). Two umbrella frames are how Australians define Religion and the Secular.

Drawing on previous collections of historical analytic data (2018-2019), this paper will scope to Queensland political history (2021) and explain the intellectual frames employed specifically in relation to themes of Anti-intellectualism, Expertise, and the Technological Agenda, in the political narratives within the period 1911-2011.

Glocal dimensions of Catholic agency

Marianne Rozario, University of Notre Dame; Christian Santos, University of Notre Dame

This paper investigates the agency of Catholic actors in international relations to influence the socio-political world. It focuses on global and local dimensions of Catholic Bishops' Conferences. This investigation is grounded in research based on two case studies: the Catholic Bishops' Conference of England and Wales (CBCEW) and their global anti-slavery initiative of the Santa Marta Group (SMG), and the Catholic Bishops' Conference of the Philippines (CBCP) and their local particularities in response to Family Planning Policy by the government of the Philippines. Through this comparative study, we argue that the glocal dimensions of agency articulated by each individual Catholic Bishops' Conferences can deepen existing IR discourse on religion more broadly. Engaging with the religious traditions of these Catholic actors offers new insight to understandings of Catholic agency more specifically.

Democracy and political Islam: The case of Malaysia

Aliye Nur Kelesoglu, University of Malaya

In recent years, the debate of democracy in crisis is increasing with the growing tendency of countries moving towards right-wings politics. Around the similar concern, another attention grabbing trend is taking place in some Muslim countries where the political Islam has been gaining ground by challenging the notion of democratic norms and institutions. Having its ideological roots in Muslim Brotherhood movement founded in Egypt, political Islam has deeply affected the politics of some Muslim countries. On one hand, the rise of political Islam is a response to colonisation, Westernisation and globalisation, where it is considered as an alternative to democratic values. On another hand, the rising popularity of political Islam and Islamic movements is also a reaction to the deteriorating socio-economic and socio-political conditions including the widespread corruption of the elites and subversion of democratic institutions. With 61.3% of the populations as Muslims, the Islamic movements in Malaysia are robust and enjoy broad grassroots acceptance. By using Malaysia as my case study to explore into the relationship between democracy and political Islam, I aim to shed light on the main motivations behind the influence of political Islam and its frames as a cure for social and political problems in Malaysia.

The 2014 presidential election's impact and the decline of democracy during pandemic COVID-19 in Indonesia

Solikhah Yuliatiningtyas, Deakin University

This paper analyses the declining democracy under Jokowi's leadership, by using framing and critical discourse analysis, explains why Indonesia's ranking on EIU Democracy Index 2020 reaches lowest level in 14 years. Since 2014 Indonesia's democracy ranked declined from 49 to 64, an overall global score of 6.3, down from 6.95 in 2014, with score of civil liberties decreased from 7.35 to 5.59. Data from YLBHI showed that 351 violations on civilian freedoms were recorded in 2020. People were banned from searching for information, expressing their opinion, and also a personal data breach. Around 52% of the cases were criminalization, mostly ulama/clerics, Islamic scholars and activists who voted for Prabowo. Its recorded 20 had died from extrajudicial killings. Furthermore, Indonesia fulfills four indicators of authoritarian behavior. Similar to EUI's findings, Indicators's survey (Sept-2020) shows 50% of respondents afraid to express their opinions. The digital strategy also used to manipulate public opinion to stop the Covid-19 issue, the 2020 regional elections, and political opponents by utilizing buzzers and influencers.

Day 2/Session 2/Panel 5 – Settler Colonialism and Indigenous Politics

Stream: Indigenous Politics

Settler investments: Indigenous policy and the racial politics of Australian political imagination

Alissa Macoun, Queensland University of Technology

The last fifteen years of Australian government policy towards Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples has been marked by an intensification in policy approaches which problematise Indigeneity, an increasing tendency to deliver policy and services through non-Indigenous organisations and agencies, as well as an escalation in Indigenous incarceration rates and other markers of disempowerment. Racialised and paternalist policy approaches persistently fail to deliver the officially-sought policy outcomes, however their continued deployment seems to indicate an enduring appeal to settler governments and publics. While Indigenous peoples are usually identified as this area of policy's primary targets and beneficiaries, I contend that the apparently chaotic field of contemporary Indigenous policy is rendered coherent when it is understood as reflecting some key socio-political investments for non-Indigenous people generally and white Australia specifically. In this paper, I explore the explanation and legitimation of significant moments in recent Australian Indigenous policy, tracing settler self-representations and political imaginaries reflected in these discourses, with a view to understanding the political function that these formations serve for settlers. This exploration of the discursive structure of recent Australian Indigenous policy reveals stable and enduring white investments in race and colonialism.

The politics of the Free Papua Movement: Indigenous anarchism on the periphery

Julian McKinlay King, University of Wollongong

The Netherlands 1961 report to the United Nations describes how the Papuan people had organised a unique system of decentralised political representation creating a national council, regional councils and, within these, any number of village councils. When independence was derailed, the Territory was illegally transferred to the United Nations and then to Indonesia. Under conditions described as genocide, groups of autonomous guerrilla freedom fighters emerged across the Territory which Indonesia called the Organisasi Papua Merdeka (OPM) or Free Papua Movement. This presentation traces the history of political representation in West Papua from the first National Council of 1961 through to the present-day organisation of the Free Papua Movement and argues that this indigenous political system on the global periphery is a form of anarchism reflecting the unique local autonomy, customs and laws of Melanesian tribes and clans. Social and environmental indicators of western civilisation such as increasing species extinctions, suicides, habitat loss, pandemics, homelessness and inequality suggests upcoming social collapse. This paper argues that the decentralised, self-sufficient, village communities and political representation of Melanesian indigenous cultures – that have existed in relative harmony with Nature for thousands of generations – offers a tried and tested political alternative in this age of uncertainty.

(Un)mapping the political history of Indigenous governance and settler state relations

Sarah Maddison, University of Melbourne; Nikkie Moodie, University of Melbourne; Morgan Brigg, University of Queensland; Elizabeth Strakosch, University of Melbourne; Eleanor Benson, University of Melbourne

Cartography has historically been a weapon of colonists: to demarcate land stolen by empire. More recently, however, "critical cartographies" have emerged as a means of speaking back to colonial discourses, revealing maps as representations of the ideologies that produce them. This paper explores the beginning stages of an active critical cartography project that is mapping changing governance regimes over time, from invasion to the present, layered as both temporal and geospatial representations of power and contestation. As a visualisation of the intense intervention into Indigenous lives by the settler state, this map will tell a story of colonial extraction and elimination, as well as survival, resistance and resurgence, "denaturalis[ing]" settler geographies of power to contextualise current tensions in governance relations within a continuing history of colonisation (Razack 2002, 17). More specifically, this paper focusses on the construction of one particular "layer" that illustrates the location of missions, reserves and homes that housed Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people removed from their families, communities, and sovereign lands. The paper demonstrates the ways in which the mapping process itself reveals insights into Australian settler colonialism and argues that while the minutiae of settler governance continually fluctuates, the sustained incursion into Indigenous lives and communities remains constant.

Day 2/Session 2/Panel 6 – States and Socio-Economic Transformations

Stream: International Political Economy

Who are the developmental states? A comparison of Japan, Korea and China

Fei Su, University of Sydney

The developmental state, as Johnson Chalmers (1982) put, is a state that prioritized economic development through political, bureaucratic, and capitalized means. It is normally used to describe East Asia's economic development and industrialization. In fact, Japan, Korea and China seem to follow the same development pathway despite differences in their development starting points on trade, investment and financial liberalization, and also different industry structures. Based on the basic four characteristics of the developmental state concept, Japan, Korea and China are similar in terms of, (1) a government-led alliance between bureaucracy and business, (2) economic growth as the priority, (3) control and management of industrial policy by central government, and (4) a complete set of implementing institutions. But there are also numerous differences across these areas: in the nature of government-business relations, detailed executing institutions set, central-local government relations, and development issues. Those differences mean that they have 'developmental state' characteristics. Combined with current domestic economic situation, the analysis of these three states will be able to further verify the economic development model of each state, and supplement developmental state concept.

Creating a renewables giant: The rise of national champions in India's solar sector

Simran Keshwani, Macquarie University

The energy sector in India is undergoing significant disruptions, displacing an economic growth model predicated on the growing use of fossil fuels to a new type of economic growth trajectory based on renewables. India has also rapidly emerged as one of the world's largest users of solar energy. What sets India apart from other national 'green growth' initiatives is the country's growing specialisation in the solar integration segment of the manufacturing value chain. This includes EPC (engineering, procurement and construction) firms such as Sterling & Wilson, ACME Solar, Larsen & Toubro and Tata Power. How do we account for the rise of these globally competitive 'latecomer' firms from developing countries such as India? I argue that the Indian state's developmental activism has been critical in creating a domestic institutional context, which has sought to create networks of interdependence between government and business actors reminiscent of the type seen in East Asia's former "tiger economies". By illuminating the political and institutional conditions over the emergence of a developmental project in India, my core aim is to provide a more nuanced image of the Indian state's capacity (and incapacity) than the popular portrayals of the 'predatory' or corrupt Indian state allow.

'Many Chinas?' Provincial internationalization and Chinese foreign direct investment in Africa

Pippa Morgan, Duke Kunshan

Chinese provincial firms are a major and growing source of foreign direct investment (FDI) in Africa, yet there has thus far been little systematic analysis of their motives and behaviour. Based on statistical analysis of a panel of mainland China's 31 provinces from 2000 to 2015 and a study of three diverse provincial cases, and modifying the classic Organization-Location-Internalization theory of FDI, this article uncovers a three-stage 'inverted-U' shaped pathway linking home province internationalization and investment in Africa, as firms from provinces with very low levels of integration in the global economy lack the experience needed to invest in Africa, while those in highly globalized provinces face fewer push factors driving them to (comparatively risky) countries of the developing world. These findings suggest that Chinese provincial FDI in Africa may be driven by a 'logic of escapism' alongside conventional FDI motives.

A cleaner pathway to energy security: China's golden age of natural gas

Juan Chen, University of Sydney

The paper explores the role of natural gas in China's energy security strategy by applying a pyramid energy security analytical framework. First, it employs the pyramid energy security conceptual framework to examine the availability, accessibility, affordability, and acceptability of China's natural gas resources to present the characteristics of China's gas resources endowment. Second, it examines China's domestic natural gas development policies in pursuit of energy security and shows how China launched market-oriented reforms to unlock the newly identified abundance of unconventional gas resources. Third, it traces China's international natural gas footprint pertaining to its energy security strategy and presents how China diversifies its imported gas sources and transportation routes to align with its Belt and

Road Initiative. By employing the pyramid energy security analytical model, insights into the complex interplay of market force and state power both domestically and internationally behind China's approaches to enhance the role of natural gas in its energy security strategy were drawn through the investigations and examinations.

The evolution of Chinese approach to peacebuilding: From state-focused to multi-faceted

Xuwan Ouyang, University of Queensland

The existing literature has documented China's peacebuilding approach as "state-centred" or "infrastructure-focused" and argues that China sticks to the principle of non-intervention, separating politics from the process and deliberately neglecting the local community in the recipient countries. However, this paper argues that China's state-focused approaches are changing in recent years as a result of experience with peacebuilding in countries such as Myanmar and South Sudan. These experiences have made China realize that a state-based approach has inhibited protection of Chinese economic interests abroad. Therefore, Beijing's approaches to peacebuilding have changed from elite-centred and infrastructure-centred to increasingly pragmatic and multi-faceted, building relationships with various actors other than government elites such as opposition parties, business actors and NGOs to protect economic interests abroad. This paper assesses this new trend in Chinese peacebuilding from the perspective of implementation and shows how various Chinese actors interact with stakeholders in recipient countries. It examines whether Chinese actors perceive their overseas activities as peacebuilding, if so, to what extent. As such, it provides a better understanding of Chinese peacebuilding and helps inform contemporary debates on China's rise in global affairs.

