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Professor Robynne Quiggin

TBA

Dr Joanne Faulkner

Representation, Settler Colonialism, and 'the Aboriginal Child': a politics of subalternity?

Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak famously thematised the question 'can the subaltern speak?' through the dual meanings of 'representation,' as both depiction and political proxy. My recent book, *Representing Aboriginal Childhood: the politics of memory and forgetting in Australia* (2023) drew in part on this analytic to question the capacity of settler coloniser imagination to represent (or recognise) Aboriginal children as sovereign. The former sense of representation thus bears implications for the second, as Indigenous sovereignty is displaced by settler representations of indigeneity – and particularly of Indigenous 'childhood' and 'children' as neglected 'piccaninnies,' without parentage or inheritance (Moreton-Robinson 2021; Conor 2012). Such depictions, in this light, may even be read as continuous with colonial logics of elimination (Wolfe 2006): that is, as strategies to sever the connection to land that undergirds Indigenous conceptions of sovereignty and to thwart Indigenous futures.

In this presentation I will return again to unpack the investments of settler sovereignty in representing Aboriginal childhood, this time in the context of current debates about the constitutional recognition of First Peoples, and of a political imperative to represent (or re-conceive) the Australian 'nation' as postcolonial. What, if anything, can a settler-Australian politics of recognition offer First Peoples? Is it possible to represent (or recognise) Blak sovereignty through modifications to the settler constitution? And how does the settler repertoire of imagery of Aboriginal children speak to this possibility? If that fabricated 'Aboriginal child' could speak, what would this ultimate 'subaltern' say?

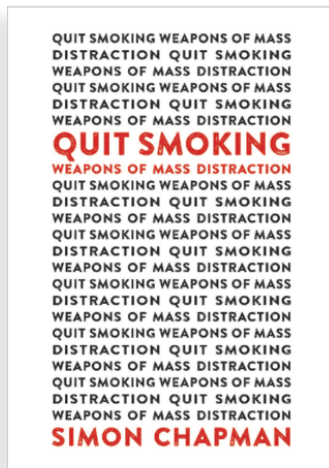
A joint keynote with the Australasian Society for Continental philosophy, ascp.org.au/conference

Dr Gordon de Brouwer

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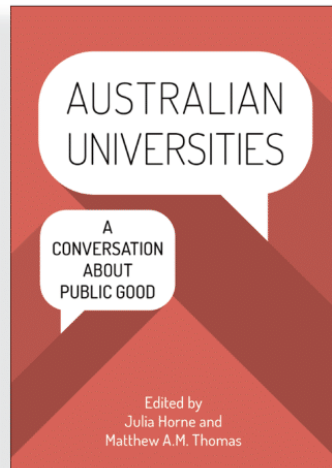
Books that pose challenging questions about policy processes and implementation, public administration and the politics of policy making.



Quit Smoking Weapons of Mass Distraction

Simon Chapman

Simon Chapman AO, one of Australia's foremost experts on strategies to minimise harm from tobacco, reviews the early history of quitting smoking and the rise of assisted quitting, and gives insight into the forces that have tried to undermine smokers' agency to stop.



Australian Universities: A conversation about public good

Edited by Julia Horne and Matthew A.M. Thomas

More than 20 experts rekindle a much-needed conversation about the vital role of public universities in our society, arguing for initiatives informed by the realities of university life and offering a way forward.



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Authors are invited to discuss potential titles for the series with the series editor, or Susan Murray, susan.j.murray@sydney.edu.au



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Panels

Gender Justice and the Global Backlash

Kirsten Ainley, Christine Chinkin, Paul Kirby, Camilo Sanchez, Marie Berry and Angelika Rettberg

The backlash against human rights, especially women's human rights, is systemic, structural and global: women human rights defenders are facing increased risks in their work, women's sexual and reproductive rights are under threat, violence against women and those targeted for their sexuality or rejection of the gender binary is pandemic. The UN Secretary-General has highlighted how gender ideology, fundamentalisms, militarisation, globalisation and neoliberal policies have sustained the patriarchal and heteronormative power structures that fuel the backlash and undermine gender equality. The panellists will address the multiple dimensions of the backlash and also consider how it can and must be resisted and how academics, activists and practitioners can work together to build solidarity and entrench past gains and so 'push back against the push back'.

The Politics and Ethics of Work and Migration

Caleb Althorpe, Luara Ferracioli, Matthew Lister and Tiziana Torresi

The structural features of contemporary economies mean work and migration are intimately linked. Despite this, the respective work and migration literatures continue to mostly treat these topics as separate and distinct. By exploring the political, social, and ethical issues that arise at the intersection of work and migration, this political theory panel aims to begin an interdisciplinary conversation that takes a more wholistic approach to these issues. Developing such an approach is important in order to capture the political and social realities faced by individual migrants situated in systems of global capitalism. The panel will focus not only on voluntary labour migration but will also examine the work-related implications of immigration policy towards non-economic migrants, as well as the variety of ways migrants are differently situated in contemporary economic structures. Particular topics included in the panel include temporary migration programs, work-restrictive immigration policy, and precarious labour. The panel will explore both explanatory and normative questions related to these topics.

The Harm of Work Restrictive Immigration Policies

Caleb Althorpe and Tiziana Torresi

Family Migration and Polygamy

Luara Ferracioli

Life Plans of Temporary Migrants: Justice, Expediency, and other Virtues

Matthew Lister

Author Meets Critics: The Politics of Becoming: Anonymity and Democracy in the Digital Age

Hans Asenbaum, John Dryzek, Carolyn Hendriks, Philippa Collins, and Ariadne Vromen

When we participate in political debate or protests, we are judged by how we look, skin colour, gender and body language. This results in exclusions and limits our freedom of expression. The Politics of Becoming explores radical democratic acts of disidentification to counter this problem. It brings together democratic, feminist, queer, anarchist, and new materialist theories to conceptualize

the 'fugitive self' in democratic engagement. Anonymity in masked protest, graffiti, and online debate interrupts our everyday identity assemblages. Such interruptions allow us to live our multiple selves. In the digital age, anonymity becomes an inherent part of everyday communication. As cyborgs our identities are disrupted and reassembled as digital communication devices enter into processes of self-making. However, pursuing a politics of becoming comes with several challenges. What dangers lie in recommendations to hide identity? Does anonymity conceal diversity? How can accountability be ensured? This panel brings together leading voices in the field of democratic theory and identity to discuss the relevance and the dangers of self-transformation in democratic politics today.

Australia and its importance in the role of Quad in India Ocean

Pranav Bhaskar

How Quad can strengthen its role and play a more effective way, to counter China in the Indian Ocean.

Teaching with the Case Study method and resources: what ANZSOG has to offer

Patrick Brownlee, Sergio Biggeman, Maria Katsonis and Marinella Padula

The Case Study teaching method has co-existed with a range of innovative teaching approaches that aim to draw authentic experience into classroom contexts, Popular in business schools for a long time the Case method has since been developed for teaching public administration and policy in leading schools internationally. Case teaching focuses on people as decision-makers so students can 'stand in the shoes' of the individual whose circumstances or dilemma are described in the case. While cases are research-based short form articles, typically written with a specific learning objective or topic in mind, their uses vary from the original and 'pure' form. The Australian and New Zealand School of Government (ANZSOG) host the Joh L. Alford Case Library, a sizeable open collection of narratives accounts of public service in Australia and Aotearoa New Zealand. It is also allied with the UK Case Centre which resources universities in the UK. This panel discussion will outline the case approach and how ANZSOG seeks and commission cases, and discuss the pros and cons of the case method.

Unveiling Space Odyssey 2030: Space Development Race and Security in Northeast Asia

EJR Cho, Ilseok Oh, Sung-hoon Lee and Junghyun Yoon

The space domain is becoming increasingly important for national security, as it is essential for a wide range of critical activities, including communications, navigation, and surveillance. This panel aims to provide a comprehensive understanding of space development and security in Northeast Asia, with a focus on the contrasting approaches of South Korea and North Korea (Ilseok Oh), the protection of space assets (Sung-Hoon Lee), and the role of artificial intelligence in space security (Junghyun Yoon). By comparing the normative frameworks and policies of South Korea and North Korea, we will shed light on the implications for regional security in Northeast Asia. We will examine the challenges posed by intentional threats (such as ASATs) and unintentional risks (including space debris) to space assets, and discuss the need for international cooperation and information sharing

to address these threats effectively. Additionally, we will explore the increasing role of artificial intelligence in analyzing surveillance data and its impact on space weapon development, shifting power dynamics among space.

Comparative Study of the Normative Frameworks on North and South Korean Space Development and Space Security

Dr Ilseok OH

International Cooperation and Joint Response for Space Asset Protection

Sung-hoon LEE

AI-Driven Integration of Space, Cyber, and Physical Domains and Its Security Implications

Junghyun YOON

Roundtable on political science research in authoritarian and challenging environments

Dara Conduit, Marika Sosnowski, Jasmine Westendorf, Eda Gunaydin, Sam Wilkins, Shahar Hameiri and Aim Simpeng

By its very nature, the field of politics examines issues that are often sensitive or even threatening to some elites and powerful societal groups. In a wide range of contexts, researchers have faced growing political constraints including access to approvals, visas, and important information, and even the threat of detention or even violence, just for doing their work. Navigating this is made all-the-more challenging by red lines that constantly shift: Something that was tolerated today may be sensitive tomorrow, making these among the most complex environments for political science research. For many in the Australian political science research community, the seriousness of these challenges is no longer hypothetical, with three of our colleagues having been jailed by authoritarian regimes in the past five years. This roundtable, which will launch APSA Authoritarian and Challenging Environments Research Group, discusses these challenges and what we need to do to respond.

Deliberative hype? Has deliberative democracy made a difference 30 years since the deliberative turn?

Nicole Curato, John Dryzek, Emanuela Savini, Kyle Redman and Pia Van de Zandt

What difference has the increasing prominence of deliberative democracy made in scholarly research and democratic practice? This roundtable brings together academics and practitioners who have commissioned, designed, implemented, studied, and evaluated deliberative processes in structured forums and the wider public sphere. It interrogates the legacies of the so-called 'deliberative turn' in democratic theory and the extent to which the 'deliberative wave' in OECD countries has transformed societies worldwide. Questions for discussion include the following: How has the landscape of deliberative democracy changed in theory and practice in the past 30 years/ since you have been working in the field? There are many indications of the growing interest in deliberative forms of public engagement in Australia. In July, Allegra Spender called for a citizens' assembly on the housing affordability crisis, while the Local Government Act Victoria (2020) considers deliberative forms of engagement as necessary mechanisms to enhance community engagement. Has there really been a 'deliberative wave' in more recent years in Australia? What does this mean for

improving the quality of governance and our democracy? What are your hopes and fears for the future of deliberative democracy and citizen participation more broadly?

China's Belt and Road Initiative on Its Tenth Anniversary: What Has It (Not) Achieved?

Muhammad Faisal, Lai-Ha Chan, You Ji and Xue Gong

The Year 2023 marks a full decade after the announcement of China's gigantic Belt and Road Initiative (BRI). From 2013 onwards, China has funded ports, roads and other infrastructure projects around the world to enhance overland and maritime connectivity of various regions with mainland China. With the BRI, Beijing directed its excess industrial capacity outside its national borders, while expanding its political and economic influence in countries which formed the core of first wave of BRI projects and corridors. As China adapted the BRI to the local development context of participating countries, the tenth anniversary provides an opportunity to take stock of developmental interaction between China and its partner countries under BRI. This panel proposes analysing trajectory of BRI cooperation in various regions, such as Central Asia, South Asia, Southeast Asia and the South Pacific. The case studies explore policy convergence (or divergence) between China and the selected country on economic and developmental issues and the interaction of local and external dynamics in the evolution of BRI in the selected country. This will indicate directions for the likely evolution of the BRI, including challenges confronting BRI development over the medium term.

The BRI's Geostrategic and Military Dynamics

You Ji and Xian Jiaotong

Ideas Do Not Flow Freely: China's Digital Governance Cooperation with Southeast Asia

Xue Gong and S. Rajaratnam

Limits of Shared Destiny: A Decade of the Pakistan-China Cooperation under the BRI

Muhammad Faisal

The Competitive Dynamics of Order-Building in the South Pacific: The BRI versus Pacific Step-up/Reset

Lai-Ha Chan

Who Gets a 'Fair Go' in Public Policy?

Emily Foley, Natalie Herald, Emily Foley, Karen Fisher, Sally Robinson and Rosemary Kayess

The discourse of the 'fair go' is a ubiquitous feature of policy and political debate in Australia and New Zealand. The phrase possesses wide appeal based on its strong cultural cachet and its appeals to equality of opportunity and a shared egalitarian ethos. The phrase is invoked by politicians, civil society advocates, journalists and researchers, and in the process an array of different meanings is revealed. These generate several important research questions, including: Who is entitled to a fair go? How can the fair go be operationalized through public policies? Does 'fair go' mean different things in different policy areas? This panel brings together researchers working in multiple policy domains to discuss how the fair go idea plays out in practice and the tensions that emerge in the effort to translate this core cultural concept into government programs.

The 'fair go' and 'deserving citizens': Comparing Australia with Austria

Juliet Pietsch and Natalie Herald

A Fair Go for who? Temporary migrant workers in Australia

Emily Foley

The fair go of people with disability in Australia

Karen Fisher and Rosemary Kayess

Dynamic perspectives on agency in pursuit of sustainability transition

Tira Foran and James Langston

What drives or hinders actions aimed at improving, or transforming, the sustainability performance of key Australian industries of agriculture, food, minerals, and energy? This panel invites contributors interested in recurring topics prompted by the above broad question, notably: values, agency, political economy, innovation, and knowledge. We conceptualise sustainability transition as an essentially complex and perpetually contested set of phenomena. Efforts to reform or transform production and consumption of agriculture and food, or minerals and energy, might be classified as change agency involving varying combinations of organisational innovation, policy innovation, regional leadership, and contestation. We invite contributions that shed light on the political dynamics at play among the above examples of change agency. We welcome empirical contributions from a range of theoretical and methodological perspectives, such as: socio-technical transitions; geographic political economy; postgrowth economics; and 'just transition'. We are particularly interested in showcasing interdisciplinary, transdisciplinary and action-oriented methodologies.

Australia in the 21st Century: Challenges and Opportunities

Zareh Ghazarian, Nathan Fioritti, Frank Algra-Maschio and Rob Manwaring

Every decade ushers in new challenges for Australia alongside the return of familiar challenges, albeit made slightly anew. As the 21st Century proceeds apace, managing complex governance issues, preventing democratic fracture, balancing an ever-shifting geo-political strategic order (especially with the rise of China), addressing the recognition and identity demands of marginalised groups, and responding to crisis events such as pandemics and climate change are among the most urgent of them. These challenges are not exclusive to Australia but their manifestation and responses to them are shaped by the country's history, culture, geography, location, and size. The papers presented in this panel will showcase research that seeks to address these challenges. The panel features a selection of researchers who have contributed to a forthcoming book under contract with Routledge that is co-edited by Dr Matteo Bonotti and Dr Narelle Miragliotta from Monash University.

Authors Meet Critics: The Locked-Up Country: Learning the Lessons from Australia's Covid-19 Response (UQP, 2023)

Shahar Hameiri, Dr Tom Chodor, Nicholas Bromfield, Adam Hannah, Kelly Gerard, Lindy Edwards and Nicholas Coatsworth

The Locked-Up Country: Learning the Lessons from Australia's Covid-19 Response, a book co-authored by Shahar Hameiri and Tom Chodor was recently published by UQP. This panel brings the authors together with readers to discuss the book and its implications for Australian politics and governance.

Australia has changed enormously since Horne's 1960s, but its response to the COVID-19 pandemic demonstrates the enduring truth of his thesis that our 'luck' was undeserved and wouldn't last. By closing its borders and imposing a nationally coordinated lockdown, Australia unexpectedly eliminated COVID-19 in 2020, achieving one of the world's lowest excess mortality rates. But as governments proceeded to bungle key planks of the pandemic response, by mid-2021, Australia was 'locked up' - closed off to the world and fragmented along state and territory borders, with its major cities enduring repeated and extended lockdowns. It soon became clear that Australia's regulatory state had let us down. But these failures were not inevitable, and we can manage future crises in a better way. In *The Locked-up Country*, political experts Tom Chodor and Shahar Hameiri identify the source of Australia's recent challenges and suggest a better way forward.

The Evolution of the Antipodean 'Fair Go': Inequality and Political Debate

Cosmo Howard, Nicholas Barry and Peter Skilling

In Australia and New Zealand, the phrase 'fair go' has been seen as a defining characteristic of national identity, evoking a socially liberal ethos where 'jack is as good as his master'. However, the fair go has also historically excluded some members of the political community. It has been used by politicians, advocates, commentators, and policymakers from all sides of politics to legitimize their positions, taking on a wide variety of seemingly contradictory meanings. In this panel we bring together scholars working to understand the changing meanings, uses and abuses of 'the fair go' in political debate. How has the meaning of the fair go changed over time? Is the fair go alive and well today? How is the expression being used in an era of growing inequality and compounding crises? How does it inform contemporary debates about national identity? What possibilities does this enduring idea present for positive change in the future?

A 'Fair Go' research agenda

Cosmo Howard

The egalitarian myth in unequal times

Peter Skilling

The Politics of Income Inequality in Australia

Nicholas Barry

The Australian far right in times of crisis: social, technological and environmental developments

Jordan McSwiney, Vivian Gerrand, Callum Jones, Henry Maher, Imogen Richards and Kurt Sengul

This panel will explore the latest developments in the globally oriented Australian far right as we emerge from crisis into complexity. The various papers analyse how far-right actors exploit and more broadly interact with contemporary social, economic, and environmental circumstances of crisis. The forms of social precarity exacerbated by the international virus pandemic of Covid-19 was exploited by far-right actors in liberal and social democracies, while intensifying global heating, economic inequality, and emergent 'post-truth' environments provide opportunities for far-right actors to further their exclusionary and supremacist agendas. This panel addresses the four subthemes of far-right exploitation of crises: 1) ecofascism, fossil fascism and climate change denialism; 2) 'fake news' and contested truth environments in an era of new alt-tech and digital media; 3) 'left behind

narratives' in circumstances of economic catastrophe stemming from neoliberal globalisation; and 4) crisis and far-right development at the intersection of environmental, technological, and social events. The panel adopts an interdisciplinary outlook, drawing from political science, criminology sociology, as well as media and communications.

Immigration as Ur-crisis: Climate, Covid-19, and Housing in the Australian Far-Right

Jordan McSwiney and Kurt Sengul

Down the rabbit hole: An examination of the multi-spectrum Australian far right across alt-tech media networks

Imogen Richards and Callum Jones

Neoliberalism and the Far Right: Convergences in times of crisis

Harry Maher

Problematising pipelines: understanding the conducive environment of grievances that enables the appeal of the far right in contemporary Australia

Vivian Gerrand

Party structures, representatives, and responsiveness

Erin O'Brien, Marija Taflaga, Rob Manwaring, Narelle Miragliotta, Josh Holloway, Katrine Beauregard and Daniel Casey

Panel on Party structures, representation and responsiveness submitted by the Political Organisations and Participation Standing Group.

Parties as bureaucracies: do we need to borrow ideas from public administration and public policy?

Marija Taflaga

Assessing the relationship between party family type and campaign finance

Rob Manwaring, Narelle Miragliotta and Josh Holloway

When do Political Parties Elect more Women? Assessing the Role of the Gender Gap and Electoral System

Katrine Beauregard

Democratic responsiveness to different forms of public opinion

Daniel Casey

Political participation and democracy

Erin O'Brien, Anne Jedzini, Nivek Thompson, Ariadne Vromen, Serrin Rutledge Prior, Darren Halpin and Madeleine Egan

Panel on Political Participation and Democracy submitted by the Political Organisations and Participation Standing Group.

Unpacking power in democratic innovations: A synthetic review of how power is shared in Australian local governments

Anne Jedzini

Democratising participation through democratic functions

Nivek Thompson

Rethinking non-participation in politics: challenges for democracy and generational change

Ariadne Vromen, Serrin Rutledge Prior and Darren Halpin

Twenty Million Authors of the Law: Constitution-Making and the Role of Informal Participation in the Public Sphere

Madeleine Egan

Political participation and digital politics

Erin O'Brien, Philippa Collin, Penelope Bowyer-Pont, Kurt Sengul, Benjamin Moffitt, Jordan McSwiney and Max Halupka

Panel on Political Participation and Digital Politics submitted by the Political Organisations and Participation Research Standing Group.

Student Climate Action and the making of viable democratic futures

Philippa Collin

Advocacy organisations as news sources; the case of GetUp!

Penelope Bowyer-Pont

What's So Funny About Populism & Nativism? Humour in the Online Visual Communication of the Australian Far Right

Kurt Sengul, Benjamin Moffitt and Jordan McSwiney

Defining the Digital, and so Digital Politics

Max Halupka

Campaigns, lobbying and advocacy- new roles, new strategies?

Erin O'Brien, Francesca Colli, Erin O'Brien, Belinda Townsend, Mark Riboldi, Ainsley Elbra and Martijn Boersma

Panel on Campaigns, Lobbying and Advocacy submitted by the Political Organisations and Participation Standing Group.

Market lobbying, policy entrepreneurship and opportunity structures in the movement to end fossil fuel advertising

Francesca Colli and Erin O'Brien

NGO strategies in the commercial determinants of health

Belinda Townsend, Katherine Cullerton, Rob Ralston, Jeff Collin, Fran Baum, Liz Arnanz, Jane Martin and Sharon Friel

An Activity Framework for Civil Society Organisations

Mark Riboldi

The Political Power of Proxy Advisors in determining the outcome of ethical investing campaigns

Ainsley Elbra, Erin O'Brien and Martijn Boersma

Political representation

Erin O'Brien, Phoebe Hayman, Ben Spies-Butcher, Mark Riboldi, Carolyn Hendriks, Richard Reid, Emily Foley and Rob Manwaring

Panel on Political Representation organised by the Political Organisations and Participation Standing Group.

Examining Independents' Success in 2022: A Turning Point or Continuum in Australian Politics?

Phoebe Hayman

Dealignment or reconfiguration? assessing the rise in non-major party MPs in Australian Parliaments

Ben Spies-Butcher and Mark Riboldi

Shadow representation: counter-claim making and contesting official political representation

Carolyn Hendriks and Richard Reid

Consensus, Corporatism or Labourism? Understanding the ALP's Economic Agenda

Emily Foley and Rob Manwaring

Contemporary populist parties and politics

Erin O'Brien, Sofia Ammassari, Duncan McDonnell, Benjamin Moffitt and Annika Werner

A panel on Contemporary Populist Parties and Politics submitted by the Political Organisations and Participation standing group.

'Men's parties', but with more active women: Participation at the grassroots of populist radical right parties

Sofia Ammassari

Nationalist Populism's Transnational Advocacy Networks

Duncan McDonnell

Populist Publics, 'The People' & Visual Technologies in the 2021 Capitol Riots

Benjamin Moffitt

Democratic quality from a citizen perspective: Mainstream and populist voters' conceptualisations of a well-functioning democracy

Annika Werner

Explaining China's foreign policy: theories, practice and implications

Guangyi Pan, Niloufar Baghernia, Wengtin He, Minran Liu and Edward Sing Yue Chan

When declaring China should take centre stage in the world, Xi's sense of historic mission and the collective perception of China's natural position as a great power drive the nation's foreign policy to a more ambitious destination. China's rise has profound systemic implications and challenges prevailing international relations theories. This prompts the question of whether China conforms to the pattern of rise and fall observed in other great powers or if it represents a deviation from established theories. Scholars have endeavored to explain China's behavior using diverse conceptual frameworks, ranging from structural perspectives to intermediate approaches and individual concepts. This panel aims to examine China's rise and its theoretical underpinnings, to analyse the intricate interplay of events, processes, and actors in Chinese foreign policy transitions. The objective is to develop a coherent comprehension of China's rise by exploring the trajectory and driving forces behind it.

Rethinking the theory's end: the development and limits of middle-range IR theory

Guangyi Pan

Amidst the assertions that "IR theory is dead," theorists have crafted a series of middle-range theories over the past decade, aiming to enhance the explanatory and conceptual potential of IR. Whether it involves refining neoclassical realism through causal mechanisms, synthesizing interdisciplinary concepts, or incorporating pluralistic non-Western perspectives, all of these endeavors have sought to demarcate the evolving boundaries of IR theory. These "middle-range" theories also encompass approaches that focus on specific moments in time to analyze discrete decisions. Similar to grand theories, middle-range approaches strive for high generality in their theorems while narrowing their research field to a specific fragment of social reality. Nonetheless, these attempts at middle-range theories face challenges, including ontological confusion, underexplored causal relationships, and ad hoc variable selection, which undermine the coherence of the IR theoretical family and the scope of its explanations. In this panel, we will critically examine the development of middle-range theory and push its limits in response to the ongoing debate surrounding the role of IR theories.

Fairness in a 'crisis:' policy making under pressure

Pandanus Petter, Nicholas Bromfield, Jeremiah Brown, Sarah Bierre, and Cosmo Howard

In Australia and New Zealand, 'fairness' is widely seen as a defining principle and aspiration of our political culture. Despite this ideal, many existing policy frameworks are failing to address growing economic inequality. Governments have faced several crises in recent times, including the Covid-19 pandemic and unprecedented problems of housing affordability and security. Yet, the implications of these crises for political debates and policy action to address inequalities and injustices are unclear. The language of crisis does not lead automatically towards fairness-enhancing structural reforms, but

may offer opportunities for defenders of inequalities to entrench the status quo. This panel brings together scholars working to understand how ideas and discourses of crisis are used by policymakers and politicians to make claims for fairness-enhancing reforms. The papers in this panel offer insights into how fairness is conceptualized during crises, the different policy solutions that are offered, and the degree to which crises offer opportunities for redistributive policymaking.

The Moral Logic of Choosing Between Policy Instruments During Crisis – A Typology of Instruments and the logic behind them

Nicholas Bromfield and Jeremiah Brown

Fairness in a Crisis: Political Narratives of Housing Inequality in Australia

Cosmo Howard and Pandanus Petter

The hope and limitation of a politics of kindness

Sarah Bierre

University of Otago

Experiments in Political Science

Constanza Sanhueza Petrarca, Benjamin Goldsmith, Aaron Martin and Ferran Martinez i Coma

This panel is co-chaired by Professor Benjamin Goldsmith (ANU) and Dr. Constanza Sanhueza (ANU). Experiments are becoming increasingly popular in political science. This panel includes papers examining how these methods can be used to investigate causal mechanisms associated with the voter-representative linkage. The empirical research that will be presented is based on survey experiments and quasi-experiments applied to examine political representation. Mechanisms explored include electoral reforms, malapportionment, decision-making, policymaking, public perception, and popular legitimacy. The studies have been conducted in Australia, the United States, and across European democracies.

How Do Political Processes Affect Public Support and Compliance? Experimental Evidence from 11 European Countries

Constanza Sanhueza Petrarca, Heiko Giebler and Bernhard Wessels

Does Public Diplomacy Sway Domestic Public Opinion? U.S. Presidential Travel Abroad and Approval at Home

Benjamin Goldsmith, Yusaku Horiuchi and Kelly Matush

Understanding citizen's views towards different types of policy making

Aaron Martin and Kyle Peyton

Malapportionment at Play: Evidence from a Quasi-Experimental Design

Ferran Martinez i Coma

Evolving Politics of Climate Disasters and Adaptation

David Schlosberg, Wendy Conway-Lamb, Justin See, Anna Sturman and Scott Webster

This panel presents recent empirical work done on community responses to climate-induced disasters and adaptation planning in Australia, Vietnam, and the Philippines. The focus is on the lived

experience of climate change, and practices and frameworks used to design community-based responses - both in terms of immediate emergency response to disaster and longer-term adaptation planning. Core concepts of plurality, inclusion, justice, care, and democratic engagement are addressed throughout. Together, the papers explore designs for community-based and just approaches for addressing the real and increasing impacts of climate change.

Pluralising adaptation: Mapping climate adaptation discourses in Vietnam
Wendy Conway-Lamb

Prospects for Just Adaptation in Climate-Related Resettlement: Case Studies from the Philippines
Justin See

Care praxis, anthropogenic hegemony and climate adaptation
Anna Sturman

Democratising Resilience Building: Learning from 'Spontaneous' Volunteers and Self-Organised Community Responses during the 2019-20 Bushfires and 2022 Floods
Scott Webster, et al

Latin American Politics

Thiago N. Silva, Sarah Birch, Ferran Martinez i Coma, Mariana Carvalho, James Loxton, William R. Clark and Alejandro Medina

This panel on Latin American Politics explores diverse aspects of the region's political landscape, aiming to uncover the complex interactions between societal factors, political institutions, and political behaviour. The panel embraces a range of methodological approaches, including cross-national comparison analyses and case studies. The four papers within the panel delve into the dynamics of natural disasters and their influence on electoral clientelism, the role of corruption in driving political assassinations, the prevalence and implications of hereditary democracy, and the relationship between human rights violations and democratic breakdown. By examining these crucial topics, the panel provides a comprehensive understanding of the multifaceted political dynamics prevalent in Latin America.

Natural Disasters and the Limits of Electoral Clientelism: Evidence from Honduras
Sarah Birch and Ferran Martinez i Coma

The Political Economy of Assassinations
Mariana Carvalho

Hereditary Democracy in Latin America
James Loxton

Democratic Breakdown, Presidentialism, and Human Rights Violations
William R. Clark, Alejandro Medina and Thiago N. Silva

Elections in Southeast Asia: Changes and Continuity

Aim Sinpeng, Ross Tapsell, Mun Vong and Aries Arugay

This roundtable examines the outcomes and implications of recent elections in Malaysia, the Philippines, Thailand and Cambodia. These Southeast Asian nations held their first elections following a series of protests and political crises, made worsened by the COVID-19 pandemics. Election outcomes in all countries have shown both signs of democratic change and authoritarian resilience. Malaysia's election in 2022 led to an inconclusive result and a first hung parliament, paving the way to political paralysis. The Philippines' elections led to a landslide victory of Ferdinand Marcos Jr and Sara Duterte - children of past presidents with authoritarian legacies. Thailand's 2023 election ushered in a surprising win for the country's most progressive party, Move Forward Party. Yet, the pro-democracy forces have yet been able to form a government due to existing authoritarian institutions. Cambodia's upcoming July 2023 election has witnessed its long-time ruler, Hun Sen, taking extraordinary steps to repress and marginalise opposition voices and politicians. The panel will address the lessons and implications of these recent elections in Southeast Asia and what it means for regional politics in the post-COVID era.

Social Media and the Malaysia's 2022 Election

Ross Tapsell

Tic-Tok-Ticket: Philippine Electoral Alliances in the Digital Era

Aries Arugay

Hashtag Activism and Thailand's 2023 Election

Aim Sinpeng

Revisiting the Democracy through Strength Theory in the Case of Cambodia

Mun Vong

Pandemic Policy Learning Roundtable: What should we learn from COVID-19 and how should we learn it?

Alastair Stark, Sarah Ball, Sophie Yates, Jack Corbett, Adam Hannah, Janine O'Flynn and Erik Baekkeskov

This roundtable will bring together Australian public policy scholars who have studied the COVID-19 pandemic to discuss two questions. First, what are the key policy lessons from COVID-19? More specifically, what have public policy, public management and political science perspectives contributed to our understanding of the pandemic? Addressing this question will take the roundtable into discussions of specific policy issues in relation to pandemic preparedness, political leadership, the role of experts and the nature of state-society relations vis-à-vis crisis management, but it will also demand some consideration of the value that political science and public policy scholarship specifically brings to the lesson learning table. Second, how should we learn from COVID-19? Addressing this question requires discussion of whether post-crisis learning processes in Australia can deliver crisis management reforms that will enhance our resilience to a future pandemic. This focus demands attention on how lessons are identified and, perhaps more importantly, how identified lessons are subsequently implemented, institutionalised and remembered in ways that will keep them alive.

Thematic overview: Research Handbook on Public Management and COVID-19

Janine O'Flynn and Sophie Yates

The Space Between Lesson Identification and Lesson Learning

Alastair Stark

Ethical Values and Pandemic Policy

Sarah Ball

The Comparative 'Court Politics' of COVID-19

Jack Corbett

Stuck between paradigms? Political capacity and the incremental lessons of a hyper-politicised pandemic

Adam Hannah

No experts needed? Three ways to be scientific and opportunities for empowerment in policy-making

Erik Baekkeskov

Book Panel: Developmental Environmentalism- State Ambition and Creative Destruction in East Asia's Green Energy Shift

Elizabeth Thurbon, Susan Park, Fengshi Wu, Sung-Young Kim, Hao Tan, John Mathews and Christian Downie

This panel will introduce and discuss the newly released book *Developmental Environmentalism: State Ambition and Creative Destruction in East Asia's Green Energy Shift*. What is new and distinctive about East Asia's approach to the green energy transition? And what does this approach mean for Australia and the world? *Developmental Environmentalism* provides the first comprehensive account of East Asia's green energy shift and its implications. It highlights the powerful and symbiotic role of state ambition, geostrategic competition, and capitalist market dynamics in driving forward the region's greening efforts. Based on their findings, the authors reject the idea that East Asia's greening strategies are mere exercises in 'greenwashing' or fossil-fuelled 'business as usual'. Rather, there is something fundamentally transformative underway in the region at the level of elite ideation, strategic ambition, and policy action; the green energy shift represents much more than continuity in Asia's erstwhile developmental states. The authors show how state actors in East Asia are engaging in a sophisticated kind of economic statecraft, strategically harnessing the capitalist market dynamics of 'creative-destruction' to advance their transformative green ambitions. They also assess the future of the global green shift in an era of geostrategic rivalry.

Diagnosing, Measuring, and Addressing Contemporary Threats to the Public Sphere

Adele Webb, Samantha Vilkins, Selen Ercan, Jordan McSwiney, Tariq Choucair and Sebastian Svegaard

Political expression has never been easier, it seems, yet the structures and functions of contemporary public spheres, both in Australia and globally, face multiple challenges and threats. These range from heated debate and entrenched partisanship to the spread of misinformation, hate, and violence. New technologies and digital media platforms have disrupted traditional and enabled new discursive landscapes. The erosion of trust into media, politics, science and standards of truth threaten to delegitimise core democratic institutions. This panel seeks to take stock of contemporary challenges

to democratic public spheres, characterising the most pressing threats, and the various ways its fragilities can be addressed. It considers what role citizens and political leaders can play, if any, in destroying or repairing the public sphere and enabling democratic renewal. Bringing together scholars with expertise in political communication and democratic theory, the panel offers empirical insights into the qualities of offline and online public debates, as well as new conceptual and methodological approaches for the analysis and assessment of such phenomena as destructive political polarisation, emotional governance, and political ambivalence.

Destructive Political Polarization in Digital Communication Contexts: A Critical Literature Review and Conceptual Framework

Katharina Esau, Tariq Choucair, Samantha Vilkins, Sebastian Svegaard, Axel Bruns, Kate O'Connor and Carly Lubicz

Emotional governance in the aftermath of extremism: Political leaders and the public sphere

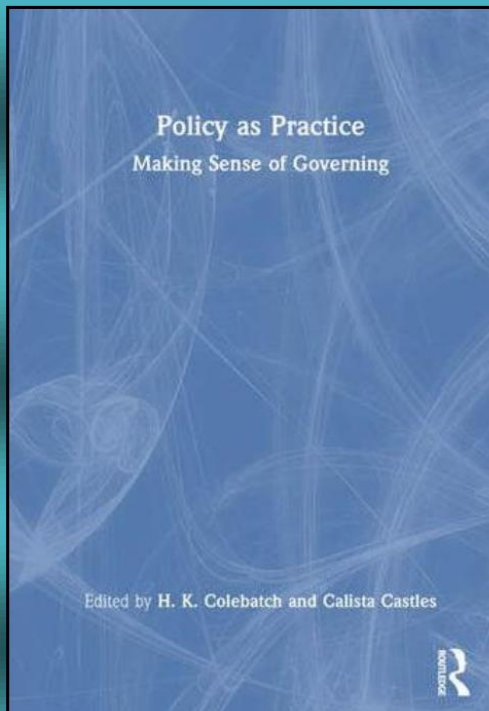
Selen Ercan and Jordan McSwiney

Destructive Polarisation in Political Leaders' Discourses: a cross-country comparison
Tariq Choucair and Sebastian Svegaard

Reconsidering public opinion in the public sphere: When and Why Political Ambivalence matters

Adele Webb

Book Launch



The successor to *Beyond the Policy Cycle: the policy process in Australia*, this edited collection brings together some of the 'new' ways of thinking about the process of policy and governing. With case studies including childcare, education policy, mental health, environmental policies, and Indigenous policy issues, the expertise and experience of policy practitioners and academic observers offers an empirical understanding of what makes policy work.

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Complete list of papers and sessions

Australia's irregular migration policy as foreign policy: good international citizenship or national interest?

Gabriele Abbondanza

Irregular migration is one of the most momentous and polarising phenomena of the 21st century. Despite depending on immigration, Australia adopts restrictive and controversial policies on irregular migration. While they have often been examined by migration, policy, and criminology scholars, they remain understudied in the international relations literature. This paper argues that, similarly to what occurs in comparable destination countries, Australian irregular migration policies are emblematic of its foreign policy, torn between a middle power's good international citizenship and the national interest of a dependent ally. Against this backdrop, this paper contextualises irregular migration as a transnational phenomenon, examines the theoretical dichotomy between good international citizenship and national interests, and then analyses Australia's irregular migration policies between 2000 and 2023, with a focus on foreign policy measures. These comprise navy vessels to intercept and repel asylum seekers' boats; externalisation agreements with Papua New Guinea, Nauru, Cambodia, and Sri Lanka; foreign operations to stabilise the region; and an emphasis on sovereignty whenever Canberra's policies are questioned internationally. It finds that Australia is guided by a strong political and foreign policy bipartisanship on irregular migration matters, which contributes to the erosion of its traditional middle power and good international citizenship status.

A Deliberative System Approach to Refugee Crisis Governance: Focus on Transmission and Accountability

Mohammad Abdul-hwas

The Syrian refugee crisis is the largest displacement crisis of our time (UNHCR, 2018). Over eleven years into the Syria conflict, around 13.5 million forcibly displaced Syrian people still require humanitarian assistance, including 6.8 m refugees worldwide, mainly hosted in neighbouring Turkey, Lebanon and Jordan (UNHCR, 2021). I investigate the governance of the Syrian refugee crisis from a deliberative systems perspective. Deliberative system is a fitting approach to understand the relationship between vulnerable communities and decision-makers, particularly its normative emphasis on inclusiveness, authenticity, and consequentiality (Dryzek, 2010). In this paper, I explore and examine transmission, the means by which the public space influenced the empowered space, the mechanisms that facilitate the transmission of certain ideas or messages from the public space to the empowered space; and accountability, the means by which those in the empowered space justified their decisions to those potentially affected by the decisions in the public space. The analysis presented in this paper demonstrates that refugees' experiences and perspectives shed light on challenges and impediments to transmission and accountability mechanisms within the Syrian refugee crisis context. Despite the challenges, there are instances where transmission and accountability mechanisms have demonstrated positive outcomes and potential for promoting deliberative capacity.

An analysis of the counter-revolution response to women's activism in the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) during revolutions and regime transitions.

Leena Abdul-Khalig

Throughout the past decade, women have been at the forefront of political movements and anti-corruption demonstrations across the MENA. Counterrevolutions have led to the collapse of many of these movements and the reassertion of authoritarian regimes across the region - disproportionately impacting women's activism and political participation. I argue that interpreting the counterrevolutions in the MENA via an intersectional gendered framework can pave the way for a missing perspective, thus improving our understanding of outcomes - for women and movements. More importantly, the paper pushes back on Western-centric approaches in interpreting women's activism in the region by centring the research on the narratives of participating women activists. The paper examines data from interviews conducted for this study with prominent female activists from Yemen, Egypt, and Tunisia. Participants were previously integral figures in several political movements including the 2011 Arab Spring. The paper draws from the literature and interviews to outline and compare the nature of counter-revolution tactics targeting women - and assess how this impacts movements at large. Despite differing contexts, participants shared similar experiences, highlighting distinct patterns in which counter-revolution efforts in the region weaponise existing social and cultural norms to dismantle resistance led by women.

The Politics of Dress and Subordination of Women: The Question of the Corset

Madhulika Agarwal

My argument is that the practice of corsetry is predicated on and reflects the politically subordinate status of women to men. The corset is both a symbol and a practice of the sexual degradation of women for men's sexual excitement. The corset was used in Victorian England to make women appear thin and curvy, but is also used in contemporary fashion. An analysis of the practice and objects of corsetry for women in both the West and the East indicates the wide social presence of the garment in the objectification of women. There is abundant evidence on the long-lasting harms of the corset for women, both physical and equality harms. Much postmodern feminist thinking however reframes corsetry as bodily expression and as choice. But this discursive iteration of the practice does not mitigate or negate its material repercussions on the bodies, health and self-composure of women. This paper considers possible ways of addressing the practice, in terms of mass campaigns and measures prohibiting corsetry in erotic workplaces in particular. I do this with reference to other forms of the deformation and degradation of women, such as foot-binding and genital mutilation.

Schools of Thought: Western Education and Electoral Violence

Ernest Akuamoah

Research has shown that Western-educated leaders are more likely to democratize (Gift & Krcmaric 2017), but less likely to initiate interstate conflicts (Barceló 2020). Nevertheless, we know comparatively little about how leaders' Western university education influence their violent electoral behavior. To examine this, I combine data on electoral violence (Coppedge et al. 2021) with data on the educational and employment experiences of national leaders (Flores et al. 2023). My sample includes 533 national leaders from 1990-2015 in more than 146 non-OECD countries and across over 816 elections.

News Selection and Influence: The Reporting of Election Promises in Campaigns

Frank Algra-Maschio

Election campaigns, and the promises that parties make throughout a campaign, are a feature central to the democratic process. News media are the primary source that communicate election promises to the public, and therefore have an important role of informing the public of the promises made by parties. This begs two important questions: What promises do the media report on? And, why are some promises more prominent in media coverage? We consider several factors that influence the selection of news, drawing on the seminal work of Galtung and Ruge (1965) and the adaptations of their theory on news values and newsworthiness. For example, do promises made by party leaders (personalisation), or that are newly announced during the campaign (unexpectedness), receive more coverage? We also consider if the substantive focus of the newspaper outlets or prominent journalist practitioners influence the reporting of promises. We consider these factors through the manual coding of over 2,000 newspaper articles from national media outlets in Australia for the 2016 and 2019 election campaigns. We also present a novel analysis into the reporting of election promises by undertaking interviews with journalist practitioners who featured prominently in both election campaigns.

The Harm of Work Restrictive Immigration Policies

Caleb Althorpe and Tiziana Torresi

Migrants are routinely subjected to policies from receiving countries that either deny them permission to engage in paid work or put significant limits on the work they can legally perform. Examples include detention for asylum seekers, work bans on humanitarian bridging visas, and migrants having their professional accreditations go unrecognized. Criticism towards these work restrictive policies has mostly focused on how they result in economic costs – both for individuals and for society at large. However, in this paper we locate a different kind of harm that results from these policies – the disruption of individuals' life plans. We argue work is intimately tied up with individuals' life plans for two reasons. First, given the place of work in contemporary economies most persons will spend more time working than doing anything else in their life. Second, the way individuals contribute to others through work enables them to situate their lives in wider social systems of cooperation. We then argue because work restrictive policies disrupt individuals' life plans in this way they conflict with justice-based requirements that liberal democracies foster an institutional framework that allows those subject to its coercive power to (reasonably) pursue their lives in the way they see fit.

'Men's parties', but with more active women: Participation at the grassroots of populist radical right parties

Sofia Ammassari

How and why does grassroots participation in populist radical right (PRR) parties differ between women and men? Contrary to scholarly expectations, I argue that women might be more active than men in PRR party activities. First, women who take the step of joining these parties might be expected to be distinctively motivated by policy and material incentives (strategic activism). Second, PRR parties have reputational, electoral, and organisational reasons to promote women's activism (fostered activism). I test this argument on the membership bases of the League in Italy and the

Sweden Democrats. Drawing on an original survey of over 8,000 grassroots members, I find that women are more active than men in both medium- and high-intensity party activities. Based on the survey data and on interviews with 28 officials from the two PRR parties, I show that women's higher levels of activism are best explained in terms of fostered activism.

In the company of violence: The paradox of knowing Indigenous-settler state relations Lindy Andrén

The Indigenous-settler relationship in Australia poses a curious paradox for the state and for the discipline of political science. It is at once an international conflict in a domestic context that is handled through public policy. Exhibiting a range of problems whose violent origins and impacts are often concealed behind both anodyne statistics and impassioned calls to action, its paradoxical nature poses difficulties for conventional understanding and response. The relationship thus exposes the dissonances and antagonisms of the structure and politics of knowledge. Arguing that conventional approaches to knowing express a potent ordering logic of separation this paper discusses what relational approaches to knowing may offer both researchers and policy makers. The paper is based on current PhD research in political theory and philosophy. The research uses relational theory and a modified auto-ethnographic method to address the violence of the Indigenous-settler relationship as a function of how it is known. It asks how structures of knowing shape the knowledge produced in contexts of conflict and dominance. It contributes to the literature on colonial relations and violence and develops relational theory and relational methodology in political science. Outcomes will be of use to educators, researchers and policy makers.

A Dream for Some, A Nightmare for Most: Housing In Australia Adam Antonelli

The 'Australian Dream' of homeownership, advanced by successive Australian governments, has relegated consideration of other housing tenures to the periphery of the housing policy ecosystem, thereby giving rise to insecure and unaffordable housing conditions for low-income and marginalised groups. The centring of homeownership as the supreme housing tenure has privileged some groups, interests, and identities over others to generate and sustain high housing and social inequality outcomes exacerbated by market fundamentalism. The emotionality attached to the 'Australian Dream' of homeownership has entrenched the interests of powerful groups and positively constructed classes to limit the policy options available to policymakers to deviate from the status quo to confer benefits to low-income and marginalised groups. Governments claim to support the housing needs of low-income and marginalised households, but the primary policy goal is to conserve the privileged position of homeowners and investors by maintaining the trajectory of house price increases and the opportunities offered by favourable tax concessions. Hence, policymakers have shown reluctance to address the root causes of housing unaffordability and the way that homeownership is advantaged for fear of political penalty.

Conducting document analysis in interpretive policy research: an experiential account of a PhD student M. Hali Aprimadya

Fieldwork or empirical investigation is a crucial stage through which interpretive researchers delve into the realm of inquiry to uncover a multitude of interpretations and diverse meanings, which are essential for constructing a comprehensive, improved, or alternative understanding of the subject under study. In this paper, I recount my personal experiences conducting document analysis for my PhD research to access and explore various meanings and interpretations of Indonesia's higher education reform as implanted in authoritative and official documents. Given the concealed and cryptic notion of meanings, document analysis is typically used in interpretive research to elucidate contextual background or triangulate empirical evidence generated by other inquiry methods. However, reflecting upon my PhD research journey assessing over 50 legislations and official documents, I discovered that document analysis is not merely a 'complementary' inquiry tool but, instead, a sophisticated method that can produce divergent and richer knowledge and information depending on the level of immersion, flexibility, and creativity.

Understanding policy changes: dilemmas of funding reform in Indonesia's higher education

M. Hali Aprimadya

This study adopts and suggests the concept of 'dilemmas' – ideational contestations that confront existing traditions, beliefs, and practices – as a tool to understand policy and governance changes. It draws on the 2016 introduction of output-based research funding in Indonesia, in which the 'new' regulatory expectations have introduced an enabling and improved mechanism but, at the same time, challenged the longstanding practices in managing government funding, triggering dilemmas for policy actors. Corroborating empirical evidence investigated through document analysis and semi-structured interviews, this study extends these findings to consider the value of the interpretive approach in understanding how academics, as the main implementing actors, may adapt and change. First, it makes a theoretical contribution by exploring the role of dilemmas in understanding policy change. Second, it contributes to the empirical study of Indonesia's higher education policy and governance, which remains understudied.

Tic-Tok-Ticket: Philippine Electoral Alliances in the Digital Era

Aries Arugay

The Marcos-Duterte ticket in the 2022 Philippine presidential election was as improbable as it was effective, but how did it come together and how likely is the alliance to hold? In this paper, we exploit pre-election surveys alongside social-media data to understand the vote base and campaign strategist behind one of the most successful tickets in Filipino electoral history. Our analysis indicates the alliance was a marriage of political convenience and power asymmetry brokered by a positive-messaging campaign of national unity. Looking forward, however, the auspicious alliance also indicates potential fissures in a digital voter base that is highly connected, poorly informed, and easily polarized along both domestic and international dimensions. The research contributes to research on comparative electoral coalitions and democracy in the digital age.

Public servants' agency: a key ingredient in public policy?

Russell Ayres, Trish Mercer and Wendy Jarvie

The government response to the covid pandemic made it clear that public servants have agency in policy development and implementation. What, exactly, is that agency? How is it constituted? How is used (or misused)? How does it affect public servants' relations with ministers, their offices, and policy stakeholders? How do public servants conceive of and use their professional agency? Public servants' agency is under-examined, both by academics and practitioners. This is gap in understanding may impede governments making effective use of the capacities and capabilities of the institutions of government and the professionals who work in them. This paper presents work-in-progress findings from our research into the agency exercised - or otherwise - by the Australian Public Service. That research has comprised an exploratory survey of 135 APS officers as to how they see their agency in policy and implementation, and a series of interviews with senior public servants. Our provisional findings are that the agency exercised by public servants is important for public policy and administration, but it is under-utilised and there is a risk that it will be of diminishing value if it is not recognised, developed and used, especially by public servants themselves.

No experts needed? Three ways to be scientific and opportunities for empowerment in policy-making

Erik Baekkeskov

This paper probes implications of three ways to be scientific in policy-making: using experts, theories, or methods. Seeing multiple scientific ways stands in contrast to assuming that using science means delegation to experts (e.g., public health agencies or central banks) that in turn use science-based theories (e.g., concepts, explanations, paradigms) along with scientific methods (e.g., RCTs, simulations, algorithms) to regulate their policy area or develop policy advice. The paper argues for conceptual differences between the scientific ways in what science means, logics of policy decision-making, and opportunities for policy-making power among actors in and around government. It also links each way to different policy studies literatures. Empirically, the paper shows that different ways of being scientific in policy-making are possible and illustrates significant consequences for power and policy, by comparing how Sweden and Denmark made COVID pandemic responses during January to April 2020. Sweden relied on public health experts to enact relatively nuanced and loose restrictions on social interactions. In contrast, Denmark relied on epidemiological theory, but not its experts, to enact comprehensive lockdown. Finally, separating experts from theories or methods also comes with trade-offs, which the paper outlines in its concluding discussion.

Online and offline social capital as catalyst for political mobilisation: the case of digital native political parties

Francesco Bailo

Studies conducted before the massification of the ICTs have estimated that about 80% of those joining a political movement had pre-existing connections with people already in the movement (Diani and Lodi, 1989). The role of social capital in facilitating mobilisation is well supported theoretically and empirically (Seyd and Whiteley 2004; Ostrom and Ahn 2007). Internet technologies should theoretically reduce the importance of existing face-to-face networks and social capital for political mobilisation (Lybeck, Koironen & Koivula 2023): Internet users can more easily activate connections to a political movement, even in the absence of any existing direct, personal connection. We investigate whether this is the case using responses to an online survey (n = 698) administered to participants at face-to-face meetings organised to support Italy's M5S. The case study is particularly

pertinent to assess our research question as the selected party is one of Europe's main digital native political organisations (Gerbaudo 2018). Not surprisingly, preliminary results indicate that 'pre-existing connections' are, on average, still critical. Taking advantage of the uneven distribution of social capital between northern and southern regions and using a number of control questions about political interest and knowledge, political distrust and individual participatory experiences, we further investigate frequency and characteristics of instances where ICTs appeared to have successfully substituted social capital in recruiting participants.

At the Margins: Women's Experiences as Voters in the 2022 Papua New Guinea Elections

Kerryn Baker

The 2022 Papua New Guinea general election was marred by widespread fraud and malfeasance, weak electoral administration processes, and serious outbreaks of violence. This created an electoral environment in which women were marginalized: as candidates, officials, and voters. Two women were elected to the 118-seat parliament; this was hailed as a significant milestone, given no women won seats in the previous election, but it still leaves Papua New Guinea firmly near the bottom of global league tables on women's political representation. Using data from the Australian National University (ANU) election observation project, the largest ever undertaken in Papua New Guinea, this paper explores women's experiences as voters in the 2022 election. It draws on observer journal reports and citizen surveys conducted in the campaign and post-polling periods. It finds that women's ability to participate freely in Papua New Guinea elections is severely restricted, with the overarching electoral environment becoming more hostile to women and other underrepresented groups. The prevalence of electoral malpractice, ranging from covert acts including manipulation of the roll to overt acts such as the forced closure of polling stations, meant women citizens were often and disproportionately excluded from the election process.

Managing the 'Team of Six Million': the post-pandemic partisan politics of migration in Aotearoa New Zealand

Fiona Barker

Covid-19 disrupted New Zealand's tradition of high migration and liberal political membership rules. During border closures, members of the one million-strong emigrant population struggled to exercise taken-for-granted rights of mobility, return and political participation, which heightened the electoral salience of the previously poorly mobilised diaspora. Immigration politics was also disrupted, as border closures highlighted long-standing failings in an immigration policy regime reliant on temporary labour and with poorly functioning pathways to permanent status. The crisis of the pandemic generated lively political debate about contemporary belonging in New Zealand society, yet the 'post-pandemic' path for migration policy appears no less complex or obvious. This paper will consider the partisan dimensions of debates in New Zealand about the meaning and exercise of mobility and belonging during times of crisis. Then, drawing on partisan debate about migration both during the pandemic and in the 2023 General Election campaign, the paper will examine the longer-term impact on policy of disruption to the routine politics of migration, as political elites struggle to chart 'post-pandemic' immigration and diaspora policy at a time when global competition for skills is fiercer than ever and supply of labour less assured than before.

Ethical Values and Pandemic Policy

Sarah Ball

The COVID-19 pandemic meant that governments had to make contentious decisions at a moment's notice while evidence about the virus was scarce, and at times involved conflicting knowledge claims. Under these conditions of uncertainty and ambiguity, questions emerged about how values and ethical advice played a role in the decision-making process. This presentation will reflect on early findings from a larger research project exploring the use of ethical advice in policy making in the UK, Germany and Australia. The research thus far highlights that, in areas of government policy beyond health - such as education, social and labour market policy - there has been much commentary yet limited, if any, sustained deliberation on ethical issues during the pandemic evident within the policy making process. We argue it is essential that we better understand how ethical advice can more effectively inform policies and avoid being dismissed as too 'value-laden' to have a place at the science-policy interface. This provides the basis for a new line of inquiry into understanding how issues become publicly and politically value-laden, and the role of ethical experts in shaping public discourse and policy interventions.

The Politics of Income Inequality in Australia

Nicholas Barry

Over the last fifteen years, the problem of income inequality has become a major issue on the global political agenda. This paper examines the issue of income inequality in Australia in the context of these global developments, seeking to explain why income inequality has increased in Australia since the early 1980s. The paper argues that job polarisation and greater inequality in wages and salaries have been the major drivers of the increase in income inequality, however, although these changes are partly the result of technological change, industrial relations policy and the tax-transfer system have also played a key role. The paper then seeks to identify the political conditions that have underpinned these trends, arguing that the decline in union density, the lack of centre-left electoral success in recent decades, and the highly targeted nature of the Australian welfare state have all created inhospitable conditions for more egalitarian policy settings.

Enduring Maritime Colonialism and Indian Ocean Region Ordering

Samuel Bashfield

Despite Indian Ocean littoral nations decolonising en masse post-WWII, the Indian Ocean seascape was never similarly liberated. Rather, the United States and the Soviet Union changed tack and focussed superpower competition in the Indian Ocean's marine region. This competition manifested in myriad ways, including island base building and nuclear deterrence patrols. However, newly decolonised Indian Ocean littorals (informally led by India and Sri Lanka) sought to rid the Indian Ocean of superpower machinations during the Cold War, including via the Indian Ocean Zone of Peace proposal, the UN Ad Hoc Committee on the Indian Ocean, as well as via Naval Arms Limitation in the Indian Ocean. This paper finds that these Indian Ocean littoral nations collectively challenged the superpowers' Indian Ocean presence, and constructed a regional identity and political discourse based on complete regional decolonisation, including the shared seascape. Despite limited success, these Indian Ocean littoral nations organised through the UN to prosecute shared regional

ambitions, which catalysed Indian Ocean nations into a unified resistance and created third world solidarity amongst otherwise diverse nations. This paper furthers theoretical understandings of maritime region politics and ordering dynamics, plus it illuminates the role of ocean regions in international politics.

Queering Cybersecurity: A New Research Agenda

Sulagna Basu and Caitlin Biddolph

The current scholarship on cybersecurity in International Relations tends to emphasise state-centric, militarised and overly securitised perspectives. However, an emerging body of critical and feminist scholarship seeks to challenge this dominant perspective. In this paper, we draw from and extend these critical perspectives to propose a creative intervention of cybersecurity by queering cybersecurity. By bringing queer scholarship, methodologies, and possibilities into conversation with critical cyber scholarship, we aim to sketch the contours of a new research agenda. We develop this by exploring and queerly reimagining what constitutes cybersecurity, who cybersecurity is for, and how knowledge on cybersecurity is produced. This involves being attentive to questions of gender, sexuality and race in the practice of cybersecurity while maintaining a queer, subversive ethos committed to disrupting the cyber status quo and finding ways of queering, hacking and glitching the system. We present empirical examples to demonstrate our proposed research agenda, which offers opportunities to expand cyber to the more-than-human, disrupt binary logics of cyber-securitisations and challenge the boundaries of knowledge production in and on cybersecurity. Ultimately, our intervention for bringing cyber into queer IR scholarship invites further exploration and contemplation for reimagining cybersecurity otherwise.

The Multilateral Development Banks: Conceptualising and Operationalising Gender

Adrian Bazbauers

Multilateral development bank (MDB) engagement with gender has always been controversial in review and uneven in practice. This study adopts a mixed qualitative/quantitative document analysis of 95 governance documents and 1,928 gender-focused projects financed by the MDBs between 1967 and 2021. The primary objectives of the study are to evaluate how gender has been conceptualised and operationalised by the MDBs over time. We propose three eras into which MDB gender engagement divides and argue that isomorphic pressures have aligned their approaches. We conclude that while the MDBs have expanded their gender-focused operations greatly since the late-2000s, this operational growth has paralleled a concerning conceptual narrowing. Initiatives to alleviate poverty, reduce gendered inequalities, and promote wellbeing have been disbanded in favour of making better entrepreneurial economic units of women and girls for the narrow purpose of enhancing national economic growth. An increasing focus on private entrepreneurship has occurred at the expense of addressing systemic gendered inequalities. This is significant for what the MDBs finance signals to investors the feasibility of development projects.

When do Political Parties Elect more Women? Assessing the Role of the Gender Gap and Electoral System

Katrine Beauregard

In this paper, I build a theory combining the electoral incentives provided by gender differences in party support and political engagement and those provided by electoral rules to understand when political parties elected more women in the legislature. I argue that when electoral rules provide incentive to political parties to reach out to new groups of voters to obtain their support, parties will be more likely to elect a higher percentage of women in the legislature, but only when these parties have a deficit of women voters compared to men voters. I investigate these relationships between gender differences in party support and political engagement, the electoral system, and election of women with cross-national data for 29 countries from 1996 to 2018. I find that under more inclusive electoral system political parties with elect more women in the legislature when they have a deficit of women supporters compared to men supporters. Under less inclusive electoral system such as when there is no compulsory voting and political parties do not have gender quotas, the higher percentage of women in legislatures occurs when political parties have higher number of women supporters than men supporters.

[A Real Deal for Geelong: community-led listening for climate transition](#)

Juliet Bennett, Amanda Tattersall, and Louise Johnson

Inspired by the global Green New Deal, the Real Deal initiative is a diverse alliance of faith, climate, union and community groups across Australia, supported by a network of researchers convened by the University of Sydney's Policy Lab. It uses an approach called the Relational Method. The Relational Method borrows from community organising and participatory action research to place power with communities and prioritise that they benefit from the research process. This paper reviews the method and findings of a six-month 'Listening Campaign' on Wadawurrung Country in Geelong, as the first step in the community-led research initiative A Real Deal for Geelong. The listening brought over 200 people together to learn from past economic transitions and to discuss the potential and pitfalls of Geelong's climate transition. Through listening, without a preconceived understanding of the issue, the project surfaced that climate transition in Geelong is not only about job creation. It is also about the ability to find and keep a good home, afford a decent quality of life, and access care and connection through healthcare systems and community networks, each of which are exacerbated by the climate crisis. The process was also able to identify more than 40 local leaders that wanted to actively work with researchers to identify policy solutions, demonstrating the potential that comes from scaling research capacity in a community setting.

[Nepal's Geo-strategic significance and its implication on National Security](#)

Chiranjibi Bhandari

Nepal, a Himalayan country, has been strategically located in South Asia between two Asian giants, China and India. Nepal covers an area of 147516 square kilometers, making it almost rectangular in shape with an average length and width of 885 kilometers and 193 kilometers, respectively. Since the unification, late King Prithivi Narayan Shah used the metaphor ""Yam between two boulders"". Nepal is always a ""buffer"" state between the two Asian giants, India and China and has increased its geopolitical importance in the region. Geo-strategic importance and trends in geopolitics are shifting in and around the Himalayas. China strategically enters South Asia, the US reinforces the Indo-Pacific with firm strategies, and Nepal and other South Asian nations find options to move about obtaining their long-awaited interests. Being a buffer state between two nuclear powers directly under the Indo-China domain and Pakistan in the near distance, Nepal should maintain proper balance with

these countries as well as major powers in the distance. In this background, this article explains the significance of Nepal's geo-strategic location in South Asia and critically discuss the security implications of the Belt and Road Initiative and Indo-Pacific Strategy in Nepal.

Strategic Narratives of South Asia

Stuti Bhatnagar and Monika Barthwal-Datta

Recently, the use of the 'Indo-Pacific' as a regional order narrative has become increasingly prominent in International Relations scholarship and in policy formulations. The notion of the Indo-Pacific encompasses vast geographic regions, and sub-regions in dominant narratives that emphasise great power security competition. Within this broader Indo-Pacific regional construction, South Asia offers geopolitical and strategic advantages and has increasingly become an arena of competition for regional powers, notably, India and China. Yet, little is known about how the Indo-Pacific regional order narrative affects security understandings of/ in South Asia. The complexity and diversity of the region is subsumed or erased in the dominant narratives that centre primarily on select geopolitical actors. In this paper, we investigate how regional dynamics in South Asia continue to be framed by the dominant narrative of great power politics and the kinds of erasures it enables when it comes to the complex, diverse and multifaceted range of actors, issues, and challenges that populate the region. In doing so, we aim to highlight the ways in which these framings are accentuating militarized understandings of security in South Asia, obscuring sub-regional efforts at dealing with transnational human security concerns while simultaneously exacerbating anxieties and security dilemmas.

Spatializing International Relations: Issues and Challenges through the lens of theory space

Pranata Bhattacharya

Importance of cartography could not be evaporated from the domain of International Relations and Foreign Policy Theory. Since the inception of territorial state mapping remains an axiomatic. Hegemonic accreditation of territorial state is still relevant in the tenets of IR theories. The persistence of geometric territoriality is crucial but the changing world political scenes after globalization proceeds, must be brought into light with circumstances of emerging lawscape and manifold of place becomes existential reality. The robustness of space is effective to understand International Relations in the current juncture which has immense scopes in localisation of International Relations and diplomatic arenas of understanding world politics. Both the concepts of "Third Space" and Socio Spatial Justice are tuned to realize diverse dimensions of IR related issues and challenges. From the geoeconomic perspectives of international politics to geopolitical understanding, the sociocultural dimensions are finding prominence. Similarly spatializing culture gets tuned with spatializing international relations. This understanding tends to be attentive to the non hegemonic concepts of mapping. The process of mapping with cognitive construction of people's aspirations can be a spectacular lens for analysing international relations. The issues of politics, goals of sustainability and human rights can be evaluated through the theorization of space. This paper aims to hold the credo of spatial turn in IR to introspect the problematization through IR theories. Current understanding of globalization and the retreat of globalization can be assessed and challenges of IR can be speculated robustly.

Queer Decolonial Visions for Theorising Transitional Justice Otherwise

Caitlin Biddolph

Transitional justice (TJ) involves processes through which societies attempt to address human rights violations, mass atrocities, and past and ongoing harms. Certain dominant practices have cohered into the construction of TJ as a global project, reproducing Western, (neo)liberal, and (settler) colonial logics about where and when TJ is done (and to who and by whom). While this global project has engaged in much-needed attempts to recognise diverse harms, including colonial, cis-heterosexist, socio-economic, and environmental violence, such recognition occurs within dominant TJ frameworks, doing little to challenge the colonial and cis-heteronormative foundations on which the project rests. I propose four queer decolonial visions for theorising TJ otherwise: 1) recognising intersectional cis-heterosexist, racist, colonial, socio-economic, and environmental harms within TJ; 2) problematising the global project of TJ, including its cis-heteronormative and colonial foundations; 3) decentring, decolonising, and abolishing of the dominant logics of TJ as it is currently understood and practiced; and 4) amplifying queer, Indigenous, marginalised, and subaltern communities to create, lead, and own TJ. These visions are entangled and sometimes in tension, but they offer ways to more radically envision the future(s) of TJ, even if these visions lead, and indeed advocate for, a dismantling of the global TJ project.

The hope and limitation of a politics of kindness

Sarah Bierre

Humans are capable of great kindness and compassion, especially in times of crisis. A 'politics of kindness' seeks to shift these values from private life into the political realm. We explore the theoretical and practical potential of values-based politics reflected in a politics of kindness for addressing inequities and compare this to the values inherent in calls for a 'Fair-go'. Our discussion is set in the context of an empirical study of the private rental sector in NZ, exploring the workings of kindness in the relationships between landlords and tenants, and the Government's response to renters during the pandemic. We find that just outcomes in housing became a question of whether a landlord had feelings of benevolence; compassion was intimately tied to power. The expression of compassion in new legislation was limited by concern for property rights, the disruption of the market, and fear of opportunism. While the incorporation of human values like kindness, fairness, and vulnerability into politics and decision-making is a necessity, without attention to questions of power, rights, and robust legal regulation, a politics of values becomes an unreliable basis for Government policy and risks further entrenching inequity.

Natural Disasters and the Limits of Electoral Clientelism: Evidence from Honduras

Sarah Birch and Ferran Martinez i Coma

The changing climate is leading to more frequent weather extremes across the globe, altering many aspects of social, economic and political life. In this paper we examine the impact of natural disasters on clientelism, a form of particularistic exchange in which voters are induced to eschew policy-oriented electoral decision-making in favour of voting for a party or candidate that offers them a targeted reward. We hypothesize that extreme weather should increase clientelism in contexts

where it operates. But we also anticipate that multiple severe disasters may overwhelm clientelist networks, as demand outstrips supply. Relying on quantitative and qualitative data, we test our expectations and find strong evidence that flood-based resources have been clientelized in Honduras, but that the combination of especially widespread flooding and the COVID-19 pandemic generated a situation where political parties were unable to use their clientelist networks effectively, as citizen need was too great.

Commodification and co-benefits: Alignments in policy and farmer perspectives on regenerative agriculture

Anja Bless

Regenerative agriculture' is attracting increasing attention in Australia's agriculture sector as a farming approach which promises to rejuvenate agricultural landscapes and support farmer wellbeing. However, the relationship between regenerative farmers and policymakers to date has been characterised as antagonistic. Regenerative farmers have called for government to 'stay out of our way', while policymakers describe regenerative agriculture as 'cultish'. Our research explores this relationship between policy institutions and the regenerative farming movement. We use a mixed-methods approach based on interviews with Australian regenerative farmers and agriculture policymakers, and a document analysis of Australian national and sub-national government policy. The results of our analysis contradict the assumption of discord between regenerative farmers and policymakers, and instead reveals a significant area of alignment and mutual interest. Namely, the environmental and financial opportunities on offer through natural capital markets. Both policymakers and regenerative farmers are keenly aware of the economic and environmental co-benefits that natural capital markets could present, revealing a chance to improve relations between these actors. However, these market mechanisms come with risk in terms of their utility, reliability, and long-term efficacy. Likewise, the commodification of nature also has implications for human-nature relations that could impede sustainability outcomes for Australia's agri-food system.

Democracy, Authoritarian Populism, and Resistance

David Blunt and Guy Aitchison

Since the election of Donald Trump to the American Presidency there has been talk of a 'populist moment' in the Western liberal democracies. This, however, is more than a moment. It precedes 2016 stretching back to the radicalisation of the right-wing of the Republican Party in the 1990s and the emergence of populist parties across Europe as significant players. It stretches beyond 2016 with the increasingly rabid intersection of MAGA republicans with QAnon conspiracy theorists and the victories of Sweden Democrats and the Brothers of Italy in their respected countries. It is not business as usual in liberal democracies. In this paper we will argue that, despite the veneer of democratic legitimacy, the strong tendency towards uncontrolled or arbitrary power makes authoritarian populist a clear threat to individual autonomy that underpins liberal democracy. As a result it warrants resistance, both civil and uncivil to prevent the erosion of individual rights, democratic accountability, and the rule of law.

A Tale of Two Incentives: How divergent incentives, for opportunism and restraint, collectively shape state behavior

George Boone

How do divergent incentives, for opportunism and restraint, collectively shape state behavior? Divergent incentives arise when states exist within two Hobbesian systems with different material structures. China, for example, is the second-most powerful actor in the international system, but lacking an effective local counterweight, it remains unbalanced within East Asia. Correspondingly, Beijing receives a restraining incentive from the international system, and an incentive for regional opportunism. The neorealist school cannot explain these incentives' resultant effect: neither neorealism nor offensive realism have the capacity to detect multiple incentives - blinding them to one structural influence shaping state behavior. Both theories, therefore, are condemned to misdiagnose the 'game-winning behavior' for states under divergent incentives: neorealism overlooks the local incentive for opportunism, and thus, expects states to preserve the status quo; whereas offensive realism misses the international restraining incentive, and thus, expects them to exhibit calculated aggression - principally war. Extending neorealism's billiard-ball metaphor in accordance with Newtonian mechanics, I create a framework for analyzing divergent incentives. Finding that they encourage moderated opportunism, I argue that, while under divergent incentives, China should generally exhibit moderated opportunism within East Asia - using coiled restraint to forgo opportunities that pose escalation risks, and salami-slicing to exploit escalation-averse ones.

Excercises in Futility? Acceptance and intentional futures.

Miranda Booth and Gary Leigh

Complexity prevails and perfect solutions remain elusive for the challenges that appear beyond our immediate control. From our health to our politics, to war and the inevitability of artificial intelligence, serious games and simulations offer a valuable approach to understanding and addressing the intertwined crises and future possibilities. This proposal explores the role of serious games, including futility exercises which acknowledge the inevitability of certain outcomes while still fostering the resounding qualities of the human spirit to overcome. Serious games encompass a range of interactive and immersive experiences designed to simulate real-world scenarios and decision-making processes. Futility exercises, a specific type of serious game, introduce participants to situations where the end state is inevitable but provide opportunities to explore different strategies and responses. This approach helps us navigate the complex landscape of various crises and recognize that not all challenges can be fully resolved in the ways we first think. And we must think and not blindly act on untested assumptions or avoidance of certain constraints both material and immaterial. We advocate for the approaches that embrace the complicated and complex, to usher creativity, acceptance and focus on ways towards better futures of our intention.

Juggling values in policy and politics: are all values created equal (or are some just bad)?

Linda Botterill

The political process can be understood as the juggling of often conflicting societal values in arriving at collective decisions. In most cases this involves making choices between good and good. The work of Shalom Schwartz and his colleagues tells us that there are ten universal human values. What

distinguishes us from each other is the way we prioritise those values, particularly when faced with values trade-offs. Policy makers are confronted with values trade-offs on a regular basis as they try to make decisions on behalf of the community. Implicit in the Schwartz model is the understanding that values are neither good nor bad, they just 'are'. So how do we explain a Donald Trump or an Adolf Hitler, whose appeals to the values of their followers result in normatively dreadful outcomes. Does this mean that they are appealing to 'bad' values or is there more to the story? This paper will consider the audience for values appeals and explore how who is listening can be as important as what is being said.

Engendering Migrant's Access to Family Benefits in Australia and Italy

Anna Boucher, Tiziana Caponio, Juliet Pietsch, Arianna Santero, Terry Carney, and Ghena Krayem

Immigration studies have developed typologies of welfare provision available to migrants, the most significant of which to date are Sainsbury (2012) and Pennings and Seeleib (2018). However, these studies focus on particular visas, at key points in time, rather than the full array of temporary and permanent visas and their variation intra-temporally. Studies on family and female migration (Kofman & Raghuram 2015), and on welfare systems (Saraceno & Keck 2011), show that both immigration and social policies variations may be analysed through a gender equality lens (Boucher 2014; Shutes & Walker 2018). This paper examines migrant access to childcare benefits, which are stratified between citizens and non-citizens, as well as between different visa categories, through a comparison of Australia and Italy. Constructing an original dataset that considers both the eligibility for and immigration consequences of access to childcare across visas over a decade, this paper demonstrates some policy changes in Italy over time, none in Australia, and a generalized lack of provision to temporary visa holders than those on permanent visas. We conclude that temporary visa status presents a key form of disenfranchisement from access to welfare, even when that provision would assist in labour market engagement.

The persistence of institutional variation in most similar industrial relations and employment systems. The role of immigration

Anna Boucher

Within the fields of comparative political economy and industrial relations, a common position is that states are converging towards a 'private ordering' of governance (Colvin and Darbshire 2013). This governance model is said to be marked by enterprise level negotiation, growing employer discretion, minimal workplace standards setting through statute or negotiation and declining trade union density. These trends are said to be operate irrespective of the prevailing left-right ideology of governments. Others have countered that institutional resilience remains in political economic structures that govern industrial relations and employment systems (e.g. Wright et al 2017; Bamber et al 2016; Doellgast et al, 2021), suggesting at path dependency. This paper contributes to this debate, demonstrating through a unique dataset of 907 employment law cases across four most similar neo-liberal countries, not only enduring variation, but also the centrality of immigrants in this regard. Further, the paper argues that labour laws as opposed to only the systems-level institutions, must be considered.

Advocacy organisations as news sources; the case of GetUp!

Penelope Bowyer-Pont

This paper reports one of the key findings from a qualitative, mixed-methods case study of the members of the Australian internet-mediated political advocacy and campaigning organisation, GetUp!. I draw on data from in-depth, semi-structured interviews with GetUp members and mass membership survey data collected over the period 2013-2015. This was a crucial period in the evolution of GetUp as a key Australian political organisation. The findings from this section of the research demonstrate how GetUp is understood by its members as an alternative source of political information and as a trustworthy and accessible source of news media. This is important in the context of decreasing levels of trust in mainstream media. The provision of accessible and trusted information is one of the main ways that GetUp has, historically and currently, impacted the political engagement and participation of its members. This raises questions about what happens when an advocacy and activism organisation is understood by a relatively large segment of the population to be a disseminator of reliable and balanced information about politics. The findings presented here also point to the fact that GetUp performs a kind of political socialization and education role which aides in the turning out of an informed citizenry.

The Moral Logic of Choosing Between Policy Instruments During Crisis – A Typology of Instruments and the logic behind them

Nicholas Bromfield and Jeremiah Brown

Policy instruments are a widely studied topic within the broader public policy literature. Yet as a recent literature review by Capano and Howlett (2020) identifies, there is still much that we do not understand about them. While there is established literature on the connection between governance paradigms, policy design, and the usage of different policy instruments, we argue that not enough attention has been paid to the moral and ethical logics associated with policy instruments. In this paper, we examine the principles that underpin policy instrument choices during moments of crisis, and analyse the extent to which different principles are employed to justify different policy instrument choices. In turn, we look to develop a typology of moral logics and the associated policy instruments which are favoured by them during crisis. We argue that understanding the moral and ethical basis for specific policy choices gives a clearer sense of why they might be employed in ways that transgress against expectations based solely on the dominant governance paradigm in a given context.

Economic crisis and confidence in institutions: A natural experiment in Europe

Sarah Cameron

How do economic crises affect citizen confidence in institutions? Although we know from previous research that economic crises can reduce trust in institutions, we know less about which institutions this affects. This paper investigates this question through a natural experiment utilizing data from the European Values Study, fielded during the 2008 global financial crisis. In 2008 the European Values Study was fielded in 28 countries across Europe. Some country surveys were fielded early before the crisis hit, exemplified by the stock market crash of September 2008, while other country surveys were fielded after the crisis had hit. This provides the basis for a natural experiment comparing change in institutional trust between countries surveyed before and after the crisis. The paper

explores how the crisis affected confidence in a range of institutions including the European Union and national parliaments. The results show that the economic crisis undermined confidence in national parliaments, the European Union, and major companies, although did not affect other public institutions unrelated to the crisis, for example the police and civic service. This evidence shows citizens are sophisticated in attributing blame for economic crises, losing confidence in institutions that had some responsibility for economic outcomes, while maintaining faith in other institutions.

The Manifestation of Hybridity at Hybrid Courts: A gender and race analysis of the Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia and the Special Court for Sierra Leone

Charlotte Carney

International justice has undergone multiple reforms to make it more inclusive. These reforms first arose from criticisms that international law and justice excluded considerations of gendered and racialized power. Accordingly, gender and race provisions were widened, however scholars argue that international justice continues to be exclusionary through its treatment, and articulation, of gender and race. In this project, I examine how international justice mechanisms reproduce exclusionary ideas of gender and race, reflective of the colonial period in which international justice was established, and what effect this has. I take a broad approach, questioning how gender and race are reproduced throughout all cases at three international courts, forming a critique of how international justice mechanisms reproduce problematic ideas of race. This research is important as increasingly scholars critique international justice as inherently racist and sexist, and I examine the extent to which this is true. Through this examination, I seek to contribute to the conversation which queries if procedural reform can be meaningful, or if international justice is in crisis, with more foundational, and complex, reform necessary.

Democratic responsiveness to different forms of public opinion

Daniel Casey

Most research on public opinion and responsiveness has focused on opinion polls. However, we know that there are many other ways of measuring public opinion, and other ways elites listen to public opinion. This paper will explore a new method and data for the study of public opinion and responsiveness - letters from the public to the Prime Minister. While we have long understood democracy as requiring responsiveness, the main empirical approaches has been restricted to opinion polls. To better understand responsiveness, we need to compare different forms of public opinion. This paper analyses the topics of letters from the public to the Prime Minister and considers if they reflect 'mass' public opinion and whether government is responsive to the topic of the letters. This will be examined through a new dataset of 400,000 letters from the public to Prime Minister Howard, coded against the Australian Policy Agendas Project Codebook, on a fortnightly basis, across a 5 year period. The paper finds very different patterns in the subjects of letters, compared to opinion polls. The paper shows that there is no evidence of responsiveness in the political agenda (as measured by the topics of Mr Howard's speeches) to the letters.

Incorporating ChatGPT into political science teaching and assessment

Daniel Casey

ChatGPT has the potential to be a major disruptor both to teaching/learning/assessment, but also in our respective industries. We know politicians are using ChatGPT in their work, and that public servants are starting to experiment with it in policy development. We also know that students are using it to cheat on essays and exams. So how should we respond in a university context? This paper reports on research undertaken that incorporated ChatGPT into an assessment in a small public policy class. Students were be tasked to use ChatGPT to create a policy brief to a Minister, and were then assessed on a self-reflection on the process. This paper explains the process and initial findings of this research, and suggests practical ideas for using ChatGPT in the classroom.

Success in social policy? From 'pink batts' to 'set top boxes'

Daniel Casey

This paper explores the success (or otherwise) of the Digital Switchover Household Assistance Program (the Household Assistance Program), and explores the factors that lead to the success (or otherwise) of the program. The Household Assistance Program ran from 2010 to 2013, and its aim was to provide practical and technical assistance to up to 1.9 million households to assist them to transition from analogue to digital TV. At the time, the Household Assistance Program, it attracted a lot of criticism, mainly associated with its cost, but also the OH&S and safety risks - given that the 'pink-batts' scheme had recently been under significant scrutiny. Despite this media scrutiny; a budget of more than \$300 million; and a very large customer base, there has been very little academic research. This paper, relying on interviews with public servants involved in the program and analysis of primary documentation helps to draw out the different perspectives of 'success' and how the program worked to ensure that it met these different definitions and priorities. In doing so, it contributes to broader literature on what makes programs successful. (Conflict of interest declaration: I was involved in part of the policy design and implementation)

The Political Economy of Assassinations

Mariana Carvalho

Abstract: Assassinations of political candidates and politicians have become quite common in developing countries. In this paper, I investigate how corruption is driving the assassinations of local politicians. I build a theory of incomplete contracts, where the parts cannot smooth out the impact of shocks on corruption leading to breakdowns. I argue that corruption shocks affect the number of corruption contracts that are not enforceable in a court of law and, therefore, vulnerable to hold-up. Violence is used by politicians to enforce these contracts. I test this empirically by building a novel dataset on political assassinations in Brazil. I link data on over two million homicides over the past two decades to a registry of all political candidates, enabling the identification of the universe of executed local politicians during this time. I rely on exogenous shocks to corruption opportunities produced by the random assignment of municipalities to corruption audits. Consistent with the theory, I find that politicians are less likely to be assassinated in municipalities that recently experienced a random audit. Also, in line with theoretical expectations, I find that politicians are more likely to be executed in municipalities with more government revenues. Together, these findings suggest that corruption not only undermines economic and political efficiency but can also

lead to more political violence within societies, with important consequences for democracy and development.

Taliban Takeover in Afghanistan: How was It Discussed in Australia on Twitter?

Anurug Chakma

Why does the fall of Kabul on 15 August 2021 matter for Australian domestic politics? Following al Qaeda's attack on the World Trade Centre on 11 September 2001, Australia joined the United States and its allies in standing against international terrorism. Australia spent around 10 billion dollars and experienced 41 combat-related deaths, 260 wounded and over 500 veteran suicides. Although the US-led alliance improved educational opportunities, key health indicators, the economy, media freedom, and women empowerment in Afghanistan in the last 20 years, these achievements are now in peril after the return of the Taliban. Hence, the failure of the US-led coalition forces in Afghanistan has raised a question: How was the Taliban takeover discussed in Australia? Applying sentiment analysis and topic modeling to a corpus of 1,258 tweets posted from Australia between 15 August 2021 and 19 April 2023, this study finds that anger, fear, and sadness were expressed in tweets. In contrast, issuing humanitarian visas for Afghan refugees and asylum-seekers, evacuation of Afghans, the situation of women in Afghanistan, stopping terror and genocide, and criticizing the withdrawal of coalition forces without an exit plan were discussed in Australia on Twitter.

Navigating the Ship of State: The Role of the Royal Australian Navy in Australian Statecraft in the Contemporary Regional Order

Paul Chamberlain

The role of navies in diplomacy and statecraft appears an intrinsically understood aspect of the international system, yet is under-studied in academic literature, often seen only through the lens of 'gunboat diplomacy'. This paper contends that navies are commonly used as tools of statecraft, and illustrates how navies are used to build relations, establish narratives, communicate intent, and influence the strategic order. This is particularly demonstrated in the Indo-Pacific region, at the pivot of the international system and a fundamentally maritime environment. This paper argues that the Royal Australian Navy (RAN) offers a sophisticated policy instrument that is used to operationalise Australia's wider strategic foreign policy goals and influence the regional order. Using an innovative theoretical approach based upon the Strategic Diplomacy Framework (Jochen Prantl & Evelyn Goh, 2022) it considers the use of navies in statecraft in demonstrating state preferences for order-related goals. By developing a typology showing the panoply of naval activities having statecraft effects, the paper demonstrates how non-great powers can display agency through deliberate use of naval statecraft. Using examples linking RAN activities and Australian policy goals, the paper seeks to prompt discussion on how the use of navies can be better understood in scholarly work.