Day 2/Session 2/Panel 7 – Cross-Political Perspectives on Response and Impact of COVID-19 in the South Pacific

Stream: Comparative Politics

The exercise of public health competence in New Caledonia

Mathias Chauchat, University of New Caledonia; Charles Froger, University of New Caledonia

The Covid-19 health crisis led France to set up a new exceptional regime to manage this global pandemic: the state of health emergency created by the law of 23 March 2020. This regime was then applied throughout French territory, including New Caledonia. This application in this Pacific territory is not without its problems. New Caledonia has a very advanced legal autonomy and many competences have been definitively transferred to it by the French State. For example, New Caledonia is responsible for health and border control. The application of the state of health emergency therefore disrupts the distribution of competences, by authorising the State to switch in the health field. In addition, New Caledonia has significant health specificities. Because of its insularity, it has been able to remain Covid-free. This was possible thanks to the adaptation of the crisis management at the local level, notably by closing air and sea borders and imposing "quarantines" on people who could exceptionally enter the territory. Finally, the question arises as to the evolution of the crisis management strategy in New Caledonia, renewed by the development of vaccination. In this context, what action can New Caledonia take in its border health control policy.

Mitigation of covid crisis in the South Pacific: The example of Vanuatu

Michael B Krakat, University of the South Pacific

Vanuatu has been more or less COVID-free during the global pandemic. However, Vanuatu is also part of a greater South Pacific Region, including other small island states such as Fiji, as well as Australia and New Zealand, coming with their own COVID cases, and from which it cannot be viewed in isolation.

Vanuatu also runs what is known as citizenship by investment (CBI) programs, which have not been without contention. However, more recently, in times of crisis, the critical voices have become somewhat silent. Large portions of Vanuatu revenue is generated from CBI, effectively acting as crisis relief. From a public law and policy perspective, entering such as long-lasting seemingly never-ending crisis is in many regards novel territory. Touching on the sphere boundaries of law, politics and morals, the pandemics may need to be addressed in more holistically than simply by way of legal-doctrinal argument.

COVID recovery and CBI in Vanuatu are intrinsically connected. This is because Vanuatu is itself placed in a continuing, perpendicular state of crisis, including regional cyclones, climate change or the global pandemic. As such, it can make a

case for CBI that should become more permanently employed. Permanent reliance on CBI in a state of crisis including pandemics, and pertaining to the indeterminacy of crisis demand careful planning and a CBI that is to become more securely embedded into the nation's citizenship paradigm. Here, the article makes the point that there are some issues with sustainable incorporation of CBI in the general Pacific region.

CBI may need to become informed by local and global paradigms of sustainability and universalism such as UN principles. In case of Vanuatu, and the Pacific region in general, the Western conceptions of nationhood differ to that of the West. CBI may need to adapt to local need rather than come in as a rigid paradigm. At this time, there is no universal CBI and no universal COVID response. CBI is to come with flexible solutions such as attaching local-global narratives to a more 'Pacific CBI', avoiding the fragmentation and 'unity' of citizenship into classes as well as ensuring heightened acceptance by the existing local citizenry. Counter-intuitively, with the commodification of citizenship and the direct admission of strangers into the polity, there is hope for survival of Vanuatu and if not to overcome the perpetual pandemic, so at least to live with its ongoing repercussions, making Vanuatu a country that is perhaps best equipped to master the global pandemics in its own ways, being a destination for attracting further CBI purchasers to actually relocate beyond utilization of its passport.

PNG's response to COVID-19 and lessons learnt

Michael Kabuni, University of Papua New Guinea

Why PNG has the highest COVID-19 cases in the Pacific? In the Pacific region, Papua New Guinea (PNG) is leading with over 10, 000 positive COVID-19 cases, and over 100 deaths. The second highest in the region is Fiji, with 100 cases and zero deaths. The causes for such high number of COVID-19 cases in PNG includes the sharing a permeable 700km land border with Indonesian, a broken down health system, mismanagement of COVID-19 funds, cultural practices such as haus krai (mourning) and conspiracy theories. This discussion will examine how a combination of these factors led to a surge in COVID-19 cases. These factors cannot be resolved overnight, which makes COVID-19 a perpetual threat to PNG.

Using available legal framework: The examples of New Zealand and Australia

Géraldine Giraudeau, University of New Caledonia; Narelle Bedford, Bond University

Despite differences in the outcomes of covid outbreaks in both countries, Australia and New Zealand have in common to present a globally positive and efficient management of the health crisis compared to other countries, to the point that their governments recently decided to open a 'bubble of travel'. The two countries strategy relied on geographical and social characteristics (insularity, low density of population...), but also on an existing legal and institutional framework. Relatively lately impacted by the Covid-19 pandemic, New Zealand was able to crush the curve of active cases in a matter of weeks, making it possible to foresee the end of lockdown in the short term. The geographical context of the "country of the long white cloud", in particular its insularity and low density, certainly helped this rather reassuring scenario. However, the fact that the parliamentary democracy driven by a velvet glove by Jacinda Ardern is now acting as a « good student » regarding the world situation is above all due to well-prepared institutions, and to a solid legal corpus, to deal with the health emergency. With 25 million inhabitants, Australia had also to deal with a wider territory. Its success in containing the pandemic not only relies on structural specificities, but is also linked to a good use of expertise, institutions, legal framework, and constitutional organization.

Day 2/Session 3/Panel 1 – Australian Foreign and Security Policy

Stream: International Relations

Australia's response to the Belt and Road Initiative: The case of the Coral Sea Cable Project

David Hundt, Deakin University; Simon Hewes, Deakin University

Australia's response to China's Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) has mainly been characterised as opposition, and evidenced in warnings about the BRI's governance and efforts to prevent sub-national governments from signing their own agreements. We argue, however, that Australia's response has been less coherent and monolithic than these forms of opposition imply, as can be seen in Australian aid policy in the Pacific. This paper analyses Australia's decision to fund the development of the Coral Sea Cable Project from 2017 to 2019, which had the effect of limiting the participation of Chinese firm Huawei in building telecommunications infrastructure in the Pacific. We develop a tripartite schema of

responses – resistance, cooperation, and compromise – to depict Australia's involvement in the project. The words (statements by political leaders and policymakers) and actions (implementation of policy) of Australian leaders, as well as the reactions of China and Pacific countries, illustrate that Australian foreign-policy behaviour had elements of opposition, but compromise too. We argue that instead of joining the BRI, Australia in effect proposed a “BRI with Australian characteristics” by expanding its aid policy in the Pacific and seeking to meet the long-unfulfilled aspirations of its regional neighbours.

Cybersecurity in the post-COVID-19 era: The five eyes and the competition with China for 5G technology

Karla Estephany Alvarado Romero, Mexican Centre of International Relations (CEMERI)

The "new normal" resulting from the COVID-19 pandemic accelerated the shift towards digitalization and also increased cyber risks. Unfortunately, the surge in access to the digital world and the guarantee of users' cybersecurity is largely outdated. Concerns increase with the development of 5G technologies, as the rapid speed of mobile internet connectivity will lead to new cyber challenges for which national security systems are unprepared. The race for the implementation of 5G networks is mainly being fought between China and the United States, being China the one who has taken the lead in the 5G race and its economic recovery continues to cause them anxiety. In this context, the "Five Eyes Club" (US, UK, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand) seeks to maintain cybersecurity standards in telecommunications, as it is a vital strategy and national security interest, therefore, with such objectives in mind, they have placed restrictions on Huawei and ZTE. However, one wonders whether the Club will really form a bloc to contain Chinese technological development, as the asymmetric interdependence that each has with China prevents them from severing ties with the Asian giant.

Australia and ballistic missile defence: Strategic uncertainty and uninvited participation in a new nuclear arms race

James Dwyer, University of Tasmania

Nuclear deterrence has remained remarkably stable, premised on an offence-offence balance whereby deterrence functions due to the implicit threat of destruction. This balance is in a potential state of transition, moving to an offence-defence balance due to the proliferation and technological improvements of ballistic missile defence systems. Within this shift in balance, states that are not nuclear powers are beginning to participate (willingly or not) in nuclear balances that have the potential to destabilise the operation of nuclear deterrence, contributing to a new era of strategic uncertainty in great power relations, and international security more broadly.

This paper will address Australia's ballistic missile defence intentions, and the issues posed by Australia seeking to deploy ballistic missile defence capabilities. The paper will evaluate Australia's proposed ballistic missile defence plans, and will analyse the effectiveness of such systems for Australia's broader strategic environment. The paper will also evaluate what the intended purpose of Australia's ballistic missile defence is, and will argue that ballistic missile defence has no real benefit to Australian security. The paper concludes that Australia's ballistic missile defence will contribute to greater strategic uncertainty within the Indo-Pacific by contributing to an emerging arms race between nuclear powers.

Is Australia a model or cautionary tale? A critical assessment of Australia's refugee externalization 'model' for Europe

Margherita Matera, University of Melbourne; Tamara Tubakovic, University of Melbourne; Philomena Murray, University of Melbourne

Australia has been regarded by some politicians and observers as a model for hardline policies towards refugees for several years. At the same time, Australia's implementation of refugee externalisation measures has been subject to considerable scholarly attention and critique. Although the Australian approach has featured prominently in recent political debates within the European Union, there has been little comprehensive scholarly analysis of how and why a possible adoption of this approach might have relevance for refugee policy-making in Europe – and, indeed, for debates regarding refugee protection more broadly.

The aim of this paper is to assess how the Australian approach, often dubbed a 'model', has influenced how European politicians and policy-makers develop their policies towards refugees.

The paper examines how states – and the EU – might influence each other's policies in both parallelism and mutual learning. The paper seeks to make some contributions to the literature on refugee externalisation in both Australia and Europe. Drawing on recent scholarship, the paper explores how the Australian 'model' might constitute a cautionary tale for Europe.

Day 2/Session 3/Panel 2 – Public Policy

Stream: Australian Politics

Reconsidering the Senior Executive Service -- strategic public management under pressure

Linda Colley, Central Queensland University; Brian Head, University of Queensland; Shelley Woods, Central Queensland University

The image of the public service as bureaucratic, lacking responsiveness to citizens, and unable to innovate and adapt, was documented in several inquiries in 1970s-1980s. New Public Management (NPM) reforms of the public sector led to modernisation of organisational practices and business models. In emphasising efficiency of service delivery, focus on core objectives, and achieving results, the reforms required new managerial skills and leadership capacities. This led to the formation of Senior Executive Service (SES) structures, comprising leaders dedicated to achieving efficient and effective results. Australia was in the forefront of the public sector modernisation movement and NPM reforms of the 1980s-1990s. We outline why these reforms were seen as necessary, contrasting the 'old' and 'new' models of public management. We then examine the key features of the SES model for senior management excellence, including management for results, expectation of individual mobility across positions, the shift to fixed-term contracts, and the need to demonstrate 'responsiveness'. This enhanced emphasis on strategic skills was widely adopted across governments in Australia. We note how these new skills were defined (and modified), and how merit-based recruitment into new contract-based positions created opportunities for external appointments and for perceived politicisation.

Quiet multiculturalism: Evaluating South Australian multicultural policies 2007–2017

Adam Ridley, Flinders University; Rod Manwaring, Flinders University; Anna Ziersch, Flinders University

Despite the longstanding connection between South Australia and the national development of multiculturalism, epitomised through the role of Premier Don Dunstan, recent policy developments have not yet been studied at the state level. Existing literature on multiculturalism tends to focus on policies at the national level, small-scale studies examining regional towns, or single policy areas such as education or health. There is a significant gap in current knowledge about how policies promoting multiculturalism in SA are playing out.