The Competitive Dynamics of Order-Building in the South Pacific: The BRI versus Pacific Step-up/Reset

Lai-Ha Chan

Australia and New Zealand have been alarmed by the extension of China's political influence into the South Pacific after the signing of the security agreement between China and Solomon Islands in

2022. Since the Radford-Collins Agreement (1951), Australia and New Zealand have claimed to have special responsibility for the security and stability of the South Pacific. However, China's growing diplomatic and economic presence in the region have enticed some of the Pacific countries into Beijing's orbit. China's recent attempt to create a bloc of 'China-Pacific Island' countries during Foreign Minister Wang Yi's eight-nation Pacific tour in May 2022 was a sign of Beijing's ambition to redraw the region's geopolitical map. Although Pacific states rejected a sweeping regional economic and security pact with China, a dozen of bilateral agreements, focusing on economy, health, disaster response, and technology, were signed with Pacific island countries during Wang's tour. This paper addresses: How and why have the Pacific Islands gradually shifted away from their age-old partnership with Australia and New Zealand and instead looked to China? Why do Canberra and Wellington fail to exclude China's influence from their traditional 'sphere of influence'? More importantly, with a recalibration of their Pacific strategy – namely Australia's Pacific Step-up and New Zealand's Pacific reset – what can Australia and New Zealand do to regain the favour of the Pacific island states? Can they counter China's diplomatic influence and create a South Pacific 'safe for democracy'?

A Balance Sheet of Minilateralism: The Case of AUKUS

Lai-Ha Chan and Maria Rost Rublee

Minilaterals have exploded in popularity, both as a foreign policy choice and as an area of academic study. While both policymakers and scholars tend to emphasize the benefits of this institutional form, little analysis has been done on the costs of using minilaterals versus other policy instruments. This paper will examine both the costs and benefits of minilaterals in the security domain more generally, and then analyse the case of AUKUS using those assessments. Can AUKUS deliver substantial strategic benefits to the region, and to Australia specifically? To what extent does AUKUS enhance Australia's security, and more specifically, what type of security benefits might it provide? The paper aims to contribute to the ongoing debate on how Australia can better equip itself for looming regional challenges in the Indo-Pacific.

The Silk Road Narratives and China's Heritage Diplomacy in the Post-COVID-19 Era

Victor Chi-Ming Chan

Following the COVID-19 pandemic, China has turned back to leverage its heritage diplomacy to strengthen its global influence, particularly among countries involved in the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI). The paper will first provide an overview of China's heritage diplomacy and its significance in the post-COVID-19 era. It will then delve into China's strategic reinterpretation of Silk Road histories, highlighting how the country harnesses narratives of historical connections, shared cultural heritage, and mutual prosperity to generate goodwill and support for its initiatives such as the Alliance for Cultural Heritage in Asia. To illustrate these efforts, the paper will present case studies of various cultural projects and exchanges to demonstrate China's use of cultural diplomacy as a means to build trust, foster cooperation, and strengthen ties with countries along the BRI. The paper concludes that, in the post-COVID-19 era, China's reinterpretation of Silk Road histories and its emphasis on shared cultural heritage have become crucial components of its diplomatic approach under the new international order.

Social Movements and Public Policy Formulation in the World of Multi-Crises: Social Welfare and Mental Health in Thailand

Phanuphat Chattragul

At present, people around the world have been wedged by multi-crises that encompass impacts from climate shocks and mental health challenges. By 2027, global temperature is set to exceed 1.5 Celsius. This will lead to many severe natural disasters, such as prolonged droughts and flash floods, that will affect many communities across the globe. This statistics is on par with the alarming number of mental health patients that keeps increasing by the rate of 5 percent globally. These problems not only become a challenges for public policy formulation, but also continue to be 'driving forces' for many social movements. In Thailand, though policy consultants and advisors play a significant role in public processes, the role of social movements cannot be undermined, especially after the landslide victory of the Future Forward Party in the 2023 General Election, a party fiercely supported by most social movements. This paper aims to study the role of Thailand's social welfare and mental health social movements in influencing public policy processes and policymakers. The 'Wholistic Rationality' approach will also be employed to examine how policy knowledge gets transferred between actors: social movements, policymakers, and policy consultants and advisors under the context of multi-crises.

China's Digital Silk Road: Formulation, Implementation, and Geopolitical Implications

Chung Chien-peng (C. P.)

As part of the Belt and Road Initiative, the Digital Silk Road (DSR) involves the People's Republic of China in the construction of digital information and communications technology infrastructure to meet the development needs of developing and less advanced countries, while at the same time helping leading Chinese technology companies to become global champions. However, the DSR has borne the impact of the West's hi-tech restrictions on China and the Russia-Ukraine War and caused China to be entangled in issues of individual privacy, national security, and political values with Western countries. The paper discusses three major aspects of the DSR: 1) The why and how of its Formulation; 2) Implementation in areas of e-commerce technology, information and communications technology, surveillance technology, data centers, and currency digitalization; and 3) Geopolitical Implications for the national security concerns of states targeted by the DSR, 'on-shoring' and 'friend-shoring' processes of the United States, and China's technological self-reliance to maintain national cyber-sovereignty. China has to date depended on foreign companies for advanced technologies. With restrictions on high technology from the U.S. and the West, Chinese technological exports might in time become less effective or attractive.

Taking public services back into public hands: reverse privatisation in Australia

Osmond Chiu

Privatisation is widely unpopular in the community and has led to reverse privatisation despite the ongoing hegemony of neoliberalism. The existing literature, however, has limitations as it has primarily focused on two broad groups of causes: pragmatic reasons and political processes, to explain the extent of reverse privatisation rather than understanding its underlying processes. The literature has also focused on remunicipalisation in North America and Europe with limited research on Australia despite it being an early adopter of privatisation. This paper closely examines Port

Macquarie Base Hospital and Mildura Base Hospital to understand the processes of reverse privatisation in Australia. Methodologically, the paper draws on Bart Voorn's temporal framework that categorises the causes of reverse privatisation, and broader policy literature. Publicly available existing sources and semi-structured interviews were used to explore the role of actors, institutions, and ideas in privatisation reversals at the Port Macquarie Base Hospital and Mildura Base Hospital. This research will assist in better understanding the process of reverse privatisation in Australia, providing insights and potential strategies for citizens and policy makers who wish to bring public services back into public hands.

Unveiling the Theatrics of Nation Branding: North Korea's Quest for a 'Normal State' Image through Disaster Management Governance

EJR Cho and Tae-Kyung Kim

Nation branding is often associated with promotional advertising campaigns. However, it can also be a policy tool to bolster states' ontological security and reinforce the authority of ruling regimes. This article examines the nation branding strategies employed by non-liberal capitalist countries, particularly North Korea, and their attempts to shape their national image as a "normal state". The study introduces the anthropological concept of the "theatre state" to shed light on the distinct attributes of North Korea's nation branding particularly in relation to recent nation-building policies. Special attention is given to North Korea's active engagement with the United Nations Sustainable Development Goals (UNSDGs) and the implementation of the 'people-first theory' in disaster management mechanisms and policies during Kim Jong Un's leadership. By aligning itself with the UNSDGs, North Korea seeks to improve its image as a responsible member of the international community. In conclusion, this study underscores the complexity and multifaceted nature of nation branding. In the case of North Korea, nation branding serves as a means to reinforce ontological security, bolster the authority of the ruling regime, and shape the nation's overall image.

The Organic Crisis of the Neoliberal World Order and Global Passive Revolution(s)

Tom Chodor

The 2008 Global Financial Crisis sparked a deep crisis in the global economy which shows little sign of abating. The confluence of stagnating economic growth, overaccumulation of investment, growing inequality and stalling social mobility, crisis of democracy, populism and de-globalisation has been framed by some through Gramsci's concept of an 'organic crisis'; a situation where the old neoliberal world is dying, and the new cannot be born, with a variety of morbid symptoms in the interregnum. Gramsci was certainly aware that such crises have no easy solutions, but he also pointed to the importance of 'passive revolution' as a strategy by dominant social forces try to resolve organic crises, by reforming hegemonic projects from above and offering concessions to the subordinate classes to re-secure hegemony. Accordingly, this paper examines the three main attempts to resolve the crisis of the neoliberal world order - the promotion of 'inclusive growth' by global institutions such as the G20; right-wing populism in the Western core; and the 'New Washington Consensus' - through the lens of passive revolution, identifying the coalitions of social forces they represent, exploring their proposals to resolve the crisis, and evaluating their capacity to successfully do so.

Destructive Polarisation in Political Leaders' Discourses: a cross-country comparison

Tariq Choucair and Sebastian Svegaard

The way political leaders communicate is a key factor to understand and evaluate political polarisation. By addressing the political landscape as an “us versus them” fight, politicians are able to inflame the electorate and drive political tension to dangerous levels. While some degree of antagonism is expected in communication during democratic elections, some characteristics of discourses used by the main political leaders may indicate a destructive level of polarisation, where opponents are seen as a threat to be destroyed. In this paper, we assess the social media communication strategies of the two main contenders in four national elections in 2021 and 2022 (Australia, Brazil, Denmark, and Peru). We empirically address different discursive dimensions associated with polarisation: (a) the discredit and dismissal of information; (b) the erasure of complexities; and (c) exclusion through emotions. Through content analysis, we transform abstract polarisation features into observable elements in discourses. By using a comparative approach between four countries with different languages and contexts, this study can contribute to the literature in two main ways: first, to help build generalisable methods of observing polarisation in discourses; and second, to bring insights about the interrelationship between polarisation and the structures of different electoral and political systems.

Decoding Voting Patterns and Changing Coalition Dynamics under BJP Dominance : The Case of Maharashtra

Soumyadeep Chowdhury

Since 2014, the BJP has gone on to win more elections than it has lost, returning with an even larger majority in the 2019 polls. Whether or not there has been any break from the past in the nature of the Indian party system remains debatable. What is the nature of BJP dominance currently ? What is the status of the Opposition and the vitality of regional players ? Have coalitions really been relegated to the past? The state of Maharashtra shall prove to be the fulcrum of analysis as this paper probes deeper acquainting the readers with current trends of the party system and compares them with tendencies exhibited historically applying mixed methods largely quantitative analysis of secondary data based on ECI and Lokniti surveys. With special focus on underlying socio - demographical consolidation and fluctuating coalition dynamics in Maharashtra in the contemporary era, currently in its 6th shift since 2014, this case study shall thereby go onto argue that India's Fourth Party System is not completely separated from trends of the 3 preceding epochs rather blends dominance, regionalism and coalitions in unique ways and considers its implications for national politics in run upto the General Elections of 2024.

Book Launch *The Fires Next Time: Understanding Australia's Black Summer*

Peter Christoff (ed.)

Following a three-year drought and during the hottest and driest year on record, a flume of scorching air set the Australian continent aflame. The Black Summer fires were unprecedented. Over six months in 2019-20 they burned more than 24 million hectares of Australia's southern and eastern forests - one of the largest areas burnt anywhere on Earth in a single event. The fires killed 33 people and 430 more died as an indirect consequence and they caused unfathomable harm to native species. Their economic ramifications were extensive and enduring. State and federal governments

and communities were under-prepared for that inferno and its many impacts. Yet global warming is increasing the likelihood of such events. The Fires Next Time offers a comprehensive assessment of the Black Summer fires. Its contributors analyse the event from many vantage points and disciplines - historical, climate scientific, ecological, economic, and political. They assess its impacts on human health and wellbeing, on native plants and animals, and on fire management and emergency response. They consider whether reactions could have been different, and what is needed to improve our handling of future bushfires. Contributors include Sophie Aitken, Danielle Celermajer, Andrew Dowdy, Robyn Eckersley, Michael-Shawn Fletcher, Tom Griffiths, Michael Grose, Pham Van Ha, David Karoly, Rod Keenan, Andrew King, Tom Kompas, Christine Li, Greg Mullins, Stephen Pyne, Libby Rumpff, David Schlosberg, Kevin Tolhurst, Sotiris Vardoulakis, Iain Walker and Brendan Wintle.

Democratic Breakdown, Presidentialism, and Human Rights Violations

William R. Clark, Alejandro Medina and Thiago N. Silva

It is well-established that presidential democracies (particularly those in Latin America and Africa) fail more frequently than parliamentary democracies, but there is little consensus on why. We argue that the threat of regime failure changes the composition of executive-legislative bargains more in presidential regimes than in parliamentary ones. Presidents, therefore, have a greater incentive to raise the spectre of regime failure than prime ministers. We conjecture that presidents can do this through the commission of human rights violations. Since this strategy is also aimed at manipulating executive-legislative bargains, it will not result in regime failure if actors acquiesce to preserve the regime. However, legislators may suspect that the president is being strategic and fail to acquiesce. Either way, the increase in human rights abuses may escalate, triggering extra-constitutional behaviour from third parties. We find evidence that human rights abuses are much more common in presidential than in parliamentary democracies. We also find that human rights violations are associated with democratic breakdown and that, once we control for human rights violations, presidential regimes are no more likely than parliamentary regimes to experience regime failure. These findings support the theory developed in our study, helping to explain why little evidence exists for otherwise logically compelling theories of the fragility of presidential democracy.

Everyday resistance to (in)security: former FARC-EP guerillas and the post-conflict future in Urabá, Antioquia

Connor Clery

This paper contemplates how 'everyday resistance' is articulated to the (in)security produced by liberal post-conflict societies in their provision of peace. Resistance is a broad church of relational strategies, which have been under-emphasised in security and peacebuilding literatures. The analytic value of 'everyday resistance' is illustrated through the examination of a confrontation between a group of female former FARC-EP guerrilla fighters and a group of armed Colombian military men on 10 December 2022 in Urabá, Antioquia. Through this lens, the paper argues that the confrontation reveals conditions of (in)security and violence operating in the Colombian post-conflict, which are often opaque, overlooked or hidden. This (in)security and violence are products of the way the Colombian state administers peace at the peripheries of sovereign control through expansive militarisation. This expansion is exporting violence into these peripheries, restricting citizens from access to security and exacerbating local and regional inequalities. The paper concludes by

emphasising the opportunity for greater integration of relational approaches of everyday resistance into studies of security and peacebuilding.

Student Climate Action and the making of viable democratic futures

Philippa Collin

Since 2018, students around the world have mobilised en masse in the student climate action movement. This paper considers how their participation constitutes a legitimate effort to realise more participatory and viable democracies, as well as a viable planet. Paying particular attention to how young people conceptualise, visualise and practice politics, and the reactions their politics has elicited over time, I investigate how student climate activism is shaping - even regenerating - Australia's political and democratic culture. I develop a notion of youthful 'politics-as-action' drawing on Isin (2002) and Ranciere (2010) examine student climate activism in the Australian context, as a form of disruption and discontinuity that is generating, not diminishing democracy. Comparing and contrasting analyses from major protest events between 2019 and 2023, I examine who is involved, what they are doing and how they are represented in visual and media discourse. The analysis suggests significant shifts in how students are calling for more an intergenerational and intersectional politics for climate justice and democratic renewal. They are calling for young people's recognition as citizens with rights to both a voice and a viable future and eliciting reactions that demonstrate how student action is making both expectations and possibilities for contemporary democracy.

Voter Privacy under Australian Law

Tegan Cohen

The rise of data-driven and digital campaigning in recent Australian elections has prompted widespread privacy concerns. However, little scholarly research has been done on the scope and value of privacy protection for voters under Australian law. This paper analyses the current protections for voter privacy under the Australian Constitution, common law and statute. It argues that the protections afforded to individuals in their capacity as voters, principally by a patchwork of federal statutes, are deficient in two key respects. First, the few privacy protections afforded to Australian voters are ill-equipped to meet the threats imposed by increasingly data-intensive and digital election campaigns. Second, existing legislative regimes generally reflect the assumption that privacy is essentially an individual interest; an interest which recedes in the 'political sphere' and is best protected by tools for self-management and negative liberty. This paper argues that, rather than a purely individual interest, the privacy of voters is a collective interest with significant democratic value that should be recognised and better protected under Australian law.

Market lobbying, policy entrepreneurship and opportunity structures in the movement to end fossil fuel advertising

Francesca Colli and Erin O'Brien

In recent years, a transnational movement has arisen demanding a ban on fossil fuel advertising and sponsorships. Campaigns around the world, from Australia to the Netherlands, France and Canada, have led over 400 public relations and advertising agencies to refuse to work with fossil fuel clients. Like the global divestment movement, these campaigns aim to de-normalise and delegitimise the

use of fossil fuels, using a range of strategies in their repertoire of contention (Tilly, 1995). Yet, academic studies of these campaigns has so far been limited to legal examination (Kaupa, 2021, 2022), and little is known about the structure and actors of the global fossil fuel advertising ban movement. This paper examines a series of campaigns funded by a single foundation, drawing on a detailed content analysis of campaign materials, and interviews with campaign participants. The provision of funding by a single private foundation to support the campaigns suggests a modular repertoire of contention (Tarrow 2011), transferred from one jurisdiction to another. Yet, given the important role of the (domestic) NGOs and actors in actually running campaigns, the individual strategies are dependent on the opportunities afforded to groups within the system they work (Kriesi, 2004; Meyer & Minkoff, 2004).

The transnational soft power of Netflix

Diane Colman

International Relations is a discipline that understands power on a global scale. Such understanding includes the concept of 'soft power' and the role of popular culture in projecting and universalising hegemonic state values. Much of mainstream IR conflates this type of power as a category of state power, yet, in the multi-polar, globalised media landscape of today, power is more diffuse than ever. As a global actor, the leading entertainment streaming service, Netflix, has considerable capacity to influence its audiences' ideas about the world, projecting immense soft power worldwide. Examining the ideological basis of this agent of power is important in understanding the global politics of visibility. As viewing analytics is key to its competitive advantage, macro investigation provides insights into the data-driven production of the Netflix worldview. Examining the politics inherent to the full data set of Netflix Original Films extends conceptualisations of what constitutes soft power, leading to a more complexly articulated theoretical basis for understanding transnational projections of power through the framework of digital international interactions.

Digital authoritarianism: Introducing a practice-based framework

Dara Conduit

With China using smartphone data to calculate citizen 'social credit' ratings and the UAE releasing the ToTok private messaging app to track millions of UAE and foreign nationals, there is growing recognition that digital technology has provided a windfall to autocrats. This has led to a proliferation of work on 'digital authoritarianism,' a term first used by Erixon and Lee-Makiyama in 2011 that entered widespread academic and policy use after 2018. The most commonly used descriptor of digital authoritarianism is Polyakova and Meserole's (2019, 2) passing definition as 'the use of digital information technology by authoritarian regimes to surveil, repress, and manipulate domestic and foreign populations,' although many scholars do not define the term at all, taking its meaning as somewhat of a given. This means that while there is general agreement on its nature (negative, malevolent) and some of the techniques used, less is known about how the techniques compound, their socio-political contexts, and how the phenomenon relates to authoritarianism in a broader sense. This paper responds to this conceptual gap by introducing a new dataset of the digital practices employed by 42 authoritarian and partly-free states in order to construct a practice-based framework to understand the phenomenon.

Pluralising adaptation: Mapping climate change adaptation discourses in Vietnam

Wendy Conway-Lamb

The lived experience and perspectives of those most affected by climate change and tackling its consequences must inform adaptation for reasons of justice, effectiveness, and democratic legitimacy. Recognising and comparing how different stakeholders characterise vulnerability, impacts, and adaptation are critical steps towards more inclusive adaptation governance. To better understand this plurality of perspectives, some argue for discursive approaches to adaptation research. Yet, typologies of adaptation discourses have tended to be developed a priori, with few researchers conducting empirical work on adaptation discourses in climate-vulnerable developing countries. This paper proposes an analytical framework for distinguishing among adaptation discourses and shows how it can be applied in Vietnam, a country heavily affected by climate change. The analysis is based on semi-structured interviews with individuals involved in adaptation in Vietnam including government officials, international organisations, civil society, and farmers. Discourses are differentiated according to three elements: their problem diagnosis, proposed solution or approach, and rationale for action. Using this framework, six discourses of adaptation are identified in Vietnam: mobilize the money; order and control; coordinate and integrate; made in Vietnam; prioritize the people; and survive and thrive. This framework could be applied in many contexts to distinguish and compare different discourses of adaptation.

The Comparative 'Court Politics' of COVID-19

Jack Corbett

What has shaped the different responses to COVID-19? The orthodoxy in the crisis management literature holds that the response to events like COVID-19 is primarily shaped by a decentralized group of actors on the ground. In this paper, we argue that a top-down explanation, focused on the actions and intentions of the core executive, is an essential complement to this bottom-up emphasis on a distributed network. Specifically, we advance a 'court politics' understanding of how governing elites have taken advice and made decisions, and sketch out the impact this has had in framing and constraining crisis response efforts. The argument uses an interpretive framework centred on the dilemmas that governing elites face in managing crisis. We illustrate the underlying 'court politics' which has driven responses to COVID-19 in England and Denmark. We show that pathologies and dysfunctions in Johnson's court have filtered through into inertia and indecisiveness, while the centralization of authority in Frederiksen's court has enabled swift and decisive intervention. Our analysis shows that a top-down emphasis on executive government – and the 'court politics' therein – offers a fruitful agenda for understanding and comparing COVID-19 crisis response.

Alternative Representations of Women Political Leaders: Gendering the Genre of Political Biography

Jennifer Curtin, Victoria Woodman and Linda Trimble

Susan Ware (2010: 413) argues that biography has made a 'vibrant and significant' contribution to the growth of women's history. Indeed, scholars have argued that when women finally became legitimate subjects for biography, the format and content of such writing required rethinking, given the differences in women's lives, compared to their male counterparts. For example, Kay Ferres (2004: 305), argues that 'including gender' transformed life writing by interpreting and narrating the

connections between the personal and the political, constituting 'newly emergent publics'. However, although feminist life writing has flourished, there has been less attention given to gender and the genre of political biography, and the representations of women political leaders through political biography. In this paper, we draw on our research on women premiers in Australia as well as the work of political historians and scholarly biographers to explore what constitutes feminist political biography and whether it provides an alternative understanding of the complexities associated with women's political leadership

Explaining variation in racialised immigration and refugee selection policies

Jake Davies

This paper explains variation in racialised immigration and refugee selection policies from the end of overtly discriminatory immigration policies in the 1970s up to today. It focuses on policymaking in Australia and the UK, two white-majority nations with colonial ties and similar Westminster parliamentary systems. The paper defines racialised policies in two ways. First, policies are racialised if the intent behind them is to limit migration by 'visible minorities' per se. Second, policy outputs are racialised regardless of intent if they are designed in a way that disproportionately restricts 'visible minority' migrants' ability to enter the country. The paper makes two key arguments. First, political parties' calculations about the electoral gains from different approaches to migration and race shapes whether or not there is racialised intent. Second, policy outputs are more restrictive towards migrants of colour when policymaking is more centralised in the executive. The more the department of immigration dominates other government departments, and the more that Ministers control bureaucrats, the more centralised the policymaking process. Moreover, policymaking is more centralised when the judiciary is unable to meaningfully obstruct the executive branch. Policy outputs are also more restrictive when policymakers are more insulated from advocacy groups and diplomatic actors.

Global Canberra: Evaluating Australia's Strategic Partnerships

Remy Davison

Strategic partnerships (SPs) are now ubiquitous. Cross-border, intra-industry strategic partnerships have been commonplace for decades among corporations, including behemoths such as Microsoft-Apple (1997), EADS/Airbus, Daimler-Chrysler, Renault-Nissan and Stellantis (Fiat-Chrysler-PSA). However, in political science and international relations, the field of research remains nascent. Changes in the regional and global order have resulted in a growing emphasis upon strategic partnerships over traditional alliances, even if the latter have not been displaced. Australia has been no exception. The AUKUS trilateral security partnership represents an ambitious attempt to securitize international defence procurement and technology collaboration by encapsulating these issue areas within an SP. This paper examines the form, function and drivers of SPs and explores the opportunities and consequences for Australia, and explores how Australia has sought to leverage its AUKUS strategic partnership to prioritise specific policy goals.

Integrating citizen lived experience for a person-centred public service: a case study of young carers' access to government services

Laura Davy and Jacob Priergaard

A key focus of the Australian Public Service (APS) reform agenda is the advancement of a 'person-centred public service.' Acknowledging the significance of citizen participation in policy design and decision making, a growing body of literature emphasises the importance of engaging with the lived experiences of policy beneficiaries to achieve responsive and effective service provision. While domains like health and social care have embraced formal mechanisms for incorporating user experiences into decision making, social security policies tend to be designed and administered without meaningful engagement with service users. This presentation examines the barriers faced by young carers when accessing government services, highlighting the importance of integrating citizen lived experience within policy and systems design. Through qualitative research and a policy and services audit, we identify institutional factors such as administrative burden, service silos, and complex eligibility requirements that restrict young carers' access to services. We conclude by considering why 'voice' and 'choice' (Speed & Reeves, 2023) have become crucial for securing governmental legitimacy in some areas of social policy but not others, exploring what would need to change in the authorising environment and its positioning of service users to improve the accessibility and effectiveness of government supports for young carers.

Regime Complexity and the Global Governance of Marine Plastic Pollution

Babet de Groot

The world ocean is a plastic soup. Approximately 8 Mt of land-based plastic enter the ocean each year. Recent attention to the human and environmental health impacts of marine plastic pollution moved IGOs, MNCs, and NGOs to address this crisis. This has spurred the UN to commence negotiations for a Global Plastics Treaty. The transboundary and cross-jurisdictional nature of marine plastic pollution make its governance complex. Using concepts of regime complexes and complexity, this paper aims to understand a snapshot of the governance architecture for marine plastic pollution. I employ surveys and interviews to conduct a network analysis of the global governance architecture for marine plastic pollution. I ask professionals how they perceive the marine plastic pollution problem and challenges to international cooperation. Connected elemental institutions have clustered into regime complexes and regime super-complexes which self-organise around shared understandings. The exploration of their shared ideas builds on a constructivist perspective for international regimes.

"Old, rich, opinionated and a dangerous person": How the Soros conspiracy discourse is spread by Hindutva influencers on Twitter

Rebecca Devitt

This study explores how far right discourse regarding the 'Soros conspiracy theory' has been spread by Hindutva influencers on Twitter. The proliferation of conspiracy theories and hate discourse surrounding George Soros have primarily been researched within the US, Australia and Europe, however there has been little research outside of the western context. In recent years a number of studies have examined the growth of and normalisation of far right discourse in India in order to broaden our understanding of right wing extremism as a global phenomenon. The framing of Soros as an enemy of Hindutva on Twitter reflects how discourse surrounding the 'Other' has been used to present a politics of fear as argued by Ruth Wodak. Using discourse historical analysis this article aims to analyse the role that right wing influencers have played in normalising and spreading hateful discourse. This paper will explore how the feedback loop of participatory disinformation occurs from

government officials to news broadcasts and how this filters down to the right-wing nationalists and influencers to be reproduced, remixed and amplified. This paper aims to contribute to scholarship analysing how right wing extremism occurs transnationally and how far right narratives are normalised during times of crisis.

The Body of Otherness: How Feminist Dystopias Help Us Understand Gender-Based Violence

Elisabetta Di Minico

"[Woman] is defined and differentiated with reference to man and not he with reference to her. She is incidental, the inessential as opposed to the essential. He is the Subject, he is the Absolute -- she is the Other". Decades after this iconic sentence, Simone de Beauvoir's feminist critique is still incisive and valid. Women can be subjected to both political power and patriarchy and their bodies, symbols of otherness, can become 'sites of repression and possession' (Wolff): they are inferior but still exploitable and 'colonizable', as also shown in acclaimed novels such as Burdekin's "Swastika Night" (1937), Atwood's "The Handmaid's Tale" (1985) or Wood's "The Natural Way of Things" (2015). Using dystopian literature in order to promote socio-political reflections, the proposed paper will examine the representation of female otherness in dystopian fiction and in contemporary society, focusing on: 1) the construction of women figures, roles and identities; 2) the abusive techniques of control, manipulation and oppression; and 3) the impact of sex, sexuality and motherhood. The aim is to clarify the narrative and the actions that influence women in their daily life, helping us to understand some dynamics in gender-based violence and to support feminism and gender equality.

A Feminist Foreign Policy in Australia: Understanding Possibilities using a Feminist International Political Economy Analysis

Annabel Dulhunty

Recently, numerous countries such as Colombia, Chile, the Netherlands, Germany and France have all adopted a 'Feminist Foreign Policy' (FFP) – following Sweden in 2014 (now dismantled) and Canada in 2017. Adopting an FFP is multi-sectoral – with implications for trade, aid, international security, defence and geopolitical relations. Less attention in scholarship has been given however to the political economy of FFPs – particularly in their relationship to the care economy, trade relations and aid investment. This paper uses a feminist international political economy approach to analyse different models of FFPs and what this means for global economic relations.

Climate Political Activity in Australia

Christian Downie and Darren Halpin

For scholars of interest groups, a perennial concern has been 'bias' in the interest group system. However, very few studies have systematically examined the interest group population in the domain of climate change. In this paper, we take up this concern about interest group bias to assess to what extent it holds in the domain of climate change in Australia. Specifically, we identify the population of organized interests engaged on climate change; assess the distribution between pro-climate and anti-climate groups; and examine their relative capability to engage in political activities. To do so, we combine four types of data, rather than a single source or approach, namely: expert elicitation;

legislative inquiries; legacy media; and social media from Australia. Because interest group bias is notoriously difficult to assess, this approach allows us to assess bias across venues, which vary to the extent to which they are open to organized interests. Our findings contribute to ongoing debates in political science about interest group bias and to debates about the distributive politics of climate change.

Turmoil in the West Bank: Causes and Consequences

Tristan Dunning and Martin Kear

There has been a marked escalation of violence in the Israeli-occupied West Bank over the last two years, the highest levels seen since the peak of the second intifada in the early 2000s. A new generation of Palestinian resistance fighters brazenly confront Israeli incursions and engage in open gun battles with the Israeli occupiers, despite overwhelmingly asymmetrical firepower. Meanwhile, Israeli settlements continue to expand. Settlers run amok burning Palestinian cars and homes, egged on by senior members of the most far right government in Israeli history. This paper examines the causes behind the growing violence and potential implications for the future.

Twenty Million Authors of the Law: Constitution-Making and the Role of Informal Participation in the Public Sphere

Madeleine Egan

What does constitution-making look like in the public sphere? Since the 1980s, democratic constitution-making has taken a marked participatory turn, responding to citizens who are increasingly critical of how democracy works, and who expect to be protagonists in reshaping politics. This dynamic is evident in both Iceland (2008-) and Chile (2019-), where constitution-making has arisen from moments of deep political crisis and has adopted participatory mechanisms to allow citizens a say in shaping the new text. Yet both efforts have faltered—to date, neither Iceland nor Chile has ratified a new constitution. These cases raise long-standing questions about the relationship between law-making and democracy—realistically, how can all subjects be authors of the law? This presentation shifts focus away from the institutionally designed spaces for citizen participation to examine constitution-making in the public sphere. Through interviews with Icelandic and Chilean citizens, I will explore constitution-making from the perspectives of those who take part informally—whether through social movements, protest, art, or everyday talk. My aim is to illuminate the pitfalls, as well as the promise, of citizen participation in constitution making.

The Political Power of Proxy Advisors in determining the outcome of ethical investing campaigns

Ainsley Elbra, Erin O'Brien and Martijn Boersma

Companies are increasingly under pressure to respond to critical issues such as climate change, modern slavery and first nations land rights. Much of this pressure is being exerted by civil society actors through corporate governance mechanisms, including leveraging shareholder rights to lobby firms. At the heart of this process sit largely understudied actors, proxy advisors, whose role it is to advise large institutional investors on whether to support civil society's claims on companies. The proxy advising industry is a powerful duopoly capable of determining the outcome of social

movement campaigns to reform business behaviour. This paper advances the framework of norm formation to market-based practices in order to map the relational power structures that govern ethical investment and determine the capacity of proxy advisors to contribute to the cascade of norms for ethical investment on pressing global issues. We show that despite being seen as politically neutral in their role advising institutional investors, proxy advisors should be viewed as political actors with significant power to determine the outcome of social movement campaigns.

Emotional governance in the aftermath of extremism: Political leaders and the public sphere

Selen Ercan and Jordan McSwiney

This paper considers the role of political leaders in shaping the emotional contours of the public sphere. The public sphere is not only a site where ideas are expressed, discussed, exchanged, but also where collective emotions are articulated and performed, and identities and solidarities are (re)constructed. The response of political leaders sets the tone for what can be said and felt in the public sphere in the aftermath of a violent extremist attack, and so can suppress or facilitate the public expression of emotions. Focusing on different modes of emotional governance, we compare the different ways that political leaders have responded to violent extremist attacks in Germany, New Zealand, and the UK, and discusses the meaning of different responses for building a democratically resilient public sphere. We argue that a lack of effective emotional governance creates a vacuum that can be filled by competing and potentially anti-democratic narratives. When political leaders fail to “own” the collective grief in their responses, grief can be instrumentalised by anti-democratic actors and used to harm rather than advance democracy.

Destructive Political Polarization in Digital Communication Contexts: A Critical Literature Review and Conceptual Framework

Katharina Esau, Tariq Choucair, Samantha Vilkins, Sebastian Svegaard, Axel Bruns, Kate O'Connor and Carly Lubicz

While the digital turn in political communication research offers novel opportunities to study societal polarization through traceable interactions at scale, it also adds complexity to an already challenging concept. Ambiguities surrounding the conceptual understanding of political polarization in different fields lead to problems in advancing the research in the digital context. The conflation of different types and forms of polarization erodes the utility of the concept itself and opens the door to an uncritical proliferation of technologically determinist perspectives and solutions. In this article, we systematically review literature from political, media and communication studies, revealing an increasing focus on polarization within political communication research without sufficient (re-)evaluation and conceptualization. To avoid future indiscriminate use of the term polarization, we advocate for precise delineations when studying polarization as a threat to democracy. We propose a concept of destructive political polarization and discuss it with regard to studying its dynamics in a digital communication context, describing its recognizable elements as manifested in communication practices.

The Australian Human Rights Commission as a Political Construction

Rhonda Evans

National Human Rights Institutions, like the Australian Human Rights Commission, are political constructions. Most analyses of their legitimacy, capacity, and independence are atheoretical, rely on anecdotal evidence, and/or overemphasize the legal instruments that establish these institutions. This paper, by contrast, employs a dynamic, longitudinal approach that marshals multiple empirical datasets concerning the AHRC's budget, powers, and personnel from 1986 to 2020 as well as parliamentary rhetoric regarding the AHRC. Borrowing theoretical propositions from the literature on government-court relations, it evaluates how Labor and Coalition governments have sought to expand or diminish the AHRC's capacity and independence and how they have sought to enhance or undermine public perceptions of the AHRC's legitimacy. The paper provides a data-driven analysis of partisan approaches to the AHRC. It finds that while Coalition governments are more hostile to the Commission overall, they nevertheless do use the AHRC to achieve political and policy objectives.

Limits of Shared Destiny: A Decade of the Pakistan-China Cooperation under the BRI

Muhammad Faisal

In 2013, China had termed the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) a flagship project of Belt and Road Initiative (BRI). Since then, China has sought to portray CPEC as a 'model' for building a community with a 'shared future'. Pakistan, on its part, has repeatedly pledged to implement CPEC projects and plans 'at all costs'. This was a demonstration of decades-old 'strategic partnership' between Pakistan and China, in which Beijing had held considerable sway over Pakistan's policy-making. Yet, despite these pledges, CPEC projects have run into trouble with domestic politics, economic crises and security challenges. Now while both Pakistan and China reiterate that CPEC remains on track and they will deepen cooperation, policy measures by both Islamabad and Beijing indicate that CPEC has run its course, with Pakistan now grappling with an existential economic crisis. While owing 27 percent of its external debt to China, Pakistan is seeking a bailout from the International Monetary Fund. This paper will explore how CPEC has 'progressed' over the past decade? What political and security challenges does CPEC pose to Pakistan? Despite claiming that they are 'all-weather friends', why does this close bilateral relationship fail to address CPEC challenges? What does the CPEC engagement of the last decade mean for the future of Pakistan-China relationship and pursuit of 'shared future'?

We're here! We're Queer! Vote for Us! Examining the role of electoral systems in LGBT+ political representation

Todd Farrell

Electoral system literature often examines how different populations perform under different electoral systems. This is most notable for female representation. Studies have historically found proportional representative (PR) electoral systems are associated with better electoral outcomes for women and culturally and linguistically diverse (CALD) populations. This can also run in tandem with elements such as internal party quotas or electoral system quotas more generally. As political parties having greater control of the nomination process under PR, they can promote more diverse representation easier than under majoritarian, single-member district electoral systems. While there has been some research about the electoral 'penalty' of belonging to the LGBT+ community and

running for election, research that considers whether this characteristic also adheres to the relationship is less developed. This paper compares LGBT+ electoral representation across advanced western democratic nations that have comparable LGBT+ rights to explore if LGBT+ representatives perform better under any particular electoral system. In considering this relationship, the paper also ponders normative questions about the nature of representative democracy and whether sexual orientation should be afforded similar institutional safeguards found in other status that may confer an electoral 'penalty'.

Addressing Critical Governance Challenges in Collaborative Arrangements

Paul Fawcett and Azad Singh Bali

Collaborative arrangements that bring state and non-state actors together in the delivery social policy face a range of obstacles that invariably stymie their effectiveness. Principal among them is the need for the public actor to ensure that the collaborative arrangement advances the collective interest rather than interests of individual actors. This is challenging to do once a program is rolled out as there is a forward momentum fostered by positive feedback, and dominant policy logics. In this context, what options are available for public actors to address governance challenges associated with the collaboration? In this paper, we present a lifecycle model with discrete stages in the collaborative lifecycle. The model presents pathways for policymakers to retrace their steps - going back to a previous stage of the lifecycle to address specific governance challenges. Their ability to utilise these pathways is a function of procedural tools, and the presence of critical policy capacities on part of the public actor. We demonstrate this model's utility and its application through a diverse set of case studies in social policy in Australia (employment services, disability services, and healthcare services). The theoretical insight advanced in this paper is to show how the presence of procedural tools and critical policy capacities afford policymakers some latitude in managing complex collaborative arrangements that are increasingly relied on in the delivery of social policy.

Family Migration and Polygamy

Luara Ferracioli

In this paper, I argue that the privileging of monogamous romantic ties by those who believe in the liberal state's right to exclude prospective immigrants cannot be justified. The reasons that count in favour of these relationships count equally in favour of polygamous and polyamorous relationships. I finish the discussion by discussing several concerns against the right to invite multiple partners to join one's state of citizenship.

Internationalisation and environmental issue emphasis

Nathan Fioritti

This paper explores the relationship between internationalisation and national-level party emphasis on environmental issues. It offers a new theoretical perspective, arguing that increased international integration contributes to rising environmental emphasis in parties' manifestos. Previous studies account for increasing attention paid to environmental issues in domestic politics 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 vary

considerably and are complex and highly international in nature. The theory we advance through this paper specifies how economic international integration impacts party emphasis and competition on the environment in ways that compel parties to increase emphasis. Our theory also specifies that some parties respond to economic international integration by also increasing emphasis on compensatory measures such as welfare state expansion. We begin with a brief case study of two parties that increased emphasis on environmental and compensatory measures during a period of deepening economic international integration. Having demonstrated our theory, we then test it by running a series of timeseries cross-sectional models that analyse the environmental emphasis of parties from 32 OECD member states between 1970-2018.

The fair go of people with disability in Australia

Karen Fisher and Rosemary Kayess

People with disability in Australia have historically been marginalised from the concept and language of a fair go. Over the last 30 years they have challenged this marginalisation of their rights and equality through mobilising and networking with other citizens, nongovernment organisations and governments. A strength of the way people with disability have organised has been to form alliances with these other policy actors. Through these policy networks, people with disability have extended the concept of a fair go in ways that inform equitable policy action to realise their human rights. This paper presents evidence of that approach through the major policy initiatives over these decades, including the UN Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities 2006, Australia's Disability Strategy 2011-2022 and 2022-2032, the National Disability Insurance Scheme 2011 and the Royal Commission into Violence, Abuse, Neglect and Exploitation of People with Disability 2019-23. Like many policies, a fair go for people with disability remains aspirational, but the policy networks have begun to hold government to account on a fair go for all.

A Fair Go for who? Temporary migrant workers in Australia

Emily Foley

In Australia, temporary migrants are widely considered to be the most vulnerable cohort of workers, experiencing discrimination and exploitation through insecure work and wage theft with limited access to advocacy and support. However, notions of the 'fair go' are traditionally supposed to have underpinned our strong regimes of labour protection and wages. Despite this, tensions exist between the idea of fair go for citizen workers and for migrants. In this paper I answer the question of how the emphasis on a fair go has problematised inclusionary and collective approaches to temporary labour migration policies. I draw on analysis of parliamentary debates, secondary policy documents and media coverage on migration policy in the 21st century to show the partisan dimensions of this debate.

Consensus, Corporatism or Labourism? Understanding the ALP's Economic Agenda

Emily Foley and Rob Manwaring

The election of the Albanese Labor government in 2022 has heralded a change of direction for Australia's political economy. As set out in his 'vision' speeches prior to becoming Prime Minister, Albanese set out a new agenda for how a Labor government would further its pro-growth agenda,

and focus on elements of structural reform. In this paper, we set out to better understand the contours and trajectories of Labor's economic agenda and strategy. We use three main frames to understand the extent to which there is both continuity with current settings, and also linkages with Labor's tradition. First, we explore the extent to which, there is a 'spirit of consensus' in labour-capital relations. In the second frame, we apply different models of corporatism to understand the extent to which, if at all, Labor, seeks to institutionalise new relationships between employers and employees. In our third frame, we explore how the labourist ideological tradition helps understand the ALP's overall approach to reforming or accommodating within current capitalist settings.

Stakeholder values and political economic regimes associated with post-mining transition in Australia

Tira Foran, Fran Ackermann and Marcus Barber

When the closure of mines unfolds in a region, what concerns surface among residents, governments, mine licensees, and other stakeholders? What institutional arrangements exist to manage the transition to a post-mining mining landscape and economy, and to what degree are such arrangements responsive to values held by a region's stakeholders? The concept of value essentially refers to matters of persistent concern. Notwithstanding contributions from the social license to operate literature, our knowledge of what matters to Australians who by residence or livelihood are direct stakeholders in a transitioning mining region is incomplete. We describe and compare the values held by six categories of stakeholder in three Australian mining regions experiencing significant transition: Victoria's Latrobe Valley; Southwest Western Australia; and Northern Territory's Gove Peninsula (a majority Indigenous region). Recognising values as a foundation of public policy argument, we offer a holistic framework which links values, policy argument, and policy regimes. We describe mine closure planning and post-mining development as political economic regimes informed by overlapping yet divergent sets of values. We review a collaborative planning initiative in Latrobe Valley which aims to help harmonise these policy regimes. Findings and methodology have implications for study of transitions to 'critical' minerals development.

Do Emotions Drive the Link Between Winning and Satisfaction with Democracy? Leveraging the Super Bowl, the World Cup, and The Lion King

Patrick Fournier, Shane P. Singh and Jason Roy

People who vote for electoral winners have higher levels of satisfaction with democracy than those who do not. The literature on this link posits a policy mechanism (people become satisfied or dissatisfied because their party will or will not enter government and form policy), and an emotional mechanism (people become satisfied or dissatisfied because winning/losing affects feelings and emotions that then impact satisfaction), but it has not been able to disentangle the two convincingly. To address this, we employ three pre-registered studies. One study is a survey experiment where participants are randomly assigned to a view emotion-inducing excerpts of the animated movie The Lion King before expressing their satisfaction with democracy. The other two studies exploit the outcome of the 2022 Super Bowl and the 2022 World Cup final. In each case, we interview several thousand people in the two regions/countries home to the participant football teams just before and just after each game. These respondents are exogenously separated into winning and losing groups based on the outcome of the game (without having any bearing on governmental policy), and this

short-term interrupted panel design allows us to estimate the causal effect of experiencing victory on satisfaction with democracy.

Voters' Perceptions of Parties' Positions and Partisanship

Patrick Fournier, Ruth Dassonneville, and Zeynep Somer-Topcu

There is a growing consensus that new political fault lines are emerging and scholars increasingly characterize party competition as multidimensional. However, the level and nature of change differ widely between countries, resulting in variation in the extent to which new fault lines cross-cut existing ideological oppositions. It has been argued that such differences are important, because the cross-cuttingness of parties' positions on different ideological dimensions determines the clarity of parties' brands and shapes party attachments. Most of what we know about the connection between parties' position, brand clarity and partisanship relies on expert- or manifesto-based estimates of the positions that parties take, forcing scholars to assume that voters are perfectly informed about parties' positions on multiple dimensions. To address this limitation, we collected original survey data in 11 countries where we asked respondents to position parties on six different issues, capturing economic, social, and cultural divisions. Our design allows connecting citizens' perceptions of the space of party competition in their country to their views about the clarity of parties' ideological brands and measures of partisanship. Using this novel dataset, we provide unique individual-level insights into the ways party positions and the restructuring of party competition shape party attachments.

Exploring export credit agency energy lending in the Asia-Pacific

Nicholas Frank and Maxfield Peterson

The threat of catastrophic climate change has prompted a race by states and markets to plug the 'financing gap' for renewable energy. Export-Credit Agencies (ECAs), or state-owned financial institutions that provide credit and insurance products for their countries' firms wishing to export overseas, play a crucial role in plugging this gap by mitigating risk around long-term energy infrastructure projects such as solar power stations or electricity transmission and distribution grids. At the same time, ECAs continue to invest heavily in fossil fuel assets, fostering greater global dependence on polluting hydrocarbon fuels. What drives ECA choices in energy finance? Why do they continue to use public monies to invest in fossil fuel infrastructure? Transitioning the global economy to a sustainable growth path requires, as a necessary first step, understanding the role of key institutions - including ECAs - in supporting or constraining climate-positive action. This paper employs tools from network science to unpack the ways in which relational mechanisms influence patterns of ECA lending and speaks to the question of why public financing for energy has not shifted towards fossil fuels, despite many national commitments by heads of state to decarbonization and sustainable development.

Exploring the Planetary Health Equity Governance Supercluster Complex

Nicholas Frank

Tackling the excessive production and consumption of fossil fuel-reliant goods and services, and the resulting impacts on climatic changes and social and health inequities, is one of the most pressing

policy challenges facing governments and societies. However, analysis of the interaction of the superclusters that make up the climate, economic, and health governance systems has yet to be undertaken. In this paper, we build on the nascent work on supercluster-level interactions to examine the supercluster complex for planetary health equity (PHE) governance. Using tools drawn from network science, our exploratory analysis identifies the core superclusters that make up the PHE supercluster complex and connect relational and structural mechanisms to supercluster-level interactions.

Explaining Election Violence: A Meta-analysis of Recent Research

Richard Frank

From 2010 to 2022 over sixty peer-reviewed journal articles have been published that have posited dozens of causal mechanisms behind electoral violence and evaluated these mechanisms using quantitative data. Indeed, these papers include more than 445 variables in their empirical models. Therefore, as a research area, the study of election violence has reached a size and maturity where it is useful to take stock. This article represents a first attempt at mapping and evaluating the causes of election violence using meta-analysis. I identify sixty-five journal articles by ninety-seven scholars that focus on the causes of election violence published from 2010 to 2022. My meta-analysis of 584 models by 97 scholars in 65 journal articles suggests there is a limited set of structural, political, electoral, and individual factors that are significantly related to election violence.

The Political Economy of Cryptocurrency Regulation

Richard Frank

Why do some countries and their citizens embrace blockchain technology and cryptocurrency while other countries outright ban cryptocurrency ownership and trading? In 2021, for instance, almost a third of Nigerians and over a fifth of Vietnamese consumers report owning cryptocurrency, and El Salvador, in a global first, make Bitcoin legal tender (Chainalysis 2022). In the same year, China joining other countries like Bangladesh, Bolivia, and Turkey in severely limiting their citizens' access to cryptocurrency (Thomson Reuters 2022). Most of the recent but rapidly growing literature on cryptocurrency focuses on the economic drivers of crypto adoption and regulation including lowering remittance costs and hedging against high inflation. This paper, by contrast, focuses on the political push and pull factors including corruption, political instability, political trust, capital controls, and shifting international incentives. Its empirical analysis explores how crypto adoption and political stability shapes crypto regulation across 146 countries from 2020 to 2022.

Trying to Have Your Cake and Eat It Too?: Western States and the Unintended Emergence of New States

Kentaro Fujikawa

How do new states emerge? The burgeoning literature on state recognition has highlighted the important role of Great Powers, particularly Western states, arguing that their decisions are motivated by their own interests or their concern about international stability. However, I argue their motivations are far more nuanced in the contemporary era because the context in which new states emerge has changed extensively. Nowadays, new states often emerge based on post-conflict

referendums on self-determination that are part of peace processes, and Western states play a crucial role in these processes as mediators. At the time of initial mediation, they have two goals: to secure peace and to avoid the emergence of a new state. However, they can still promote self-determination to reach a peace agreement as they hope that the referendum would not result in independence. Yet, when facing subsequent developments not in line with this scenario, they accept a new state's emergence for the sake of peace. To illustrate my arguments, I offer a detailed analysis of Southern Sudan regarding which I conducted extensive interviews with Western elites involved in the peace process. Five additional case studies further show my arguments' broader relevance.

The Fallacy of Statebuilding in Afghanistan: At the Crossroads of Counterterrorism, Counterinsurgency and Stabilisation

Hiromi Fujishige

The fall of Afghan regime in August 2021 marked the complete failure of twenty-year-long statebuilding project in the war-wrecked country. Did the attempt of statebuilding itself prove wrong as one of the major tools of conflict resolution? Or was it the failure brought because the methods and/directions of statebuilding were inappropriate in Afghanistan, suggesting that, if applicable correctly, statebuilding could be an effective instrument to bring peace? My paper will argue that statebuilding in Afghanistan was destined to fail because it was rapidly formed on site with the rising necessity to control Afghanistan following the 9/11 terrorist attacks. The formation of statebuilding in a haste and ill-prepared manner caused not only inconsistency on the ground but also misdirection in the aim(s) of statebuilding. As a result, statebuilding in Afghanistan, was used as a handy tool to achieve the short-term goals of counterterrorism, counterinsurgency and stabilization without a long-standing vision to revive the Afghan state. More problematically, the 'Afghan model' more or less influence to shape the statebuilding projects in the other regions. As a consequence, a majority of statebuilding projects in the 21st century have not been very effective to build a stable state and to bring peace.

A New Theoretical Framework for Multidimensional Poverty

Chunyuan Gao

Over the past few decades, there have been significant shifts in the way poverty is understood. Experts from academia, the United Nations and the World Bank have all reached a consensus that poverty is inherently multidimensional. Traditional monetary measurements, represented by income and consumption indicators alone, are no longer considered sufficient to reflect the complexity of poverty. However, existing multidimensional approaches, led by the Global Multidimensional Poverty Index (MPI), still face various limitations and controversies. In light of these challenges, my study proposes a novel multidimensional poverty framework that seeks to offer an alternative to the MPI and to advances a holistic theoretical understanding of the multidimensional nature of poverty. This new farmwork highlights the joint contributions from the capability approach, the happiness approach, and the basic needs approach, combining their complementary elements into a cohesive structure that also solves some of their contradictory issues. Within this new framework, poverty is redefined as the multidimensional deprivation of material needs, non-material needs, individual capabilities and social capabilities.

HASS and Australian Research Council Funded Research

Anika Gauja

In this session, Professor Anika Gauja, Executive Director for the Social, Behavioural and Economic Sciences at the Australian Research Council, will speak about the various ARC funding schemes open to humanities and social science researchers, including Industry Fellowships, and how HASS researchers can position themselves for success across both the Discovery and Linkage programs. She will also provide an update on ARC activities. The session will include time for Q&A.

Regulating Poverty Finance in Australia

Kelly Gerard, Jordan Tchilingirian, Melissa Johnston and Joshua McDonnell

Existing studies of why the microfinance industry continues to grow despite its shortcomings highlight the institutional and class context that has enabled it to both strengthen its roots in those places it was first trialled, but also expand its geographic reach. Underexamined, however, are the social relations that underpin microfinance's longevity, and in particular, the characteristics of the networks through which the industry grows. Through social network analysis we investigate the characteristics of Australia's microfinance constituency. We focus on the Australian case because Australia continues to have high levels of waged workers, social security, and formal credit, providing an important test case. With board membership forming the basis of the networks being studied, our analysis finds that the Australian microfinance constituency is highly fragmented. We posit two explanations for this fragmentation, namely the presence of 'credit cowboys' that may have inhibited the emergence of a broader microfinance advocacy coalition; and microfinance organisations' discrete partnerships with corporate actors, through which competing products are offered. Our findings suggest that the persistence of the microfinance industry in Australia cannot be attributed to the advocacy of an industry coalition, instead relying on key individuals for its promotion.

Problematising pipelines: understanding the conducive environment of grievances that enables the appeal of the far right in contemporary Australia

Vivian Gerrand

While a growing body of scholarship on algorithmic radicalisation draws our attention to critical pathways into far-right extremist networks online, the role of background grievances, often referred to as a 'conductive environment' in literature on violent radicalisation, tends to be underplayed. This is to our detriment as we try to address the multifarious global far right, which benefits from our neglect of background dimensions such as inequality, isolation and loss of belonging, dignity and purpose. This paper also interrogates what we mean by 'far right', noting an overlap between different right-identifying and neo-nazi groups and those of more fluid ideological formations that respond to similar grievances. This paper seeks to redress this emphasis, by focusing on a series of in-depth interviews undertaken in 2023 for the Crisis Points project with alternative health adherents who are adjacent to members of the anti-lockdown movement and conspiratorial milieu, some of whom have gravitated toward explicitly anti-government and fluid ideological forms of extremism. In so doing, it attends to the drivers of such formations with the aim of enabling a greater amount of agency over our ability to strengthen democratic mechanisms that might offset the appeal of groups recruiting on the far-right spectrum.

Legitimation Practices in the United Nations Security Council

Jess Gifkins

UN Security Council decisions impact billions of people and yet its formal rules are minimal and tell us little about how decisions are made. Instead, informal, and often unwritten practices, form the basis of negotiations. This paper introduces and develops the concept of legitimation practices to analyse the UN Security Council's decision-making. Legitimation practices shape the process and outcome of negotiations. 'Internal' legitimation practices, which relate to the legitimation of Security Council decisions such as prioritising unanimity, constrain and enable the text of resolutions. 'External' legitimation practices such as 'doing something', even if it cannot be implemented, relate to the legitimation of actors in the negotiations and shape whether decisions can be reached at all. This paper demonstrates the impact of legitimation practices within Security Council decision-making, focused on the case of Darfur. Security Council negotiations on Darfur are analysed to show how legitimation practices shape decision-making across a range of issue areas. Foregrounding legitimation practices sheds light on seemingly contradictory moments within Security Council decision-making, such as the United States enabling the referral of the situation in Darfur to the International Criminal Court, despite longstanding objections to the court and the capacity to veto the decision.

Queering the Responsibility to Protect

Jess Gifkins

Research on the responsibility to protect has become increasingly intersectional with over two decades of research, however, there remains a blind spot on the persecution of queer people. This is surprising given that queer people have been persecuted in atrocity crimes as far back as the Holocaust. While Genocide Studies has recently begun to engage with this area, we frame queer persecution more broadly around the four R2P crimes. In this paper we set out the rationale and urgency for including a queer lens in the prevention of atrocity crimes. This is not only about a focus on LGBTQI+ people; we argue for a queer politics and ethics that ceaselessly interrogates all relations of power. We outline the scale of the gap in academic research, policy, and state understandings of R2P. Since R2P is often framed as a foreign policy matter by Western states, with the Global South as the object of R2P, we include two case studies on escalating persecution against LGBTI+ people in Europe: The United Kingdom and Hungary. We argue that the R2P research and policy communities should remove what we call the 'cishetronormative blindfold' and engage more broadly with intersectional approaches to atrocity prevention.

Sortition versus Party Government

Adriano Giuliani

There are well-known problems with traditional democratic decision mechanisms. Arrow's theorem (1951) demonstrates that all decision mechanisms can produce anomalous results. Riker (1982) argues this challenges the notion of democratic results reflecting 'the will of the people' and their representativeness (Dowding 2006; Patty and Penn 2014). Following Arrow's theorem, other studies show that all decision mechanisms are manipulable (Gibbard 1973; Satterthwaite 1975; Dowding and van Hees 2008). Empirically, democracy faces distress due to low and falling participation rates. This thesis explores random selection models (lotteries) as potential solutions to these problems.

Lotteries don't solve the Arrow problem as they don't produce the same result from the same public preference profile. Instead, they offer an alternative means of producing a representative function, addressing the inadequacies of traditional mechanisms. The thesis also examines whether lotteries can increase participation rates and inclusion in governing institutions. The use of lotteries to replace voting has a long history, primarily concerning democratic representativeness and social justice. However, this thesis goes beyond general discussions by directly comparing lottery systems with existing democratic systems where parties play a fundamental role in representing interests. The thesis explores whether assemblies drawn by lottery can replace parties in fulfilling this function, considering declining party participation rates and leader dominance.

Does Public Diplomacy Sway Domestic Public Opinion? U.S. Presidential Travel Abroad and Approval at Home

Benjamin Goldsmith, Yusaku Horiuchi and Kelly Matush

Some scholars argue that presidential international travel is aimed at winning over foreign publics or signalling to third party states, while others say it is motivated by domestic politics, such as diversionary incentives or constructing a presidential image. Proponents of domestic explanations are united by the assumption that these trips are aimed at improving domestic approval. When a U.S. president travels abroad, does the domestic public evaluation of the president's job performance change? We develop expectations for whether and how these visits affect a U.S. president's job approval. Specifically, we examine (i) whether presidents are rewarded for representing the nation internationally or punished for neglecting domestic affairs, and whether these effects are conditioned by (ii) the foreign state's regime type, (iii) domestic political and economic conditions, and (iv) respondents' partisanship. To examine these questions, we use the Gallup Daily Tracking surveys and compare the presidential approval of respondents interviewed just before and after 45 diplomatic meetings in 30 countries during Barack Obama's presidency. The results show that Obama's trips abroad cause only a short-lived decrease in approval for the President and the conditional effects are limited. This calls into question the idea that foreign trips abroad are primarily motivated by shoring up domestic support.

The disease of tyranny: diagnostics and treatment in the words of de la Boetie, Alfieri and Al-Al-Kawākibī

Leon Goldsmith

This paper examines the ideas of Étienne de la Boétie (1530-1563), Vittorio Alfieri (1749-1803), and 'Abdul Rahman Al-Kawākibī (1848-1902). These three thinkers span four centuries and two civilisations, yet there is similarity in their conception of 'tyranny.' Each assert that the nature of tyranny is constant across eras and cultures and is in fact a disease that degenerates the body politic. Each abstracted their arguments to produce a timeless message directed not at the rulers, as per Xenophon or Machiavelli, but rather at individuals and how such societies might treat themselves for the disease of tyranny. Can we understand tyranny as a universally transmissible socio-political affliction akin to a disease? If the answer is yes, how can the disease be diagnosed, and what is the treatment? These questions are not new in fact they are very old but have been neglected while tyranny was shelved as a pre-modern relic, reserved for occasional use to describe the most brutal of authoritarian regimes or commentaries on Greek philosophy. Today concerns over democratic

regression has led to tyranny making a comeback and there is a need to brush off some long disused comparative tools starting with de la Boetie, Alfieri and Al-Kawakibi.

Ideas Do Not Flow Freely: China's Digital Governance Cooperation with Southeast Asia Xue Gong and S. Rajaratnam

This paper explores China's bid to frame the digital governance architecture by raising the question: to what extent China's digital governance in Southeast Asia is effective? By reflecting on China's proactive role in its Digital Silk Road in Southeast Asia, it argues that China has been framing security-development nexus discourse and ideas in digital arena to generate a stronger sense of Asian integration and establish an exclusive Asian digital governance architecture. To support such ideas into fruition, China has been applying new tools, practices and standards through infrastructure investments in the neighbouring developing countries, which could have the potential to dominate regional institutions and standards over time. By using qualitative data analysis on China-ASEAN Information Harbour and Lancang Mekong Cooperation, this study analyses how the Chinese authorities use ideas and discourses to legitimize its role in regional digital governance. The paper demonstrates that China's push in digital investments helps generate mixed outcome. Such Chinese power has helped align Southeast Asian states' interests in China's digital investments and their support for digital governance ideas such as digital sovereignty. However, China's interest in protecting its digital sector also leads to increasingly divergent positions from Southeast Asia, thus inhibiting its ambition to promote digital governance through the Digital Silk Road.

Australia as an Ecocidal Middle Environmental Power Eda Gunaydin and Susan Park

The climate catastrophe has triggered scholarly attention as to how great powers understand and engage with the environment, given their legitimacy and responsibilities as systemic actors within the international order. Great environmental powers - those that can employ both positive and negative powers to advance or block environmental cooperation - are typically limited to those who have the capability to influence environmental issues, and the responsibility to do so. This paper extends the analysis to the role of 'middle environmental powers,' where middle powers like Australia can influence environmental issues through their support for international cooperation backed by their actions. Australia is an oft cited 'middle power', supporting the international rules-based order. In examining Australia's record in two critical global environmental issue areas, namely climate change and biodiversity, Australia is arguably demonstrating both legal support for and political opposition to environmental cooperation underpinned by ecocidal domestic and foreign policies. Given the need for all states to address the crossing of planetary boundaries, Australia's role as a middle power deserves scrutiny for sustainability.

The Realpolitik of Belarusian Foreign Policy: Artfully Treading a Tightrope Amish Gupta

Lukashenko has managed a careful balancing act between Russia and the West, positioning Belarus as a 'security guarantor' to both sides. In doing so, Lukashenko's rhetoric and actions have been strikingly inconsistent and contradictory, at times staunchly pro-Russian and at times resolutely

defiant of the Kremlin. The existing literature explains Belarus' behaviour through a binary view - either implicitly overestimating or underestimating Belarus' control over its own foreign policy. The paper analyses the extent to which Belarus is in control of its own foreign policy. It discusses how Belarus' authoritarian government, and its relationship with Russia - one of economic and military dependence - narrows the scope of its foreign policy, whereas its strategic importance, in combination with the indifference of the Belarusian people, has enabled Lukashenko to exploit the security competition between Russia and the West to Belarus' advantage and provided it with a source for leverage. The paper then considers the various forms that Belarusian foreign policy could take, both under and after Lukashenko, arguing that given the current geopolitical climate, Belarus has optimally positioned itself between Russia and the West so as to maximise the reward proportional to the risk.

Defining the Digital, and so Digital Politics

Max Halupka

While academics and commentators often speak of the 'Digital', there is little agreement about what it means, beyond the obvious reference to internet-based technology. This paper conceptualises the Digital as a significant and independent field of analysis. A conceptualisation of the Digital enables new avenues of investigation and inquiry in the study of the Political. As the Digital introduces new 'rules' into the existing games of analysis, its application to other, long-established disciplines, such as politics, will highlight previously unrealised topics of significance. Existing accounts of digital communication which do not consider variable space/time will inevitably describe the agent's perspective, thus missing the structural impact that the Digital is having on politics. This paper offers a novel approach to the study of Digital Politics as an organised view of technologically influenced power and governance. To this end, the novelty of this paper extends past its important conceptualisation of the Digital, towards a logic for the exploration of Digital Politics.

China's Approach to Sovereign Debt Relief: Competing with the IMF and Paris Club?

Shahar Hameiri

Evidence that China is competing with the International Monetary Fund as international lender-of-last-resort, and with the Paris Club over sovereign debt restructuring norms, is often perceived as further proof for Chinese revisionism vis-à-vis the international order. Chinese actions show no clear geopolitical agenda, however, while China has also cooperated with the IMF and Paris Club. What explains China's inconsistent behaviour, and what are its implications for the management of the sovereign debt crisis? This article advances a State Transformation lens, arguing that Chinese actions reflect the fragmentation of China's international development financing domain. Specifically, the outlook and interests of China's policy banks have shaped responses to problems relating to Chinese overseas lending. Rather than advancing China's geopolitical goals, they have focused on ensuring full repayment of outstanding debt. The result is to undermine global sovereign debt management processes and norms, but without offering a viable alternative, thus weakening China's international standing. Chinese engagements in sovereign debt governance demonstrate that whether China's rise bolsters or weakens global governance arrangements would depend fundamentally on the nature of Chinese governance in each domain.

Managing choice in Australian health policy: Ambiguity and ideational robustness'

Adam Hannah

Patient and consumer choice has become an integral aspect of Australian health policy and is credited, by advocates, with a range of benefits, from efficiency and lower costs to improved care outcomes. And yet, choice also poses challenges. Consumers are not always enthusiastic about participating in a private market or may struggle to meaningfully differentiate among available options. Others might wish to make 'bad' choices that, if taken up on a large enough scale, could undermine core policy goals or system functions. This paper explores how Australian governments have managed the challenges of choice, while maintaining its 'robustness' as a governing idea. It focuses on three case studies: private health insurance, vaccination and electronic health records. The central argument is that its ambiguous nature has enabled governments to closely manage and even greatly curtail the choices that citizens can or do make, while still displaying discursive commitment choice as a core value. In the Australian cases, this has particularly occurred where citizen choices (or non-choices) are perceived to threaten core system functions or important political goals. To manage these potential contradictions, governments have emphasized only particular aspects of choice or closely related concepts such as 'empowerment' or 'informed consent'.

Stuck between paradigms? Political capacity and the incremental lessons of a hyper-politicised pandemic

Adam Hannah

The pandemic period has been characterised by unprecedented – outside of wartime – mobilisation of resources and state action. While specific responses to COVID-19 were varied, often flawed and hyper-politicised, it seems that the state is not as hollow as some feared. And yet, as the 'post' pandemic emerges, it has become clear that lesson-drawing will be largely incremental in character. In other words, while the pandemic sharpened critiques of existing modes of governance, it has not generated momentum for coherent alternatives. Why is this case? Here, three explanations are canvassed. First, the nature of the pandemic response generated intense focus on very specific policy settings, and its exogenous origins have made it difficult to construct broader reform narratives. Second, the long-term atrophy of political capacity has incentivised careful management of expectations by political leaders and continue to prioritise claims to competence. A final possibility is that the future is still being written, and that the memories and longer-term consequences of the pandemic will reshape policymaking in ways that are yet up for grabs.

Unravelling the challenges of climate displacement: The issue of terminology and governance

Ateka Hasan

Climate induced-displacement is a complex and urgent challenge that is being experienced globally. The issue is further intensified due to the absence of a universally accepted terminology and suitable governing models. The literature surrounding this issue consists of varying interpretations and definitions, which ultimately creates hindrances in the comprehension of the concept, which in turn leads to confusion while drafting policies and strategies. The paper will try to navigate this issue using the levels of the analysis model. It will provide a deeper understanding of the challenges

caused by lack of a common accepted terminology, from the perspective of stakeholders at three different levels.

A Critical Discourse Analysis of Australia's Security Narrative in the Context of the Emergence of Deep Sea Mining in the Pacific

Pascale Hatcher and Sian Troath

While commercial large-scale deep seabed mining (DSM) activities are yet to begin, the economic promises of the sector have already triggered a scramble for the 'new frontier of mining', with interests driven by the green transition - the deep sea is rich in the minerals needed for electric cars and wind turbines. These prospects are enticing for some of the world's smallest nations as the seabed of the South Pacific boasts the world's most substantial reserves of high-value minerals. To complicate matters, debates over DSM are taking place in the context of a contested security environment, which includes a deepening focus on critical minerals. Building on digital methods to gather and analyse datasets of public texts, as well as insights from international political economy, the paper collates narratives to assess how the impending mining boom is shaping Australia's security narratives in the Pacific region and in turn, its ramification for the Pacific Island Countries (PICs). We argue that DSM debates will feed tensions between Australia's 'Indo-Pacific' concept which focuses on geopolitical security vs the PICs' 'Blue Pacific' approach to security in the region.

Hierarchy, not anarchy: A Bourdieusian sociological approach to understanding AUKUS.

Ali Hayes

The Bourdieusian concepts of habitus and field highlight AUKUS as a space of knowledge shaped by a hierarchical international system which includes some states while excluding others. The international system is considered as anarchic by traditional approaches to international relations due to violence and conflict between states. However, the seemingly legitimate authority of the state does not preclude it from similarly experiencing violence and conflict internally. An exclusionary process of labelling and discrimination informed by historic and economic relations between states can only occur in a hierarchically structured system in which states compete for power. International politics is a socially constructed process where reality is reproduced by individuals enacting their interpretations and knowledge. Bourdieu posited that individuals' actions are informed by the relationship between their internalisation of social structures (habitus) and their position within a social setting (field). The interpretations of individuals acting on behalf of states shape the direction of international politics, including alliance formation. Therefore, states' strategic actions are also individuals' social actions. This paper uses a Bourdieusian approach emphasising the social dimension of international politics. This provides a richer understanding of AUKUS within the context of dynamic expressions of power between actors in a hierarchical international system.

Decoupling, Derisking, or Deluding- China's Evolving Role in the Australian Lithium Industry

Eli Hayes

Since the signing of the Paris Agreement in 2015, governments have sought to limit carbon emissions to avoid the worst effects of climate change. Given the essential role that battery vehicles and grid-

scale storage play in achieving a successful energy transition, demand for lithium has risen precipitously. At the same time, the general deterioration of relations between China and the West has renewed interest in reducing or eliminating China's role in Western supply chains. Analysing a new dataset of contracts negotiated by Australian lithium firms, this paper investigates China's changing role in the Australian lithium industry. It finds that lithium firms are often not pursuing a strategy of "decoupling" or "derisking" from China per se but are instead seeking to capture revenue previously monopolised by Chinese firms through tolling agreements and joint ventures. This paper then extends its analysis to explain why Chinese firms are likely to continue to have a strong presence in the sector despite efforts by some Western governments to displace Chinese involvement.

Examining Independents' Success in 2022: A Turning Point or Continuum in Australian Politics?

Phoebe Hayman

The success of 'Teal' or community independent candidates garnered a great deal of attention in the 2022 federal election and marked a milestone in the decline of first preference votes for the major parties. However, independents have had significant successes in Australian politics before, and as such, discussions of their rise are not unique to this election (Costar & Curtin 2004). This paper examines whether the success of independents in 2022 should be understood as a 'flash in the pan', part of a recurring cycle, or a fundamental shift in Australian politics.

Why market-based offsets do not advance biodiversity conservation outcomes

Brian Head

The 'traditional' approach to environmental improvement sought to develop science-informed regulatory standards with enforceable compliance (e.g. the regulation of industrial pollutants). We now see a mix of approaches, including financial incentives and subsidies; other pricing or taxing options; creation of trading schemes/markets; use of industry codes of practice; and information campaigns for behavioural change. Governments at both state and federal level have often preferred to avoid using 'traditional' forms of regulatory controls/standards and enforcement. Market-based instruments (MBIs) have been increasingly applied to environmental policy problems since the 1990s. Environmental markets have been established to incentivise air and water quality standards, manage scarce natural capital, protect threatened species and their habitats, and enhance ecosystem services. For governments, the attractiveness of market-based instruments is linked to two main factors: firstly, the appearance of voluntary participation and use of enticements rather than taxes and prescriptive regulation; and secondly, the likely reduction in public sector costs of investigation, enforcement and monitoring. Business actors clearly prefer non-regulatory approaches because costs can be calculated and participation is largely voluntary. Recent research shows that design of market-based schemes has been lax and outcomes have been poor. This paper examines selected recent state and federal schemes and their deficiencies.

Shadow representation: counter-claim making and contesting official political representation

Carolyn Hendriks and Richard Reid

This paper offers empirical and conceptual insights into a novel form of participation in the electoral arena: shadow representation. Since the 2022 federal election several unsuccessful independent candidates have positioned themselves as a 'counter voice' in their local electorate, with some self-labelling their role as 'the shadow representative'. This paper examines the motivations and activities of these unofficial local representatives (all of whom were almost elected) drawing empirical insights from interview data, participant observation, and social and print media. These empirical insights inform a conceptual discussion of the notion of 'shadow representation'. Shadow representatives are counter claim-makers who seek to rectify perceived representative deficiencies in the official political representative, such as an elected representative or an authorised non-elected representative. The paper considers the normative benefits and limitations of shadow representation, particularly in and around electoral processes. In an era of declining trust in institutional politics, shadow representatives could potentially fulfil an important role in building public confidence in the formal representative process by scrutinising the activities of elected officials and holding them to account. However, some shadow representatives may pose democratic risks, particularly if their representative activities and counter claim-making serves to undermine the legitimacy and stability of electoral representation.

A Ngarabal First Nations perspective of dealing with government policies relating to traditional lands, with a case study of the Mole River Dam Project, Tenterfield, NSW.

Angelika Heurich and Lynette Marlow

First Nations People are required to navigate multiple state and federal policies in relation to country, which in many instances overlap state borders. The Ngarabal lands are one such example, lying between Tenterfield in New South Wales (NSW) and into southeastern Queensland. The impacts of having lands divided by state borders are not only evident when addressing policy. Border restrictions may also limit the ability of traditional owners to travel their lands freely; as was highlighted by border closures due to Covid-19 restrictions. This paper presents an auto-ethnographic perspective of the challenges faced by the Ngarabal during Covid-19 and includes a case study of the Mole River Dam Project, in Tenterfield, NSW. The Ngarabal maintain a unique ontology and democratic system of decision-making and place-making in their homelands, which have survived colonisation and differ markedly from Western viewpoints and approaches. The case study will discuss the joint Commonwealth and NSW Government Business Plan, the Mole River Dam Project, managed by Water NSW, and the consultations with the Ngarabal First Nations People, the area's traditional owners. The Mole River Dam Project was announced at the beginning of the Covid-19 lockdowns when the Commonwealth Government advised many First Nations People to stay indoors. The paper discusses the issues the Ngarabal faced in consulting with the government during the lockdowns. The case study aims to add to our understanding of First Nations consultations with the Commonwealth and New South Wales Governments. Findings have been drawn from archival research, community consultations, and first-hand experience. This case study aims to add to our understanding of First Nations consultations with the Commonwealth and New South Wales Governments. Findings have been drawn from archival research, community consultations, and first-hand experience.

What is the role of Parliament in a Pandemic?

Harry Hobbs

The Covid-19 pandemic posed significant challenges to the ordinary operation of governance across the globe. Given the executive is uniquely positioned to provide quick, decisive, and flexible responses to protect public health and safety in periods of crisis, governments took the lead in responding to the health emergency. However, the actions taken by the executive raised questions about the role of Parliament during this time. Australia is a representative democracy governed under a system of responsible government in which the executive answers to the people through their representatives in Parliament. This meant that, during the pandemic, Parliament might be expected to come to the fore as a highly visible and deliberative forum for community debate. Instead, at the height of the crisis, sittings of Australian parliaments were often severely truncated and the number of members attending substantially reduced. The role of Parliament must necessarily adapt during a crisis, but this does not mean that it should be sidelined. Even when threatened by the exigencies of total war or major civil strife, it has long been recognised that national assemblies must continue to meet and exercise certain core roles. In this paper, I explore the core functions of Parliament to identify four key roles that Parliament should undertake during a public health emergency.

Gender, Violence and the Panoptic Male Gaze of Xinjiang

Jacob Holz

Xinjiang is China's most north-western province, and is a region whose native Uyghur population face unprecedented degrees of digital surveillance and oppression under the Chinese Communist Party (CCP). The surveillance methods implemented throughout the region have developed distinctively gendered aspects to their functions, often being used to specifically target and oppress Uyghur women often through limiting their bodily autonomy, freedom of movement and by further perpetuating systemic forms of violence. These surveillance methods employed range from an array of obstetric biometrics, GPS, data monitoring and video surveillance to different forms of traditional grassroots surveillance. By adapting a gendered feminist lens to surveillance and security studies this paper attempts to not only conceptualize how surveillance technologies can propagate gendered forms of oppression, but also to what extent surveillance can facilitate the internalization of the 'Panoptic male gaze'.

Climate Ambition: Explaining Cross-National Variation Through Time

William Hopkinson

A core question remains about the enabling and constraining conditions for greater international climate mitigation and the varied ambition among states. Recent academic attention within comparative climate change politics shifts the explanatory focus from collective action to domestic distributive conflict between pro-climate and pro-emitter forces. This research aims to analyse the distributive conflict between domestic interest groups in OECD states' emission reduction targets in their Nationally Determined Contributions between 2015-2021. A qualitative comparative analysis is used to identify domestic condition pathways for climate ambition outputs in the Nationally Determine Contributions submitted for both the Paris and Glasgow climate summits. Importantly, by

analysing and comparing these time periods, this paper identifies several domestic political configurations that contribute to the acceleration or stasis of national climate ambition. In doing so, this paper aims to address a shortcoming in cross-national climate ambition literature: the static analytical focus across a single point in time. In turn, this paper examines the domestic political configurations and the causal pathways for climate ambition that more accurately captures the causal complexity of climate change policy ambition.

A 'Fair Go' research agenda

Cosmo Howard

'Fair go' is one of the most pervasive and enduring cultural concepts in Australian and New Zealand. Despite its centrality to the political discourses of both countries, there has been limited research into what the concept has meant historically, how its meaning has evolved, and the ways it has shaped public policy over time. This paper presents an overview of research being conducted for the ARC DP project Understanding the Antipodean 'Fair Go'. While scholars and commentators tend to assume the fair go expression is related to egalitarianism and social justice, our approach is inductive and seeks to uncover the diversity of meanings attached to the fair go expression in the past and present. The paper addresses three key pillars of our project: interviews with current and former political representatives; a large survey of Australian and NZ attitudes to the fair go; and historical textual analysis of Hansard and press archives. It summarizes existing findings and indicates future research directions.

Fairness in a Crisis: Political Narratives of Housing Inequality in Australia

Cosmo Howard and Pandanus Petter

Crises present opportunities for governments to take decisive action and push forward structural reforms, yet crises can also encourage a desire to return to and entrench the status quo. We extend research on the policy impact of crisis narratives by exploring the extent to which they are used to make cases for progressive and regressive redistributive policies. To do this, the paper assesses the crisis narratives presented by politicians in debates about housing affordability in 600 speeches given on the topic between 2020-2023 in the Australian parliament. The paper applies the narrative policy framework to identify the heroes, villains, victims and morals in politicians' housing crisis narratives. The analysis shows that all sides of politics acknowledge the existence of a housing crisis and the unfairness of the current housing situation in Australia, but their narratives have distinctly different implications for redistributive policy. We conclude that contemporary housing crisis narratives have a partisan character that both constrains and enables the possibility of progressive reforms.

National Identity and State Capacity: A Natural Experiment in the Mandarin Promotion in Taiwan

Yuxin Huang

The prevailing theories surrounding the nation-state propose that national identity could serve as the foundation for the establishment of the contemporary nation-state. However, establishing a causality between the national identity and the enhancement of state capacity has proven challenging; existing research merely indicates correlation. It is evident that substantial state power can foster

profound national identities. Nevertheless, this reverse causality poses significant challenges to the examine of the underlying causal relationship between national identity and state capacity. The Kuomintang (KMT) government relocated from mainland China to Taiwan in 1949, accompanied by a sizable influx of mainland Chinese people. In a bid to reinforce national identity of Republic of China, the KMT government initiated Mandarin Promotion aiming to enhance the widespread adoption and learning of Mandarin across various regions. This study will employ the era of Mandarin Promotion in Taiwan as a natural experiment, using Difference in Difference (DID) analysis of county-level panel data for post-1949 Taiwan, intending to scrutinise the causal relationship between Mandarin Promotion and the consequential elevation of state capacity. The outcome of this research is expected to provide fresh insight into the intricate dynamics between national identity and state capacity.

Fanaticism, Patriotism and Politics, The 2023 Ivorian Votes

Ley Gregoire Ikpo

This article aims at presenting the weaknesses of the Ivorian political activities and bringing a contribution to redefine politics as a scientific discipline that requires logical approach and not emotional argumentation. The paper helps to clarify roles of political activities within and across sectors of the Ivorian civil society. In order to authenticate the research paper, theoretical approaches of fanaticism, patriotism and politics are detailed. Primary and secondary sources support collected data. The paper is inspired from qualitative research and deductive reasoning. The obtained result confirms that politics as an academic and a scientific discipline is lacking in the Ivorian political system. Yet, the last two decades were marred with violation of human rights and fundamental freedoms. Ejiéto d'Ivoire, a former French colony, had cordial relationships and commercial activities with the Dutch. Independent, on August 6, 1960, and considered a sovereign state, Ejiéto d'Ivoire experienced an economic boom in the late 1950s. From 1956 to 2020, votes were run peacefully and violently. In October and November 2023, Ivorians are called to vote in this fragile period. Yet, universities where politics can be taught as an academic and a scientific discipline for social, economic and political recovery are of great importance.

Perspectives for Australia in terms of the process of achieving the SDGs

Yoji ISHII

In 2015, the United Nations and 193 Member States, including Australia, endorsed 'Transforming our World: the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development'. However, the challenges facing by present societies are becoming more diverse and increasingly complex, and in order to solve them, it is essential to find optimal solutions through the cooperation of various stakeholders. As for the SDGs, the 17 goals are not disjointed, and they are all closely linked each other. Therefore, in order to achieve the SDGs, it is crucial to transform the social system itself through collaborative activities of various stakeholders to make society more sustainable, inclusive, and resilient. For example, according to Sustainable Development Report 2022(pp.100-101), major challenges remain on 'Climate Action' of SDGs in Australia. Australia is one of the world's leading resource-rich countries. Coal and natural gas mining are a key industry of the country. Although it is unrealistic to drastically change the key industry, Australia is at a crossroads where it must gradually transform its social system while maintaining the economic superiority of the key industry. In this way, it is discussed the

significances and benefits of promoting the SDGs for Australia through sorting out the challenges of SDGs in Australia.

[An everyday political economy of ultra-processed foods in Oaxaca de Juárez](#)

Aisha Ismail

Over the last fifty years, Mexico has experienced profound changes in food systems and dietary patterns, involving a shift away from the production and consumption of unprocessed and minimally processed foods towards the increased intake of ultra-processed foods (UPFs). This transition has been driven by major UPF companies that gained power and influence following neoliberal reforms implemented in Mexico since the 1980s. Mexico now faces a public health crisis, with rapidly increasing levels of obesity and type 2 diabetes, and such food system transformations have also engendered intersecting, social, economic, political and environmental impacts. Utilising an everyday political economy of food approach, this paper centres the experiences of communities in Oaxaca de Juárez to understand how decades of neoliberal agri-food policies in Mexico enabled the rise of UPF corporations and their ability to transform everyday food environments. In doing so, this paper contributes to linking macro-level analyses of neoliberal arrangements and institutions with the manifestation of UPF corporate power and influence at the local level. Through utilising a place-based case study of corporate power, this paper contributes to 'grounding' existing analyses of UPF corporate power and activities, an aspect of current research that is lacking.

[Karabakh war and shift of geopolitical balance of power](#)

Fariz Ismailzade

The paper analyses the geopolitical balance of power in the South Caucasus before and after the second Karabakh war and looks in depth into the interests and priorities of Turkey, Russia and Iran in the region. Impact of Ukraine war and EU/US mediation between Azerbaijan and Armenia is also included.

[The political economy of carbon pricing design between economic efficiency and political realities: A case study of the European Union Emissions Trading System \(ETS\)](#)

Lookman Issa

Carbon pricing as a climate policy has been gaining traction around the world due to its ability to offer a cost-effective carbon emissions abatement. The EU ETS since its adoption in 2005, has played a huge role in the reduction of carbon emissions on the continent. Hence, it is a flagship European climate policy. This paper aims to give a comprehensive account of the development of the EU ETS and also an account of the observable interaction between politics and economics in its design. It further highlights the political economy constraints in the policy design by providing a discussion on the politics of emissions allocation. The account creates a full picture of how competing vested interests and political forces have shaped the policy design, thus pinpointing a case of regulatory capture. It concludes with insightful thoughts on how to improve the EU ETS in relative to these policy-design challenges.

Building Intergroup trust through personal transfers: A field experiment in post-war Liberia

Sekou Jabateh

The erosion of intergroup relations in war-torn societies has important consequences, leading to harmful behaviors ranging from outgroup avoidance to discrimination to physical attacks. Urgent policy responses are required to overturn these patterns. In this project, we offer a novel approach. We theorize that a fundamental mechanism that underlies cooperation across individuals and groups is positive reciprocity. Ethnic wars disrupt mechanisms of intergroup reciprocal trust by making individuals wary and suspicious of outgroup members, reinforcing patterns of intergroup prejudice and discrimination. Thus, we hypothesize that interventions that aim at shaping people's beliefs about the cooperative preferences of outgroup members are likely to be effective at building trust and cooperation across members of opposed ethnic groups in postwar settings. For this purpose, we design and evaluate the effectiveness of a novel kind of intervention in reducing group-based prejudice in postwar Liberia: inter-ethnic personal transfers. i.e., cash transfers between individuals of different ethnic groups.