This paper will provide fresh analysis and evaluation of multicultural policymaking in SA. Overall, policy efforts by successive state governments can be characterised as 'quiet multiculturalism', in that they have become entrenched as the political norm. Multiculturalism tends not to be politically contentious, leaving policymakers to implement policies without much fanfare. At the same time though, there is a risk of complacency. Deeper structural barriers to equal opportunity may be overlooked due to an attitude that existing policies promoting 'access and equity' are sufficient or can be scaled down.

When Newstart became JobSeeker: Explaining public attitudes to an unpopular benefit and prospects for post-COVID-2019 reform

Shaun Wilson, Macquarie University; Shaun Ratcliff, University of Sydney

Australia's Newstart benefit (now JobSeeker) has established itself as exceptional among rich OECD democracies for its low replacement rate. Public opinion cannot alone explain support for such an austere approach to unemployment benefits, but long-term hostility to unemployed workers provides a significant resource for policy stability. Results from the Australian Election Study in 2019, however, provide clear evidence of a shift in attitudes in favour of greater generosity towards the unemployed, hinting that attitudes are responding to the rising visibility of opposition to the low rate of the benefit. This article details how JobSeeker became a low replacement benefit before showing that: (i) preferences for welfare spending in key areas improved between 2016 and 2019, despite the Coalition's re-election; (ii) spending preferences for JobSeeker improved more than any other welfare area; and (iii) opinion shifts were spread across voting populations. Still, multivariate analysis shows that voters have clearly polarised attitudes to the unemployed, with tax resistance, attitudes to the Indigenous community, and immigration levels all predictors of opposition to greater

generosity. The same analysis suggests that higher levels of post-COVID economic insecurity provides reformers with a potentially valuable resource in mobilising for future reform efforts.

The gas-fired recovery: An analysis of political discourse used by the Morrison Government in response to COVID-19

Amanda Williams, Southern Cross University

When Prime Minister Scott Morrison announced a gas-fired recovery in response to the COVID-19 pandemic he was following a political rule book for economic recovery following recession. Australian governments over time have used job creation as one response to economic downturns, focusing almost exclusively on investment and subsidies to the manufacturing and resources industries. In this case, the Morrison Government's decision to continue to exploit fossil fuels is at odds with the global momentum that is moving towards major investments in renewable energy resources.

This study analyses the political discourse used by Prime Minister Scott Morrison in proposing the gas-fired recovery. In particular, the analysis centres upon the discursive formations used by the Morrison Government in communicating its proposed reforms.

A common criticism of policy analysis methods is they are unable to deal with the complexity of policy and decision-making. This study uses a methodology adapted from Foucault to enable a deeper understanding of the complexities of policy making and demonstrate how the government is framing economic recovery to achieve their desired policy outcome.

Day 2/Session 3/Panel 3 – Knowledge and Public Policy

Stream: Policy and Governance

Drug court during COVID-19

Amanda Clarke, Drug Court Prosecutor; Anne Broomfield, Office of the Director of Public Prosecutions (NSW)

The COVID-19 pandemic is requiring court practitioners, judges, treatment providers and stakeholders involved in the drug court to reassess how they operate in a rapidly changing environment that requires them to operate remotely and to make use of technological tools that often are not constructed to support the needs of offenders in a unique setting that aims to assist drug-dependent offenders in overcoming both their drug dependence and their criminal offending.

Drug courts across Australia all responded to Covid-19 similarly, with many being informed by a crisis management approach. At the same time, innovation that has often been stalled by inertia across the specialist court jurisdiction is challenging many to contemplate how technology can support efforts to deliver positive program outcomes. Noting such pressure, this documentary analysis of secondary data identifies the ways in which drug courts are responding to the COVID-19 pandemic in Australian Capital Territory, New South Wales, Queensland, South Australia, Tasmania, Victoria and Western Australia in the context of an established drug court model. The challenges related to drug court modifications are identified, discussed and against the back drop of identified best practice approaches.

The search for good intentions: How policy incentives change university educational outcomes

Mel Timpson, University of Canberra

Change in the university sector is not unknown, in fact it is commonplace. Change comes from legislation, administration, and most recently pandemics. This exploration of the policy change of 1988 and the proposed change of 2014 reveals how uncertainty comes not from the change itself, but because the purpose of university education is unknown. Change is not the issue, not knowing what the change is to achieve is where the problems arise. In both 1988 and 2014 policy statements were made and legislation developed where the quality and value of university education were stated. But then the administrative compliance incentives and the financial constraints brought about a university education of a different kind. What eventuated was not what as desired because incentives change intent. This research shows how the lack of an agreed, ideal purpose of university education between Government, industry (in this case the accounting profession), and universities leads to a university education of uncertainty. Possible solutions to this uncertainty will be proposed for discussion in the session.

Gap in the NAP: How India's National Action Plan against AMR reflects the Global Action Plan but misses key problems

Erik Baekkeskov, University of Melbourne; Azad Singh Bali, Australian National University

Antimicrobial resistance (AMR) is a growing global problem, and India has been identified as an AMR hotbed. We analyse how India developed its 2017 National Action Plan (NAP) against AMR. We do this by assessing the extent to which India's AMR NAP reflects the World Health Organisation's (WHO's) 2015 Global Action Plan on AMR (GAP) as well as how completely the NAP responds to known sources of AMR in India. We find that the NAP strongly reflects the GAP but offers highly incomplete ideas for how to respond to India's known AMR issues. We account for this 'gap in the NAP' by considering the political choices faced by India's government between delivering a NAP that reflects the values demanded by global actors, and developing policy that addresses India's actual AMR challenges. We argue that reflecting global demands in the NAP were politically expedient. The risks and complexities – administratively, politically, institutionally – of developing a real AMR NAP far outweigh the political benefits to India's government. Further, developing a placebo NAP that reflects international values has a high pay-off in terms of delivering on international promises as well as providing domestic opportunities to show that the government 'did something'.

Understanding hybridity in policy knowledge creation

Kate Williams, University of Melbourne

In hybrid policy research spaces, the logics of multiple arenas overlap. Accordingly, the operationalization of value around knowledge is far from straightforward. Creating and capturing policy research requires extensive boundary work at the intersection of multiple fields. Yet, existing research lacks an account of how this work is managed in relation to organizational structures and cultures. Drawing on an in-depth study of research production and evaluation at three policy-oriented research settings; the World Bank, the Jameel Poverty Action Lab, and the London School of Economics International Development department, this article outlines the institutional and individual features of valuable policy knowledge production. It develops a rich, theoretically informed account that unpacks how researchers in distinct hybrid policy contexts negotiate the boundaries between established fields.

Day 2/Session 3/Panel 4 – Free Speech, Democracy, and the Public Sphere

Stream: Political Theory

Reconsidering counterspeech: Speech-based responses to speech-based harms

Molly Murphy, University of Queensland

The growing incidence of harmful speech has prompted debate about how societies should tackle it, especially given the importance of free speech in liberal democracies. The prominent solution in both free speech literature and public discourse is counterspeech: that we should fight "bad" speech with "good" speech to prevent suppressing contributions to public discourse. However, counterspeech is an under-theorised concept and many of its criticisms remain unaccounted for, including that counterspeech is an onerous or unrealistic expectation for targets of harmful speech and ultimately fails to remedy speech-based harms. If counterspeech is to be an appropriate response, then, it must be reconceptualized to account for both the criticisms of counterspeech and the harms of speech. After outlining how speech can harm and demonstrating that current approaches to counterspeech are limited in their ability to deal with harmful speech, this paper will argue that appropriate counterspeech responses should be cognizant of and formulated with regard to the norm-based harms of speech. This paper will then present a "thick" conception of counterspeech that accounts for how the burden of counterspeech is shared, who is empowered to engage in counterspeech, and the remedy provided by a counterspeech response.

The Condorcet Jury Theorem and sincere voting in democracies

Syed Reza, Lahore University of Management Sciences

The Condorcet Jury Theorem potentially implies an epistemic justification for democracy—if it can be shown that voters tend to be competent, independent, and sincere when making collective decisions. However, there is considerable debate regarding the extent to which these three conditions are satisfied in democratic politics. This article contributes to the debate with an analysis of the sincerity condition as it pertains to collective policy decisions made by voters. Previous literature on the sincerity condition only contemplates people's willingness to vote sincerely. This article is, to

my knowledge, the first to contemplate their ability to do so. I argue the following. With respect to policy decisions, all voters are normally able to vote sincerely in direct democracies, but many voters are normally unable to do so in electoral democracies. Hence, sincerity can plausibly be satisfied for policy decisions only in the former systems and not the latter. As a result, although the CJT may (potentially) be used to argue that voters in direct democracies tend to make good policy decisions, it cannot support any very determinate claims about policy decisions made by voters in electoral democracies.

The 3Ds of dirty politics in Pakistan: Political contestation and its disavowal after the student union ban

Heba Al Adawy, Australian National University

This paper examines the notion of 'dirty politics' through every-day understandings of the 36-year-old (student) union ban imposed by General Zia in Pakistan. Mobilized in response to student movements, 'dirty politics' is an ideological structuring force, working in "incoherent, differentiated, ambivalent, and contradictory ways" to overwhelm opposition (Wedeen, 2019), and ranging in its elasticity from claims that are conspiratorial to those that are banal and believable.

The paper focuses on the banality and believability of 'dirty politics' that, in turn, create a space of expectation for conspiracy theories. It traces 3 Ds that constitute 'dirty politics': distrust as an affective residue of routine violence on campus; distortion of political memory; and an ideological disavowal of politics that captures and nurtures existing 'structures of feeling' through iterative reminders in spaces where the boundaries of the state and society blur.

It argues that the disavowal inherent in 'dirty politics' does not seek to negate politics that exists (in its accommodated forms) - but repudiates the present in order to defer imagination. It highlights how militarized rule may be sustained through ideological repudiations of the political as a site of contestation, even when the 'state' is experienced as anything but benevolent.

Civil society in hybrid regimes: Trade union activism in post-2003 Iraq

Benjamin Isakhan, Deakin University and the University of Johannesburg

This article explores the relationship between hybrid regimes and civil society. It examines the extant debate between 'neo-Tocquevilleans' and their opponents over whether or not a robust civil society portends democratic transition and consolidation. It demonstrates the limits of these two models by arguing that civil society in hybrid regimes can in fact agitate against the state, advocate for democratic freedoms and achieve significant political reforms even when these do not lead to broader democratization. To demonstrate, this article documents the case of the Iraqi Federation of Oil Unions (IFOU) through fifteen years of complex Iraqi politics, from the 2003 US-led intervention and during the incumbency of Prime Minister's Maliki (2006-14) and Abadi (2014-18). By analysing primary materials produced by and about the IFOU, it finds that this case holds important lessons for those seeking to understand the complex interface between civil society and the state in hybrid regimes.

Day 2/Session 3/Panel 5 – Indigenous in Contemporary Australia

Stream: Indigenous Politics

Towards a theory of Indigenous leadership in 21st century Australia

Josephine Bourne, University of Queensland

Over the last hundred years Indigenous people in Australia have been developing new leadership insights through engagement with western organisational frameworks. In that period Indigenous actors have been driven by aspirations to improve the living conditions of their people through recognition. Particularly through constitutional reform in past and present times. Attempts to translate aspirations of rights and recognition has ignited polarising public discourse by various political actors, increasing hostile conditions for Indigenous organisations in the broader political environment. Translating the aspirations and values of Indigenous peoples through legal frameworks established to uphold western cultural institutions is a fundamental challenge for Indigenous leaders. This raises the question of whether Indigenous organisations can play a role in upholding Indigenous cultural institutions? Scholars in organization and management theory argue that the effectiveness of an organisation is directly linked to the people that run them. This paper draws on interview data from Indigenous Organisation Leaders who share their motivations and visions, and their insights from working in the contested space of Indigenous organisations and the broader political environment. This paper will theorise

about what Indigenous Leadership is, the nature of it and the potential for personal, cultural and structural transformation in the 21st century.

First Nations people in contemporary Australia: Present, but heard?

Friedel Marquardt, University of Canberra

The 1967 referendum included First Nations people of Australia in the census and enabled laws to be made for them. It was then that First Peoples were officially acknowledged as being “present”. In 2017, the Uluru Statement from the Heart (<https://ulurustatement.org/the-statement>) was made, stressing unrelenting powerlessness and the continued struggle for sovereignty. In its conclusion, the Uluru statement says, “In 1967 we were counted, in 2017 we seek to be heard.”

In light of the contemporary state of democracy and focus on democratic innovations, this paper will consider the spaces they allow for First Nations voices to be heard. The Australian political system, while named democratic, is still subject to power structures that reinforce political inequality. While there are now many ways for citizens to have input into political decisions, these attempts often still bear a shadow of inequality, and decisions often still fall to established power structures relying on established systems. If these systems require First Peoples to change the way they speak or to behave a certain way to participate, can First Peoples truly make their cause known for what it is, and will they truly be heard?

We own you

Colin Herring, University of South Australia; Tabitha Lean, University of South Australia

This paper is an excursion into alternate methodologies of governance that is more horizontal and plural than the current pyramidal structure of delivering dominant settler policy to the sui generis nature of Indigenous concerns. It is also an attempt to understand the essential requirements of surviving whilst we are exposed to a pandemic, increased extreme weather events and reorganisation of our societies. How we relate to one another can become a matter of mutual survival. Here are a few conceptual solutions offered as alternatives to the current methodology of stopping the process of making a living whenever an untraced infection arises within a community.

Day 2/Session 3/Panel 6 – Roundtable on Developmental Environmentalism in East Asia: Korea and China’s Efforts to Drive Clean Energy Transitions

Stream: International Political Economy

Authoritarian environmentalism vs developmental environmentalism? The role of the state in East Asia’s greening strategies

Sung-Young Kim, Macquarie University

In the literature on East Asia’s energy transitions, the state’s ability to green the economy has been attributed to ‘authoritarian environmentalism’ (AE). Focusing on China and South Korea, we highlight the limitations of the AE approach and develop a fresh explanation centred on ‘developmental environmentalism’ (DE). DE emphasises the economic (and environmental) goals that lie behind these countries’ greening initiatives. When it comes to the effectiveness of greening strategies, DE emphasises the importance of the state’s catalytic role in drawing cooperative links with industry, rather than its ability to ‘command’ economic actors. In the case of China, the state displays a greater propensity for inducing the cooperation of the private sector than its authoritarian label allows. In democratic Korea, the state’s ability to coordinate developmental projects despite democratic dynamics. These countries’ DE approach to greening thus has relevance for other countries, irrespective of level of development or political regime type.

More ‘creative’ than ‘destructive’? Synthesising Schumpeterian and developmental state perspectives to explain mixed results in Korea’s clean energy shift

Elizabeth Thurbon, University of New South Wales

We develop a new way of analysing the state’s strategic role in the clean energy shift. We do so by synthesising Schumpeterian understandings of ‘creative destruction’ and techno-economic change with cutting-edge developmental state theorising centred on ‘developmental environmentalism’. Our approach allows us to explain South Korea’s mixed results in the clean energy shift over the 2008-2020 period by focussing on varying degrees of alignment between the

state's 'creative' and 'destructive' ambitions and capabilities. Following a period of misalignment characterized by a creative emphasis (2008-2015), we have seen growing alignment between the state's 'creative' and 'destructive' endeavors (2015-present). On the basis of our analysis, we anticipate that Korea's hitherto mixed results are likely to give way to more consistent strides towards greening the national economy. Beyond Korea, our fresh analytical approach may be applied to other national contexts, helping to advance broader debates about the state's strategic role in the clean energy shift.

Leapfrogging to technology leadership: China's power grid and the UHV surge

John A. Mathews, Macquarie University

China has come from behind in the development of a 21st century power grid, but in the past decade it has leapfrogged to world leadership in installing the next level of Ultra High Voltage (UHV) grid infrastructure. These technologies enable the Chinese grid to run on steadily increasing levels of renewable power and to accommodate a shift from fossil fuels to renewables. China's UHV grid technology has been developed and implemented through the state entrepreneurial drive of the State Grid Corporation of China. The country has invested more than \$1 trillion in the UHV grid and in the process has surged beyond even advanced regions in the US, EU and Japan, in building the grid itself and fostering home-grown equipment value chains to create new competitors for incumbent foreign firms. China has deployed debt financing on a massive scale in the construction of its UHV power grid, channelled through institutions like the China Development Bank. It is also pioneering technology standards for the UHV grid that can be expected to underpin Chinese firms' success in promoting grid construction around the world. The case illustrates the developmental-environmental drive of state agencies and SOEs like SGCC at work.

Overcoming incumbent resistance to the clean energy shift: How local governments act as change agents in coal power station closures in China

Hao Tan, University of Newcastle

Phasing out the use of coal for power generation is an important concern for energy policy in the context of green transition. Despite the efforts of other nations, the role of China in the global phase-out of coal power remains crucial. Our study with a sub-national focus sheds important new light on the drivers and decision-making dynamics of exiting of coal power use in China. Based on a case study of closures of coal power plants in China's Guangdong province, we find that under certain circumstances, governments - especially those in the provincial and city levels - can and do act as change agents when it comes to retirement of coal fired power stations. Our study reveals a number of push and pull mechanisms that governments have utilized to overcome the resistance of incumbent power generation companies, primarily based on developmental considerations. By identifying the drivers and enabling mechanisms of phasing out the use of coal power in a significant sub-national region in China, our study contributes to both of the sustainability transition literature and the energy policy literature.

Day 2/Session 3/Panel 7 – Russia's Foreign, Defence, Trade and Climate Change Policy in the 21st Century: What to Expect from Russia in the Near Future and its Relations with the West

Stream: International Relations

Antarctica to run red? Russian strategic interests in the South Pole

Elizabeth Buchanan, Deakin University

The 1961 Antarctic Treaty was developed during the Cold War era of Soviet-US tensions. This Cold War ideologically charged strategic environment played a significant role in crafting the management strategy still used today for the continent of Antarctica. While the Treaty allowed the West to curtail and control the Soviet Antarctic footprints, today it appears Russian Antarctic interests are none the less entrenched in the region. This paper argues we are now at a point in time whereby the place holding ATS arrangement needs to be addressed - is it fit for purpose today? In doing so, this paper outlines the possible trajectories of Russian interests in the Antarctic and the strategic challenges posed to Australia.

Domestic policymaking on climate change in Russia

Ellie Martus, Griffith University

As one of the world's largest contributors to GHG emissions and a leading exporter of fossil fuels, Russia matters when it comes to climate change. Russia is also a notorious laggard, having been a reluctant participant in international efforts to address climate change and made limited commitments under the Paris Agreement. Understanding Russia's domestic politics on climate is essential in order to understand the factors driving its international engagement on climate policy. This paper examines policymaking on climate change in Russia, focusing in particular on exploring the tensions that exist within the government over the climate agenda and related issues such as ongoing support for the coal industry. The involvement of different actors in the policy process is considered, with a particular focus on the involvement of industry and business associations in policymaking. The paper considers some of the emerging pressures to take action, from both within the government, and from external sources such as the EU and its cross-border carbon charge.

Paradigm shift(s) in US national security: Implications for US-Russia relations

Gorana Grgic, University of Sydney

There is a widespread and bipartisan acknowledgment that the return of great-power competition is the most consequential challenge to U.S. national security. In the long post-Cold War era, President Joe Biden is now the second consecutive U.S. president to have adopted such a framework of U.S. foreign policy in portraying the relations with China and Russia. He is, however, the first one in this period to have started his tenure by not calling for a major reset in relations with Russia. This paper will examine the main tenets of the new approach to major power relations under the Biden administration and assess the extent to which they present a turning point in US-Russia relations. It will then explore the domestic and international level factors that are informing Russia policy, particularly in the context of interbranch relations on the state level, and transatlantic relations on the system level of analysis.

Enforcing the red lines: Russia's security and defence policy prior to 2024

Alexey Muraviev, Curtin University

During his annual address to the Federal Assembly on 21 April 2021 Russia's President Vladimir Putin warned the international community from crossing Russia's "red lines". According to Putin, if provoked Moscow will respond "harshly", "quickly" and "asymmetrically".

Putin's remarks highlight further shifts in Russia's security and defence policy, which were observed in the past decade. Moscow is increasingly displaying an overt assertive behaviour, either as a form of pre-emption of any hostile actions, or in response to activities the Kremlin perceives to be detrimental to Russia's interests and national security.

Russia has entered the second decade of the new millennium with a modernised military power, an enhanced security apparatus, and an established certainty that the west is unlikely to revoke its confrontational approach with Russia in the foreseeable future.

Consequently, Russia's near future security and defence policy will be driven by the ongoing confrontational tendencies combined with a systematic approach towards neutralising opposition at home and in countries, which are critical to Russia's security and defence (eg. Belarus). Russia will continue building up its defence capability and strategic reach; applying combined symmetric and asymmetric security and defence solutions as part of its aggressive balancing act against US-led alliances and partner coalitions.

Post-sanctions Russia: Analysing diplomatic toolbox to explain the u-turn in Russia's foreign and trade relations since 2014: Where to next?

Nina Markovic Khaze, Macquarie University

In 2014-15, the European Union (EU) imposed a series of autonomous sanctions against Russia in response to Russia's incursive role in Ukraine. This sent shock waves through Russia's trading sector, as many businesses almost overnight had lost their main trading partner and a key source of imports. This paper investigates Russia's multi-faceted response to the EU sanctions from a foreign and trade policy perspective. In response to the EU sanctions, Russia began to forge new and reinvigorate 'old' foreign and trade relations in Latin America, on Europe's periphery and in Asia, looking for alternative markets. Seven years later, Russia's foreign and trade policy looks remarkably different from where it stood a decade ago. This paper will seek to make some predictions regarding the future of Russia's foreign and trade policy in response to the ongoing sanctions from the West amid its asymmetrical and hybrid warfare with its neighbours and the

US on a global level. This paper will also consider the external perceptions about Russia which can have an impact on its trade policy and foreign relations for the long haul in both the West and Russia's new economic partners.

Day 3/Session 1/Panel 1 – Rethinking Australian–Italian Relations in the 21st Century

Stream: International Relations

Assessing the scope for cooperation between Australia and Italy in the 21st century

Gabriele Abbondanza, University of Sydney

Experts agree that Australian-Italian relations are cordial, but insubstantial. David Ritchie, Australian Ambassador to Italy in 2013, defined them as “non-existent”, and the limited literature that is available on this topic focuses on traditional areas of interest such migration and tourism. However, a more nuanced assessment reveals a number of aspects that have been understudied so far. With such premises, this paper investigates the two countries' status and role in the international system through the conceptual lenses of middle and great power theory, prior to assessing the level of complementarity that would justify closer bilateral ties. It argues that a strategic partnership would be able to address the unexpressed potential in terms of a) trade, b) scientific cooperation, c) defence capabilities, and d) shared international goals. It finds that the lack of closer forms of cooperation is due to a number of industry-specific issues, which – if resolved – would benefit both countries. It concludes by arguing that a strategic partnership between Australia and Italy would address a significant proportion of these issues, while propelling future cooperation in a number of fields.