Ethnic Diversity and War-time Violence: A Quantitative Disaggregated Study of Liberia

Sekou Jabateh

While various country-level studies imply more proneness to violence in diverse countries, we cannot tell much about the "where" of violence as it remains mostly untested whether conflict occurs in the homogeneous or heterogeneous parts of diverse countries. This research contributes to filling that gap by examining the effect of subnational ethnic diversity on the escalation of war-time violence. Drawing on ACLED's comprehensive political violence dataset and original pre-civil war ethnic composition data collected during fieldwork in Liberia, I explore local-level determinants of war-time violence. Using clans or the third-level administrative subdivisions of Liberia as units of analysis, I test the potential effect of variations in subnational ethnic diversity on the escalation of war-time violence within the Liberian civil war. I control for population size and density, distance to Monrovia and diamond mines, and distance from neighboring conflict and border areas. I find no statistically significant effect of ethnic diversity on the escalation of violence at the subnational level. My findings suggest revisiting the evidence of existing literature that links ethnic heterogeneity to a high likelihood of violence.

The Greens (WA)- from little things a party grows

Stewart Jackson

The formation of Green parties in Europe is a well documented phenomena. While a hallmark of Green parties is the key principles 'The Four Pillars', as adopted by the German Greens in 1979, there is limited commonality as to how new Green parties form. Emergence might be from a series of extra-parliamentary groups, a collection of environmental NGOs, a founding meeting of individuals, or even a splinter from an established party. While the Australian Greens formed from a merger of state and local parties in 1992, the Greens (WA) formed from the merger of four separate groups and parties in 1990 and did not join nationally until 2003. Two of the GWA groups ran candidates at the 1989 state election, a third formed around a group of forest activists, and the fourth was the party vehicle of Senator Jo Vallentine. Each had different reasons for joining together, though all agreed on

the importance of the Four Pillars. What was it, then, that kept the party apart from the Australian Greens, and what influence did the formation story of the Greens (WA) have in respects of stymieing the drive to creating a single Green party across Australian until 2003?

The Global Greens: cooperation, consolidation or dead end?

Stewart Jackson

The Global Greens were formed in 2001, in Canberra Australia, under the auspices of the Australian Greens (still not yet a full national party), and bringing together parties and environmental organisations from around the world. In 2023 the Global Greens held their 5th Congress in Incheon, South Korea, following on from Congresses in Sao Paolo (2007), Dhaka (2012) and Liverpool (2017). In this time Green parties have grown in most European countries, with a number seeing Green parties entering Government as coalition partners. Yet globally Greens appear to have stagnated, with only a few isolated examples of success. If the Global Greens was to herald in an age of cooperation, and potentially of consolidation on a global scale, what have been the tangible successes for Greens on this post-national scale? Is the Green party revolution a truly global political project? Alternatively, is it just an extension of the European project, a dead-end in a post-colonial and post-ideological world?

Unpacking power in democratic innovations: A synthetic review of how power is shared in Australian local governments

Anne Nygaard Jedzini

This article examines how power is shared between politicians and citizens in democratic innovations in Australian local governments. The sharing of power is relevant and important in today's fractured political environment. Yet the idea is contested because it challenges the premise of representative politics. Politicians in Australian local governments, however, are not new to involving members of the public in experimental ways to influence public policy. For more than 20 years, Australia has been trialling democratic innovations to increase trust and legitimacy in political decisions. Despite the successes of democratic innovations, they continue to lack binding decision-making power. In the face of this frustration, there are calls to give decision-making power back to the public. But convincing politicians to relinquish decision-making power is difficult. And removing politicians altogether would overlook the importance of government regulation to make public good outcomes. Coercive power is a necessity for a well-functioning democracy. The research has thus traditionally been on how to mitigate coercive power in democratic innovations. Drawing on a synthetic review of democratic innovations in 34 Australian local governments, I argue focus should instead be on how politicians can share deliberative power with citizens to increase the legitimacy of coercive power.

Reconstruction amidst conflict

Matt Jones

War has devastated parts of Ukraine since the commencement of Russia's Special Military Operation in February 2022. At the time of writing this proposal, about a third of Ukraine including Crimea remains contested through Russian control. Longer range weapon systems along with the use of drones have brought varying levels of destruction to parts of Ukrainian territory along with impact on

cities from which Russian ground forces withdrew following their unsuccessful advance in 2022. The outcome of conflict is unknown, except to note the optimism many hold for the Ukrainian summer offensive to regain a sizeable amount of territory. Reconstruction must be ambitious in both planning and execution for renewal of infrastructure, cities and economic activity. Beyond trite slogans such as 'build back better', what are the challenges emerging from the uncertainty of crisis for Ukraine and the international community as attention turns to the complexity of reconstruction? As the largest reconstruction project since the end of the Second World War, issues of governance relating to anti-corruption measures, decentralisation and digitisation will be considered along with needs for citizen wellbeing, smart cities and industry. Research will draw from the Korea-Ukraine New Development Association recently launched at Hanyang University.

Feminist Scholarship and the Resistance of Mainstream Political Science

Jim Jose

Women political scientists have increased their presence significantly as authors within political science scholarship, and within the political science discipline more generally. Yet for many feminist political scientists, mainstream political science continues to be resistant to incorporating the insights of feminist scholarship. This raises at least two inter-related questions: (1) are feminist political scientists correct in asserting that mainstream political science is resistant to feminist scholarship?, and (2) to what extent has feminist scholarship been incorporated into mainstream political science? This paper pursues answers to those questions through an analysis of mainstream political science discourse in six key journals: the American Journal of Political Science, the American Political Science Review, the Australian Journal of Political Science, the Canadian Journal of Political Science, the International Political Science Review, and Political Studies between 1980 and 2020. These are flagship journals for their respective professional political studies/science associations and as such they can stand as proxies for mainstream political science discourse. The results of that analysis indicate that about 6.5% of the 10,114 articles published by these six journals over that forty-one year period incorporated insights from feminist scholarship. The answers to the two questions above are respectively, 'yes', and 'not very much'.

The Iran-Saudi Arabia Deal Brokered by China: Motivations and Implications

Niranjan Jose

The unexpected signing of a joint trilateral statement between Iran, Saudi Arabia, and China in March 2023 marked a significant development in regional politics. Beyond the oversimplified sectarian lens, it addresses intricate facets like security imperatives, leadership aspirations, and the evolving American role. China's entry as a guarantor reflects a calculated pursuit of regional influence through economic alignments. Iran seeks to leverage China's growing influence in the region to counterbalance the United States and de-Americanize the Gulf's security architecture. Saudi Arabia, on the other hand, aims to improve its security by curbing Houthi attacks and achieving a resolution in the war in Yemen, while also ensuring a stable regional environment for its ambitious Vision 2030 transformation. The paper highlights the shifting landscape in the Middle East towards multipolarity and examines the potential implications. It also explores the challenges and prospects for long-term cooperation on security matters between Iran and Saudi Arabia. While the deal signifies a positive step towards regional stability, the paper acknowledges the need for sustained commitment and cooperation.

The Unpublished Story of Labour Super-Exploitation

Flavia Julius

In June 2023, the Economist published an article titled: 'Why are Latin American workers so strikingly unproductive?'. In its heading, the magazine labelled Latin America 'A land of useless workers'. After public backlash and accusations of racism, the editor replaced the adjective, altering it to 'A land of frustrated workers'. The piece's ideological explanation referred to an excess of oligopolies, a shadow economy, corruption, too many social handouts and not enough investment in education. This paper, through a Marxist Dependency Theory approach, challenges the Economist's assumptions. It postulates that Latin American workers have never been 'useless' or 'frustrated', but instead, they have been constantly super-exploited by capitalism and the international division of labour. By focussing on Brazil, and Marini's 'Dialectics of Dependency', I argue that dependent economies and super-exploited workers are a necessary condition of capitalism; the liberal/neoliberal, 'democratic' system led by the Global North has consistently disrupted paths of improvement for Latin American workers. I provide three historic-empirical examples: the consequences of 1964's entrepreneurial/military coup, supported by the US and the UK; the impact on workers of corruption inquiry Operation Car Wash (2014), supported by the US; and status quo disapproval of successful welfare programs such as Bolsa Família.

From Coercion to Coalition: Decoding Masculinities in Fiji's Political Arena

Romitesh Kant

This article investigates Fiji's complex masculinities and the transition from an authoritarian military regime to a coalition-led democracy. The 2006 military coup established an authoritarian framework, prompting the military-backed state to write a constitution. The regime became FijiFirst, winning the 2014 and 2018 elections. The analysis is three-dimensional. It first examines how masculinities supported the military-backed regime's authority and ideas. It analyses how masculinities as symbolic images strengthened the military ruler's influence. Second, the investigation shows masculine symbolism's political coercion. Research into masculinity as a display of state power during military administration shows how this sociocultural construct consolidated power. Finally, the 2022 elections examine the sea change, where a coalition of opposition parties narrowly defeated FijiFirst. These parties co-opted or challenged masculine tropes to gain public support and lead the transition to democracy. The discourse shows how using masculinities as symbols can further political polarisation, cultural disputes, and strong social reactions. Examining the Fijian political landscape highlights masculinities' dynamic and compelling influence in the undulations of political power. The ultimate aim is to promote a more nuanced understanding of the sway masculinities hold in sculpting Fiji's modern political climate.

Transformations and Dynamics of the Welfare State based on social policy by other means: Japan and Australia in Comparative Perspective

Masatoshi Kato

This study analyzes the development of welfare states and their political backgrounds in the context of Japan and Australia. In comparative welfare state research, the postwar welfare models in both countries are considered to be residual welfare states. This image becomes clear and reasonable if

we focus on the institutional features and scale of social expenditure. However, if we consider "social protection by other means" (Castles, 1989), "functional equivalents" (Estevez-Abe, 2008), or "welfare through work" (Miura, 2012), we find a different reality. Thus, both countries provide social protection by employment security and maintenance, but their policy options were dissimilar. While Australia used the protective measures such as tariff wall and high wage policy, Japan used public works, subsidiary, and industrial protection, and promoted competition within the industrial sector. These differences resulted in the diverse pattern of welfare state reform. Australia faced the crisis of the postwar model in the 1970s; additionally, the Labor government implemented radical reforms in the 1980s. However, they also protected social and labor market policy from market mechanisms. Following this, the Coalition government introduced neoliberal reforms. In the 2000s, the Labor government stopped this trend and introduced new measures such as "social inclusion." In contrast with Australia, Japan experienced stable growth in the 1980s and faced the crisis of the postwar model in the 1990s. After several twists and turns, the LDP government began promoting the neoliberal policy reforms from the 2000s. Thus, the timing and sequence of introducing the neoliberal reforms are different for both countries. This study analyzes why (and how) Japan and Australia adopt different policy options in varied timings and for similar problems through case studies or a qualitative approach. First, we clarify the similarities and differences of postwar welfare models in Japan and Australia, which we have defined as "the Welfare State based on social policy by other means". Second, we analyze the divergence from 'the Welfare State based on social policy by other means' by focusing on political factors such as interest, institution, and ideas. In other words, we clarify the political dynamism of these countries. Finally, we consider the theoretical implications of these case studies.

[Towards building the new mechanism of conflict resolution: the limits of judicial system on social conflict in case of the State-owned Isahaya Bay Reclamation Project](#)
Masatoshi Kato

This paper analyzes the merits and limits of the judicial system as a conflict resolution mechanism. The judicial system is considered to be the most reasonable and reliable mechanism of conflict resolution in modern society. There is no doubt that it works well in many cases. However, in the case of the social conflict in Isahaya City, the courts have been unable to resolve the conflict, actually aggravating the problem. The social conflict in Isahaya stemmed from the state-run Isahaya Bay reclamation project. After intense discussions, the project was initiated in 1989 and completed in 2007. However, prior to completion, some fishermen took the state to court to stop the project. According to them, the reclamation project affected their catches of fish. After a trial in the high court, the fishermen won. That is, the state was ordered to open a floodgate. Consequently, some farmers of the reclaimed land filed a countersuit to stop the gate from being opened. According to them, if the state opened the gate, farming on the reclaimed land would be damaged terribly. After a trial in the lower court, the farmers won and the state was ordered to keep the gate closed. In short, there were contradictory judicial decisions on the same project. Why was the judicial system ineffective? And, how do we resolve it? Based on process tracing, interviews, and questionnaire surveys, this paper shows that the judicial system could not resolve the complex social conflict. While it focused on the legal aspects of the conflict, the stakeholders asserted the social aspects, such as their own identity. Therefore, in such cases, if the judicial system issues a decision, the concerned stakeholders might not be satisfied. Finally, this study implies that we should create a new conflict resolution system in modern society, and the theories of deliberative democracy and consensus building provide some insights.

Does ideology of Indian leaders influence Indian foreign policy decision-making?

Marilyn Kwan Kharkongor

Several factors influence the foreign policy of a nation. Traditional approaches focus on the systemic structures when aiming to understand foreign policy in India. What has been taken into consideration is the personality of a leader to influence decision-making, while the influence of 'ideas' on leaders is left out of foreign policy decisions. The germination of 'ideas' found in the postcolonial identity of India. With change in leadership, the question that emerges is whether foreign policy decision-making in India is determined only by systemic factors with leaders executing them or whether the ideology of leaders also play a role and shift the direction of foreign policy? This paper seeks to analyse how ideology that emerged since India's national movement by its leaders set the stage for the influence of 'ideas' on Indian foreign policy through Indian leaders as they took office as Prime Ministers.

Renaissance in US-Australia relations? What will cooperation in the critical technologies and biotech sectors mean for the future of the alliance?

Nina Markovic Khaze

This paper argues that the current phase of Australia's post-Cold War relationship with the United States can be classified as 'a renaissance period'. It investigates three main contributing factors: ever closer relations in the defence sector, the rise of China as a major technological player in the world, and an amplified cooperation between Washington and Canberra in the critical technologies and biotech sectors. Covid-19 pandemic brought in high levels of global protectionism and Australia's isolation from the rest of the world. Interestingly, border closures accelerated Australia's need to facilitate technological and biotech transfers of technology from the US using the whole-of-statecraft approach. This paper will offer comments on future trends in US-Australia's ties using illustrative case studies from the critical technologies and biotech sectors. Lessons from this study will aim to inform researchers studying the political-economic nuances of the 'renaissance' in Washington-Canberra axis when China's relations with the West are souring. The last question which this paper seeks to answer is whether Australia will increase its dependency on the United States of America in those sectors in the medium-term future, and how this trend might impact on Australia's pursuit of independent foreign policy in the region and globally.

Australia's relationship with Europe since AUKUS: factors for continuity and change

Nina Markovic Khaze

Australia, the United States of America and United Kingdom officially announced a new security agreement known as "AUKUS" in September 2021. However, officials from these three nations were tirelessly working on that project for a long time. This paper argues that AUKUS arrangement had an almost immediate detrimental impact on Australia's bilateral relationship with the European Union (EU) and multilateralism in Australia's foreign policy. The author will employ research methods from comparative politics and foreign policy analysis in order to test this hypothesis. Primary case studies will include: firstly, the ongoing and seemingly deadlocked Australia-EU Free Trade Agreement negotiations, secondly, Australia's relationship with France, and thirdly, Australia's relationship with smaller European states. This paper will also include an 18-month long analysis of foreign press and government statements in order to evaluate perceptions about Australia's foreign policy since 2021

in selected European countries. It will conclude with scholarly observations about possible future directions of Australia's foreign policy towards Europe, and the EU in particular as a multilateral entity which has assumed a secondary position in recent years in Australia's foreign policy calculus - despite the official signals pointing in the opposite direction.

[A Road to Alliance? China's International Military Cooperation](#)

Jiye Kim

Is China securing allies? Is China's military cooperation evidence that China is gaining allies? This paper analyzes the quantitative and qualitative changes in China's military cooperation to answer this question. The Chinese government criticizes other countries' alliance policies as remnants of the Cold War and denies its own alliance policies as well. This paper aims to present the following background factors of the Chinese government's official approach towards alliance formation. First, such an approach makes sense as political rhetoric (opposition to the US hegemonic order); second, negative perceptions of alliances lead to efforts to establish China's own security framework (e.g., New Security Concept, New Asian Security Concept, Global Security Initiative); and third, it is China's geostrategy to overcome its geopolitical limitations. This paper explores whether these background factors can explain the quantitative and qualitative development of China's military cooperation. Furthermore, it examines whether these three factors restrain China from moving forward in securing military allies. The policy implications of this study are that when examining the risks and opportunities that China's military cooperation poses to its neighbors, it is important to consider the practical implications of the Chinese government's anti-alliance attitudes.

[Reshaping the Boundaries of Strategic Narratives: The Reconstruction of The History of War in China-Russia Alignment](#)

Alexander Korolev and Fengshi Wu

While China and Russia have steadily enhanced their strategic alignment, the 'burdens of history' - discrepancies between each country's interpretations of some pivotal periods of their bilateral history - continue to undermine further alignment. However, this study shows that the two states have started systematically fostering new common grounds on historical issues that potentially could overcome the shadows of old controversies. Specifically, the history China-Russia joint participation in the World War II and their joint contribution to the global victory over German Nazism and Japanese militarism has recently been presented in a new light to further consolidate the bilateral alignment and strengthen the legitimacy of both political regimes. Using content analysis of Chinese and Russian sources as well as fieldtrip interviews, this study uncovers the Chinese and Russian state-led reconstruction of the two countries' common history in WWII. It demonstrates how the leadership and state affiliated epistemic communities in both countries use retrospective analysis to give WWII history new meanings and understanding that work for the Chinese and Russian domestic political contexts, mutual trust building, and the enhancement of China-Russia strategic cooperation. This study reconsiders the debate about trust in China-Russia relations and the role of ideational factors in international relations.

[Who trusts who in Australia? A quantitative analysis using HILDA and AES data](#)

Michael Kumove

Almost uniquely among advanced democracies, political trust in Australia has declined markedly since 2007. Previous research has suggested that political trust affects social trust, which implies that a decline in political trust should also yield a decline in social trust. Has Australia therefore experienced a decline in social trust as this theory predicts? I first analyse nationally-representative HILDA panel data with over 20,000 unique respondents, and find no evidence of an aggregate-level decline in either generalised or neighbourhood trust since 2007. This implies that Australian social trust is independent of political trust, but a subsequent analysis of Australian Election Study data indicates that political and social trust are in fact strongly linked at the individual level. I conclude the paper by offering some explanations for this apparent paradox, such as the possibility that a small negative effect on social trust is offset by other factors, or that selection effects yielded differences between the HILDA and AES surveys.

Forests and sustainability: navigating landscape transitions

James Langston and Rebecca Riggs

Forests are central to contested sustainability discourses and initiatives that are influenced by complex societal demands. Powerful institutions that fail to reconcile these contested discourses and keep pace with rising complexity and change, resemble 'procrustean beds' that degrade forest landscapes. Place-based collaborative research and learning initiatives, described here as 'learning landscapes', offer an under-explored approach to addressing diversifying goals for forest landscapes. Values, agency, political economy, innovation, and knowledge shape the sustainability fitness of forest institutions. Landscapes provide a boundary space where people and their organizations can attempt to build more inclusive, sustainable, and resilient institutions. We consider the case of an exchange hub aiming to improve the public discourse on forestry in Canada. We examine its change agency in reference to its attempts to set a more inclusive process by which forests are valued, how forestry is judged and operates. We reflect on the contributions of learning landscapes to knowledge generation, experiential learning, and institutional development, and discuss implications for steering decision-making in locally driven sustainability transitions.

International Cooperation and Joint Response for Space Asset Protection

Sung-hoon Lee

This study systematically classifies space asset threats and analyzes recent policy trends in major countries related to space asset protection. It derives information sharing and international cooperation measures for joint response to the threat of space assets. Threats to space assets can be divided into intentional threats and unintentional risks. Intentional threats include ASATs and kinetic energy attacks, while unintentional risks include space debris and solar wind. Major countries' policies on the protection of space assets emphasize the need for a responsible action-based approach in space and transparency & reliability. However, they maintain a passive attitude toward the adoption of international laws and norms that directly deal with space asset threats. In order to jointly respond to the space asset threats, first, efforts by the United Nations and international organizations to protect the outer space and conclude a space disarmament agreement need to be strengthened. Second, bilateral and multilateral cooperation between countries should be strengthened to protect space assets.

Mapping the Influences of the PRC and Taiwan in Kuching: Who are the Local Chinese?

Yun Seh Lee

In recent decades, the People's Republic of China government has been enthusiastically spreading its influence in Southeast Asia through government-to-government and people-to-people connections; and at the same, the government is competition from the Republic of China government (or better known as Taiwan). Both governments are putting efforts to win the hearts and minds of the local Chinese communities residing in the region. This paper first aims to map the PRC and Taiwan influences - hereafter the Chinese influences - with the focus on the P2P connection (non-governmental) at the local/subnational level through a case study of Malaysia's Kuching City. The second part analyses the responses of local Chinese community, through the lens of selected community groups and professions: businesspersons, members of Chinese literary association, teachers (both public and private schools), and a younger generation are responding towards the two governments in term of culture and identity. Is there a pro-PRC group or a Taiwan equivalent and/or a neutral viewpoint towards supporting a clear local culture and identity? To what extent are these Chinese influences (both the PRC and Taiwan) shaping the local Chinese identities today?

From measuring performance to governing by measurement

Jenny M Lewis

New Public Management (NPM - the application of corporate management and market ideas to the public sector) was accompanied by an explosion of performance measurement, which is imbued with organisational politics and the use of power. This paper examines performance measurement and its use for many purposes, including governance. It provides an analysis of the political ideas that underpin the NPM - assumed bureaucratic inefficiency and the rise of neo-liberalism, bolstered by public choice theory - and the key instruments, methods and tools that are associated with it. An examination of performance measurement's purposes based on reviewing the literature, is supplemented by interviews with senior public administrators in Australia, Canada, and the UK. The interviewees were key measurement decision-makers and steerers of the application of measures in the higher education and health policy sectors. Some important purposes of performance measurement, based on this analysis, relate to control, steering, the use of power, holding to account, and signifying measurement's importance. The measurement for governance, and governing by measurement, suggested by this research, points to an expansion and conceptual stretching of performance measurement. It also raises new questions about the limits of performance measurement and the risks it poses to public services and the role of the state.

Public Justification and Citizenship Education: A Rawlsian Framework

Jimmy Lim

This paper aims to gain a deeper understanding of public justification and its place in citizenship education. It reinterprets Rawlsian public justification as something that involves the empathetic power to place oneself in the shoes of those to whom one disagrees with while evaluating the normativity of law. Following Stephen Darwall, I characterize this power as the power to take up the second-person standpoint in moral reasoning. This is a more accurate reading than that given by Rawls's critics. On this interpretation, what makes justification as a mode of reasoning 'public' is not a situation where everyone gathers in some outdoor space to debate with one another (which would

make justification an actual, historical, event), but the presence of an implied addressee (which makes justification a normative, second-personal, concept). Citizens may pursue public justification collectively, in a raucous townhall, or intra-personally, without ever participating in face-to-face debates. I argue that reconceiving public justification as second-personal justification liberates us from liberal and idealized conceptions of public justification. For public justification (as I understand Rawls) can take place not just in hierarchical societies where empathy is valued, but in the classroom, small enough where everyone can participate in debates over constitutional essentials.

Life Plans of Temporary Migrants: Justice, Expediency, and other Virtues

Matthew Lister

In their important recent book, *The Right not to Stay*, Ottonelli and Torresi argue that liberal states have obligations of justice to “accommodate” the life plans of temporary migrants, and that “the same considerations that hold for citizens in respect [to their being bearers of life-plans] should also hold for immigrants.” In this paper I give reason to doubt this, and argue that, while considerations of justice place considerable constraints on the structure which temporary migration programs may take, the obligations of justice in this area towards temporary migrants are significantly less than that suggested by Ottonelli and Torresi. However, I will argue that many of the of the goods that Ottonelli and Torresi argue are found in liberal principles of justice are better thought of as being located in expediency and efficiency of policy design, and in duties other than justice, such as generosity or mercy. Properly locating these matters can, I’ll claim, better help us understand how to build desirable systems of temporary migration.

Beijing's Wedge Strategies and the Fragility of US Alliances in Asia: The Case of Sino-ROK Relations from Moon to Yoon

Minran Liu and Jingdong Yuan

This paper addresses one critical yet under-researched issue in the current debates and analyses of China's rise and its challenge to US primacy in Asia and regional balance of power, and renewed US efforts in strengthening alliances and expanding security partnerships. However, much less attention has been paid to how China uses wedge strategies to undermine and weaken these arrangements. Nor is the assumption that US allies and security partners are committed to balancing (let alone containing) against China seriously questioned. We examine Beijing's wedge strategies in the case of Sino-ROK relations during the Moon and Yoon administrations and assess both the efficacy and limitation of China's divide and conquer tactics. The paper focuses on two areas: the geopolitics of THAAD deployment and the geo-economics of the semi-conductor sector. We assess whether Chinese approaches serve to undermine or strengthen US-ROK alliance relationships and the implications for US-China relations in the post-pandemic era.

Democracy and Crisis: Has Covid 19 Pandemic Challenged Democracy?

Tilani Sugandika Liyanage

Covid 19 pandemic is the worst-ever health crisis in the recent past. Crises have resulted in a decline in democracy throughout history. Similarly, the Covid 19 pandemic curtailed citizens' fundamental democratic rights to different degrees in countries worldwide. However, some researchers reveal

that lockdowns have increased the trust in ruling parties and satisfaction with democracy. Thus, there is a need to analyze how this health pandemic impacted democracy, whether it is positive or negative. The central objective of this paper is to investigate the impact of covid 19 pandemic on democratic governance. A comparative analysis between the USA and the UK against India and Indonesia is carried out. The results show that irrespective of the democratic status or economic strength, all the countries have experienced a certain level of decline in democracy during the pandemic. It is also revealed that the infringement of media freedom is the most common form of democratic violation. Further, autocracies or electoral democracies tend to violate democratic rights more than liberal democracies. However, the resistance from citizens has challenged and fought against democratic violations. Though covid 19 has threatened democracy worldwide, it could be short-term. The long-term effects can effectively be managed by empowering citizens.

Hereditary Democracy in Latin America

James Loxton

This paper examines the phenomenon of “hereditary democracy,” or the phenomenon whereby the children, spouses, or other close family members of politicians are themselves elected to high office. As of June 2023, at least nine of the world’s democracies have heads of government whose fathers or husbands were heads of government before them, including Canada, Estonia, and Greece. Yet while it is a global phenomenon, it has been especially prevalent in Latin America: since World War II, approximately half of all countries in the region have elected a president whose father or husband was president before him/her, including Argentina, Bolivia, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Ecuador, Honduras, Panama, Peru, and Uruguay. Why, when given the option of voting for anyone they like, do voters so often resort to the dynastic principle? What are the consequences for democracy? This paper presents new data on hereditary democracy in Latin America and develops an original framework for the analysis of this ubiquitous but understudied phenomenon.

Manoeuvring the South China Sea Dispute through the Turbulence: A Comparison of the Philippines' and Vietnam's Policy Behaviours

Nguyen Phuong Ly

This paper explains the variations in the Philippines' and Vietnam's policies vis-à-vis China on the South China Sea from 2019 to mid-2023. Each state shares an enormous power imbalance compared to China and an uncertain geopolitical landscape that is characterised by the Covid-19 pandemic and the heightened U.S.-China competition. However, the Philippines oscillated between accommodation and confrontation, whereas Vietnam adopted a moderate position throughout. Employing neoclassical realism, this paper attributes this contrast to unit-level factors, namely the two states' divergent views of China and the United States, and their distinct domestic dynamics. Specifically, the Philippines lacked a longstanding distrust of China and had positive expectations of its alliance with the United States. In contrast, Vietnam was preoccupied with deep-rooted suspicion and fear of China and felt mistrust of power politics. Such ideational differences, which had stemmed from their distinct historical experiences, defined the varying degree to which each country accommodated to China or balanced with the United States against China's growing assertiveness in the maritime realm. Besides, the Philippines' personality-driven foreign policymaking was more conducive to dramatic shifts in position on the South China Sea issue vis-à-vis China, compared to Vietnam's collective decision-making process, which promoted relative consistency.

Struggle for International Discourse Power: How China's 'Wolf Warrior Diplomacy' Prevails and Backfires

Bo Ma

Existing research on China's Wolf Warrior Diplomacy largely omits what the purpose of these Wolf Warrior Diplomacy or diplomats aim to achieve, except for arguing they are following President Xi's direct order to 'daring to fight' and have 'fighting spirits.' We argue that one should not understand Chinese diplomats' wolf warrior behaviors by taking the meaning of 'daring to fight' or 'fighting spirits' but by understanding the phenomena through strategy, not just tactics, which is gaining international discourse power through every channel possible, which is consistent the theory of influence as power in IR studies. WWD is just one of the lenses to observe China's boarder campaign of gaining IDP, the purpose is to expand Chinese influence globally. Even by this standard, we argue that WWD expends China's diplomatic influence aboard, although not necessary in a positive way. This article first analyzes the debates of how to treat WWD among Chinese elites, from divergence to convergence. Following that, the second part analyze the broader campaign of gaining international discourse power, which symbolizes China's new foreign policy trend of gaining influence after rising, finally trumps the old style of conducting diplomacy. The third part identifies mechanism guiding the campaign of gaining IDP, focusing on how Xi's calling for 'fighting spirit' has influenced the style changes of Chinese diplomats, which is directly attributed to the WWD. Finally, this article evaluates the mixed impacts on China's international images by summing up Western overwhelming criticism of WWD, which is backfiring, but China's images among developing countries have been strengthening.

Caretaker Governments, Public Policy, and Public Administration

Zsuzsa Magyar and Anthony M. Bertelli

Whose interests are represented when the electoral link between the government and the people is severed? We show that caretaker governments do not simply guard the status quo, and we redefine their roles in shaping political competition. Caretaker governments are authorized when a government fails until a new one can form. They last for weeks, or even months if a lengthy coalition bargaining takes place. Scholars frequently define caretaker governments in terms of what they (supposedly) do not do—change the status quo or legislate. However, there is little systematic evidence for this claim. We challenge this definition by connecting the duration, composition and constitutional constraints on caretaker governments with data on their policy outputs and roll call data (in cases when there was a legislature in place) in three European parliamentary democracies: Italy, Spain, and Belgium. We find that during shorter caretaker periods legislative activities serve the interests of outgoing government parties, while in longer periods, they support those of incoming government parties. In the former case, caretaker governments legislate though decrees (that are later frequently repealed), while in times when the newly elected legislature is in place, potential junior coalition partners receive policies from their potential senior coalition partner(s).

Back in the Black: Narratives of Debt and the Surplus Obsession in Australian Federal Politics

Henry Maher

The problem of government debt and the perceived necessity of a return to budget surplus has featured prominently in Australian political discourse in the previous decade. This paper asks how have the major political parties in Australia talked about government debt, and what have been the effects of these narratives. I analyse a corpus of political speeches consisting of the Treasurer's Budget Speech and Opposition Leader's Budget Reply Speech from 2013-2023, supplemented by 133 instances of Prime Ministerial rhetoric relating to debt drawn from Hansard. My corpus demonstrates repeated partisan conflict over which party is responsible for the growth in government debt, but I also find a broad consensus on three principles - the need to maintain spending on essential government services, an imperative to reduce, or at the very least not increase, taxation, and the necessity of eliminating the budget deficit and government debt more broadly. Highlighting that these three principles are internally contradictory, I suggest the Liberal-National party government was ultimately unable to develop a successful narrative that reconciled the perceived danger of government debt with the reality of repeated deficits, a loss of coherency reflected in opinion polling data relating to perceptions of economic competency.

Neoliberalism and the Far Right: Convergences in times of crisis

Harry Maher

Neoliberalism and the far right have traditionally been theorised as antagonists, with many understanding the contemporary resurgence of the far right as a reaction against decades of neoliberal globalisation. However, more recent scholarship has pointed to the significant points of overlap between neoliberalism and the far right, suggesting that we are witnessing a convergence of the two most evident in figures such as Donald Trump and Viktor Orbán. This paper explores the convergence of neoliberalism and the far right in the context of Australia, examining the covid crisis as a political and discursive event that strengthened pre-existing linkages between neoliberal and far right political actors. My analysis focuses on three neoliberal-aligned thinktanks, the Institute for Public Affairs, the Centre for Independent Studies, and the Australian Taxpayers Association. Through a critical discourse analysis of the public output of the three thinktanks, I demonstrate that the language and ideas of the far right were widely apparent in their accounts of the covid crisis. In particular, the thinktank's various narratives of the crisis were influenced by a far-right conspiratorial focus on nefarious hidden elites, and a socio-cultural conservatism manifesting in an opposition to diversity and multiculturalism, and a defence of traditional gender roles.

Trying to improve conduct in the Australian federal parliament

Maria Maley

In 2021 the Australian federal parliament launched a dramatic process of institutional change when its leaders committed to implementing all 28 recommendations of the Human Rights Commission Report 'Set the Standard' (known as the Jenkins Review). The federal parliament had long resisted calls to independently regulate conduct and lagged behind other Westminster parliaments in addressing sexual and sexist misconduct by establishing rules and systems. The events of 2021 represent a critical juncture, when there is a loss of faith in current institutional arrangements and new institutional structures are created. The new institutions comprise both rules and enforcement architecture. This paper compares the trajectory of reform in Australia with that in the UK, New Zealand and Canada. It asks why major change was sparked in 2021 in Australia and how Australia's response to the problem of misconduct is distinct from reforms other Westminster nations.

Assessing the relationship between party family type and campaign finance

Rob Manwaring, Narelle Miragliotta and Josh Holloway

The effect of party family type on the modus operandi of parties is well established in the literature. Party family type has been found to shape organisational format, policy preferences, recruitment strategies and personnel. Less is known, however, about how party family type shapes party campaign finance strategies. In this paper we construct and compare the campaign finance revenue profiles of four party family types – social democratic, conservative, agrarian and green. Drawing on exemplar parties from Australia, we find that there are distinctive approaches to finance that can be traced to party family type even if, over time, convergences in finance strategies emerge.

Policy analysis of psilocybin rescheduling in Australia

Erica Margovsky

This paper analyses the obstacles that were overcome on the path towards psilocybin reclassification from a prohibited to a therapeutic substance in Australia in February 2023. I review 30 newspaper articles from Australian online news publications and analyse them for identified problems, solutions, and the identity of those quoted before and after the Therapeutic Goods Administration's 2023 reclassification. I find that the reinterpretation and accessibility of solutions play a major role in policy changes around psilocybin in Australia. Moreover, the data collected from this sample illustrates the influence of a key policy entrepreneur - psychedelic-therapy advocacy group, Mind Medicine Australia - and a media landscape that charts the impact of salience and incremental shift in attitudes surrounding psilocybin. This case is important because it represents a first-of-its-kind adoption of a rescheduling regime for psilocybin as a medicinal substance in the world. The policy subsystem being analysed is Australian drug reform, specifically relating to psilocybin-assisted therapy. I utilise John Kingdon's Multiple Streams Theory (MST) of converging problem, politics, and policy as a framework. In all, this paper explores how the above obstacles lead to a missed discretionary policy window, but were rectified, resulting in a landmark policy change.

Social Media, First Nations and Dominant Narratives

Friedel Marquardt

2023 is being marked as the year for the long-awaited and sought-after referendum to recognise First Nations in the Australian Constitution and establish a First Nations Voice to Parliament. There has been a lot of debate and discussion around this in many spaces, including social media. This conference presentation considers the role social media plays in engaging with narratives around First Nations movements and whether users consider it as a space to effectively engage in discussion around those issues. Drawing on interviews conducted and stories shared by First Nations and non-Indigenous social media users (as well as non-users) in Australia, this paper will present preliminary findings about the benefits and drawbacks of social media to engage with, challenge and distribute narratives around First Nations issues online, and whether social media should be considered a space for listening to gain a greater understanding about First Nations matters. (It is acknowledged that the referendum is likely to have taken place prior to the APSA conference in November 2023, and that this abstract was written before then).

Understanding citizen's views towards different types of policy making

Aaron Martin and Kyle Peyton

While policy makers draw on different types of evidence to inform decision making relatively little is known about citizen's attitudes towards this. This paper will report results from a survey experiment conducted in Australia on citizen's attitudes towards different types of policy making, including the use of experiments as a basis for making public policy decisions.

Malapportionment at Play: Evidence from a Quasi-Experimental Design

Ferran Martinez i Coma

Research on electoral systems has highlighted the importance of malapportionment. However, the empirical evidence on this topic in regard to proportional representation systems is generally limited. To estimate the effect of malapportionment, then, malapportionment must be isolated from the other variables affecting the relationship between a party's vote share and its share of the seats in a district, namely the electoral system and party size. In this research note we fill this gap by employing a quasi-experimental design to study Spain's lower house elections over the 1977–2019 period. Performing a cross-sectional analysis of 77 seven-seat districts with one half being overrepresented and the other half underrepresented, as well as a time-series cross-sectional analysis of 21 districts with constant magnitude over the period, we find that the bonus granted to the winning party increases (decreases) as the overrepresentation of the district increases (decreases). The implications of these findings are academic, institutional, and electoral.

Russia and the Politics of Climate Change: climate obstruction in a time of crisis

Ellie Martus

The paper contributes to a growing literature which seeks to understand the political and institutional dynamics of climate politics in one of the world's largest fossil-fuel exporters and producers. Russia's use of fossil fuel revenues to fund its war in Ukraine have huge implications for global climate politics. Concerns about energy security in the face of a hostile actor such as Russia threaten global cooperation on climate change. This paper explores how policy decisions are made within Russia. It will examine the domestic politics of climate change in Russia by focusing on the intra-organizational struggle over climate policy within the government. Drawing on the literature on climate obstruction, it aims to understand the power of networks of business and government actors to influence the policy process and resist policy change, and how they have changed over time. To do this, the project examines a series of policy contests which have shaped the direction of Russia's climate politics since the mid-1990s.

Australians reactions to the Rohingya crisis: opinion-media-policy dynamics

Eyal Mayroz

This paper focuses on a little studied topic: mutual influences between media reporting, public attitudes and Australian governments' policy responses to distant atrocities. To begin to unpack these dynamics, the paper pits Australian news coverage and public reactions to the plight of

Myanmar's Rohingya between 2016 and 2017 against Australia's government engagement with the crisis. Themes explored include the scope of bipartisan concord over responses to the crisis between Australia's two main parties, Labor and Liberals, and the likely impact of such an accord on media coverage and public attention to the events. Also examined is Australia's little-challenged decision to break ranks with its traditional allies, Canada, the UK and the US by maintaining cooperation (including military) with Myanmar's Junta. The question is raised whether primary focus on the side effects or outcomes of the violence (i.e., refugee flows, humanitarian assistance needs) had inhibited public discussions of more collaborative direct approaches Australia could take to stop the violence itself.

Nationalist Populism's Transnational Advocacy Networks

Duncan McDonnell

While nationalist populist parties once used to shun one another internationally, they now increasingly parade their affinities. Their connections may be informal and fleeting, like Nigel Farage speaking at Donald Trump's campaign rallies in 2016 and 2020 or Italy's Matteo Salvini exchanging friendly tweets with Brazilian president Jair Bolsonaro. But they are also increasingly formal and lasting, as shown by alliances between nationalist populist parties across Europe, and by the links the latter have established with likeminded parties and leaders in countries such as Australia, Brazil, India, and the United States. In this paper, I argue that some of the more recent forms of national populist international cooperation can be understood as "transnational advocacy networks". While International Relations scholarship has tended to consider nationalism as a factor impeding the establishment of such networks and sees them as primarily relevant to progressive causes such as human rights, the environment, and Indigenous issues, the events of the past decade call these beliefs into question. I illustrate my argument in the paper by drawing on interviews with nationalist populist senior party and youth wing leaders from the United States and Europe about the origin and purpose of their international connections.

The impact of Workforce Australia on frontline delivery: a new frontier or old wine in new skin?

Michael McGann, Mark Considine, Jenny M. Lewis, Phuc Nguyen, Sarah Ball and Corey Carter

For decades, Australia's welfare-to-work system has been periodically subjected to intense waves of reform. This includes four major system redesigns: Job Network, Job Services Australia, Jobactive and now Workforce Australia - perhaps the most significant overhaul since full competitive tendering in 1998. To address continuing concerns about the low success the system has had until now in supporting the very long-term unemployed, WA involves moving to a dualized system where 40% of participants will self-service online while those with complex barriers receive 'enhanced services' from contracted providers. It is hoped there will be smaller caseloads under Workforce Australia and that this will afford providers greater flexibility to work with jobseekers in a more holistic and intensive way compared to the standardised 'work-first' approach that has previously been common. Our previous research suggests Australia's welfare-to-work market is highly path dependent in terms of working with jobseekers (Considine et al. 2020). This paper draws on data from the latest survey of Australia's frontline employment services, conducted in mid-2023 and involving staff from over 20 different providers, to examine the extent to which frontline practice has changed under Workforce Australia. Is there evidence of a transition away from the model of high-volume 'work-first' activation

delivered by staff with limited access to professional skills, a prominent feature of the previous three reform waves? Or is WA likely to be 'old wine in new bottles' despite the significant transition costs involved for government, providers, and jobseekers?

Procuring welfare-to-work markets: the politics and costs of change?

Michael McGann

The delivery of social services has become increasingly subject to the logic of market competition, as exemplified by Australia's employment services system—the largest area of Commonwealth procurement outside defence. The rationale behind quasi-marketisation is that the dynamics of competition and choice can be harnessed to achieve services of higher-quality and lower-cost compared with monopolistic state provision. However, this requires quasi-markets to be frequently opened to competition so that alternative providers can challenge incumbents. This leads to an 'inescapable' problem of transaction costs in quasi-markets (Bredgaard & Larsen, 2008); each episode of procurement brings considerable expense for governments, service providers (who sink resources into bidding), and service-users (who face discontinuity). The costs of procurement rarely receive attention in research on quasi-markets. This study addresses this, drawing on Senate estimates hearings and interviews with senior managers from 10 agencies that bid for Workforce Australia contracts. Workforce Australia was a major shake up of Australia's welfare-to-work market. Not a single incumbent won contracts in 11 out of 51 regions while remaining providers often lost their home regions but won new contracts elsewhere. A key aim of the reform was for employment services to develop closer links with employers, communities, and flanking services. However, providers' history of local embeddedness and working with communities appears to have been discounted in favour of widescale disruption. But whether turning over providers can produce substantive changes in frontline practice is unclear when data suggests that new entrants may simply take over the premises and staff of previous providers (with their established ways of working). This may partly explain why despite repeated episodes of re-procurement, path dependency appears to be deeply engrained in Australia's welfare-to-work market (Considine et al. 2020).

Understanding Power Asymmetry in Externalisation Practices: A Conceptual Map of Domination

Jemima McKenna

The engagement of third-states within externalisation policy has emerged as a popular asylum governance approach with destination states of the Global North. Existing literature frequently diagnoses these bilateral agreements as asymmetrical in nature or 'neocolonial', without articulating the precise nature of this power imbalance. This paper proposes that domination comprises a compelling theoretical framework for making sense of alleged power inequality within externalisation. Whilst normative theoretical accounts of domination generate useful insights, they suffer from analytical paralysis and don't provide analytical tools for diagnosis of domination within a practice. This paper argues that a critical theoretical account of domination within externalisation mitigates this paralysis and facilitates the application of domination theory to a concrete practice. A conceptual map of domination within externalisation is developed, which identifies the conceptual elements of domination and operationalises them into functional dimensions for empirical study of the practice. This research thus contributes a roadmap for investigation of whether domination is

implicated in the nexus of practices that comprise externalisation and whether relations between third-states and destination states can be defined as asymmetrical.

Civil-Military-Police Coordination in Health Emergencies

Natalie McLean and Wayne Snell

The Australian Civil-Military Centre (ACMC) conducted a three-nation comparative examination of civil-military-police coordination during national responses to COVID-19 in Australia, New Zealand, and the United States (U.S.). This research identifies novel factors that influence coordination during COVID-19 responses, effective coordination practices from each nation, and recommendations for future public health emergencies. Despite identifying, some novel factors, overall, this study found that coordination during national responses to COVID-19 shares more similarities than differences with geographic or sector bounded crisis responses. This is because the importance of pre-established relationships, employing the best suited people to work in diverse teams, and civil-military-police teaming emerged as key factors of effective coordination.

Outsourcing State Violence: The Case of Australia & Private Military and Security Companies

Natalie McLean

The arrival of Private Military and Security Companies (PMSCs) as participants in the international security forum has become the source of much debate in security circles. In the last two decades, states have increasingly incorporated PMSCs in their security functions, both domestically and internationally, suggesting a fundamental challenge to the nation states monopoly on violence. Using an inductive qualitative methodology, this thesis explores outsourcing of violence by the Australian state and its sovereign responsibilities concerning its use of PMSCs. It argues that despite multiple platforms and legislative mechanisms to hold PMSCs to account for misuse of force, Australian oversight and accountability is not enforced. The study finds current regulatory mechanisms concerning Australian PMSC are not able to be met due to the fracturing of responsibility and accountability through outsourcing. Thus, the Australian government's ability to provide control over the actions of PMSCs is diminished by design, affecting its civil-military relationship with responsibility over violence.

When domestic migration policy contradicts the foreign policy relationship: criminal deportations to Pacific Island states and the shifting of blame

Henrietta McNeill

Australia describes Pacific Island states as the 'Pacific Family', indicating a series of relationships, obligations and expectations (Wallis, 2021). In all relationships, we have to accept responsibility for our actions and their consequences. Following criminal deportations to Pacific states from Australia, New Zealand and the US, there is often a local perception of threat to peace, law and order, and security, from potential new types of criminality that deported people 'bring' with them through the deportation corridor (Drotbohm & Hasselberg, 2015; Peutz, 2010). Instead of seeing deported people as the threat though, Pacific Island leaders are increasingly blaming the deporting state where the individual has spent most of their life and 'learnt' their criminality: disaggregating the

threat of criminality and shifting the blame. In the Pacific region, Australia as a deporting state provides little social or financial support to receiving states following deportation, fundamentally misunderstanding the relationality of Pacific cultures within the 'Family': that relationships have to be nurtured, maintained and repaired if harmed (Koro et al, 2023). Pacific states are using their agency to re-shape the relationship, even with a much larger traditional partner.

Immigration as Ur-crisis: Climate, Covid-19, and Housing in the Australian Far-Right

Jordan McSwiney and Kurt Sengul

This paper examines how immigration structures the articulation of crises in the discourse of Australian far-right party Pauline Hanson's One Nation (PHON). The instrumentalisation and performance of crisis is central to the far right's discourse. However, whether it is the climate, Covid-19, or housing affordability, the way these crises are articulated (and whether they are deemed "real" crises at all) occurs through the lens of immigration. Through a critical discourse analysis of PHON speeches to parliament and policy documentation, we argue that immigration is the Ur-crisis for Australia's far right. Situating our analysis in historical and geographical context, we further examine the way in which Australian legacies of white supremacy, dispossession, and geographical isolation shape the articulation of immigration as an Ur-crisis in ways unique to the Australian context when compared to the western European far-right parties.

Ethnic Mobilization and Political Dynamics in Afghanistan's Shifting Landscape

Akanksha Meena

The diverse ethnic composition remains one of the defining features of Afghanistan's social structures and political landscape. The ethnic identity has been sharpened by the long cycles of war, migration, and civil conflicts in the country. Pashtuns, Tajiks, Uzbeks, and Hazaras form the major ethnic groups in the country along with various sub-nationalities and ethnicities like Turkmens, Nuristanis, Aimaq, Baloch, and others. The roots of instability and violence in Afghanistan can also be traced back to its ethnic discord apart from foreign interventions. Ethnicity has been a key factor in the overall strategy for Afghanistan's political reconstruction from the rule of Amir Abd Ur Rahman to the Taliban takeover in 2021. Over time, leaders of various ethnic communities have deployed ethno-nationalist narratives, cultural symbols, and historical grievances in mobilizing ethnic support. This paper explores the interplay between ethnic groups, their mobilization strategies, and the resulting political dynamics in Afghanistan. It analyses the historical context of ethnic relations, tracing their origins to the country's diverse cultural, linguistic, and religious backgrounds. It examines the evolving landscape of ethnic mobilization and political dynamics in the aftermath of the Taliban takeover. It investigates the impact of external actors in influencing and exploiting ethnic dynamics for their strategic interests in Afghanistan.

Resurgent Taliban: Assessing Impact on Tajikistan and Uzbekistan

Akanksha Meena

Taliban has come back to power in Afghanistan after a gap of twenty years on August 15, 2021. Afghanistan shares a border of 1360.7 km with Tajikistan and 145 km with Uzbekistan. The porous nature of borders gives rise to the threat of drug trafficking and terrorist organisations in Afghanistan

with links in Central Asia such as the Islamic State Khorasan Province. As a result, the Central Asian Republics have reinforced their frontier areas and are keen to prevent massive refugee flows and militant movements across their frontiers. Tajikistan and Uzbekistan have been actively dealing with the aftermath of political crises in Afghanistan. Tajikistan is vehemently opposed to a Taliban-only administration. Uzbekistan, on the other hand, is cautious about how the Taliban views it as the country anticipates potential political, economic, and security cooperation. This paper would provide an assessment of the regional dynamics in light of the Taliban's resurgence and its implications for the neighbouring republics of Tajikistan and Uzbekistan. The paper would also explain the political and security impact of the Taliban takeover on Tajikistan and Uzbekistan and their response toward political change. It would explore the historical context of these relationships and delves into the ideological, economic, and strategic factors that shape the dynamics between the Taliban and the neighbouring republics.

Affective Economies of Armed Conflict

Sara Meger

Much of the existing IR analyses on civil war applies a rationalist framework to understand the push/pull factors that drive actors to violence, particularly at the meso-level of inter-group dynamics within a country. Less attention has been paid to both the individual-level and irrational drivers of conflict. Countering the prevailing assumptions of international politics as dictated by rational self-interest, scholars of the 'affective turn' have sought to show the various ways that interests can only truly be understood through an analysis of subjective, emotional responses to stimuli. This paper draws on theories of affect to supplement feminist analyses of militarism in order to understand evaluative attachments to militarism as an object of desire. This analysis is situated within a broader discussion of the politics of affective economies. By exploring these dynamics within the 'exceptional' politics of war, this paper argues that affect provides the conceptual basis on which the material acts of political violence are made 'rational.' The case study of Ukraine is used to explore dynamics of the material-ideational nexus that have been less explored in the growing literature on emotions in international relations.

Gaslighting Australia: The Instrumental Power of Australia's Mining and Energy Industries

John Mikler and Imogen Ryan

Australia has been harshly criticised for inaction on climate change. Recent Australian governments have adopted an adversarial position to counter the criticism. Yet Australia is in an enviable position to make the transition to renewables necessary to address climate change. How has Australia come to be in this position? We demonstrate that it was not through inaction, but proactive government support for the interests of the mining and energy industries. Applying a three faces of power framework, we demonstrate that it is primarily due to the relations these industries have with government. We show that it is not their structural power due to controlling underlying economic relations that explains their power. It is their ability to command public subsidies and policy support. The resulting discourse around their economic benefits, propounded by both government and the industries themselves, has served as a 'smokescreen' to maintain the status quo. We conclude that far from being too big to fail, it is more accurate to say that instrumental power has been successfully

applied to produce policy protections and 'rivers of gold' in public funding, which are the real source of their structural power and resulting discourse of their indispensability.

Resilience and Adaptation: Exploring Strategies for Societal Recovery and Transformation in the Post-Crisis Complexities

Abraham Ename Minko

The concept of resilience and adaptation has gained significant attention in recent years, particularly in the context of post-crisis complexities. As societies face various challenges such as economic recessions, natural disasters, and global pandemics, there is a growing recognition of the need for strategies that facilitate societal recovery and transformation. This abstract explores the key themes and strategies associated with resilience and adaptation in the post-crisis context. It highlights the importance of understanding the complexities and interdependencies of social, economic, and environmental systems to effectively navigate and respond to crises.

Populist Publics, 'The People' & Visual Technologies in the 2021 Capitol Riots

Benjamin Moffitt

This paper uses the 2021 Capitol Riots as a revelatory case for theorizing about changing modes of representation and mediation of 'the people' under populism. While it has previously been theorized that only the populist leader can represent 'the people', this article argues that widespread advances in visual technologies have turned the tables, and allowed collective subjects under populism to represent themselves – something that was evident in the Capitol Riots. Drawing together literatures on populism and visual politics, it specifically examines the way 'populist publics' play an agential role in turning themselves into 'the people' via visual representation; explains the technological developments behind this shift; considers the role of audiences and immediacy in these representations; and sets out these mechanisms in the case of 2021 Capitol Riots. Overall, the paper puts visibility at the core of understanding how populist representations of 'the people' operate in contemporary politics.

The Neoreactionary Wave: Ontological Insecurity and the Fifth Wave of Global Terrorism

Todd Morley

For many scholars and practitioners, the 'wave' model of terrorism proposed by David Rapoport has come to be understood as the default historical description of modern terrorist movements. While not claiming to be holistic, Rapoport's wave structure outlines four distinct historical moments in global terrorism defined by key characteristics of ideology, tactics, and geographic distribution. Common understandings of the emerging fifth wave focus on the rise of far-right extremism in western liberal democracies, but this position does little to account for the growing ideological eclecticism present in modern lone actor terrorism. This article argues that a critical, defining feature of an emerging fifth wave - if legibility can even be applied to the current moment - concerns growing conditions of ontological insecurity brought about by intensifying effects of globalisation, neoliberal economic logics, and technology and the corresponding violent reactions these are engendering.

Agenda Setting, Framing and Wage Theft in Australia

Jim Murphy, Emily Foley and Katie Lovelock

Over the past decade the problem of wage theft has burst onto the Australian policymaking scene, seemingly out of nowhere. Its meteoric rise, from unrecognised issue to the broad public agenda, then onto the narrower governmental and decision agendas of state and federal governments, was a major feat in policy advocacy and strategic communication. It stands as a particularly outstanding example of the power of framing to alter issue salience. By charting the rise and contestation of wage theft as an issue in the media and the Australian parliament, this research deepens our understanding of advocacy groups and the role framing plays in their policy interventions. We shed new light on the effects a frame has on a policy battle, including previously unexplored organisational and rhetorical effects. Our work renders more clearly the state of the evolving art of policy advocacy, and in so doing bring fresh new theoretical concepts into policy advocacy and interest group scholarship. This paper will share two years of work by a team of early career researchers at both Melbourne and La Trobe Universities.

Governing the Global City's Mandarinate: Politically Motivated Appointments in Singapore's Public Sector

Assel Mussagulova and George Wong Boon Keng

Singapore's civil service has been lauded as one of the successful case studies in the world. The emphasis on meritocracy, or recruiting the best and brightest, has been the hallmark of Singapore's governance, which saw it topping governance effectiveness rankings. This principle remains a guiding philosophy for the dominant People's Action Party (PAP) which has governed Singapore since 1959. Political analysts often attributed 'the Singapore miracle' to its corruption-free, highly professional, technocratic government which has Singaporeans' best interests at heart. Despite its success, certain segments of Singapore's civil service still bear the institutional and cultural vestiges of politically motivated appointments, defined here as the process of selecting individuals into non-elected posts in the public sector by political actors through power and discretion. In this chapter, we examine two contemporary segments. Firstly, we analyse the institutional process of selecting top public servants in Singapore, showing how political considerations are factored into these appointments. Secondly, using the case of the People's Association, we explore the 'public service' face of para-political organisations and demonstrate how appointments and politics of urban governance are intertwined. Drawing on these examples, we trace the institutional and cultural dimensions of Singapore's politically motivated appointments in public service to its roots in governing postcolonial and developmentalist realities, as well as political exigencies. By experimenting with, institutionalising and condoning patronage appointment processes within the public sector, Singapore's case offers us insights on how political interests and concerns persist in spite of the progress in public governance, as well as on the role of elite networks and political regime-making in shaping public sector opportunities.

Mapping Ecological Conditions Against Violent Extremism and Conflict in the Central Sahel

Sascha Nanlohy, Katren Rogers and Thomas Morgan

The Sahel has become increasingly more violent over the past 16 years, with terrorism deaths rising by over two thousand per cent between 2007 and 2022. In 2022, Burkina Faso and Mali accounted for 73 per cent of terrorism deaths in the Sahel and 52 per cent of deaths in sub-Saharan Africa. The crisis is rooted in poor governance, corruption and intercommunal conflict that has been augmented by transnational jihadist terror groups and global geopolitics. These problems have been magnified by ecological threats from the climate crisis exacerbating conflict conditions in areas with significant weather fluctuations. This paper considers the intersection of conflict, terrorism and ecological threats as compounding threats to peace and stability in the central Sahel and presents new data that illustrates the challenges facing the Central Sahel.

Perceptions of UNDP and UNEP on the Role of private finance in biodiversity conservation

Dharana Nepal

The Kunming Montreal Global Biodiversity Framework (GBF) highlights that an estimated USD 700 billion per year of additional finance is needed in developing countries to address the problem of biodiversity loss. The United Nations Development Program (UNDP) and the United Nations Environment Program (UNEP) primarily have the mandate of supporting the Global South countries to meet conservation goals. Leveraging private finance has emerged as a panacea to achieving ambitious conservation goals within multilateral and global forums. However, the academic literature lacks insights into the complexities of translating GBF targets of attracting substantial new private conservation finance into practice. This research utilizes Institutional Logic as the theoretical framework to understand the expectations, challenges, and limitations of implementing the conservation finance targets from the lens of two critical agencies in global environmental governance, UNEP and UNDP. Discourse analysis of grey literature, interviews, and case study analysis from Asia will be used to understand the nuances of leveraging private finance in developing and transitioning economies. The findings of this research will be useful to bridge the critical policy-academic gap on GBF implementation, and more importantly, to assess the feasibility of solutions that global forums are relying on for tackling the biodiversity loss crisis.

Considering anticipatory governance, when managing the environmental impacts of climate change.

Maxine Newlands

This paper contends that there is an urgent need for Australia's current environmental governance systems to transition away from adaptive to anticipatory governance models, if we are to adjust to the impacts of climate change and other local stressors (urban development, extraction industry etc). Currently, Australia's environmental regulation and policy landscape is not wholly fit for purpose. Drawing on original data from several ecosystem restoration and environmental management projects, this paper will explore how anticipatory governance is a more appropriate model in a complex multi-actor system, using the example of climate change impacts on the Great Barrier Reef. The current adaptive regulatory model, neither provides the means to fully integrate Indigenous knowledges - which are at the core of Indigenous environmental management, culture, identity, and livelihoods; nor novel and unique scientific interventions and technologies (e.g., cloud brightening; assisted gene flow). Further, the paper will show why anticipatory governance is more suited to inclusive environmental policy design from multiple lines of evidence, to provide a more holistic basis

for environmental decision support systems. This paper concludes by highlighting the benefits and challenges of anticipatory approach for policy design and future regulation if we are to prevent greater loss of biodiversity.

Far-Right Violence: Security Studies on the Settler Colony

Katherine Newman

This paper examines how security studies literature analysis of far-right violence in contexts that could be classified as settler colonial such as Australia, the United States, Canada and New Zealand. This paper argues that security studies have failed to address the intimate relationship between far-right violence and settler colonialism as constitutive of white supremacist violence. While there has been growing academic attention within security studies on far-right violence, it is usually analysed in the frameworks of radicalisation, counterterrorism, or Countering Violent Extremism (CVE) policies. This paper intervenes in security studies by integrating settler colonialism and race as analytical lens for exploration of far right violence. In doing so, this paper demonstrates the necessity of the settler colonial perspective in understanding how 'security' and security environment is constructed and reconstructed in settler colonial contexts.

The silent majority within: expressive epistemic justice and integrating complexity

Simon Niemeyer

Appeals to an unspecified silent majority are common in Australian political discourse, most commonly among populist political actors. Such arguments tend to claim there is a reservoir of public opinion that fails to find proper political expression—for example due to domination of public debate by forces that seek to suppress particular voices. Putting aside questions of veracity of such claims, they imply that there is a widely held concern or aspiration that is not adequately “discursively” represented, suggesting political outcomes that fail to realise the wider public interest. Drawing on the concept of expressive epistemic justice the paper seeks to challenge the simple idea of majoritarian claims in any form as inadequate for accommodating issue complexity. Expressive Epistemic Injustice (EEI) results when the totality of opinions held by individuals fails to be adequately integrated into expressed preferences—formed on the basis of a narrow judgements to the exclusion of relevant considerations, even where individuals agree on their importance in principle. The result is a “silent majority within”, where a more complex self fails to find expression. The paper outlines the theoretical basis of EEI, grounded in the theory of deliberative reason. The mechanisms contributing to EEI are illustrated by drawing on its empirical counterpart to deliberative reason in the form of the Deliberative Reason Index (DRI). The mechanisms that produce EEI, including the impact of populist rhetoric, and potential remedies are briefly outlined, followed by a discussion of the implications for accommodating complexity in public reason.

Principles of a Good Parliamentary Exit: Towards a Normative Theory

Zim Nwokora, Peter Ferguson and Amy Nethery

Parliamentary career exit -- the way in which elected representatives depart the legislature, either voluntarily or involuntarily - can result in disadvantage or harm to the individuals involved. It generates incentives that shape the attractiveness of a political career, and it shapes popular views

about the legitimacy of political elites and institutions. Yet, despite its importance, parliamentary exit has received little attention in research on the design of political career structures. Seeking to address this gap, this article develops a framework to evaluate parliamentary exit in terms of its fit with the values of representative democracy. The framework develops the argument that the exit process sits at the intersection of competing normative principles and practical considerations, and it identifies several models that represent different solutions to these dilemmas. We make the case for one model in particular, in which the exit process is tailored to parliamentarians' varying circumstances, and it is integrated with procedures in domains such as lobbying and conflict of interest to ensure that the rules in these areas do not work at cross purposes. We apply the framework empirically with case studies of the parliamentary exit process in British Columbia (Canada), Victoria (Australia) and the United Kingdom.

Thematic overview: Research Handbook on Public Management and COVID-19

Janine O'Flynn and Sophie Yates

The global pandemic reshaped the lives of people worldwide and has also challenged the field of public management. In our forthcoming Research Handbook on Public Management and COVID-19 (Edward Elgar, edited by Dickinson, Yates, O'Flynn and Smith), authors from around the world have explored a range of important topics and questions, bringing to the forefront critical public management issues. Here we draw on these contributions to focus on six cross-cutting themes that position us to think about the future of the field: the implications of operating in a world increasingly marked by volatility, uncertainty, complexity, and ambiguity (VUCA); central trade-offs and tensions raised by governing during the pandemic; what the pandemic has revealed about government capacity; who is talking and who is listened to during the pandemic era; entrenched disadvantage revealed and exacerbated by COVID-19; and temporality and our ability to plan for protracted crises. We argue that the pandemic offers an opportunity for the field of public management to reflect and reorient.

Comparative Study of the Normative Frameworks on North and South Korean Space Development and Space Security

Ilseok Oh

This study examines the space development programs of South Korea and North Korea, and address the implications of these programs for regional security in Northeast Asia. The two Koreas have taken different approaches to space development, with South Korea focusing on space launch vehicles and satellites, while North Korea has intertwined its space program with its nuclear pursuits. South Korea's Space Development Promotion Act primarily focuses on outlining the development of space launch vehicles and satellites, as well as supporting private space initiatives, without explicitly addressing space security concerns. In contrast, North Korea's Space Development Act, regulating space program, has been linked to the development of the nuclear program including ICBMs. Furthermore, it grants North Korea the authority to engage in space security activities, such as space reconnaissance and surveillance. To bolster space security, South Korea has made amendments to the "National Intelligence Service Act", empowering the National Intelligence Services (NIS) to gather and disseminate space security information, including details pertaining to satellite assets.

Diplomacy and Nuclear Disorder: Revising Strategies and Challenges in Preventing Global Catastrophe

Victoria Orlova

The paper examines the indispensable role of diplomacy in preventing nuclear war, promoting peacebuilding and enhancing global security. By assessing multiple risks of geopolitical instability and nuclear threats, the author explores the potential of both traditional and unconventional diplomacy, engaging influential political and business actors, public campaigns, and informal diplomatic channels. The research evaluates various diplomatic strategies and practices capable of mitigating nuclear risks and establishing frameworks for strategic communication, negotiation, and confidence-building among nuclear-armed states. Furthermore, the author investigates the extreme challenges for diplomacy, including geopolitical complexities and sudden shifts, unpredictable behaviour of world leaders and non-state actors, the necessity to cope with multiple global emergencies simultaneously, and disruptive processes in political and diplomatic communication caused by misleading or incomplete information and growing distrust among nations. Analysing specific cases of nuclear threats, involving political discourse, official policies, media coverage, and public campaigns, the paper assesses the dynamics, outcomes and perspectives of diplomatic measures and deterrence strategies. Based on empirical evidence, the study provides insights into complex interactions between various groups of actors and decision-making processes in terms of geopolitical entropy and uncertainty.

Examining Gender Equality in the Crosshairs: Using Feminist Institutionalism to unveiling the Authoritarian-Populist Nexus and its Impact on Civil Society and International Norms

Renee O'Shanassy

In the context of cascading and multiple crisis, a concerning trend towards authoritarianism and populism is evident. Increasingly these actors are ugly bedfellows with misogyny, driving pushback on gender equality (for example Cupac & Ebeturk 2021, Sandler & Goetz 2020). In this paper, I argue that that the pushback on gender equality at international institutions and restrictions on civil society are features of this swing, challenging the ongoing contribution of civil society to international norm setting and maintenance. I uniquely seek to draw the disciplines of Feminist Institutionalism (FI) and international relations closer to analyse these trends. Using the central insights of FI, that formal and informal institutions are gendered (Mackay 2011), I argue that progress on the gender equality project, in international relations, is incomplete and remains open to interference due to unresolved gendered relations. I argue that the insights offered in relation to formal and informal institutions by FI, can be applied to civil society, sitting betwixt these modalities (for example, Waylen 2017). By transporting to multilevel governance, feminist institutionalism's ability to animate gendered power relations in institutions and provide policy insight, I argue could deepen calls for reform, including to structurally protect the voice of civil society.

The Intercommunal Relations in Cyprus after the COVID-19 Pandemic: Towards a Fait Accompli Policy?

Przemyslaw Osiewicz and Joanna Rak (co-author)

The COVID-19 pandemic has hit many regions, including the Eastern Mediterranean. It has profoundly affected Cypriot communities and caused political, economic, and social consequences. This paper aims to investigate the relationship between the pandemic threat on the island and decisions made by the Greek and Turkish Cypriot administrations. What aspects and to what extent has the pandemic affected relations between the two Cypriot communities? How have these changes influenced the bilateral dialogue and political decisions made by the Greek and Turkish Cypriot administrations? Was the pandemic conducive to developing cooperation, or does it extend existing divisions? The author argues a relationship between the emergence of the pandemic and the re-isolation of both Cypriot communities, which is one of its consequences, and the initiatives to resolve the Cypriot conflict by sanctioning the existence of two independent states. Such a change is noticeable, especially within the Turkish Cypriot community, owing to the presidential election, the government crisis, and interference by Turkish authorities.

Chinese peacebuilding in practice: Myanmar as a case study

Xuwan Ouyang

China's emerging roles in peacebuilding have sparked debate among scholars and practitioners both within and outside China. Scholars have contributed to a body of literature to describe and assess the motivation, substance and implication of Chinese peacebuilding. They identify that there is a supposed Chinese peace approach that emphasizes economic development, stability and state sovereignty. However, existing literature heavily relies on history and official discourse, with little in-depth and evidence-based analysis of how supposed Chinese peace approach is practiced in relations to contestation among Chinese actors and with local actors. Drawing on insights from state transformation theory, documental analysis and interviews with scholars, officials, business representatives, and civil society organizations, this thesis analyses how 'Chinese peace' is translated and implemented by various actors with competing interests in three pillars of Chinese peace and conflict engagement in Myanmar---infrastructure projects, political mediation and capability building program. It questions whether various Chinese actors implement a particular Chinese approach to peacebuilding, provides evidence-based analysis of why and how China has been pulled into playing a growing peacebuilding role, and assesses the varying impacts of Chinese peace activities on peace and security in Myanmar. This analysis contributes to debates on China's peacebuilding approach in the context of China's rise and its potential challenge to existing liberal norms and practices.

The Politics of the Plague: Narrative and Humanism

Octaviano Padovese

In this presentation, I aim to highlight the lack of a political institution of narrative (or storyteller) that currently engulfs us (2022) and prevents us from truly grasping the tragedy at hand. In my hunch, science and universities have lost the ability to evoke emotions and create liberating experiences. How can we address the plague of this century? The narrative surrounding COVID has been unsatisfactory, given its profound dimension of tragedy. The way we narrate the plague is crucial to the processes of grief and mourning, as well as to effectively consider the politics of suffering. Through proper narration, we can uncover the humanitarian element that has been concealed due to how capitalism manages suffering and desire. In 2022, Samuel Weber published a book on this topic, but unfortunately, it did not have the necessary impact. In ""Preexisting Conditions: Recounting the Plague,"" Weber uses literature to demonstrate how the act of narrating

allows individuals to reassess their relationships with others. To sum up, I will discuss political theory as a form of narrative, drawing on the lessons derived from Weber's book.

How does globalization affect democratic accountability: Relative Economic voting, Approval, and Globalization

Brandon Beomseob Park

In contrast to conventional wisdom, this study explores how globalization has strengthened the connection between the economy and executive approval, thereby enhancing electoral accountability through increased access to information. Before the era of globalization, ordinary citizens faced challenges in assessing domestic economic conditions comparatively, as they had limited exposure to information about other countries' economic performance. However, with the advent of globalization, media coverage has become an excellent source for making these comparisons. By analyzing media-guided comparisons from 29 countries since the 1980s, the study shows that relative economic performance significantly influences citizens' political support, especially in economies highly integrated into the world market. This research sheds light on the evolving dynamics between globalization, economic factors, and political behavior, providing valuable insights into the implications for democratic accountability.

Gendered Xenophobia: Explaining the attitudes toward female immigrants in Japan and South Korea

Jieun Park

The persistent discrimination against female immigrants in Japan and South Korea raises questions, particularly in the context of immigration being a crucial policy agenda to address labor shortages and low birth rates. It is even more puzzling that the natives' attitudes toward immigrants, in general, have improved dramatically in the last few years in both countries. I propose a new theoretical concept called gendered xenophobia, drawing on the literature on gender studies and immigration attitudes. Using this theoretical framework, I argue that female immigrants face heightened hostility due to their perceived lower economic value than male immigrants. Furthermore, elite discourses play a crucial role in shaping and reinforcing gendered xenophobia. To test my argument, I use original surveys, text analysis, archival materials, and in-depth interviews. This research advances knowledge of gender inequalities and immigration attitudes and offer important insights into understanding the sources of anti-immigrant attitudes and their implications for policy.

Loved or Hated? Educated Bias and Attitudes Toward Asian Immigrants in the U.S. and Australia

Jieun Park

Are Asians welcomed as immigrants? This study examines Asian-specific attitudes in the U.S. and Australia, focusing on the role of education. Previous research on education's influence on diversity preference falls short in explaining attitudes toward different immigrant groups. Analyzing nineteen surveys/polls and two original surveys, this study finds that higher levels of education do not necessarily translate to support for all immigrant groups but rather selective support for those seen as more economically beneficial such as Asian immigrants. It also finds that Australians' preference is

reinforced by emphasizing the economic benefit of immigration, while Americans' preference is bolstered by highlighting the economic burden. The main findings align with prior research, including the group-specific attitudes hypothesis and the political-economic approach to understanding immigration attitudes. This research has significant implications for immigration policies and immigrant incorporation, as well as for addressing the unique challenges arising in the post-pandemic era.

Parliamentary Delimitation: Emerging Crisis of Political Representation in India

Pankaj Kumar Patel

India's dramatic demographic change caused by varying inter-state fertility levels has altered the balance of power among states. The task of delimitation has been delayed by 50 years (since 1972) of the freeze; since then, several constitutional amendments have refrained from increasing or reallocating parliamentary seats across states based on population. It has created a hefty representation ratio in the country. On average, a parliamentarian represents 2.5 million people. These anomalies have harmed the principle of equality of votes. The value of voters' votes in thickly populated constituencies becomes less than that of thinly populated constituencies. To ensure equal political representation, reallocating seats in Parliament must be done. This study focuses on the technical requirements and challenges of delimitation of constituencies and traces the impact that its aberrations may have on the concept of equal representation. It strives to capture the narrative of the delimitation exercise in India in the context of politics and legal developments. It debunks the casual justification provided for the freeze. It suggests a comprehensive engagement with the questions the issue generates to reform the irregularities of representation. This study has used statistical methods to build a delimitation framework using census and electoral data.

How Rhetoric Maintains or Breaks Friendship: A Comparison of Australian and New Zealand Rhetoric Toward China

Lucy Pedrana

Australian and New Zealand (NZ) governments have employed different rhetoric towards China. Applying identity theory, this paper asserts the different rhetoric has projected different identities of Australia (adversary) and NZ (neutral bystander) to China. China has then learned these identities and mirrored these identities, with China applying economic sanctions to Australian exports and suspending diplomatic negotiations while continuing high level diplomatic relations with NZ and upgrading economic ties. This paper will demonstrate this argument by, firstly, comparing Australia and NZ to demonstrate that these states are largely similar and suitable for comparative analysis. Secondly, demonstrates that the difference in Australia and NZ policy towards China is rhetoric, not substantive policy. Thirdly, will apply identity theory to explain why this difference in rhetoric is important as it constructs different relationships and identities between actors. Fourthly, will demonstrate that Australia's critical rhetoric to China has created a shared understanding that the relationship is adversarial and the identities are foes. In contrast, NZ's neutral rhetoric to China has fostered a neutral relationship with China.

Analysing the Impact of COVID on LGBTQ+ Social Capital in New South Wales

Chris Pepin-Neff

Lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and queer (LGBTQ+) spaces have been central to community building and social capital for decades. This article asks, how did the COVID pandemic impact institutions contributing to LGBTQ+ social capital in New South Wales? This article addresses the nature of social capital in LGBTQ+ spaces in three ways. First, it locates LGBTQ+ bars, non-profit organisations, sex clubs, newspapers, and other LGBTQ+ spaces within the broader social capital literature. Second, it proposes a model of LGBTQ+ social capital where political investment is crucial. Lastly, it provides new data through a content analysis of Facebook and media stories regarding the opening and closing of 56 LGBTQ+ social venues in New South Wales. We find that LGBTQ+ community resilience supported LGBTQ+ businesses post-COVID, and government investment helped sustain the LGBTQ+ community and preserve social capital. However, there were also geographic effects where those in the city benefitted more than those in the regions.

Aboriginal self-determination and recognition in the Whitlam era: laying groundwork for power sharing and representation through the First Nations Voice

Diana Perche

The Whitlam government (1972-1975) is remembered for ushering in a new era in Indigenous affairs, with the move to 'self-determination', abandoning the longstanding insistence on 'assimilation'. The new government intended to deploy the Commonwealth's new legislative power established in the 1967 constitutional referendum to bring in a range of reforms, responding to consistent demands from Indigenous leaders, activists and supporters through the previous decade. Whitlam's campaign speech promised anti-discrimination legislation, provisions to allow Aboriginal communities to incorporate, and legislation of a system of land tenure. The incoming government also proposed to set up 'conciliation procedures to promote understanding and cooperation between Aboriginal and other Australians'. The government faced considerable political obstacles, ultimately curbing the ambitious reform agenda. Nevertheless, these initial efforts to conceptualise representation, recognition and compensation laid important foundations for the current public debate about 'Voice, Treaty, Truth', following the Uluru Statement from the Heart. This paper will explore self-determination through the path-breaking work of the Woodward Aboriginal Land Rights Commission and the establishment of well-resourced land councils as authoritative and legitimate representatives of Aboriginal people in the Northern Territory. The Whitlam government's willingness to experiment with power sharing in the sensitive area of land ownership provides a valuable prototype for genuine engagement with First Nations people through the Voice today.

The framings of U.S presidential climate change narratives and their gendered and racial logics

Sian Perry

Anthropogenic climate change compounds existing social inequalities within society. The simplistic representation of gendered and racial vulnerability has been frequently criticised by scholars however, who argue that climate change is a process entwined with colonial, capitalist exploitation that exacerbates existing patriarchal, racist and unequal class structures. Scholars have also maintained that the knowledges and resilience of diverse peoples are often ignored within international climate bodies and national governments, to the detriment of the communities most at risk of climate change. In recent years presidential leaders of the United States of America have presented themselves as both advocates for progressive action on climate change as well as staunch

denialists. This paper examines the narratives produced by Bill Clinton, George W. Bush, Barack Obama, Donald Trump and Joe Biden (1993-2022) to understand how logics of gender and race have functioned within U.S climate change discourse through time. I argue that gendered and racial logics underscore how climate change has been framed as an issue of security, the economy and of justice, and these framings work to both expand and limit the possibilities for in(action).

"Let's not be afraid to sort them out": Australian representations of the Regional Assistance Mission to Solomon Islands

Georgia Peters

The Regional Assistance Mission to Solomon Islands (RAMSI) was an Australian-led and largely Australian-funded deployment of troops, taking place over a 14-year window from 24 July 2003 to 30 June 2017. A few months beforehand, former Foreign Minister Alexander Downer argued that the deployment of Australian troops to the Solomon Islands would be unjustifiable to Australian taxpayers and likely resented in the region. This article investigates how RAMSI became 'thinkable' as a policy option through an examination of the representations of Solomon Islands in Australian political discourse and media during the mission's early years (2003-2007). Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) was used to analyse archival material produced primarily by DFAT and AusAID as well as newspaper articles produced by The Australian from 2003-2007. CDA is attentive to the political nature of knowledge production and is useful in order to unveil the partialities of political truths. The policing pillar of the intervention depended on the existence of a perpetrator of violence to be contained and innocents to be saved. These representations wilfully neglect that 'criminals' are not deviations of the social, cultural and political order in which they belong, but rather, are products of it.

Assessing ASEAN Compliance: Fresh Insights from Member States' Ratification Records

Hung Pham

This study examines the determinants that affect the ratification timeline for ASEAN agreements among different member states. Shifting the focus from prevalent discussions on compliance mechanisms, the study delves into how ASEAN members manage their regional commitments, with an emphasis on administrative capacity, institutional structure, and the degree of agreement with the contents of the treaty. Leveraging an original ASEAN Ratification Dataset, the study captures a comprehensive picture of intra-regional ratifications, encompassing both enforced and non-enforced legal instruments across member states. The study tests derived hypotheses on a set of 30 instruments from 1972 to 2020, each with explicit ratification deadlines. The findings indicate that more democratic ASEAN members typically delay ratification, while those with efficient bureaucracies expedite the process. Moreover, members expressing certain reservations about the agreement to be ratified are more likely to delay ratification. These findings have important implications for understanding the dynamics of ASEAN's regional integration process.

Knowing what not to know about the 'Islamic State': Terrorism Studies and Public Secrecy

Sarah G. Phillips and Daniel J. Tower

This paper asks for whom, and for what purpose, knowledge about the 'Islamic State' (IS) is produced. Using insights from cultural anthropology, and the sociology of knowledge, we explore the popular Iraqi claim that IS's opponents facilitated its success-whether passively or actively-and that, as a result, IS was not a fully autonomous terrorist group. By framing IS as a tool that its opponents used, at least at times, for tactical advantage, popular Iraqi views deviate sharply from mainstream Western discourses about the group, which instead characterise it as an autonomous, radical, even apocalyptic, Salafi insurgency against the established order. We use the concept of 'public secrecy' (Taussig 1999) to explore why a belief that approaches the level of common sense within Iraq-that IS helped to enforce establishment power-remains so little remarked upon in the Terrorism Studies literature that analyses the group's emergence and expansion.

Policy coherence in contested energy transitions: renewable energy expansion and social equity in New South Wales

Jonathan Pickering and Pierrick Chalaye

Transitions to renewable energy can enhance social equity, not least by reducing the impacts of fossil fuel pollution on vulnerable groups, creating jobs in renewable industries and making energy more affordable. However, tensions could arise between climate change mitigation and equity if, for example, affected groups are excluded from decision-making or local communities gain few benefits from renewable energy infrastructure. In this paper we present findings from an analysis of synergies and tensions between equity and renewable energy expansion in New South Wales, Australia. Based on analysis of policy documents at state and federal levels, the first part of the paper quantifies the extent of coherence or incoherence in policy formulation across 15 climate, energy and equity objectives. The second part applies to the case of New South Wales a newly developed framework for analysing political drivers of (in)coherence, drawing on policy documents and over 30 stakeholder interviews. Key drivers of incoherence include limited coordination of the cumulative impacts of multiple infrastructure projects, community conflicts over land use and benefit-sharing, and obstacles to meaningful participation of affected groups. Key drivers of coherence include political, community and business leadership, and the coalescence of vested interests supporting the energy transition.

The 'fair go' and 'deserving citizens': Comparing Australia with Austria

Juliet Pietsch and Natalie Herald

Ideas of the 'fair go' are often discussed in public debates on immigration in Australia (Howard 2023). Different groups of migrants are often compared with 'Australians' and viewed as either deserving or undeserving of the 'fair go' (see Vasta, 2004). However, often these debates rely on well-trodden racial or ethnic stereotypes with neoliberal undertones, rather than evidence-based research. Drawing on theoretical frameworks of the 'fair go' (Howard, 2023), this paper examines different interpretations of the 'fair go' and to what extent policy debates on migration are informed by research evidence. This is particularly relevant in policy debates on immigration, temporary migration, residency status and welfare access (Boucher et al. 2023). In this paper, we compare Australia with Austria, as two important case studies from different regions, and hence access to research data. Our findings show that Australia lags behind Europe in drawing on cross-national data-driven research to inform policy debates on migration. Instead, Australia relies on the electoral appeal of neoliberal understandings of the 'fair go'. In comparing Australia with Austria, we argue

that Australia lacks the necessary evidence base to counter public debates that are often harmful to migrants and their communities, both in terms of public attitudes and policy outcomes.

Threat Construction and Electoral Disinformation: A US Congressional Case Study

Lachlan Poel

This paper examines how the threat of electoral disinformation has been constructed by witnesses in US Congressional committee hearings between 2016 and 2021. With the threat of disinformation securitized, committee hearings allow for witness to assist in constructing the threat that lawmakers are responding to. Building off the theoretical work of Buzan, de Wilde, and Waever in particular, the paper takes the approach that threats exist as constructed ideas; that is, that it does not matter if the threat is 'real', only that the discourse defines it as a threat (Battaglini 2019). The paper uses a five-part analytical framework to analyse transcripts of US Congressional committee hearings. The five components, disseminators, motive, means, threats, and response assist in understanding this complex threat construction. Overall, understanding how the threat is constructed in legislative committee hearings assists in understanding the accepted threat representations that governments can draw upon in securitizing the issue to the wider public.

Normalising Islamophobia: Constructing 'permission to hate' through mainstreaming of Islamophobic far-right political discourse

Heela Popal

The Islamophobia Register Australia and NSW Police Bias Crime Unit show a disturbing amount of Islamophobia and a noticeable increase in hate crimes against Muslims over recent years. This thesis argues that politicians as state actors can enable a climate of hate against the minority group of Muslims through a discourse that is underpinned with Islamophobia, which can lead to racialised and/or Islamophobic hate crimes. I employed Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) to investigate political speeches, press releases and interviews of the far-right Pauline Hanson's One Nation party as an example of extreme politics and the discourse of the Liberal party of Australia as an example of a mainstream political party. This study therefore observed a mainstream-extreme nexus through analysis of the discourse of various Liberal politicians, which resembles Pauline Hanson's Islamophobic and anti-Muslim rhetoric and policy, showing the mainstreaming of extreme discourse. This research identified four major discursive political strategies (re)producing Islamophobia in ways that shape the social fabric of society and contribute to the normalisation of Islamophobia and thus the rise of anti-Muslim hate crimes. The present study highlights a correlation between negative representation of Muslims in Australian political discourse and the rising hate crimes against Muslims in Australia.

Recent royal commissions and public inquiries- uses, abuses and roles in Australian government

Scott Prasser

This paper based on ongoing research and publications reviews the role of royal commissions and public inquiries across both federal and state governments during the last decade. During this period there have been ten federal royal commissions - two still underway - and over a hundred non-

statutory inquiries into policy and integrity issues. The States too have been active in appointing royal commissions and like bodies into core public policy and administrative issues. This paper asks:

- why are public inquiries appointed when governments have access to a large public service and expanded ministerial staff?
- does their continued proliferation indicate, as former Justice Hayne who chaired the federal Royal Commission into Banking (2017), said that our current ""legislative, executive or judicial systems - are not working as they should?""
- do governments appoint inquiries more for reasons of political expediency than to seek the 'truth'?
- given their costs and attention given - are public inquiries worth it?
- and do these temporary, ad hoc bodies fit in the architecture of modern Australian government?