21st century populism in Australia and in Italy: A comparative analysis

Francesco Bailo, University of Technology Sydney; Kurt Sengul, University of Newcastle

This paper presents a comparative analysis of contemporary populism in Australia and Italy, and reflects on the similarities and differences in both countries. In Italy, populist parties have been playing a mainstream role since 1992: the Northern League and Forza Italia emerged as national political actors in the early 1990s, and the Five Star Movement and Brothers of Italy entered parliament in 2013. These four parties or their leadership have all been in power almost continuously since 2010. Given their wide support, they express different populist features but still their politics is fundamentally rooted in the widespread sense of distrust towards state and government institutions. In Australia, the continued decline in democratic satisfaction and public trust in political leaders and institutions has correlated with a rise of independents and minor parties. Leadership instability within the major political parties has seen growing numbers of dissatisfied voters turning to a diverse range of personalistic, populist and outsider independents and minor parties. We investigate the interaction between different forces – the media system, the party and electoral system, and long-term decline in political trust – to explain why the expression of populism in Australia has been radically different from that of Italy.

Italians in 21st century Australia

Simone Battiston, Swinburne University of Technology

According to the latest census data (2016), one in twenty-three Australian residents, or just over 1 million, claimed to have at least one ancestor of Italian origin. Italian was the sixth most selected ancestry five years ago, which is tantamount to approximately 4.6% of the total Australian population. Only a fraction of Australia's Italians was born in Italy, whilst the overwhelming majority are Australians of Italian ancestry. Due to immigration policies, mobility patterns, and demographic trends, the incoming census (2021) is likely to confirm a steady decline of the former, and an ongoing upward trend of the latter. Census data notwithstanding, a zeroing in on the socio-economic demographics of Italians in Australia, broadly defined, paint a rather dynamic and complex picture of this ethnic community since the start of the century. An increasingly important element of such group has been made up of primarily temporary residents, which up until the outbreak of the pandemic constituted a fresh source of skilled migration from Italy to Australia. The aim of this paper is to engage with different datasets as well as recent scholarship in order to provide a nuanced picture of Italians in twenty-first century Australia.

Day 3/Session 1/Panel 3 – Border and Barriers to Justice

Stream: Gender and Sexuality

Translating the international into the domestic – the (gendered) role of amici curiae as messengers in migrant worker cases

Eda Gunaydin, University of Sydney; Anne Boucher, University of Sydney

Recently there has been growing attention to the absence of international law in the migrant rights arena, in particular its low level of ratification and implementation in major migrant-receiving nations. This limits the capacity for international law to improve the rights of migrants, including gender inequality experienced by migrant workers, unless there are mechanisms for international law to be applied in the domestic settings where decisions are made: courts. This paper explores the influence of non-governmental organisations (acting as amici curiae or friends of the court) in introducing international legal principles in cases concerning the migrant worker rights, and will consider the differences across male and female claimants in this regard. Using the original Migrant Worker Rights Database, which codes 907 cases brought by migrant workers, the paper finds that international law is more likely to be raised in cases involving amici interveners. It finds these organisations have a significant role in translating international norms around migrants workers' rights, but this effect is not gendered between male and female claimants. This issue is considered across four countries and six labour law jurisdictions: Australia, the Canadian provinces of British Columbia, Alberta and Ontario, England and the State of California, and Australia.

Refugee women and Uganda's development: Participation and barriers

Beatrice Alupo, Griffith University

Refugee women are the most vulnerable group among the displaced persons in the World, which does not isolate the situation of women refugees in Uganda. The vulnerability of refugee women has been capitalised to categorise them as 'only humanitarian recipients' rather than equal development contributors in their host communities. Amidst the growing misconception, it is worth examining the role of women refugees in the development of Uganda. This research employed virtual semi-structured interviews with sixty-five key informants from the government officials, United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR), and UN women officials in Uganda, both local and international Non-Governmental Organisations, the private sector, Civil Society Organisations, and the World Bank directly implementing refugee policies and programmes. The study established that women refugees contribute to Uganda's development by engaging in agriculture, business ventures, and formal employment, mainly in education and health. However, deep-rooted gender norms and power relations coupled with limited financial support, small plots of land for agriculture, poor infrastructure, hostility from the local population, and lack of ready market were major obstacles obstructing the women refugees' operations in Uganda. The study is significant for informing policy to create collaborative structures to support women refugees' efforts.

Embracing/queering uncertainty in international criminal justice: Reflections on the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY)

Caitlin R Biddolph, University of New South Wales

International criminal justice (ICJ) is conventionally understood as embodying certainty, a practice that offers proven and established legal judgements. The classification of crimes according to international humanitarian law, the jurisdictions of courts and tribunals, and the designation of innocence and guilt all serve to produce a definitive, certain account of law and violence. In this way, sites of ICJ attempt to excise the messy, the uncertain, and the political from its practice, despite these logics being intrinsic to legal representations of violence. In this paper, I embrace the concept of uncertainty in sites of ICJ. In particular, I argue that a queer theoretical approach reveals and revels in the uncertain, the paradoxical, and the contingent practices of ICJ. Drawing on my queer reading of the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY), I explore how a queer approach can enrich analyses of law and justice. Some of these possibilities include recognizing the queer/uncertain temporalities of the ICTY, the plural discourses of gender and sexuality that constitute legal subjects, and the contradictory discursive practices that make violence legible at the Tribunal. In this way, I advocate for an approach to the ICTY that embraces, rather than eschews, uncertainty.

Day 3/Session 1/Panel 4 – Equality, Sovereignty and Non-Violence

Stream: Political Theory

Civic (in)equality and civil unrest: A Hobbesian analysis

Thomas A Corbin, Macquarie University

Thomas Hobbes argues that it can never be just for citizens to disobey civil authority or cause agitation in the commonwealth. This argument likely makes Hobbes the most famous objector to civil unrest or intentional disorder within political studies. It also makes him an unlikely ally for equality-based movements (such as Black Lives Matter) in which grieved citizens seeking equality stage public events prejudicial to civil authority. However, alongside his more famous arguments against disobedience, in each of his major works Hobbes also makes arguments against both oppression and against civic inequality. Frequently, he makes these arguments from the perspective of civil unrest. In *Leviathan* (1651), for example, he writes that “because men that think themselves equall, will not enter into conditions of Peace, but upon Equall termes, such equalitie must be admitted.” Later in the same work, he uses similar arguments to demonstrate why the existence of inequality or oppression presents a fundamental threat to the commonwealth itself. This paper explores Hobbes’ arguments in this area and demonstrates their value as an analytical framework for investigating and understanding civic (in)equality and civil unrest today.

Schmitt v. Neumann: Towards a jurisprudence of cosmopolitan self-determination

Juan Caceres, University of the Sunshine Coast; Shannon Brincat, University of the Sunshine Coast

Contemporary world politics has observed the resurgence and interest in one of the most important and controversial legal and political theorists of the 20th century, Carl Schmitt. Intriguingly, such attention has arrived from divergent actors: Postmodernists trapped by their reverence of the state of exception, the Far Right seeking legal justification for imperialism, and China looking for Western juridical legitimation. Our research endeavours to show that such dissimilar actors try to embrace Schmitt’s knowledge in order to find a solution for the sovereignty problem, that is, a desire to ground legal power in authority without recourse to normative legitimacy. Our paper locates the flaws of Schmitt’s position in his criticism of universalism/globalism and his rejection of the jurisprudential foundation of self-determination on tenuous and extra-legal grounds in his *Nomos of the Earth*. These grounds are not only under-theorised they are merely asserted without any ontological basis. In contrast, we bring in Franz Neumann’s work to ground a legal foundation for what we call ‘the nomos of humanity’ found in his notion of self-determination. Self-determination, here, is seen as a principle that can guide a divided society of states in our current age of uncertainty towards a cosmopolitan horizon.

Understanding nonviolent defence

Chris Brown, Swinburne University of Technology

Security, defence and protection are often thought to be inherently and necessarily violent processes. But what about nonviolent defence – the idea that we might better protect ourselves not through militaristic means, but through collective and strategic nonviolent action? Is this seemingly contradictory concept just a fanciful and idealistic dream, or does it offer valuable ideas and insights for those critical of the militaristic paradigm? Building on a small but significant body of scholarship, I detail the historical trajectory of this concept, explore some little-known examples of nonviolent defence, and examine some of the key opportunities and challenges associated with the concept. I argue that nonviolent defence represents an important project that is both radical and realistic – realistic in its nuanced understanding and combination of various forms of nonviolent action, and radical in the way that it prompts us to rethink what we should be defending and the things we should be defending against.

Universities and Open Expression: Sensemaking, Free Speech, And Inclusion

Kristine L Bowman, Michigan State University

In the United States, free speech and inclusion are often framed as mutually exclusive; however, university presidents assert in public and increasingly often that free speech and inclusion are both core to the university’s contemporary mission. Grounded in the theory of sensemaking, common in organization and management studies but less so in political science, I conduct a content analysis of 61 written statements by 31 sitting university presidents to examine how they help their campus communities understand the relationship between free speech and inclusion in the university setting. I find such statements are both retrospective and prospective, thus adding to a current debate about whether sensemaking can function prospectively. I also find these statements frame the university either as an institution that should remain neutral about inclusion in the context of inclusion/free speech controversies, or one that can support inclusion explicitly. These views both reflect and illuminate the overarching debate about how these concepts articulate with one another.

Day 3/Session 1/Panel 5 – Roundtable on The State of the Discipline: Contemporary Issues in European Studies Education and Research in Australia

Stream: Regional Studies (Europe)

Europe as a security partner in the Indo-Pacific? Opportunities and challenges in teaching EU security and foreign policy in Australia

Gorana Grgic, University of Sydney

In recent years, a number of European powers have published their national Indo-Pacific strategies. France published Indo-Pacific strategy papers in 2018 and 2019, and Germany and the Netherlands followed in September and November 2020 respectively. These three countries were the main propellers behind the recently adopted “EU Strategy for cooperation in the Indo-Pacific.” As signalled in the very title, the promotion of cooperation stands at the core of the EU’s approach to the Indo-Pacific. The strategy has committed to promoting education and research, people-to-people contacts and strengthening student, researcher and staff mobility. In light of what is primarily a geopolitical and geoeconomic push to engage more in the region, this paper will discuss how this squares with the current interest and proficiency in EU security and foreign policy at Australian universities. It will then point to the educational opportunities and challenges as the EU rolls out its Indo-Pacific strategy in cooperation with Australia.

Studying Europe: Teaching, learning and research at UWA

Alexandra Ludewig, University of Western Australia

This paper will provide an overview of the current state of teaching and research in the broad fields associated typically with European Studies at The University of Western Australia. While the discipline group was officially disestablished in 2012, some of its units survived in cognate disciplines, such as History and European Languages and Cultures. The vacated space has also been filled in part by offerings in new and emerging areas of study, mainly coordinated out of Political Science, International Relations and UWA’s newly established Defence and Security Institute.

Undeniably, there are educational challenges associated with teaching European Studies in Australia’s western third, including issues of language proficiency and its proximity to Asia, which encourages local and national support for studies associated with the Indo-Pacific region. Moreover, ideological shifts have seen a mindset favouring global citizenship and universal civic engagement over area studies as well as trends away from Western-centric master narratives in line with efforts to decolonise the curriculum. As a result, the view of Europe has been fractured and diverted, broadened and in parts obscured by a multitude of factors, in which the diagnosis of a degree of Westlessness and EU scepticism also plays a part.

How perceptions change: Discussing Australian parliamentary views on the European Union since 2001

Nina Markovic Khaze, Macquarie University

For almost seven years, Dr Nina Markovic Khaze was advising federal Parliamentarians, including through delegation work, speech writing and confidential analysis on European affairs. The European Union was an enigma, the big unknown for the Australian Parliamentarians even as the government was forging closer foreign policy and security relations with the bloc since 2007. In this paper, Dr Markovic Khaze will provide a unique insight into this role, examining federal parliamentary debates over the past two decades and how these have evolved over time to understand Europe, including the European Union, better. Brexit, however, offered an opportunity for many parliamentarians to disassociate themselves once again from the EU. The author will comment on the key lessons learned from Australia’s engagement with the EU, presenting key trends in the relationship from a parliamentary perspective, and how Australian parliamentarians have come to understand the EU in a broader sense to match common interests in the pursuit of joint initiatives.

Day 3/Session 1/Panel 6 – Global Pressures/Domestic Responses in Asia

Stream: International Political Economy

Developmentalism in an era of disruption

Diane Colman, Western Sydney University

We live in an era of disruption. Rapid technological advancement; global financial crises; worldwide pandemics; necessary urgent action on climate change. Concerns over the widespread negative effects of these disruptions have led to a renewed consensus on the vital economic role of the state. Yet confusion remains in many of the world's advanced economies on precisely what the state's role should be. This is not the case, however, for the developmental states of East Asia. As Japan, Taiwan and South Korea dust off their developmental credentials to bounce back from yet another global crisis, many policy-makers elsewhere are looking at how they might emulate such capacity to survive and thrive in a turbulent international economy. Developmentalism takes as its starting point the external authority of capital but considers that, where the spontaneous operation of the market includes negative impacts such as unemployment, the state implements intentional policy paradigms designed to make productive that which becomes unproductive or under-utilised. While sectoral initiatives are important, this paper will argue that to avoid or resolve the problems of disruption and disorder, it is vital for policy-makers understand that the fundamental essence of developmentalism is a commitment to improving long-term economic outcomes for the entire national population.

Developmental state in disguise versus dual developmental state: Comparing the role of government in the electric vehicle market between the United States and China

Shiu-fai Wong, Macao Polytechnic Institute

This article attempts to examine the innovative state intervention in the commercialization of electric vehicles between the United States and China. Despite the U.S. government's promotion of free trade and global integration to activate the invisible hand of international market forces, neither the traditional automakers in Detroit nor the high-tech firms like Google or Apple can launch their electric vehicle prototypes on the world market in a timely manner, with the exception of Tesla standing out from the crowd. Meanwhile, the Chinese government has played a decisive role in helping dozens of domestic electric vehicles gain a sizeable foothold on the market, yet none of them exclusive of Wuling Hongguang have surpassed Tesla in sales. Against this paradoxical backdrop, does the traditional coordination role of government still matter? This paper employs two theoretical frameworks, namely developmental state in disguise (with an indirect state power) and dual developmental state (with a strengthened state power), to investigate the role of government in the diffusion of the innovation. It is partially concluded that the latest industrial policies in the two countries have changed their focus on greenfield FDI and Sino-foreign joint-ventures entitling Tesla and Wuling Hongguang to enjoy advantage over competitors.

The liberalization of professions in Thailand, 2005–2020

Francesco Stolfi, Macquarie University; Boonwara Sumano, Thailand Development Research Institute

This paper introduces an ongoing project on the liberalization of professions in Thailand between 2005-2020. The purpose of the project is to assess whether and how the alternation between relatively democratic and military or military-backed governments has affected the representation of professional interests with regard to the opening of regulated professions.

The project aims to contribute to the literatures on electoral authoritarianism, economic reform and democratization, and interest intermediation in authoritarian regimes. The paper presents the political context of professional liberalization in Thailand, our theoretical framework and the research design.

Day 3/Session 1/Panel 7 – Feminist Fieldwork in COVID-Times

Stream: International Relations

Insider/outsider: Managing the politics of interpersonal field research in our COVID-shaped world

Nicole George, Australian National University; Outi Donovan, Griffith University

Feminist research conducted with and in communities that are not our own is a complex undertaking shaped by unequal relations of power, and unequal access to resources and opportunities. The effort put into building relationship of trust that acknowledge and work through these inequalities is an important part of the research process for many. In this paper we reflect on this often unacknowledged and difficult aspect of research, but also the challenge of managing these dynamics when our mobilities are limited and contemplate progressing research engagements using digital media. We consider the limitations of digital research strategies but also see an opportunity in the disruption to traditional fieldwork

strategies to decolonise research and recalibrate it along more environmentally sustainable lines. We explore how we might best capitalise on this disruption and manage it in creative ways.

Feminist researching in Myanmar amidst COVID-19 and the coup

Phyu Phyu Oo, Griffith University

Conducting feminist research during the Covid-19 pandemic, in many instances, delays the progress and affects the quality of the data, particularly when researching in the developing context. While virtual fieldwork is the most feasible solution due to limited travel restrictions, the process undermines the limited technological infrastructure and added cost to the participants. In the context of Myanmar, the safety and security of the right defenders are additional factors that limit their participation in the research process since the coup staged in February 2021. The author will discuss the experiences of researching in Myanmar and some solutions that have overcome specific challenges.

Sustaining long-term research relationships with women workers and activists in global supply chains: On choosing not to research during a global pandemic

Samanthi J Gunawardana, Monash University

In this paper, I will reflect on my decision not to conduct research during 2020. Although I had sustained long term relationships with women worker and activists in the Katunayake free trade zone of Sri Lanka since 2001 and the possibility of conducting research presented itself, a combination of personal demands, the heightened responsibilities of the activists, the insecurity faced by workers and the lack of funding prevented research from occurring in 2020. Informal conversations, and following the workers and activists on social media replaced formal data collection, before conducting more formal research from the start of 2021. However, this meant a 'lost opportunity' in collecting real-time data which may have been helpful for workers. I will reflect on this long-term collaboration, the meaning of feminist care, of witnessing but not researching, and the cost and benefits of lost opportunities.

Feminist dilemmas in youth-to-youth research: Collaborations amidst corona, coups and other crises

Caitlin Mollica, Queensland University of Technology; Helen Berents, Queensland University of Technology

Feminists have long called attention to often profoundly uneven power relations in research, the assumptions of who is able to be a 'knowledge producer' and the risks of research that is extractive and exploitative. In research 'on' and with young people, these dilemmas are compounded by often ageist assumptions about youth competencies. With this in mind, this paper reflects on recent efforts by the authors to design and implement a youth-led, adult-supported research project on youth activism and peace processes in South Sudan, Afghanistan and Myanmar undertaken through virtual interviews.

It reflects on how our approach to skills training, mentorship and research design empowers youth researchers to engage in dialogue with youth peacebuilders works to establish a more collaborative research agenda. The global pandemic has raised questions about research at a distance, the requirements of 'participation', and the ethics of "giving back" to research participants who also occupy the role of knowledge producers. In each case, challenges—poor internet, a collapsing peace process, and a coup—raised difficult questions about the ethics of pursuing research in these complex contexts. This paper is an attempt to think through the ethics of a commitment to feminist research with youth amidst multiple crises.

There and back again: Feminist researchers and the plague

Maria Tanyag, Australian National University

Can I do remote research and still do feminist research? If feminist research is about theorising from the 'margins', what does this mean for researchers interested in continuing their research at a time when we are all prevented from travelling to the 'margins'? How can we do research when faced with compounded work and home obligations, as well as managing our personal and collective grief? This paper reflects on challenges and opportunities of re-orienting current discussions on feminist research methods in the context of a global pandemic on the foundational importance of three intertwined strands: curiosity, creativity and consciousness. These strands are examined in relation to the writings of Cynthia Enloe, bell hooks, and Maria Lugones with the aim of synthesising preliminary 'road maps' for homebound feminist researchers.

Day 3/Session 2/Panel 1 – Contemporary Europe

Stream: International Relations

Politics of identity and the East Ukrainian conflict

Tobias Hansson, Macquarie University

From 2014 onwards, the Donbass region of Eastern Ukraine has been subject to a devastating conflict between Russian-backed separatists and the forces of the Ukrainian government. Due to the possibility of this conflict serving as a flashpoint for tensions between Russia and the West, analysis of the processes behind it is critically important. This paper aims to demonstrate the significant role played by politics of identity within this conflict by assessing processes of identity polarization within Ukrainian society both before and after the onset of the war. The analysis is approached through the paradigmatic framework of the international relations theory of constructivism. It addresses key factors in the development of distinct identities in both eastern and western Ukraine, primarily historical memory and religion, expanding upon other research that focuses on the identities of the Donbass in isolation. Through this analysis, the paper begins to frame the politics of identity in the Ukraine within a larger pattern of declining relations between east and west, with the Ukrainian conflict serving as a microcosm. This research also contributes to the academic discourse concerning identity politics and the application of constructivist ideas, while also contributing to the discussion of potential conflict resolutions.

Corporate influence over EU trade policy: A Gramscian approach

Nathaniel R Sgambellone, Monash University

The European Union (EU) has pursued close economic relations with Africa since its inception. However, while the neocolonial nature of this partnership has been highlighted through policies such as the historic 'Eurafrica' initiative, the influence of multinational corporations (MNCs) over EU trade policy concerning Africa has been largely overlooked by orthodox, state-centric conceptualisations of EU trade policy formation. This thesis applies Gramscian state theory to address this oversight, contending that within European civil society, EU institutions are strategically selective of certain interests over others owing to their reliance on the crucial discursive and structural assets these actors provide. For several decades, MNCs have exercised significant political influence over EU trade policy owing to their command of transnational capital and technical information. During this same period, state transformation has fragmented and decentralised the EU's decision-making fora, offering MNCs multiple access points from which to lobby supranational institutions. Despite the best efforts of civil society organisations since 2000, the neoliberal, business-friendly trajectory of the EU's trade policies remains largely unchanged. Therefore, this thesis aims to reconceptualise orthodox understandings of how EU trade policy towards Africa is formed and to properly situate MNCs within this process as influential non-state actors.

The delegation of discretionary power in international agreements: Evidence from ASEAN and the EU

Hung Pham, Monash University; Robert Thomson, Monash University; René Torenvlied, University of Twente

International agreements differ significantly from each other in the extent to which they delegate discretionary power to their signatories. While some agreements specify in detail what signatories will do, other agreements grant signatories considerable discretion to select a range of actions within the scope of those agreements. Such differences in delegation mark important differences in the depth and form of international cooperation. We develop and test an explanation of the delegation of discretionary power. The explanation incorporates the possibility of supranational enforcement of compliance with agreements, the alignment of signatories' policy preferences, and the national-level policy expertise required to implement the agreements effectively. ASEAN and the EU are appropriate testing grounds for this explanation because they differ in terms of the possibility of supranational enforcement. Moreover, they both cover a range of policy areas, which means that their agreements differ with respect to the alignment of member states' preferences and the need for national-level policy expertise. We examine a new comparative dataset that includes detailed information on thousands of provisions in hundreds of legal instruments in ASEAN and the EU. The findings confirm that within each institution, agreements vary significantly in terms of delegation. Surprisingly, despite the relatively well-developed system of supranational enforcement in the EU and its virtual absence in ASEAN, on average the legal instruments in both systems grant similar levels of discretionary power to member states. We discuss the implications of the findings for theories of delegation and regional cooperation.

Reflections on the historical turn and the role of ‘the enlightenment’ in the discipline of international relations

Juliette Gout, University of Queensland

The historical turn in International Relations (IR) has challenged disciplinary ‘myths’ but it has also challenged disciplinary boundaries, altering the way in which the discipline of IR constructs knowledge, the kinds of historical knowledge sought, and the intellectual figures that have routinely been considered as emblematic of the discipline. As part of the discipline’s historical turn, scholars of IR are employing an alternative mode of enquiry using the contextual method of the Cambridge School (or simply, the Cambridge method). This paper will explore what is gained and lost in revisiting disciplinary renderings of the ‘the Enlightenment’ using the Cambridge method. Mythological accounts of ‘the Enlightenment’ have been conscripted into the discipline of IR to serve disciplinary ends. This paper will discuss what those purposes might be and the effects of such accounts. It will also explore what is made possible when unifying and mythopoeic accounts of Enlightenment are replaced by contextualised and localised accounts of Enlightenment specific to unique political and intellectual environments. More broadly, the paper reflects on how disciplinary myths rest on particular theoretical and teleological renderings of the past, therefore enquiring into both the historiography of the discipline, as well as history of the English Enlightenment.