Not my debt: Disentangling public service accountability for Robodebt

Jacob Priergaard

This paper argues that the institutional and administrative structures that gave rise to Robodebt were not an isolated problem, but rather indicate more widespread concerns about the state of the Australian Public Service. Robodebt was a government program that administered serious harm upon vulnerable citizens and did so unlawfully. As the Royal Commission into the scheme has identified, members of the Australian Public Service were variously complicit, directly at fault or failed in their duties in devising, implementing and, crucially, in sustaining the program. Adopting a theoretical framework of historical institutionalism, this paper contends that there are two stories here. The first is a layered institutional history of social security policy that led to the development of steadily harsher and more restrictive policies to cut spending to social security recipients through compliance and debt policies. The second is a story of the character of the Australian Public Service, whose core values and accountability functions have steadily eroded such that they failed to protect those most vulnerable. Both of these institutional histories were necessary conditions for the administration of this harm.

Assessing the adequacy of the affirmative communication model: Consent as a defence to sexual assault in prostitution

Helen Pringle

This paper considers the circumstances under which a person accused of sexual assault and related charges may rely on a defence in terms of consent. I do this through an analysis of the recent reforms to the NSW Crimes Act, with the purpose of acknowledging and addressing the peculiar character of consent in the prostitution system. The 2022 NSW sexual assault provisions now rest on a model of affirmative consent in sexual conduct towards others, and include (section 61HJ) a list of 'circumstances in which there is no consent', circumstances indicating coercion, deception, and inequality in trust, dependence, authority etc. Section 61HJ (2) adds, 'This section does not limit the grounds on which it may be established that a person does not consent to a sexual activity.' If the prostitution system is understood as a framework of coercion, a reliance on consent achieved by payment could be refused under this provision. However, my argument is that explicit reference should be made in the Act that a further ground on which it may be established that a person does

not consent to a sexual activity is where payment is made in consideration of acts within the prostitution system or in the course of a commercial sexual transaction. I conclude by raising the implications of such a change for sexual relationships more generally.

Rethinking public service in an era of low trust

Brenton Prosser, Gerry Stoker and Anne Faulkner

Problems abound in public service delivery. Lack of public trust, it is argued, constrains governing capacity as it reduces the ambition of governmental action to tackle long-term challenges that carry as many costs as gains. Many scholars see major policy failures, such as Robodebt, as devastating to public trust, but we suggest a less dramatic and more enduring catalyst - the ongoing inability to deliver major initiatives for wicked problems in complex policy systems. In short, the public stop trusting that anything can be done. But we would argue that there are deep trends in internal systems and processes within public management that if anything are more constraining to the public service than extraneous factors. Outsourcing, staffing caps, naïve use of technology, cultures of dependence on ministerial edicts and capture by a politicized 24 news cycle, have all eroded the conditions for a hollowed out public service. Further, this paper argues that previous conceptual approaches, such as traditional public administration, new public management and (even) public value, offer little to assist and may be part of the problem. We contend that what is needed is a wider range of policy styles, drawn from rich conceptual resources, to liberate new space for capability and expertise in long-term, substantive, policy delivery and engagement with the public. We suggest one such style might draw on the principles of user experience, design and coproduction to lift policy success by understanding how service delivery works on the ground. And in turn, the recognition of a reality where something can be done in service of the public might be a catalyst to renewed public trust.

Crafting Open Plurilateralism: How New Zealand and Singapore Collaborate on System Entrepreneurship

Giridharan Ramasubramanian

In recent years, countries have created a panoply of institutions across a range of different issue areas to harness cooperation on their broader institutional landscape. Within this institutional diversity, understanding small states' attempts to engage in stand-alone small group institutional approaches to shape the broader architectures in which they operate will contribute to a deeper understanding of unilateral cooperation and small state diplomacy in international affairs. This paper asks: Why are small states, with their relative lack of material resources, able to exert systemic or architectural influence in the international system? How do small countries create and utilise unilateral institutions to enhance their influence in the international system and potentially shape that system? This paper will study the design characteristics of 'open plurilaterals' and show that they are adaptive, experimentalist, and interactive. It will explore the activities of two small countries - New Zealand and Singapore - as they jointly negotiated the Trans-Pacific Strategic and Economic Partnership (TSEP) and the Digital Economy Partnership Agreement (DEPA). Through an analysis of their efforts, this paper will show that open plurilaterals braid the different levels of an institutional complex, allowing small states to have systemic or architectural impacts.

Counterhegemony as a post-colonial discourse

Sanjay Ramesh, Manpreet Kaur and Vandhana Nath

Counterhegemony is described as a strategy aimed at challenging or undermining the dominant ideologies, beliefs, and power structures associated with colonialism. It involves disrupting the control exerted by a particular group or class over a broader population by manipulating ideas, culture, and institutions. The article highlights that counterhegemony is not solely grounded in Gramscian theory but also draws inspiration from the works of scholars like Franz Fanon, Edward Said, and Gayatri Spivak, and these thinkers have emphasised the oppression of colonialism, the marginalisation of the "Orient," and the emergence of the subaltern as strategic responses to colonial dominance. As a case study, the article re-analyses the anticolonial struggle by using a counterhegemonic feminist perspective of Margaret Mishra, focusing on the experiences of indentured women in Fiji within specific historical and cultural contexts.

Social Policy or Policy Inaction? Australian Governments and International Student Welfare, 1979-2023

Gaby Ramia, Matthew Brett and Julia Horne

Australia is one of the world's top three host countries for international students. Despite the cultural, diplomatic and economic importance of international education to the nation, there is a question over whether international student welfare is meaningfully addressed in Government policy. Using theory on policy inaction - defined as a sustained pattern of Government non-intervention on a policy issue - this paper examines Australian legislation and legislative amendments that make explicit reference to the regulation of international students, spanning 1979 to 2023. Parliamentary approval documents are also examined, as are explanatory memorandum and second reading speeches. The methodology involves a structured analysis of the legislation and associated documents to quantify the frequency with which social policy problems feature in policy making. The policy challenges identified include: the integrity of Australia's visa and migration frameworks; rights for international students to undertake paid work; the protection of international student financial interests through tuition fee protection services; and the general welfare of international students. The research is valuable in delivering novel insights into the regulation of international student welfare, and in providing empirical evidence of policy action and inaction, and advancing methodologies for quantifying both.

Not Your Parents Electoral System

Ben Raue

While the rules for elections to the House of Representatives have mostly stayed stable for a long time, the changing party system is changing how those rules manifest. The combined major party primary vote has dropped down to under 70% as of 2022, with an increasing number of races seeing an independent or minor party member making it to the final distribution of preferences. There is also an increasing occurrence of races where it is not clear which two candidates will make the final count, with the gap between second-placed and third-placed candidates dropping precipitously over recent decades. This has led to more volatility in who wins results, and has led to the average primary vote for a winning candidate dropping from above 50% as of 2007 to just 42% in 2022. This paper also explores how the use of 'three-candidate-preferred' estimates becomes more important

in some of these contests, and specifically looks at races involving Labor, the Greens and the Coalition, and how different Coalition preferencing decisions can affect who is likely to win with a particular three-candidate-preferred split.

Party systems in local government

Ben Raue

There is a wide variety of electoral systems used for local governments around Australia. While many of these elections are non-partisan, most elections in urban New South Wales are contested by political parties, grouped on the ballot in a similar style to Senate elections. These elections are proportional, with most councils using wards electing three councillors or more. While the main national political parties such as Labor, Liberal and the Greens do contest these elections, there are also other parties that only contest one or a handful of local councils. In most areas there are two clearly identifiable 'major parties' but in many cases one of those major parties differs from the national major parties. The use of different electoral systems for local government, along with the different boundaries of the polity, appear to contribute to the creation of small localised party systems that differ from the national party system, or how people in that area vote in state or federal elections. This paper uses tools from comparative electoral systems research to look at the relationship between the electoral systems and party systems in these local councils.

Preventing and Countering Violent Extremism in a Post-Pandemic World: An Exploration of Current and Emerging Countermeasures to Conspiracy

Serena Raza

The COVID-19 pandemic has catalysed a shift in the paradigm of violent extremism. The pandemic has facilitated the dissemination of extremist thought and exacerbated the preconditions by which the process of radicalisation begins, which has culminated in a significant increase in engagement with extremist content worldwide. A means through which individuals are becoming increasingly engaged with extremist content is that of conspiracy theory, which has been, and is continuing to be, utilised by extremist groups both as a recruitment mechanism and as a means to advance their agenda. Scholars have investigated the nexus between extremism and conspiracy theory, however, there remains little literature on current countermeasures to conspiracy theory. This paper will discuss the current and emerging countermeasures to extremists' utilisation of conspiracy theory through a comparison of countermeasures in the far-right extremist context and the Islamist extremist context. This paper will assess the effectiveness of these countermeasures and provide recommendations to preventing and countering violent extremism (P/CVE) practitioners and organisations to better develop countermeasures to this dynamic and ever-evolving threat.

AUKUS as Ontological Security- Australian Foreign Policy in an Age of Uncertainty

Morgan Rees

On 15 September 2021, Australia signed onto a new security agreement with the US and UK known as AUKUS. Under AUKUS, Australia will acquire nuclear capabilities in the form of nuclear-powered

submarines. Despite being the most significant security agreement since ANZUS with an estimated cost of over \$368 billion it has drawn much criticism amid concerns around its viability, practicality, and the associated risks given the revival of isolationist foreign policy ideas in the US, ongoing economic turmoil in the UK, and the financial costs and fit with existing domestic capabilities. What explains Australia's decision to join AUKUS given the presence of such substantial risks and unknowns? I work to show that traditional security frameworks struggle to account for the significant risks associated with the decision, rather, I argue that Australia's decision to enter AUKUS represents an effort to maintain 'Self' identity narratives around the need to secure 'great and powerful friends' and the deeply entrenched fear of isolation and vulnerability. Using ontological security frameworks, I show that AUKUS represents an effort to secure Australia's sense of 'Self' and maintain stability in its relationships with 'great and powerful friends' despite the potential risks in their ability to maintain physical security.

Representing 'Rural': Rural Politicians in Contemporary Australia

Richard Reid, Anika Gauja and Carolyn M. Hendriks

Despite its increasing importance in debates over food security, climate change, and environmental protection, there has been little analysis of the state of rural politics in Australia. To understand elite perceptions and understandings of rural Australia and its politics, this paper takes as its focus Australian politicians representing rural electorates in the federal parliament. It builds on a range of interviews with sitting and former MPs, senators based in rural areas, as well as other political candidates. This paper explores their understandings of rural Australia, its interests, values, and policy issues of most importance. These understandings shape the roles rural MPs see for themselves both in Canberra and in their electorates, and provides important insights into elite conceptualisations of rural politics in a time of contestation and uncertainty.

An Activity Framework for Civil Society Organisations

Mark Riboldi

The democratic potential of civil society organisations (CSOs) is well established. Of more interest is how well they fulfil this potential, requiring a clear understanding of what CSOs do. Various useful frameworks exist for the more common CSO types, namely systemic advocacy, service delivery and leadership development, less common are typologies for CSOs generally. This paper offers a framework for describing and analysing civil society activity using a grounded theory methodology, based on how Australian civil society leaders talk about what their organisations have done or are planning to do. The dataset consists of interviews, focus groups, field-notes and document analysis between March 2020 and June 2021, the height of the COVID-19 pandemic. From this dataset, I generate ten CSO activities which I suggest cover the wide and varied actions of CSOs. While the framework includes commonly recognised CSO activities such as advocate systemically and provide charity, it also includes less appreciated activities such as coordinate network and host space. The underacknowledged CSO activities such a deficit in how we understand whether CSOs meet their democratic potential.

[Down the rabbit hole: An examination of the multi-spectrum Australian far right across alt-tech media networks](#)

Imogen Richards and Callum Jones

This presentation applies Roger Griffin's theory of the groupuscular, neo-fascist far-right in conducting an analysis of Australian far- and extreme-right social networks. It examines the cross-fertilisation of far-right ideas related to social and environmental crisis across alt-tech platforms, facilitated through cross-posting and links to mainstream news, social media and other websites. The relationships signified by these links are analysed in relation to Griffin's theory. The discussion contemplates whether these relationships work to legitimise far-right ideas, and enable platform users – who form a 'periphery' of support for the Australian far-right – to enter more closed platforms characterised by an extreme right, neo-fascist 'core', where planning for acts of violence is more likely to occur. Data for this study was gathered from Gab and Telegram over a six-month period between 2022 and 2023, using custom-built scrapers for front-end scraping. For the hyperlink analysis, the dataset was parsed to extract all links within posts and identify their respective domain names. The authors then mapped a social network using this relational data to show connectivity between users in the network and the domains they linked to. Lastly, Griffin's theory was critically applied and examined against the quantitative insights, alongside a thematic analysis of the websites.

[Quantifying Mass Internment in Xinjiang Based on Internal Police Files](#)

Matthew Robertson

Atrocities perpetrated by state actors often take place in the context of intense secrecy. Rarely are researchers able to access the internal state documents used to plan and catalogue campaigns of mass extrajudicial incarceration and political violence while they are still happening. The Xinjiang Police Files, initially publicised in August 2022, offer one such opportunity. The Files consist of over 100,000 documents exfiltrated by an anonymous hacker from the computer networks of county police stations in the Xinjiang Autonomous Region of the People's Republic of China. The cache appears to contain population-level data on the two counties of Tekes and Konasheher (Shufu) and a range of data from other counties. This project uses the Files to produce estimates of internment during a recent campaign of political repression. The granularity of the data allows for the estimation both of total internments but also the ratio of different forms of internment, whether judicial or extrajudicial, the type of detention facility, reasons for internment, and the correlates of internment with a variety of demographic characteristics. This work contributes to the literature on mass internment in Xinjiang by producing empirical estimates based on the state's own internal data.

[Australian fusionism in the house of educational government: David Kemp and Andrew Norton as liberal-conservatives](#)

Geoffrey Robinson

This paper applies a morphological approach to analysis of the ideology of David Kemp and Andrew Norton, two intellectuals and political activists closely associated with the Liberal Party of Australia. Both proposed a fusionist ideology that provided ground for the cooperation of 'liberals' and 'conservatives' within the same party. They argued for the coexistence of liberty, order, and progress in which each of these elements was shaped by the other. Their ideology was apparent not only in

texts and speeches but their role in higher education policy. They proposed a liberal-conservatism, but it was one in which 'liberalism' was the dynamic foundational element and conservatism was defined as largely dispositional. The demise of socialism encouraged both to move on from the narrowly libertarian politics of the 1980s 'new right', but their increasingly utilitarian style threatened to legitimate the ideological drift of the government of Scott Morrison. Their liberal-conservatism also struggled to compete with the appeal of a renascent and foundationalist conservatism sceptical of mass higher education.

[An Investigation into Corporate Communications published by Australia's Energy Industry](#)

Shevera Rodrigo

Recently there has been an increased focus on greenwashing in Australia. The Australian Competition and Consumer Commission defines greenwashing as false, misleading or baseless environmental and sustainability claims. I have conducted a study animated by the following research question: how does the energy retail sector in Australia communicate its climate action to the public and what does this reveal about how corporations contribute to Australia's climate targets? It investigates the climate commitments of the 10 highest greenhouse gas (GHG) emitting companies in Australia in 2021-22 according to the Clean Energy Regulator (CER). They are all energy retailers. By investigating sustainability related content on their websites and annual reports, this study demonstrates how they view climate change and any climate action they have committed to. This is a 'point-in-time' study where all content was collected in October 2022. This paper argues that while these corporations acknowledge their industry's role in exacerbating anthropogenic climate change, their corporate communications reveal a general ambivalence towards implementing ambitious, decisive climate action. The discussion section outlines avenues for policymakers to address the ambivalence in the Australian energy sector to facilitate achievement of Australia's decarbonisation goals.

[The Future of Military Labour: Army as Occupation](#)

Sean Rupka

In this paper I argue that historically, shifts in military labour to support the implementation of new technological forms of war-making predate consequent changes in how the general labour force is disciplined and reorganized. Tracing qualitative changes in military labour as a function of socio-economic pressures and the technologization of military work, I suggest that shifts in military labour may provide important insights into the future of labour markets and their disciplining more generally. I further propose that military labour is becoming both more technologically specialized and occupationally driven by motivations reflecting the new realities of the modern armed forces. This produces a reimagining of a military service in terms of educational training, specialization and career-based incentives, with the military arm of nation-state power being reinterpreted through technological means and the increasing role of technological support in modern soldiery. With the future of labour unclear as the world exits a global pandemic and struggles through global recession, as well as the rapidly advancing radical potential of automizing technologies, I suggest the historical and contemporary role of military labour and its relation to the organization of the general workforce is often problematically overlooked and as such demands further investigation.

Recognising animal agency in conservation policy

Serrin Rutledge-Prior

In the development of conservation policy, the tension between 'environmentalist' approaches on the one hand, and 'animal rights' approaches on the other, has long been recognised. The former approaches are oriented towards maintaining biodiversity and the viability of species, while the latter are oriented towards the wellbeing of individual animals. Less often acknowledged, however, is that both approaches are primarily, if not exclusively, oriented towards the promotion of interests: ensuring that species/individuals are provided with necessities such as food, water, and habitat/shelter, that will ensure their survival. This paper outlines a third approach to ensuring ethical policy that - I argue - should stand alongside the existing interests-focused approaches: one that is oriented towards animal agency. In contrast with trying to achieve or maintain a certain level of animal/species welfare via metrics such as the Five Domains, an agency-centred approach prompts us to consider and respond to the choices that animals make about their own lives, families, and communities - even when doing so might conflict with what we might consider as being in their best interests. To explore its benefits and drawbacks, the paper explores the proposed agency-oriented approach alongside existing conservation approaches via the issue of species translocation.

Fiscal Capacity Equalisation: Linchpin of Australian federalism or fading relic?

Will Sanders

In 1994 RL Mathews argued that fiscal equalisation was a 'linchpin' of federations worldwide, with Australia being a world-leading exponent of 'fiscal capacity equalisation'. Three decades on, under pressure from resource-rich Western Australia, Australia has lessened its commitment to full fiscal capacity equalisation between States and Territories. Under 2018 legislation, jurisdictions fiscally stronger than New South Wales and Victoria, can keep their fiscal premium and receive the same proportion of the GST general revenue sharing pool as the stronger of these two. How should we assess Mathews' 'linchpin' argument in light of these developments? Was it wrong at the time? Has it become wrong since? Or, is there a way in which 'fiscal capacity equalisation' is still a linchpin of Australian federalism? This presentation will explore the idea that fiscal capacity equalisation is still important for Australian sub-national jurisdictions with high expenditure needs and low revenue capacities, such as the Northern Territory and Tasmania. For them it is still a linchpin. It is only for high revenue jurisdictions, like Western Australia, that fiscal capacity equalisation has become a constraining and fading relic. We can expect more contestation over fiscal capacity equalisation as Australian politics re-emerges from crisis back to complexity.

The Mechanical Effects of Lowering the Voting Age to 16: Empirical Evidence from Around the World

Constanza Sanhueza

In Australia and a growing number of countries around the world, debates about democratic inclusion once more revolve around the minimum voting age. Countries such as Austria, Brazil, and Argentina have lowered the voting age to 16, while others, including Belgium, Norway, and Canada, have trialled reform or seen campaigns seeking to enfranchise younger people. Debates around voting age reform often center on the so-called 'mechanical' effects: Does the inclusion of younger voters increase turnout? Does it affect electoral outcomes? And do such reforms increase the

political representation of young people? These questions are often difficult to address from a comparative perspective, as reforms and effects vary across countries. Moreover, a lack of comparative data makes it challenging to unveil cross-country patterns. This presentation introduces insights from the Comparative Age Reform Project, a new comparative expert survey conducted in more than 30 countries examining voting age reforms and campaigns. The evidence allows for a first-time systematic comparison of the effects of voting age reforms and campaigns on several democratic outcomes.

How Do Political Processes Affect Public Support and Compliance? Experimental Evidence from 11 European Countries

Constanza Sanhueza Petrarca, Heiko Giebler and Bernhard Wessels

Prevention measures including mandatory facial mask usage, physical distancing, and lockdown were introduced by national governments to reduce the spread of the Covid-19 virus around the globe. How did the political process leading to such measures affect public opinion and attitudes? And, under which circumstances could governments implement emergency measures efficiently? We examine the effects of political processes using a vignette experiment embedded in a quota-based online survey including 11,000 respondents in 11 European countries. Respondents were particularly more likely to support and comply if prevention measures are accompanied by economic relief policies. Furthermore, however with a smaller magnitude, we find that whether governments consult the parliament and scientific experts matters for citizens. At the same time, only when infection rates were rampant and economic support is provided for the most vulnerable groups, citizens are willing to overlook the government decision-making process.

Violent Language in Populist Discourse

Lucas Scheel

Populism has emerged as one of the most prominent political phenomena of our time. Populist movements are no longer simply political challengers; they have gained power and influence in different regions and countries around the world - political leaders like Trump, Erdoğan, Orbán or Modi stand out. One key question that has been at the centre of populism studies revolves around populism's relationship with democracy: Is it a threat to democracy, a corrective force, or something else entirely? Given that political violence represents a crossing of a red line in democratic debate and conflict resolution, I propose to explore this elusive relationship through the lens of (rhetoric) violence. Taking recent events such as the US Capitol attack and Bolsonaro's challenge to the Brazilian election results into consideration, it seems to be apparent that populism fosters anti-democratic sentiments and contributes to political violence. Surprisingly, the research on populism has largely overlooked the significance and factors contributing to political violence, which is often assumed but rarely systematically explored. Therefore, I propose delving deeper into the complex relationship between populism, violence, and language: How prevalent is violence in populist discourse, and does the use of violent rhetoric incite the practice of violence?

Compounding Barriers to Environmental Justice

David Schlosberg and Hannah Della Bosca

This paper examines how environmental justice (EJ) activists and scholars experience and think about the barriers to beneficial change. It reports findings from an international study that used Q methodology to empirically examine the discourses circulating about EJ globally and what lessons such EJ discourses offer. We ask: how do activists and scholars view the barriers to realising environmental justice goals of movements? Our data reveals a broad consensus about the forms of elite power that create injustice, particularly political and corporate corruption. Four primary categories of barriers to change were found, each capturing different sites of EJ struggles and revealing distinct dimensions of environmental injustice. The first site and dimension is the broadest: structural marginalisation, particularly historical and contemporary violence, which underpins the other barriers. The second is institutional obstacles, particularly weak legal and political institutions. The third is exclusionary policy processes which silence community and social justice concerns within environmental policy. And the fourth barrier to change addresses bureaucratic cultures and strategic dilemmas within the EJ movement. Together, experiences within these dimensions and sites undermine the achievements of EJ movements. Overall, the results point to the multi-layered and compounding way that environmental injustice is embedded and perpetuated.

Mapping Literature on Misogynistic Terrorism

Caitlin Scott

At its core, misogyny is a system that polices (primarily) women and girls to comply with patriarchal orders and normative roles. It is when infractions are met with violence that feminist academics have begun to observe similarities to terrorism. Against the context of growing incel and far-right violence, 'misogynistic terrorism' is the most recent discursive iteration to politicize and legitimize violence against women as acts of terror. However, this term has generally seen adoption by feminists outside the academy, and is in fact situated within greater feminist literature surrounding 'patriarchal terrorism', 'everyday terrorism', and 'intimate terrorism'. This paper aims to provide an overview of scholarly literature that has historically sought to expand definitions of terrorism to include acts of misogynistic violence. Furthermore, this research seeks to affirm violence motivated by misogyny as a form of terrorism, rather than continuing the tradition in terrorism studies that depoliticizes gender-based violence and ascribes such acts to the private domestic sphere.

Abortion in the Time of Covid- Abortion, Infanticide, Murder ... Who Decides?

Jocelyne Scutt

Covid 19 brought lockdowns and restrictions on movement and access to medical treatment around the world. Australia was no different. Lockdowns and restrictions saw criminal assault at home and other forms of domestic violence increase. What about unplanned, unwanted or enforced pregnancies? Abortion rights have advanced since the nineteenth century. Common law decisions including *R v Bourne* (1938) and Victoria, NSW and Queensland's 1970s/1980s cases decriminalised termination under certain. Now, all states and territories exclude criminal sanctions, although time limits on abortion exist except for the ACT. Yet is abortion now a health and wellbeing matter only? Murder, child destruction and infanticide laws remain, and in the UK, Covid 19 lockdowns have generated police investigations, Crown Prosecution Service intervention, prosecution and conviction of women. For girls sexually abused at home, women raped by live-in partners, and women and girls simply seeking an abortion to end a pregnancy, Covid lockdowns, working and undergoing education from home, living under coercive controlling circumstances or having no mobile phone or internet

access meant pregnancy term time limits could be exceeded, creating a crucial dilemma. What about Australia? Does decriminalisation of abortion mean repressive, retributive approaches to women's health care and health rights continue?

Prospects for Just Adaptation in Climate-Related Resettlement: Case Studies from the Philippines

Justin See

Resettlement is increasingly being recognised as an important adaptation response to climate change. However, it carries a high risk of maladaptation and as such, many scholars suggest that it should only be considered as a last resort. Recent research also suggests that resettlement as climate adaptation should be guided by principles of climate justice. Drawing from the resettlement, just adaptation, and climate gentrification literatures, this presentation will tackle two case studies from the Philippines: (1) planned resettlement to alleviate flooding in Iloilo City and (2) emergency resettlement in response to an extreme weather event in Tacloban City. It seeks to answer the following questions: what are the prospects for just adaptation in the two case studies and what are the barriers for inclusive processes and equitable outcomes? This research indicates that some of the origins of maladaptation are to be found in the power and politics that skewed the climate resettlement processes into politically favourable directions and undercut their effectiveness. It adds to the growing body of work that demonstrates how resettlement projects implemented in the name of climate adaptation can enhance vulnerabilities and pre-existing inequalities.

From Attraction to Disillusionment: Unravelling the Personal Narratives of Former ISIS Members through Qualitative Analysis

Afsaneh Seifinaji and Shahram Akbarzadeh

This article employs Critical Narrative Analysis to scrutinize the personal narratives of former members of ISIS, aiming to shed light on the intricacies behind their personal motivations, internal experiences, and eventual disillusionment. The research is based on a data collection of interviews previously conducted by well-known media channels, which has never been analysed and offers first-hand information about the former members of ISIS. The study categorizes its findings into five central themes: initial attraction to ISIS, life within the extremist group, personal motivations and beliefs, reflections on actions and decisions, and reasons for disengagement or regret. Through this qualitative approach, the article aspires to move beyond the often monolithic portrayals of such individuals as only 'terrorists.' Instead, it aims to explore the diverse emotional journeys and the complex interplay of cultural, social, and political factors that lead to radicalization and, subsequently, to disengagement. The overarching objective is to foster a more nuanced understanding of the dynamics behind affiliation and disaffiliation with extremist organizations like ISIS. The study underscores the critical importance of these personal insights in shaping more effective counter-terrorism strategies, preventative measures, and de-radicalization programs. These findings have the potential to significantly contribute to the broader global effort to counter extremist ideologies effectively.

What's So Funny About Populism & Nativism? Humour in the Online Visual Communication of the Australian Far Right

Kurt Sengul, Benjamin Moffitt and Jordan McSwiney

This paper examines the interplay of humour, populism and nativism through a Multimodal Critical Discourse Analysis and Thematic Analysis of the Please Explain online animated miniseries, a series of 52 short web cartoons produced by Australia's most successful far-right populist party, Pauline Hanson's One Nation (PHON). Drawing together the emerging literatures on the visual politics of populism and the role of humour in far-right discourses, we demonstrate that the use of an online animated medium together with use of comedic devices such as repetition, hyperbole, slapstick and stereotype work to "soften" articulations of nativist and populist ideas, by making the far right's exclusionary ideology palatable to wider audiences. In doing so, we show how the series depicts Australian political elites as corrupt, untruthful, and out-of-touch with 'ordinary' Australian people, while also constructing immigrants as depriving "real" (i.e., white) Australians of jobs and housing security. Overall, we argue that the Please Explain miniseries represents a significant development in Australian political party advertising and campaigning, and reveals the novel ways that populism and nativism articulated in the hybridised and mediatised political landscape.

Towards understanding women's lack of descriptive representation in politics

Fathimath Shafeega

The Maldives boasts a rapid development trajectory as seen in world development indicators. This has been a direct result of modernisation. However, one indicator that has not improved, to the degree expected, is gender equality, the achievement of which is inhibited by the low level of women's descriptive political participation. While political advancements have meant that women become members of political parties in similar numbers as men; engage in party campaigns as actively as men; and play major roles in organizing and joining in political demonstrations, the number of women standing for and winning elections has remained consistently low over time. A mixed methods interrogation of why modernisation of the country has not led to the expected progress in this area, reveals that modernisation has led to new challenges replacing old traditional challenges women faced. These new challenges continue to obstruct women's capacity to stand for office to the same degree as the old ones. This effect may be unique to women in small islands.

China's increasing space power and India-China Orbital Competitions: Implications in Indo-Pacific, focused on South Asia

Most Farjana Sharmin

The space race is an extension of the geopolitical anxieties and insecurities on Earth. The geopolitical competitions and rivalries of the Indo-pacific have extended to the space frontier, and space become another strategic domain, where terrestrials-politics are taking place. India and China are key space players in the region. Recently China has declared its vision of becoming the global space leader by 2049. India and China's terrestrial conflict and strategic equation also denote their space initiative and strategy. China has already implied its strategic space policy through projects like the Belt and Road Initiative in South Asia. Meanwhile, India has become an established space player in the region, though it does not have a dedicated space force like China. Both countries China and India have ASAT technologies and have refused to sign the United Nations resolution on banning destructive anti-

satellite missile tests. This study aims to examine how China's growing space power poses security concerns for Indo-Pacific, focused on South Asian countries, and what its geopolitical implications could be. Explanatory research methods have been used to understand the impact of China's increasing space power, which has often been studied solely in the context of great-power rivalries, neglecting the perspectives of smaller aspiring space-faring nations.

The impact of Facebook on public service delivery in the offices of the Upazila Nirbahi Officers

Ridwan Islam Sifat

This paper aimed at analyzing the usage of Facebook, the most popular social networking site by the government for public service delivery in Bangladesh. As social media use increases day by day, the government took this initiative to make public services more transparent, available, accessible, and responsible to its citizens. Without ensuring participation in digitization, the government will not be able to make a massive change. In this paper, the researchers worked to determine the impact of Facebook on public delivery and the present condition by researching some selected Upazila. This paper adopted a qualitative method with one focus group discussion with ten school teachers, three key informant interviews with Upazila Nirbahi Officer (UNO), ten in-depth interviews, and fifteen one-to-one interviews with local people of different ages. The result discloses that only a small number of people are taking those services, and large numbers of people are still depending on the traditional method of communicating with UNO. Future studies might examine all the Upazila in Bangladesh to see the present condition of using Facebook in Upazila Nirbahi Officer's offices.

Extractive Accumulation in the Age of Critical Minerals

Lian Sinclair

The boom in 'critical minerals' is disrupting corporate strategies and governance of extractive industries. Critical minerals - like rare earths, lithium and nickel - are essential for batteries and magnets in electric vehicles and renewable energy. New configurations of multinational mining corporations, midstream suppliers, vehicle and electronics manufacturers, and NGOs are forming across intersecting global production networks. Will EV manufacturers demand more ethical extractive practices? Will resurgent industrial policy reshape global capitalism? In whose interest? Answering these questions requires an original political economy approach placing company-community conflict in the context of shifting global crises in the social and environmental governance of mining. Extractive accumulation is the collection of strategies and relationships at local, national and global scales that enable corporations to first secure natural resources and then profit from their extraction. The initial acquisition of resources (land grabbing) necessitates the dispossession of someone else, generating rapid changes in existing political, social and economic relations. These changes and their resultant multi-scalar conflicts drove the proliferation of global governance initiatives and localised participation through the 2000s and 2010s. Understanding evolving strategies of extractive accumulation will explain the politics of critical mineral development in states as diverse as the US, EU, Australia and Indonesia.

Hashtag Activism and Thailand's 2023 Election

Aim Sinpeng

This article examines social media campaigning of major political parties in Thailand's May 2023 election. It was the first election where campaigning online was a common practice for political parties. Based on content and social network analysis of #election23 across Facebook, Twitter and TikTok between March 13 to May 13 (2-month campaigning period), it argues that Move Forward Party (MFP) emerged as a clear winner for social media campaigning. MFP, who also won the popular vote, gained significant leverage against its opponents when it came to online campaigning due to its strong, active and influential organic support base.

The egalitarian myth in unequal times

Peter Skilling

The settler state of New Zealand was founded on the myth of egalitarianism: the promise that with hard work and courage, anyone, regardless of their background, could achieve security and prosperity. While these myths have been robustly critiqued in the literature (it has been pointed out that they amounted to a belief in equal opportunities rather than equal outcomes, that their promise excluded many, and that they offered little protection as New Zealand transformed rapidly from one of the most economically equal societies on the OECD, to one of the most unequal) they continue to inform the self-identity of many citizens today. In this paper I report on interviews and focus groups with a diverse cross-section of New Zealanders, in which I invited them to explore their beliefs about inequality, welfare and justice. I show how many New Zealanders' professed commitment to equality of opportunity amounts to a very minimal "some degree of equality", and I show how easily they give up on that commitment to equality when confronted with a confident declaration that the "reality of the market" make redistributive measures impossible.

Indigenous co-governance and democratic participation: the New Zealand case

Katherine Smits

Co-governance, in which local Māori communities take part formally in the management and government of resources and other aspects of civil life has become a deeply controversial issue in Aotearoa/New Zealand's race politics. Critics allege that co-governance undermines democratic politics, supporters claim that it is consistent with obligations under the Māori self-determination aspects of the Treaty of Waitangi. In fact, co-governance as a means of locally managing key natural resources such as waterways is a long-standing process in New Zealand and elsewhere. Political challenges to it now reflect the shift of this idea into national resource management, and into institutions of civil society such as schools. In this paper, I explore the shift in discourse over co-governance from resource management to broader civic governance and the domain of the political. I explore the relationship between participatory democracy, democratic accountability and co-governance, arguing for a reconceptualization of Indigenous co-governance to emphasize rather than management of resources, democratic participation in the government of key aspects of civil life. This approach ties co-governance in to new strategies to increase citizen participation, explores the significance of consensus and situates the process in relation to the reserved parliamentary seats.

Dealignment or reconfiguration? assessing the rise in non-major party MPs in Australian Parliaments

Ben Spies-Butcher and Mark Riboldi

Commentary about the successes of the “Teals” and the Greens in the 2022 Federal Election echoes scholarship regarding the ongoing fragmentation of major party support, weakening partisan alignment, and the rise of post-materialist voting since the 1970s. To explore the dynamics behind this trend, we construct a novel dataset of non-major party MPs elected to single-member electorates in Australian lower houses since 1970, empirically exploring the circumstances through which non-major party candidates (nmpcs) are successful. We ask: (1) to what extent do NPMCs defect from existing parties or challenge from outside? (2) how reliant are challenger NMPCs on supportive electoral institutions? and (3) at whose expense do NMPCs succeed? We observe that NMPCs often succeed having first held office via a party, or at a lower level of government, and that they often benefit from preferential voting. Our results suggest that political fragmentation is increasingly a challenge to conservative politics, especially via the rise of independents, representing a re-configuration from the Twentieth Century. While dealignment is often presented as eroding ideological distinctions, we consider whether the changing pattern of partisan election reflects a shift in the ideological centre of gravity, from socialism to neoliberalism and neoconservatism.

The Space Between Lesson Identification and Lesson Learning

Alastair Stark

Official post-crisis lesson-learning practices continue to conflate knowledge production (the identification of a lesson) with policy implementation and behavioural change (meaningful lesson learning) and assume that the former automatically begets the latter. However, the space between the identification of a lesson about this pandemic and its (non)implementation is where the nature and the effectiveness of a lesson will be determined. In this space, lessons travel between agencies seeking accommodation, they are reinterpreted and translated in complex ways, and they are promoted or killed off quietly in ways which reflect the dynamics of policy power. In this complexity, identified lessons change as they travel and attract support, opposition and (more frequently) benign neglect which determines whether and how they are implemented. The challenge therefore for COVID-19 policy learning scholarship is to better understand and improve this space because, at the moment, the identification of lessons does nothing to keep us safe from the next novel coronavirus.

The Travellers Guide to Policy Learning

Alastair Stark

This article claims that when it comes to policy learning success, the most important variables are those that influence how well a learned-lesson travels. Consequently, it offers a 'traveller's guide' to policy learning. The guide begins with the presentation of a new concept that we have labelled 'dynamic capacity' which aims to capture the ways in which learned lessons need to move across time and space and consolidate downwards into the institutional fabric of a policy system. Interview data generated from lesson-learning actors in a specific policy community is then presented as a means of outlining the variables that prevent policy lessons from moving, and the strategies that might give them momentum. The hope is that this traveller's guide can help us build better theories of policy learning and encourage more effective learning practices that better recognise the 'others' who may not generate policy lessons, but greatly influence their impact.

Does it matter who leads on first preferences? Evidence from randomised controlled trials in Australia

Jack Hudson Stewart

The alternative vote, which Australia uses to elect the House of Representatives, allows the candidate with the greatest number of first preference votes to lose out to a candidate with sufficient second or later preferences. This study examined the effect of these 'come-from-behind' victories on Australian residents' attitudes about election results. I fielded two surveys (per survey N = 612) and utilised random assignment, so some residents saw election results where the winner led on first preferences and others saw election results where the winner was the runner up on first preferences. I expected no significant difference across the two experimental conditions; Australia has used the alternative vote for over 100 years and there were as many as 16 come-from-behind victories at the 2016 and 2022 federal elections. However, across both experiments, participants in the come-from-behind condition were more likely to report that the result was not legitimate, not fair, and not representative. Mixed findings even suggest that come-from-behind victories can reduce confidence in election administration (by the AEC) and comprehension of election results. This study uncovers a social cost of preferential voting in Australia and provides important comparative evidence for advocates of the alternative vote in the United States.

The politics of paying doctors: Australia and Canada compared

Francesco Stolfi

This paper analyses the evolution of the institutions of fee setting for physicians' services in Australia and Canada. The two countries drew inspiration from each other when they first debated the creation of their Medicare systems in the 1960s and 1970s. Both systems are based on a single government insurance scheme, with fee-for-service (FFS) as the modal method for paying physicians. However, the two systems have developed in very different directions with regard to the institutions for setting physicians' fees. In Australia, medical fees are set by a government committee into which representatives of various medical specialties are co-opted. This has put General Practitioners at a disadvantage, and their income relative to other medical specialties has consistently been lower than in Canada.

In Canada, the negotiations over medical fees are carried out between the government and a single medical association, with the relative values of fees set by the medical association in ways that have defended the economic position of General Practitioners vis-à-vis the rest of the medical profession. The paper explains the divergence in fee-setting institutions between the two countries and discusses its implications with regard to intra-professional income inequality and to health care access and affordability.

Crisis, Complexity and Co-design: Reciprocity's potential in Indigenous policy collaboration

Sarah Stoller

Policy responses in Indigenous policy are often crisis driven (Anderson, 2015) and must navigate the complexity of divergent 'ways of knowing' (Moreton-Robinson & Walter, 2010). This paper summarises the literature on co-design in Australian public policy (Blomkamp 2018; Mintrom &

Luetjens 2016), then unpacks this in the context of Indigenous policy. 'Co-design' terminology is often employed in Indigenous policy. Its use in Indigenous policy has been critiqued for being politicised and jargonistic (Davis 2021). I argue this term is frequently co-opted to cover what is essentially consultation. The Indigenous voice to parliament co-design process is a high-profile example. Drawing on the IAP2 spectrum, I contend the Voice 'co-design' process (NIAA 2021) was closer to a form of consultation. Elements of this level of community engagement differ from co-design features described in the literature (Blomkamp 2018,735). What does 'co-design' involving or empowering (IAP2 2023) Indigenous people look like? Reciprocity is a common concept underpinning many Indigenous ontologies and epistemologies (Watson 2002; Yunkaporta 2019; Lloyd et al 2012; Louis 2007; Country et al 2019). This sits in contrast to Western neoliberal, individualistic, human-centric and extractive ontologies and epistemologies (Moreton-Robinson 2020; Strakosch 2019; Sullivan 2018). This paper explores reciprocity's role in co-design.

The Effectiveness of Diffusion of the International Environmental Law Principles of Sustainable Development into Australia's Domestic Climate Change Law and Policy

Judi Storer

Historically, governments pursued economic growth and unsustainable development generated by fossil fuel combustion, thereby causing climate change. Experts now believe climate change impacts will reverse decades of economic development, and negate poverty alleviation strategies. Hence, urgent global action is required to prevent catastrophic climate change, yet, the world is failing in this mission. The IPCC has proposed that the sustainable development framework may provide the most effective policy development means by which to mitigate climate change. Rather than siloing climate change mitigation policy, a more effective strategy may be to integrate climate change mitigation within policy aimed at sustainable development and broader social and human rights issues. Therefore, understanding how effectively international law sustainable development principles have, or have not, diffused into domestic climate change mitigation law and policy, can provide a basis for determining how these principles may be better applied to develop effective integrated domestic climate change law and policy. In this context, this paper reports the results of the analysis of over 50 pieces of climate change legislation, over 400 climate change cases, and major climate change policies, to determine how effectively principles of sustainable development have diffused into Australian climate change law and policy.

Care praxis, anthropogenic hegemony and climate adaptation

Anna Sturman

This paper argues for an understanding of 'care-full' climate adaptation that explicitly rejects anthropogenic hegemony while considering the forms of agency capable of destabilising the power that has brought the living systems of Earth to our knees. It locates human agency in our labour: defined as our sensuous engagement with the rest of nature to reproduce ourselves, and articulated in historically specific iterations—presently, in-against and beyond the capital relation. To elaborate this position, the paper attempts a synthesis in three interconnected moves: first, it follows the work of social reproduction theorists, black feminists, ecosocialists and others to return the question of agency ('lived experience') in the global capitalist system to the expansive and internally fragmented working class articulated within the conditions of (re)production of this system as a whole. Second, it draws out and considers some of the ways that 'care praxis' solidarities are implicated, as Farhana

Sultana (2022) calls for, as a mobilising meta-ethic to be grounded in labour in-and-against capital but also beyond; and briefly explores the frontiers through which this might result in stabilising tendencies for the operation of rapacious capital as a whole, versus its prefigurative potential. Third, and finally, the question of anthropogenic hegemony and existing challenge(r)s emerging from care praxis in the context of climate crisis is explored. This final step draws on data collected following the Black Summer bushfires from across the Shoalhaven LGA of NSW, Australia, to argue that care praxis situated explicitly in relationality with the more-than-human world already—unevenly and contingently—exists, is revealed and cohered through climate crises, and should be a key consideration for in building ‘care-full’ and strategically effective movements for just climate adaptation into the future.