Day 3/Session 2/Panel 2 – Political Parties: Members, Supporters and Leadership

Stream: Australian Politics

Australian party youth wings as political boys clubs

Duncan McDonnell, Griffith University

The two major Australian parties, the Liberal Party and the Australian Labor Party, have regularly claimed over the past two decades that they wish to increase their numbers of female grassroots members and representatives. One way of doing this is by recruiting more young women through their youth wings, which have long been a source of members, candidates and representatives. However, we know almost nothing about young women in Australian major party youth wings and whether their experiences are consistent with the parties’ stated goals. Based on over 60 interviews with the leadership teams of youth wing executives and senior party leaders across Australia in addition to a nationwide online survey of more than 1000 Young Liberals and Young Labor grassroots members, this study investigates the different reasons why men and women join youth wings, what their political aspirations are, and how the position of women within these organisations is viewed both by them and others.

Gender and party membership in the Bharatiya Janata Party

Sofia Ammassari, Griffith University

While we now know a lot about who votes for populist radical right parties (PRRPs) and their reasons for doing so, we know very little about who joins these parties and why. Moreover, the few studies addressing these latter questions fail to examine gender differences in the experiences of party members. This is problematic, since membership in political parties in general, and in PRRPs in particular, is a highly gendered phenomenon. This paper therefore asks: To what extent does gender influence reasons for joining PRRPs? To answer that question, the paper investigates the drivers behind membership in one of the world’s most enduring and successful PRRPs: India’s Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP). Based on 27 phone and online interviews conducted with female and male grassroots BJP party members, as well as an original online survey distributed to the BJP membership, the study uncovers different paths to membership and illustrates the variety of ideological, social, material and affective reasons for which women and men join the BJP.

Labour compared in the UK, Australia, and New Zealand: Understanding political change under Anthony Albanese, Keir Starmer and Jacinda Ardern

Rob Manwaring, Flinders University; Charlie Lee, Flinders University; Grant Duncan, Massey University

There are ongoing debates about the future direction and ‘identity crisis’ of centre-left political parties. This paper sets out to understand and compare the three sister labour parties in the UK, Australia and New Zealand. To date, there is minimal comparative research which examines the extent of convergence or divergence between these centre-left parties. In New Zealand, Jacinda Ardern’s government has been in office since 2017, and secured majority government in 2020. After significant electoral defeats in 2019, both Australian and UK Labour changed leaders, with Anthony Albanese and Keir Starmer assuming the leadership of their respective parties. This paper explores the extent to which

the new party leaders have carved out a distinctive policy agenda, and examines the extent to which there is convergence between the three parties. The paper takes a synthetic or hybrid research strategy and focuses on three key dimensions to understanding policy change, namely: exploring the leadership style and constraints facing the three leaders; and examining policy developments in two key areas: taxation and government spending, and approaches to the welfare state. All three cases present an ideal opportunity to better understand the character of modern labour politics.

Day 3/Session 2/Panel 3 – Gender Equity

Stream: Gender and Sexuality

Future challenges for Australian gender equality policy in an uncertain, post-Covid world

Carol Johnson, University of Adelaide

Covid-19 was a “great revealer” of existing social, political and economic gender inequality in Australia. However, it has also exacerbated future challenges to women’s equality in Australia, for example by speeding up both technological disruption and international geoeconomic and geopolitical changes. Gender equality policy in Australia also faces numerous ideological challenges, including the rise internationally of conservative critiques of so-called “gender ideology” and “identity politics”. This paper examines key current and future challenges for federal gender equality policy in Australia. It includes a critical analysis of both Liberal and Labor party policy settings, arguing that neither party of government has yet re-imagined their economic and social policies in a way that fully takes current, or future, challenges to gender equality into account.

Gendered barriers to accessing individualised funding schemes: Women’s experiences with the NDIS

Sophie Yates, University of New South Wales; Eleanor Malbon, University of New South Wales; Gemma Carey, University of New South Wales

Disability and aged care services in industrialised nations are increasingly moving towards individualised funding models, which aim to increase individuals’ flexibility, choice and control over spending money on the services and supports that best suit their needs. Despite recent research indicating that such schemes have the potential to exacerbate inequalities, particularly due to their reliance on self-advocacy, there has been almost no research into gender inequality and individualised funding schemes. The Australian National Disability Insurance Scheme (NDIS) is an example of a major individualised funding reform, and has had a female participation rate of only 37% since its inception. This is concerning as women and girls with disability are a particularly marginalised group. This mixed methods research employs semi-structured interviews and System Effects mapping to explore and capture connections between perceived barriers to disability support. It draws on interviews with 30 women with disability in Victoria and the Australian Capital Territory, and explores their experiences with seeking disability support through the NDIS and their perspectives on challenges associated with being a woman seeking disability support in Australia.

From the labyrinth to river: The barriers to women’s leadership in the higher education sector in Vietnam

Jane Phuong Pham, University of Canberra

As the recent data from the World Economic Forum shows, global gender inequalities persist, and in some cases have even worsened due to the COVID-19 pandemic. While the underrepresentation of women in senior leadership positions is a worldwide phenomenon, few studies have been conducted to investigate this problem in Vietnam. This qualitative research uses interpretative phenomenological analysis to understand Vietnamese women’s lived experiences as academic leaders in a male dominated environment. Using the conceptual framework of the labyrinth (Eagly & Carli, 2007), the research aims to chart the experiences of women academic leaders and the meanings they attach to those experiences in their career paths. Initial findings show that the career journeys of these women and their representative metaphors can shed light on the hidden barriers to women leadership. Overall, the study seeks to highlight the barriers of aspiring academic women to progress their careers and contribute to the body of knowledge on gender and leadership.

Hate speech against women online: Concepts and countermeasures

Louise V Richardson-Self, University of Tasmania

This paper will summarize the arguments posed in my forthcoming book *Hate Speech Against Women Online: Concepts and Countermeasures*. This book takes an ontology of social imaginaries as its foundation, paying particular attention to

the imagined subjects of the Anglosphere's ethico-political, sexual, and digital imaginaries to understand the problem of hate speech against women online. There are several argumentative strands. First, this book argues that hate speech against women should be understood as a form of violent oppression. Second, the book argues that the images of women reproduced in hate speech maintains a divide between Good and Bad Women upon which patriarchy's existence depends. Third, the book evaluates why practical legal and institutional efforts to prohibit hate speech are minimally successful — because the root of this pervasive social practice is imaginal and habitual. Fourth, the book evaluates how some of our centrally shared images of cyberspaces—as the new public sphere, a site of free and unfettered expression, but also the home of the Troll, an inherently hostile space, and a site of disembodied social interaction—themselves help to sustain this social practice. The book concludes with an elaboration of six necessary features core to the project of imaginal revolution.

#EnoughIsEnough: A resurgence of women's voices and the feminist movement

Angelika Heurich, University of New England

In February 2021 an allegation of rape was made public by former Liberal Party staffer, Britney Higgins. The revelation of this assault, purportedly committed in 2019 in the offices of Defence Industry Minister Linda Reynolds at Australia's Parliament House, resulted in #March4Justice events around Australia. An estimated 100,000 women and their supporters took part, including 10,000 who gathered outside Parliament House in Canberra on 15 March 2021. This paper offers an auto-ethnographic account of the Canberra event and how women were spurred to action, gathering from all parts of Australia to clearly state: #EnoughIsEnough. Women who had participated in past protest movements returned to march once again, joined by many others who had never before participated in protests. The movement stood up and called out the prevalence of assault and rape experienced by women in all parts of society; impacting mothers, grandmothers, sisters, daughters, friends and acquaintances. The revelation created a call to action with the marches bringing together women, men, people of all ages, from diverse cultures and political persuasions to voice their outrage and demand that women be provided with justice and safety; with a call for action from government and legislators to bring about change.

Day 3/Session 2/Panel 4 – Political Theory, Intuitions and the Nation

Stream: Political Theory

The validity of intuitions in contemporary political theory

Edmund Handby, Australian National University

Intuitions have come to play a prominent role in philosophical analysis. Conceptual claims in contemporary analytic philosophy are assessed with reference to intuitions. Recent scholarship on intuitions, and their use in moral and political argument has, however, raised doubts concerning the capacity to rely on intuitions. In particular, studies in the history of ideas argue that intuitions are shaped by classic texts in the history of ideas, which has the potential to embed systematic errors in political argument. Similarly, the history of an intuition might disqualify it from use in certain political arguments. In this paper, I argue that intuitions are more likely to be shaped by various features of the world including political institutions, political actors, and the random life history of individuals. As intuitions are shaped by these features of the world, via cognitive shortcuts and heuristics, there is greater scope for intuitions to be biased. I identify three ways that intuitions can be biased; 1) parochialism, where intuitions are shaped by the country or city of residence, 2) endogeneity, where the motives of political actors feed into intuitions via institutions, and 3) idiosyncrasy, where intuitions are contingent on the random life history of individuals.

Political theory and uncertainty: The case for a 'realist' reset of pedagogical practices

Luke Hennessy, Australian National University

How should we understand and evaluate political actions and institutions? More specifically, how should political theorists prosecute this task? This paper contrasts two broad approaches to political theory, each offering rival responses to these questions. The first and more familiar approach encourages the reader-student to understand and evaluate political actions and institutions in terms of the extent to which they satisfy or instantiate the moral aims and epistemic demands of philosophical reason. Insofar as political practice rarely, if ever, satisfies these demands, politics is transmogrified into a kind of proto-philosophical exercise gone wrong, or misapplied ethics. From this point of view, the implicit aim of political theory is to eliminate or narrow the gap between philosophical theory and political practice. I argue that, while this

approach might have benefits in helping the reader-student formulate or refine their ideals, it encourages neglect of the full range of historical complexities and political exigencies that affect—and that ought to be considered in—how institutions are shaped, and politics conducted. I then make the case for an alternative approach, commonly referred to as 'realism,' which, for the most part, avoids these shortcomings; all the more important, I argue, in times of uncertainty.

Liberalism, character, and the creation of the Australian Commonwealth, c.1870–1914

Ian Tregenza, Macquarie University; Mark Hearn, Macquarie University

The idea of character was an overarching theme in the moral discourse of the mid to late nineteenth century. Unlike the older conception of civic virtue, which was tied to a cyclical conception of history, character was linked to the idea of historical progress and the prospect of an open-ended future. The kind of qualities needed for a modernizing, democratizing society included energy, enterprise, independence, duty, and service to common good. Since progress could not be guaranteed, a citizenry exhibiting these qualities would forestall the ever-present tendency to stagnation and conformity. Connected to the concern with individual character was the idea of national character. What made the British the kind of people they were? These debates were taken up in the Australian colonies as in other parts of what became known as the realm of Greater Britain. Australia was described by various writers as the place where the British character was able to realize its full potential. The idea of character also shaped the masculinist and racial ideas of the period. This paper will explore the way the character discourse contributed to the emerging idea of the Australian nation.

SYDNEY · AUSTRALIA

Day 3/Session 2/Panel 5 – Decolonial Feminism

Stream: Gender and Sexuality

Decolonising methodologies and/as enfleshed reason

Sara C Motta, University of Newcastle

In this presentation I explore my journey of co-developing decolonising feminist methodologies with raced and feminised women and communities and/as enfleshed reason, and how this is inseparable from the re-embodiment of scholarly practise and feminist theorising as liberatory healing. I'll weave my reflections around some key themes of this praxis such as critical intimacy as opposed to critical distance, speaking from non-being as opposed to a default unmarked human subjectivity, multiple literacies of the political/theoretical as opposed to separation of the word from the world; and nurturing territories of body and Country/Madre Tierra as opposed to extractivist logics and rationalities. I hope that this disrupts taken for granted methodological framings and theoretical practices which reproduce the disavowal and denial of the knowing-being of raced and feminised subjects and thus relegates her to absence and enforced silence, and also resonates with those engaged in such disruptive and heretical practices from decolonial and sister praxis.

New precarities, new resistances: Visibilising the decolonial protagonists of the #feministstrike

Annette Maguire, University of Newcastle

The salience of the concept of precarity (Standing, 2015) has grown exponentially in the wake of the global pandemic, which accelerated dynamics already in place since the long recession that followed the Global Financial Crisis. Theorists such as Silvia Federici (2018) and Isabell Lorey (2015) provide an incisive analysis of precarity through a gendered lens, illuminating how the burden of reproductive labour, which continues to fall on the shoulders of women, crucially troubles their overall position in the labour market. Indeed, neoliberal austerity intensifies this 'shadow work,' as governments and employers off-load their responsibilities for the health and welfare of the workforce (Harcourt, 2009). In the ongoing fallout of the global pandemic, this is clearer than ever.

In this context, the collusion of corporate feminism with neoliberalism is particularly egregious, of which Nancy Fraser (2019) is among the most trenchant critics. Her most recent book, with Tithi Bhattacharya and Cinzia Arruzza (2019), is a timely critique of neoliberal feminism from a critical political economy perspective, and a clarion call for an intersectional, anti-capitalist alternative. However, what their manifesto overlooks is the success with which social movements are constructing this alternative in the here and now in the form of the international #FeministStrike. This paper hopes to spotlight the decolonial political subjects - feminists of the global South - who are animating the Strike, from its birthplace in Argentina to the world. Through movement practices that politicise and collectivise the work of reproduction, these protagonists resignify concepts of work, class, and solidarity from a feminist standpoint. In so doing, they may be

constructing the most effective challenge yet to the global malaise of precarity and its proto-fascist political repercussions.

Popular sovereignty and (non)recognition in Venezuela: A decolonial feminist critique

Ybiskay Gonzalez, University of Newcastle

Many political scientists explain populism from a “positive” paradigm centred on the populist leader discourse of dividing society. That is to say, populist leaders aim at constructing two antagonistic blocks by claiming to represent “the people” against the members of the elite who belong to the establishment, and consequently, it produces division in society. In such a characterisation of “the people”, political scientists frequently forget that populist leaders rally their bases against former divisions: those who were excluded from being political subjects and those who were not. To theorise on the relationship between former divisions and populism, in this presentation, I will offer a critique of the concept of populism by tracing the complex ways that it elides the political being of the popular othered. I will also develop a decolonial feminist framework to examine the narratives articulated by supporters of populist leaders based on my research in Venezuela through interviews carried out between May and July 2016.

Day 3/Session 2/Panel 6 – Climate Change and Conflict in World Politics

Stream: International Relations

Seafood trade with China: Cases from Southeast Asia and beyond

Annie Song, University of Technology Sydney; Michael Fabinyi, University of Technology Sydney; Kate Barclay, University of Technology Sydney

This study explores how China engages in the seafood trade with Vietnam and the Philippines and to what extent its trade policies are coupled with politics. We compare the cases of China’s trade with Vietnam and the Philippines by tracing policy development from 2010 to 2019 and conducting interviews with experts. Drawing upon literature on trade-politics nexus, we identify the conditions under which China uses import bans as economic statecraft or a means to address domestic needs. Additionally, we will show additional empirical evidence using the case of Australia to support our finding. Our findings will have insights into understanding China’s evolving approaches to using trade as a policy tool.

Disasters as a driver of conflict de-escalation

Tobias Ide, Murdoch University

Currently, the dominant narrative argues that climate change, along with other factors, increases disaster frequency and/or intensity, which in turn multiplies conflict risks. I argue that this disaster-conflict narrative, while not wrong, is characterised by a state- and conflict-focussed ontology. It is therefore unable to account for the impact of disasters on insurgent groups as well as for peaceful reactions to disasters. This study presents two theoretical perspectives connecting disasters to reduced conflict risks: disaster diplomacy, focusing on increased cooperation and solidarity, and constraints to violence, which argues that disasters affect the strategic environments of armed groups. I draw empirical evidence from three case studies: the Kashmir insurgency in India after the 2005 earthquake, the civil war between the USC factions in Somalia during the 1997 floods, and the PBCP-J conflict between in Bangladesh after cyclone Sidr in 2007. In all three cases, the civil war de-escalated remarkably in the months after the disaster, and disaster-related strategic constraints (rather than disaster diplomacy) can account for these dynamics.

Global policy-making around carbon dioxide removal

Jonathan Symons, Macquarie University; Bryan Maher, Macquarie University

Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change scenarios that limit warming to 1.5°C require that, in addition to unprecedented reductions in greenhouse gas emissions, between 100 and 1000 Gigatonnes of CO₂ must be removed from the atmosphere before 2100. Despite this, carbon dioxide removal (CDR) is not yet firmly on national or global policy agendas. Owing to uncertainty about both technical potential and social license, we do not even know if CDR on the required scale will be feasible. Achieving international cooperation to explore CDR’s potential is a subset of the wider problem of mitigating climate change; however, CDR has a distinctive problem structure. This paper asks what scholarship about the provision of global public goods can tell us about governing CDR. We argue that any strategy to advance understanding of CDR must be sensitive to the characteristics of different carbon dioxide removal technologies,

to interactions with other mitigation efforts that might generate 'moral hazards' or impact public support, and to the paths through which CDR might gain a place within policy agendas. Slow progress on 'natural' CDR methods is already being achieved within existing governance arrangements, but will be insufficient to achieve large-scale drawdown. Consequently, we examine the potential for 'CDR Clubs' to explore the feasibility of more technologically challenging methods. We argue that near-term governance efforts should promote development of CDR accounting and reporting methodologies, collaborative technological development and prototype deployment, and deliberation on the social dimensions of carbon dioxide removal.

Day 3/Session 2/Panel 7 – Political Narratives/Political Reality

Stream: Comparative Politics

Corbyn and anti-Semitism: A critical blindspot

Thomas B Ron, University of York

In 2015 Jeremy Corbyn rose from little-known backbencher to Leader of the Labour Party. Throughout his leadership a particular sticking point was his relationship with the Jewish community and allegations of Anti-Semitism within the Labour Party. Jewish affiliates regularly criticised Corbyn's inaction and passiveness in the face of protests. Furthermore, Jewish MPs felt under attack in their own constituencies. This culminated with an investigation into the Labour Party by the Equalities and Human Rights Commission, which found that Labour behaved unlawfully. The effects of the anti-semitism scandals and the way it made those across the party feel bears examination.

This paper will explore why during Corbyn's leadership Anti-Semitism increased in the Party. It will also examine how movements like Momentum would exacerbate these problems and downplay their significance. It will also examine how Corbyn ignored establishment groups like the Jewish Labour Movement and his own MPs in favour of fringe groups like Jewish Voice for Labour. It will conclude that Corbyn's inaction on Anti-Semitism critically weakened his leadership in all corners of the party.

Normalising Islamophobia: One Nation, the Liberal Party of Australia and the current othering discourse

Heela Popal, University of Sydney

The Islamophobia register 2017 uncovers a disturbing amount of Islamophobia in Australia. Similarly, the data presented by NSW Police Bias Crime Unit in Australia, has shown a noticeable increase in the hate crimes against Muslims. To analyse this social problem, my study will seek to identify a social process that is paving the way to anti-Muslim sentiments and contributing to Islamophobia which leads to hate crimes and social unrest. As influential social actors, politicians and media play a significant role on shaping public perception. Thus, I will analyse the discursive relationship between the discourse of politicians and media, and the rising Islamophobia and hate-crimes. Using the theoretical framework of 'Permission to hate' (Perry & Poynting, 2007), my study will argue that with the rise of the far-right politicians in the Australian parliament, Islamophobia is not only on the rise, but is normalised leading to hate crimes. I will also argue that media and government policies targeting Muslims are contributing to the construction of a certain perception of Muslims in Australia. I will employ Critical discourse analysis (CDA) on the parliamentary speeches of selected politicians and media outlets. Data driven from this analysis will be compared with the narrative data of the Islamophobia register to outline if the Islamophobic incidents resonate with the political narrative, in order to establish a correlation between Australian political discourse and the rising Islamophobia in society.

Narrating success and failure: Framing Boris Johnson's pandemic responses 2020–21

Ben Wellings, Monash University; Matteo Bonotti, Monash University; Michael Mintrom, Monash University; Maria Rost Rublee, Monash University; Steven Zech, Monash University

This paper analyses whether and why the narratives employed by Prime Minister Boris Johnson in the parliamentary arena during the COVID-19 pandemic influenced the success or failure of the UK Government's lockdown and vaccination policies. Using the Narrative Policy Framework (NPF) to analyse parliamentary speeches drawn from Hansard (Westminster) during 2020-21, the article makes a comparison over time and examines the narrative structures of Johnson's attempts to persuade his audience of the legitimacy and efficacy of his chosen policy responses to the pandemic, as well as the influence (positive or negative) such narratives had on policy outcomes. Parliaments are specific political arenas that are simultaneously public and peculiar to the political system in which the actors operate. By

examining the content of parliamentary speeches and responses to questions on lockdowns and vaccine roll-outs, this article deepens our understanding of the particular part played by narratives employed in the parliamentary arena in producing positive or negative policy outcomes. We argue that Johnson's narratives contributed to positive policy outcomes when they presented the following qualities: a) consistency, b) localization, and c) public justifications that resonate with the broader public.

Australian expatriates' reactions to the government's handling of the COVID-19 pandemic

Anna Larson, University of Adelaide

The COVID-19 pandemic has presented many challenges for Australian expatriates and their families. As part of a broader study on the citizenship practices of Australian expatriates, twenty-two Australian citizens who have been residing in Singapore and the United Kingdom for over 3 years were asked about their decision to remain overseas during the COVID-19 pandemic. In addition to their decision not to return to Australia, interviewees were asked about their perception of the Australian government's response to Australian expatriates during the pandemic. A range of factors were identified as influencing their decision to remain overseas, including work, family and housing commitments. The Australian government's closed-border approach to the pandemic and the resulting repatriation difficulties brought about feelings of abandonment and frustration among the expatriate community. Interviewees expressed a lack of trust in the Australian government, and a sense that those living overseas were perceived as second-class citizens. In addition to exploring the reactions to the government handling of the COVID-19 pandemic, this presentation will also discuss potential impacts this response might have on expatriates' relationships with their home country.

Ukrainian schooling of historical narratives during times of revolt

Anastasiya Byesyedina, University of Sydney

This paper systematically investigates how revolutions construct national identity by drawing a comparison between the Ukrainian revolutions: 2004 Orange Revolution and 2013-14 Revolution of Dignity. It argues that revolutions are sites of identity construction, where the identity's malleable nature makes it susceptible to change. Furthermore, this study treats identity as a subject prone to contestation, and consequently reconstruction, through a process which is rooted in a historical environment and traces of which can be observed through language and education. Language is an important indicator of identity change, where through language, history, national myths and political realities are passed on to the generation. Education has a direct impact on the construction of identity given that it can transform and consolidate knowledge and national narratives. The aim of this paper is to investigate the ways in which top-down actors can shape language and education, and consequently construct Ukrainian identity during times of unrest. Using methods of process tracing, archival research and discourse analysis, this chapter will analyse the following objects and data: language policies, curriculum, Ukrainian school history books and interviews. In order to observe changes in identity construction, this paper will focus on tracing the discourses of events, figures and organisations.