Domestic dilemma for economic recovery and boost-----the alternative path of regional cooperation for China, Japan and Korea

Fei Su

Stagnant growth after weak economic results, leading to policy adjustment, has emerged as a motivation for domestic employers and residents appeal for recovery, after long-period economic sluggish of Japan and Korea and two-years economic lost due to pandemic of China. Going through the whole developing history in the three states, reforms include the market liberalization, state-business relations rearrangement, and tax decentralization, but different domestic environments led to some reforms being hindered. Those failure of action for reversing the domestic economy was not only as economic policy the government adopted itself, but social structure and intertwined interest groups. This paper locates on the incentive of domestic political economic requirements to further boost regional cooperation, whereas Invigorate the domestic market and the stagnant economy, and improve the domestic solidarity to a certain extent.

The emotional registers of macro public policy paradigms

Helen Sullivan

Public policy scholarship (and possibly practice) is benefitting from sustained and critical attention to the role and work of emotions and emotional discourse in policy design and implementation (eg Durnova, 2019, Sullivan, 2022). Despite the power of policy paradigms to shape what is possible for public policy, and how it is possible, little attention has been paid to analysing the emotional content of paradigm formation at the 'macro' level. This paper begins to address this gap by exploring the primacy afforded to economics and security in the politics and practice of public policy making globally over the last 50 years. It describes and discusses the emotional content of policy debates on the primacy of economics and security and analyses the interplay of discourses and emotions that secured paradigmatic dominance, while also allowing for ongoing tensions in the balancing of these paradigms. Improving our knowledge of emotions in the formation and maintenance of dominant public policy paradigms is timely as the prevailing paradigmatic settlement is under challenge because of global geopolitical tensions and renewed criticism of globalisation. Developing knowledge about the dynamics of paradigm dominance over the last 50 years will provide better tools to analyse potential paradigm reformation.

Future Endeavours in Collaborative Policymaking – Sydney Policy Lab Roundtable

Helen Sullivan and Kate Harrison Brennan, co-hosts

To what extent do models of collaborative public policy and associated meanings resonate with those who are the human actors in these endeavours? How do such people respond to analyses of their agency, collaborations, and possible futures of such work? Where might those involved in collaborative policymaking take such frameworks for analysis and action? Co-hosted by Professor Helen Sullivan, Dean of the College of Asia and the Pacific at the Australian National University, and Dr Kate Harrison Brennan, Director of the Sydney Policy Lab at the University of Sydney, this roundtable will bring together academics and practitioners interested in collaborative policy making.

Sustainability in the Global Solar Energy Supply Chain

Oliver Summerfield-Ryan and Susan Park

Decades of global growth within a liberal international political economy have contributed to commensurate increase in environmental degradation and social impacts, which have facilitated an exponential increase in sustainability governance initiatives. We seek to investigate how solar PV is being governed according to regulatory context, producer responsibility, and liberal environmental norms. The dramatic increase in global demand for solar PV to mitigate climate change has led to a booming market for solar PV production, which is increasingly dominated by China. We map the environmental and social impacts of solar PV through a life-cycle analysis (LCA) to the global solar PV supply chain. This reveals the need for greater transparency and accountability in governing the global solar supply chain, in order to address significant environmental and social harms at the extraction, production and disposal points of the supply chain.

From Environmental Crisis to Security Concerns: Examining the Threats Posed by Climate Migrants in China

Kasina Sundhagul

In recent years, the issue of climate change has increasingly become a topic of discussion. Upon the many impacts of climate change, one lesser discussed impact is the issue of 'climate migrants.' Currently, no consensus has been reached regarding the definition of this term. However, in Asia, there is undeniably a significant number of people forced to migrate, cross border and internal, in the context of climate change and disasters. China is no exception to this phenomenon. In recent years, the Inner Mongolia area has faced severe snow storms, sand storms, and locust disasters. Coastal areas, like Shanghai, have been exposed to floods and typhoons, while other areas are combating extreme heatwaves. Climate-induced migrants in China have heightened the total number of internal migrants in the country, causing copious internal displacement. This emerging trend is becoming a growing cause of concern especially with the prognostication of the continuous deteriorating of the environment to come. With this in mind, this paper examines the threats posed by the rapidly increasing number of climate-induced migrants in China. By examining the case of China as an example, this paper aims to encourage a collective drive towards devising comprehensive strategies for addressing this pressing issue.

Conceptualising Democratic Stagnation

Josh Sunman

This paper aims to address the lack of attention afforded to consolidated; parliamentary democracies in the current wave of scholarship on Democratic decline. The paper offers a conceptualization of 'democratic stagnation' to capture potential concerns with democratic performance that are not adequately captured by current concepts of 'democratic resilience' and 'democratic backsliding.' Many scholars trying to conceptualise and explain the challenges facing democratic institutions are drawn to obvious cases of backsliding in less consolidated democracies such as Hungary and Türkiye. Where stronger, more consolidated democracies have been the focus of scholarly analysis, the United States has dominated the discussion.

Various sets of democratic indices have presented scores which tend to suggest an overall stability of democratic quality in parliamentary democracies, particularly in their electoral apparatuses. As such, a lack of change has been interpreted by some scholars to signify 'democratic resilience'. This paper argues that a lack of change does not necessarily imply strong performance, and that instead of resilience, a concept of 'democratic stagnation' could be useful in giving more accurate meaning to current trends in parliamentary democracies and in re-focusing attention on their electoral mechanisms.

Parties as bureaucracies: do we need to borrow ideas from public administration and public policy?

Marija Taflaga

Political parties are hybrid-organisations expected to carry out multiple complex functions from organising and aggregating interests, running and winning election campaigns and carrying out the functions of the legislature or government. Party organisations as bureaucracies—relative to other functions—are comparatively understudied. The reason for this is threefold: (1) access—party organisations remain relative 'black boxes'; (2) a relative lack of conceptual and analytical tools in which to assess party organisations comparatively and; (3) a lack of clarity about what scholars should focus on (ie. balancing descriptive, predictive and explanatory imperatives in parties research). In this paper, I primarily focus on the second and third problems and explore the utility of adopting concepts from public administration, public policy and organisational learning in order to study political parties as organisations and bureaucracies. The parties' literature has successfully described multiple perverse outcomes (such as personalisation, mediatisation, presidentialization), but these studies have typically focused on the observable outcomes compared with examining the intra party dynamics. To fully understand these phenomena we need both, and we may need new tools to do so.

Exploring churn within the Australian Public Service

Marija Taflaga and Keith Dowding

In 1987, the Hawke Labor government introduced significant changes to the structure of the Australian Public Service (APS) and bureaucratic career structures. These changes were part of a global world-wide trend that has resulted in what we call the de-separation politics (the combination of the politicisation of bureaucracies and the professionalisation of politics), which has shifted both the incentive structure and decision premise that senior APS staff operated within. This study aims to

trace possible changes to both the incentive and decision promises that operated within the APS over several decades. This study aims to expand the lens by which these questions are interrogated, by examining dynamics both the APS and political office, with some reference to other actors such as interest groups and the media. Using a new data set of elite interviews with politicians, political advisers, bureaucrats, interest group and media personnel, who have served over several decades, we aim to: (1) to describe the evolving intersection between elected elites, political advisers and bureaucrats and (2) to develop a new hypotheses for the systematic investigation of these phenomena.

Social Media and the Malaysia's 2022 Election

Ross Tapsell

This article argues that Malaysia's 2022 General Election (GE15) amplified negative campaigning via new techniques associated with platform and technological advancements, led by creative innovations in campaign tactics, including livestreaming and video content. GE15 was the freest election campaign in Malaysia's history. All political parties and coalitions enjoyed access to a wide range of mainstream and online media to disseminate content, and new platforms like TikTok emerged as influential conduits of campaign messages. Yet serious problems in this digital public sphere remain a feature of the country's media landscape. These include cybertroopers, fake news peddlers, and those creating polarizing content around race and religious issues. This article explains how social media campaigning in Malaysia is becoming more professionalized and better resourced, inspiring some diversity and creativity, while at the same time enabling groups who spread narratives intended to incite and enrage, particularly via video content. The Malaysian case exemplifies the growing problems within the contemporary digital public sphere, showing how the professionalization of social media campaigning can lead to disinformation and, ultimately, polarization.

Democratising participation through democratic functions

Nivek Thompson

Whilst participation is seen as a political good, frameworks for assessing the contribution any particular participatory initiative makes to democracy are few. Arnstein's ladder and the IAP2 spectrum are two well-known approaches. Arnstein's ladder provides an approach to evaluation based on whether participatory activities have a real impact on decision-making and the IAP2 spectrum focuses on designing participation based on the outcomes the organiser is seeking. Democratic functions provide an approach that can guide both design and evaluation of participatory activities. This presentation considers the following democratic functions: (i) Empowered inclusion, (ii) Collective agenda-setting, (iii) Collective will-formation, (iv) Collective decision-making, (v) Accountability and (vi) Legitimacy. It is unlikely that any individual initiative or institution can deliver at a high level against all of these democratic functions. However, they form a useful framework for assessing the strengths and weaknesses of initiatives or institutions. This allows consideration of how strengths may be enhanced and how weaknesses can be addressed within a particular initiative or institution. In addition, this approach allows consideration of how a combination of initiatives or institutions can work together to better deliver against all or at least more of these democratic functions.

NGO strategies in the commercial determinants of health

Belinda Townsend, Katherine Cullerton, Rob Ralston, Jeff Collin, Fran Baum, Liz Arnanz, Jane Martin and Sharon Friel

The recent Lancet series on the Commercial Determinants of Health defines the commercial determinants as the 'systems, practices and pathways through which commercial actors drive health and equity'. While much is known about corporate lobbying and negative commercial influence on public health regulation, less is known about how public health-oriented NGOs attempt to influence corporate and government actors, and the conditions for their success. This presentation presents high level findings from 30 interviews with senior executive managers and policy directors from public health-oriented NGOs in Australia. Drawing on frameworks of inside and outside strategies, and a review of NGO tactics in the commercial determinants of health, the interviews explore why NGOs take the advocacy strategies they do, perceptions of interactions with commercial actors, and views on successful strategies and influence.

Technology and agency in political campaigns: The case of 'datafied' storytelling

Filippo Trevisan, Michael Vaughan and Ariadne Vromen

Who - and increasingly what - exerts agency on data-centered political campaigns? This paper tackles this question by examining how technologies such as search algorithms and Artificial Intelligence systems intervene in decision-making. Through the case of datafied storytelling, we argue that autonomous and semi-autonomous technologies like these add a new form of machine agency to political discourse. Specifically, we analyze a range of Australian and U.S. advocacy organizations that pioneered the use of technology-assisted crowdsourced storytelling, including: grassroots groups on disability rights; coalitions for LGBTQ+ rights; and labor unions. Through a survey of their digital story collection interfaces, in-depth interviews with campaigners and technology specialists, and the examination of storylines and representations, we chart a move toward political story 'on demand.' On the individual level, this provides citizens more agency to project their voice while also constraining them through technological architecture. On the organizational level, agency is simultaneously boosted by the availability of more and - arguably - more effective narrative 'ammunition' and constrained by the need to address specific publics in the hybrid media system. The paper concludes by considering the implications of these findings for the legitimacy and accountability of political organizations.

Ready to Lead? Gendered Mediation of Australian and Canadian Premiers' Political Experience

Linda Trimble and Jennifer Curtin

News about newly elected premiers in Australia and Canada places considerable focus on experience when evaluating readiness for government leadership. In fact, news writers consider premiers' experience more important than their strength, competence, likeability, intelligence and compassion (Wagner et al., 2021). But what is seen to count as appropriate experience for leadership? Are journalists' representations of experience and inexperience reflect gendered norms and assumptions? To answer these questions, we examine newspaper coverage of 22 subnational government leaders in Canada and Australia, comparing commentary about 11 women premiers with representations of their immediate male predecessors. We focus on the first week of reporting

because it captures crucial first impressions of a premier's capacity to perform effectively in the role. A search for news stories and op-eds published in the leading national newspaper in each country and the most highly circulated regional newspaper in each premier's jurisdiction gleaned 842 news items, from which the research team identified 876 discrete references to various forms of experience or inexperience. Using content and discourse analysis methods, we determine the extent to which premier gender, country, and pathway to office shape the forms of experience mentioned, as well as the tone of experience evaluations.

Governing Nano*: Complexity, Uncertainty, Disruption, Anticipation?

Ana Maria Ulloa and Susan Park

Can we govern nanotechnologies? Nanotechnology is the manipulation of particles of matter ranging in size between 1 and 100 nanometers. At this nanoscale, particles have distinctive physical and chemical properties that vary across elements and molecules. This lends nanoparticles to myriad innovative applications across countless industries. Agriculture, environmental remediation, renewable energies, and sustainable urban infrastructure exemplify only a tiny fraction of nanotechnology's possible applications but illustrate well its promising potential to solve pressing societal issues. Partly owing to this optimism and a growing market for nanotechnologies (nano*), their innovation and commercialisation have evolved faster than our understanding of the risks that nano* may pose for the people and the environment and the regulatory efforts to minimise or prevent them. This paper explores whether nano* can be governed given their complexity of form and application but also significant uncertainty in terms of environmental and social risks over the long term. Similar to traditional environmentally harmful chemicals such as pesticides, while befitting the newer 'disruptive technology' category, we aim to identify how nano* is being governed globally, and whether anticipatory governance helps understand the multi-scalar mix of public and private actors, soft and hard regulations, for addressing present and future harm.

The Paris Moment for biodiversity: is it actually good news for nature?

Ana Maria Ulloa

The Convention on Biological Diversity (CBD) finally adopted a long-awaited post-2020 Global Biodiversity Framework (GBF). Nonetheless, the effectiveness of the Kunming-Montreal GBF to catalyse action and achieve nature-positive by 2050 remains to be seen. During the lengthy negotiations, there was enthusiasm about nature finally having its Paris Moment - a reference to the Paris Agreement (PA) of the United Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC). However, the PA is struggling to catalyse enough action to limit global warming to 1.5 °C. Although the UNFCCC has followed a more rigorous path than the CBD, and climate change has had a more prominent profile in the international agenda than biodiversity, this begs the question: why does the PA bring so much optimism about the GBF? Because this paper argues that accountability is crucial to improve implementation, compliance, and environmental outcomes, its objectives are to examine the strengths and weaknesses of the accountability mechanisms of the PA and the GBF and analyse what it implies for nature conservation that biodiversity is having a Paris Moment. Through the lenses of climate and biodiversity governance, this paper sheds light on how accountability can foster transformative change to move from commitment to actions to lessen the environmental crisis.

Examining the Indian Enigma: The Political Economy of Manufacturing in India

Neel Vanvari

In recent years, partly due to COVID-19 related supply chain issues and due to the intensification of the US-China rivalry, countries and companies are increasingly looking to India as the next manufacturing hub. However, manufacturing has historically played a diminished role in India's economy, with the service sector leading India's economic growth after the 1990s. This study asks why has manufacturing in India struggled to grow and become a key sector driving growth in the economy? Focusing on micro, small and medium enterprises (MSMEs) and using primary data collected from interviews with Indian manufacturers, this study attempts to explain why manufacturing in India has struggled to grow to the same levels seen in East Asian Newly Industrialised Countries (NICs). MSMEs in manufacturing are a 'dispersed' group due to their nature and characteristics. Institutions in India have transformed over time, with state-level institutions playing a greater role. This has increased the number of veto-players, making it more challenging for 'dispersed' interest groups like MSMEs to effectively address the collective action problem. Moreover, the prevalence of other important political constituencies such as agriculture and labour along with the variation in state-level factors present further challenges for MSMEs in Indian manufacturing.

Bottom-up community leadership and top-down support: Revisiting the Approach to Anti-Racism Support in Australia

Franka Vaughan

That racism remains a significant problem in Australia. This has never been more widely acknowledged, and various governments, state institutions and statutory bodies, including human rights commissions, have intensified their efforts to find ways to tackle racism. One facet of anti-racism work has received more attention recently: how to address the issue of under-reporting and improving the support for those who have experienced racism. Existing reporting pathways and support services have been established in a top-down process with little engagement with communities. Those experiencing racism are expected to navigate these reporting and support systems, but how well aligned are they with the needs of communities? This question has been the starting point for several research and community engagement projects that have centred the voices of communities affected by racism and worked collaboratively towards improving anti-racism reporting and support options. The analysis of community input has shaped change-oriented roadmaps towards anti-racism support structures that, on the one hand, centres community expertise, agency and leadership and on the other hand, highlight the responsibility of established agencies and institutions to facilitate and amplify community agency, through among other, operational and financial support as a way to address historically entrenched, institutional and systemic racism. The learnings from these projects highlight an urgent need to revisit governance approaches and decision-making in anti-racism and other community-oriented contexts.

Feeling Climate Injustice

Blanche Verlie

While conversations about climate distress are expanding, dominant structures mean that feeling upset about climate change is often seen as a problem of individual psychopathology. This reduces

the role of the state to one where supposedly benevolent governments can (partially) fund time- and geographically-limited mental health counselling following 'individual' extreme weather events and leave it at that, ignoring and downplaying their own role in fuelling the systematic upscaling and compounding nature of these climate crises. This presentation brings together a range of critical social theories with research in climate change emotions to situate climate distress as affective climate violence enacted by fossil fuelled governments. In addition, it focuses on the ways that feeling this climate injustice is mobilising and leveraged by novel forms of embodied climate activism, and the political potentials, and limitations, of these demands for change.

Revisiting the Democracy through Strength Theory in the Case of Cambodia

Mun Vong

How does democratisation under dictatorships occur? Based on the trajectories of developmental Asia, Slater and Wong (2022) propose the “democracy through strength” theory to contrast with the better-known pathway of “democracy through weakness”. Instead of fleeing the scene or saving their skin by negotiating a peaceful political transition with the opposition, they argue that developmental Asia’s democratisation experience is characterised by the under-pressure authoritarian leaders’ conscious decision to hold freer and fairer elections to preserve power. One of the cases in Asia that Slater and Wong analyse is Cambodia. They argue that Cambodia has missed the bittersweet spot or the window of opportunity to democratise through strength when the regime passed its apex of power by the mid-2000s. This paper aims to propose a few important revisions to Slater and Wong’s explanation of Cambodia by arguing that the bittersweet spot in the case of Cambodia has not arrived, rather than has passed.

Rethinking non-participation in politics: challenges for democracy and generational change

Ariadne Vromen, Serrin Rutledge Prior and Darren Halpin

Research on young people’s political participation now encompasses youthful agency and ad hoc everyday forms of engagement. In this empirical and normative shift, ‘non-participation’ was also reconceptualised to be inherently a political act. Young people were found to be engaged in politics, efficacious, and open to exploring emerging forms of non-institutionalised digital action, even if their actions were not readily observable. This paper revisits this set of assumptions about the shift in citizen-driven political engagement, noting that the entry point for voice in politics is now nearly exclusively through digital platforms and communities. We find, however, that the generational story and experience has changed. There is now a significant cohort of older people who are alienated from dominant forms of participation, seeing these acts as something they would never countenance. Based on a representative survey of over 5000 Australian citizens we take a more complex intersectional analysis to look at how class, ethnicity, gender, and location underscore generational differences to intersect with citizen voice and efficacy in choices over non-participation. This re-evaluation of citizenship norms creates important challenges for democratic political institutions interested in fostering meaningful and inclusive state-society linkages.

Role and Threat: Assessing Australia's South China Sea Policy Amid Great Power Rivalry

Shuqi Wang

This article investigates Australia's South China Sea policy during the 2010s as a case study exploring how regional countries respond to great power competition. Employing role theory and the balance of threat, and examining official government statements and remarks, this article argues that Australia's policy in the South China Sea is shaped by its role in the issue and its threat perceptions regarding China. Although not a claimant in the South China Sea, Australia has openly expressed its concerns, driven by its assertive actor role in the region and a sense of obligation to engage. Moreover, heightened perceptions of the 'China threat' have resulted in Australia's language towards China in the South China Sea becoming more assertive and aligned with the United States since the mid-2010s. This article emphasises the impact of ideational factors, particularly role conception and threat perception, on shaping regional countries' foreign policies and patterns of alignment in the context of great power competition. It underscores Australia's South China Sea policy as an example of this dynamic, illustrating that the reformulation of alignment is not solely driven by external pressures, but also influenced by ideational factors.

India Australia Indonesia Security Cooperation in the Indian Ocean

Yue Wang

With the release of the United States' "Indo-Pacific Strategy," the Indian Ocean has become the central stage for strategic competition among major world powers. India, Australia, and Indonesia, as maritime powers within the region, are exploring a new model of small multilateral maritime security cooperation based on bilateral and multilateral cooperation to maintain strategic advantages in the Indian Ocean, enhance non-traditional security governance in the maritime domain, and respond to geopolitical tensions. Currently, the trilateral Indian Ocean security cooperation among these three countries is in its initial stages. However, due to underdeveloped relations between India and Indonesia, differing conceptions of the Indian Ocean order among the three countries, and their focus on different sub-regions, maritime cooperation will be centered around Indonesia's expectations as the highest level, addressing specific maritime security issues, without posing substantial threats to neighboring countries.

Violent Conflicts, Identities (ethnic and national) and the challenges for multiethnic states: The case of Pakistan

Azim Syed Wasif

This study aims to understand the relationship of Violent conflict with identities (ethnic and National) and their impacts on multiethnic states through the case of Pukhtuns from Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, Pakistan. Pakistan is a post-colonial multiethnic state with a history of ethnic problems and is a federation with ethnic provinces (Punjabis identify with the Province of Punjab, Sindhis with Sindh, Balochs with Balochistan and Pukhtuns with Khyber Pakhtunkhwa). Further 2007 there has been a rise of Muslim militants in the Pukhtun region of Pakistan, particularly the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Province. As the militants use Islam to justify their violence against the state of Pakistan and its military (the military has launched multiple security operations against the militants since 2007) and are by majority Pukhtuns this impacts the Pukhtun ethnic identity, Pakistani national identity, and the state of Pakistan. It also has repercussions for the federation of Pakistan as the rise of Muslim militants has been from the Pukhtun majority Province of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (and the recently merged Federally Administered Tribal Areas-ex FATA). Through my PHD and Post PHD research work

since 2015 i reflect on these themes based on the data collected from Swat district (an ex-princely state) of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, Pakistan.

Reconsidering public opinion in the public sphere: When and Why Political Ambivalence matters

Adele Webb

Declining levels of citizen trust are frequently cited as the explanation for wavering attitudes toward contemporary democratic politics. Yet there is reason to suspect that popular attitudes toward political objects are more complex than can be represented by such one-dimensional terms. This paper focuses on the concept of political ambivalence: the presence, within an individual, of both favourable and unfavourable cognitive evaluations or affective reactions to a political issue or object. Existing research has established that ambivalent attitudes have non-trivial consequences for the way citizens process information and form preferences. The new digitally enabled public sphere together with elite division over important policy issues (such as climate change and the indigenous voice to parliament) intensify political ambivalence through the abundance of competing and dissonant cognitive cues that citizens consume. The paper maps an agenda for future research on the cognitive and behavioural consequences of political ambivalence, and whether and under what conditions ambivalent attitudes can be legitimised and harnessed to improve the health of the public sphere.

Democratising Resilience Building: Learning from ‘Spontaneous’ Volunteers and Self-Organised Community Responses during the 2019-20 Bushfires and 2022 Floods

Scott Webster, et al

This paper explores how communities in New South Wales – across the Greater Blue Mountains, the Hawkesbury and the Northern Rivers – mobilised during and after the 2019-20 bushfires and 2022 floods. For many, these interventions proved vital: saving lives through coordinated rescues and evacuations of people and animals; sharing up-to-date information online (often ahead of formal agencies and media outlets); providing temporary (yet, in some cases, still ongoing) accommodation and care; sourcing, preparing and providing resources and supplies; organising hazard reduction, debris clearing and cleaning up; checking in on neighbours including directing support for vulnerable and marginalised residents; assisting with service access among much more. In many cases, these actions were developed informally and ‘spontaneously’ during and after these disaster events, where residents and groups felt the need to take action themselves, with mostly no official institutional support from local, state or federal governments or disaster management agencies. In other cases, these actions are long-running practices in how communities prepare for and respond to disasters, enabled through years of living in-place and learning from past disaster experiences. This paper reports on interviews and workshops conducted with informal and spontaneous organisers of community responses across the three study areas. It describes how such community self-organising was, and continues to be, coordinated and resourced, and argues how these efforts can be recognised, learned from, better supported and clearly encompassed as an essential element in building disaster preparedness and community resilience. This project is funded through the NSW Government’s Disaster Risk Reduction Fund and our community partners include Resilient Blue Mountains, Resilient Byron, StreetConnect and the NSW State Emergency Service.

From Religion to Ethnonationalism- Civil Society-Based Prevention Programming in Bosnia and Herzegovina

Laura Welty

Civil society is integral in maintaining long-term prevention, disengagement and deradicalisation. Literature on disengagement and deradicalisation emphasises the necessity of personal relationships and community involvement in long-term success (Dalgaard-Nielson, 2013; Ebaugh, 1988; Rabasa et al., 2010; Windisch et al., 2016). Social Identity Theory explains how an individual's sense of self is defined based on group membership(s) (Tajfel and Turner, 1986). The importance civil society has been proven in the prevention and deradicalisation programming for Salafist extremism in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Can the culturally contextual and effective methods against Salafist radicalisation transfer to right-wing ethnonationalism prevention and deradicalisation programming in Bosnia? This paper employs an interpretive framework and draws on key aspects of political anthropology and political ethnography to provide a 'from within' analysis of right-wing radicalisation in counter-radicalisation in Bosnia, inclusive of local perspectives. The paper outlines the essential elements of Bosnian Salafist counter-radicalisation programmes, emphasising community-based civil society solutions that incorporate critical thinking skills and interfaith dialogue. It then reviews the literature on ethnonationalist radicalisation and an assessment of current Bosnian programming. Finally, conclusions will be drawn on what effective methods from prevention and deradicalisation programming for Salafist radicalisation can combat right-wing ethnonationalism in Bosnia.

Democratic quality from a citizen perspective: Mainstream and populist voters' conceptualisations of a well-functioning democracy

Annika Werner

When discussing the health and quality of democracy, political science has robust theories around central building blocks like accountability, responsibility, checks and balances, and other vital parts of a (well) functioning democratic regime. While much can be argued about the relative importance of these concepts theoretically, we still know surprisingly little about what citizens conceptualise as the core aspects of democracy and what constitutes a high-quality democracy in their mind. Building on original survey data that goes beyond asking respondents for their attitudes to pre-established political science concepts, this paper investigates how citizens conceptualise democracy, relate commonly theorised concepts to each other, and integrate ideas that are outside of the political science theory canon. More specifically, the study analyses the differences between citizens who self-identify as populist and those who do not, as they seem to relate differently to democracy. The findings from this study provide an important puzzle piece to solving the contradiction between seemingly well-functioning democratic regimes and increasing citizen disenchantment with democracy in practice.

Geographies of Regulatory Disparity in Australia's Energy Transition

Lee White, Brad Riley, Sally Wilson, Francis Markham, Lily O'Neill, Michael Klerck and Vanessa Napaltjari Davis

An energy transition to renewable sources is critical for climate change mitigation. This transition could address existing inequities in the energy system, or it could entrench them. Communities at the spatial periphery are likely to have their needs procedurally overlooked, and in Australia remote communities already face high energy insecurity relative to the rest of the country. Settlements with majority Indigenous population may also be more likely to have their needs procedurally overlooked. We map regulatory documents of retailers and distributors in Australia related to their obligations to support solar connection, to report disconnections, and to have guaranteed service levels and complaints processes. In doing so, we build an original data set of policy documents across these categories for 2,996 settlements across Australia. We use logistic regression analysis to test the likelihood of remote settlements and majority Indigenous settlements lacking each category of protection, while controlling for socioeconomic disadvantage and population. We find that communities that are remote and those that have >80% Indigenous population are more likely to lack protections across all categories. These groups face barriers to participating in energy transition, and evolution of regulatory environments must address this to achieve energy justice.

Economic Coercion at an Interregnum

Jessica Whyte

Today, as economic coercion returns to the centre of international political discourse, it is worth noting that any definition of economic coercion rests on a theory of the scope and limits of economic freedom. Following the Cold War, neoliberal policies were justified as means to foster free trade across borders, create global integration and pacify international relations. But the age of economic freedom also saw a dramatic expansion of economic sanctions, particularly unilateral economic sanctions. Neoliberalism saw a shift in broader understandings of coercion, as a new emphasis on the coercive power of the state went along with the naturalisation of economic power. Against the backdrop of valorisation of the market as a site of free, mutually-beneficial relations, economic sanctions were characterised as non-violent tools for policing the international order. Today, in contrast, faith in peaceful market integration is being displaced by concerns about dependence on geopolitical adversaries, and export controls and supply-chain interdiction are becoming the weapons of choice in an economic Cold War. This paper traces the shifting relation between economic freedom and economic coercion in today's interregnum, during which neoliberal assumptions are being challenged by a turn towards state capitalism and military Keynesianism.

"Climate Refugees": Political Challenges and Implications for Interest Groups

Kinga Wiczorek

This paper examines the concept of "climate refugees" as a new political challenge and explores its implications for interest groups. With the increasing impacts of climate change, such as extreme weather events and rising sea levels, populations are being displaced from their homes, creating a complex set of challenges for policymakers and governments. This study delves into the political dynamics surrounding climate-induced displacement and analyzes the role of interest groups in addressing the needs and rights of climate refugees. By examining the interaction between interest groups, policymakers, and affected communities, this research sheds light on the opportunities and constraints faced by various stakeholders in addressing the issue. Furthermore, it investigates the ways in which interest groups can contribute to global cooperation and influence policy decisions related to climate refugees. The findings of this study contribute to a better understanding of the

political landscape surrounding climate change-induced migration and highlight the importance of effective stakeholder engagement in shaping policies and initiatives for the benefit of climate refugees and the broader society.

The political economy of risk-washing in a time of energy transitions: A case study of Indonesia

Trissia Wijaya

Financial products and investment portfolios have been set to fund either 'climate-smart' or 'green infrastructure projects' while emerging markets are portrayed as entities which are 'unlocking' the billion-dollar credit. A growing political economy literature has devoted much effort to point out the influence of particular politico-economic groups to impede the realization of green financing. Yet, little attention has been paid to the constitutive elements of energy transition policies and country peculiarities in de-risking investments. This paper fills this gap by asking: How have established politico-economic forces reorganize their interests and consolidate their positions within national renewable energy/energy transition policies? How do they reposition themselves within green financing? Focusing on the green infrastructure market in Indonesia, this article contends that national-level climate policies have opened up a new regime of accumulation, which simultaneously expanded various forms of state-owned capital and drawn extractive forces closer to the state. Transnational capital built stronger alliances with a troop of coal companies whose new investment strategies are informed by the state's national growth strategy. One of important dynamics includes the articulation of the new roles of the state in energy transition policy, especially in bearing the financial and regulatory risks and "picking" the winner.

A new measurement of the global rise of populism: Introducing the World Populism Dataset (WPD)

Sam Wilkins and Andrew Walter

As populist political movements have burgeoned in recent decades, so too have attempts to quantify populism in datasets for quantitative analysis. To date, this field has been dominated by expert surveys and text/speech analysis. In this paper we introduce a new dataset - the World Populism Dataset (WPD) - which offers an alternative to these. The product of six years of development by scholars in Australia and the UK, WPD differs from existing populism datasets in three main ways. First, rather than using expert surveys or text/speech analysis it sources data on candidates and parties from qualitative secondary texts which are analysed by a small group of lead coders whose decisions are made transparent via accessible case notes. Second, it uses a core definition of populism and an assemblage of its variables and correlates which differ from other populism datasets. Finally, it has wider temporal and geographical span than other datasets, covering legislative and executive elections in over 50 democracies in all continents in the period of 1980-2020. Further to introducing the dataset's key features, in this paper we will cover some of its key initial findings, its potential usages, and our plans for its continued development.

Teals wipe out generation of Lib leaders': Frontpage News Corp coverage of the 'Teal Independents' during the 2022 Australian Federal Election

Blair Williams

The 2022 Australian federal election saw a historic move of voters away from the two major parties and the rise of the so-called 'Teal Independents'. These candidates were largely professional women campaigning in previously safe conservative seats on platforms prioritising climate change, a federal integrity commission and women's safety or gender justice. However, the Teals were attacked both by Coalition members and especially by News Corp mastheads. This paper employs a Feminist Critical Discourse Analysis (FCDA) to examine the gendered coverage of the Teal independents by Australian News Corp during the 2022 federal election as well as elite interviews with some of the Teal candidates to understand the personal impact of this coverage. Focusing on the portrayal of these candidates as "stealing" the jobs and futures of "great" Liberal (male) politicians, this study explores the underlying power dynamics and gender biases perpetuated by the Murdoch press.

Evidence use in fast-paced policy environments

Eleanor Williams

There is an increasing recognition that government policy making routinely occurs under extreme time pressure, and under conditions of urgency and uncertainty. In order to meet these challenges governments must quickly identify and employ the best available sources of evidence to inform their response. The circumstances of fast-paced policy necessitate expedited processes to generate, synthesise and translate data and information for government decision makers, but there is much to learn about the factors that determine the effectiveness and utility of these rapid evidence sources. This paper will present early findings from empirical research exploring the effectiveness of different evidence sources in fast-paced policy settings using comparative case studies from Australia and the United Kingdom. The research utilises a novel framework exploring the factors that impact evidence take-up at three levels: the characteristics of the evidence itself; individual and group decision-making factors; and broader institutional and environmental factors.

AI-Driven Integration of Space, Cyber, and Physical Domains and Its Security Implications

Junghyun Yoon

In the era of "New Space," the transformation of the space domain into a secure environment has become imperative for nations aiming to safeguard critical assets. Artificial intelligence (AI) is emerging as a pivotal technology required to analyze the vast amount of surveillance data obtained from satellites in space. Indeed, AI is utilized to analyze diverse ground data, including satellite imagery and sensor networks, in order to bolster tactical decision-making. As the potential importance of AI in space security is recognized, space powers are racing to increase their use of AI technology. They are also actively pursuing information sharing through alliances and security partnerships recognizing that pursuing space security initiatives alone can be challenging. Therefore, this study explores critical changes that may arise as AI becomes more prevalent in space and the cyber-physical-space nexus accelerates. Specifically, we will analyze the impact on space weapon development, shifts in 'space power' among leading nations in space development, and the

implications for global governance and emerging norms. Through this examination, I aim to discuss the implications for effectively preparing for future challenges and conflicts.

The BRI's Geostrategic and Military Dynamics

Ji You and Xian Jiaotong

The Belt-and-Road-initiative (BRI) literature in the West largely concentrates on its geostrategic implications, especially the BRI effect of reshaping the geo-political order in the Euro-Asian-African continents. So far few papers have been written from the angle of its military driver. This presentation will explore the BRI's military connotation in the context of global geostrategic rivalry. In fact, the whole idea of westward expansion now underlining the BRI originated from the People's Liberation Army's wariness about China's vulnerable geo-strategic environment along its eastern flank in the 1990s. To cope with the worst-case scenario, going west has become a strategic alternative, and has gradually evolved into a national development and national security strategy.

Governing the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander child: Social work and the racialised logics of juvenile justice reform in Australia

Janelle Young

The question of what to do about child criminality has preoccupied the settler-colonial state since invasion, when the world's first juvenile penal facility was established in Sydney in 1820. Discussions surrounding the so-called problem of juvenile delinquency were animated in part by the potential threat it posed to the future of the Australian nation-state. In the contemporary policy landscape, a discourse of therapeutic intervention is increasingly replacing the language of punishment in reform advocacy efforts. Through an examination of how Australian social work has responded to the mistreatment of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander children in youth justice systems since the Royal Commission into Aboriginal Deaths in Custody in 1991, this article specifically focuses on how the racialised logics underpinning constructions of the risky child are perpetuated in contemporary rhetoric around juvenile justice reform. I specifically analyse scholarly discourses, including social work, that construct child criminality as rooted in familial and societal dysfunction, and the deviant child as capable of being reformed so to enable them to fulfil their role as future adult-citizen of the settler-state.

Presenters' biographies

Gabriele Abbondanza

University of Madrid; University of Sydney; Istituto Affari Internazionali

Dr. Gabriele Abbondanza is Marie Curie Fellow (EU position) at the University of Madrid and Associate at both the University of Sydney and the Italian Institute of International Affairs (IAI). His fields of expertise are Australian and Italian foreign and security policy; great and middle power theory; irregular migration; and the Indo-Pacific. He has taught numerous courses on international relations, security, and migration, and has published extensively, including in journals such as *International Affairs*, *Australian Journal of International Affairs*, *European Political Science*, and *Contemporary Politics*. He is co-editor of two Palgrave Macmillan volumes, respectively on "Awkward Powers" and Italian-Australian relations.

Mohammad Abdul-hwas

University of Canberra

Mohammad Abdul-Hwas is a PhD candidate at the centre for deliberative democracy and global governance- University of Canberra. Mohammad's research focuses on refugee governance and deliberative democracy. Mohammad completed his undergraduate degree in business at Auckland University of Technology, New Zealand. In 2016, he completed his Master of Management from University of Canberra. It was while pursuing his master's degree that Mohammad dove into the world of leadership and governance. Connecting with Syrian refugees drove Mohammad to research deliberative democracy, with the ambition to improve the experience and agency for people caught in a refugee crisis.

Leena Abdul-Khaliq

Curtin University

Leena is a PhD candidate and academic at Curtin University. Her current research focuses on the Middle East and North Africa region, specifically women's political participation during regime transitions. She teaches international relations and history units at Curtin University and is a member researcher of the Curtin Extremism Research Network (CERN) based in Perth.

Madhulika Agarwal

University of Queensland

Madhulika Agarwal is a postgraduate student of Governance and Public Policy (2022-23) at the University of Queensland, Australia. She is originally from India. She completed her BALLB (Hons) from National Law University Delhi, India in 2019. Madhulika's research areas of interest are public policy, radical feminist theory, prostitution, pornography, and male violence. She has previously published essays in feminist journals like *Rain and Thunder*.

Kirsten Ainley

Australian National University

Ernest Akuamoah

Australian National University

Frank Algra-Maschio

Monash University

Frank Algra-Maschio is a PhD candidate in the School of Social Sciences at Monash University. His thesis explores the pledging and fulfillment of election promises of four Australian federal governments from 2010 to 2022.

Caleb Althorpe

Trinity College Dublin

Caleb Althorpe is an IRC Government of Ireland Postdoctoral Fellow in the Philosophy Department at Trinity College Dublin (commencing September). He received his PhD in Political Science from Western University. His research is in contemporary political theory, especially in the areas of meaningful work, economic justice, and political liberalism. Caleb's work has recently been published in *Critical Review of International Social and Political Philosophy*, *Social Theory and Practice*, and *Urban Affairs Review*.

Lindy Andrén

University of Queensland

Lindy Andrén (BA, MA, BSocSc(Hons I)) is a PhD candidate at POLSIS, UQ. Her research engages relational knowledge to explore the Indigenous-settler relationship informed by two decades working in government and for Indigenous organisations. Her work is interdisciplinary, drawing on degrees in English, Psychology, and Anthropology and studies in Classics, Philosophy and Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies. She is active in governance and currently sits on the board of the Northern Rivers Community Legal Centre. Lindy is of northern European heritage, arrived in Australia in 1997, and lives on Widjabul Wia-bal Bundjalung Country. She acknowledges this and all Country, its Elders and custodians.

Adam Antonelli

Student at the University of Sydney

Adam Antonelli is a policy enthusiast passionate about social justice and housing policy. Adam's time supporting public housing tenants undergoing the redevelopment of their homes and case managing rough sleepers encouraged him to undertake a Master of Public Policy. Adam wanted to understand why we have homelessness in such a rich country and why in recent history governments show such disdain for those needing affordable rental housing. Adam's recent roles have included Policy Advisor to the City of Sydney Council's Deputy Lord Mayor and Secretary for the community group REDWatch.

M. Hali Aprimadya

The Australian National University/ Indonesian National Research and Innovation Agency (BRIN)

Aries A. Arugay

University of the Philippines Diliman

Aries A. Arugay is Professor and Chairperson of the Department of Political Science where he has been a regular faculty member since 2004. He teaches undergraduate and graduate courses in comparative politics, international relations, research methods, and political theory. He has received the University of the Philippines Centennial Professorial Chair/Faculty Grant from (2015-2018 and 2020-2022) and the One UP Professorial Chair in Political Science (Comparative Democratization) for Outstanding Teaching and Research from 2016 onwards. He was also conferred the rank of UP Scientist II (2019-2021).

Hans Asenbaum

University of Canberra

Hans Asenbaum is a Senior Research Fellow at the Centre for Deliberative Democracy and Global Governance at the University of Canberra. His research interests include radical democracy, queer and gender studies, digital politics, and participatory research methods. In 2022 he received the ECPR Rising Star Award. Hans is the author of *The Politics of Becoming: Anonymity and Democracy in the Digital Age* (Oxford University Press, 2023) and co-editor of *Research Methods in Deliberative Democracy* (with Ercan, Curato and Mendonça, Oxford University Press, 2022). His work has been published in the *American Political Science Review*, *New Media & Society*, *Politics & Gender*, and the *International Journal of Qualitative Methods*. // Ariadne Vromen is the Sir John Bunting Chair of Public Administration in the Crawford School, a position that is co-funded by ANU and the Australia and New Zealand (ANZSOG) School of Government. As Deputy Dean (Research) for ANZSOG, and a member of Crawford's Policy and Governance Department, her work focuses on research leadership and strategy to foster excellence in impactful and applied research. Her research interests include citizen engagement, digital politics and governance, women and the future of work, policy advocacy, and young people and politics. Hans tweets from: @Hans_Asenbaum.

Russell Ayres

University of Canberra

Russell Ayres is an Associate Professor with the Centre for Environmental Governance at the University of Canberra. He joined UC after a 30-year career in public policy and program management at the national level mainly in the education and social service portfolios. His career also included periods as an independent consultant, advising government agencies on their policy development processes and issues. As well as teaching public policy at three different universities, he is researching the role of the public service in public policy, including co-editing *Learning Policy, Doing Policy* (ANU Press, 2021). His PhD (2001) was on policy markets in Australia.

Niloufar Baghernia

Australian National University

Niloufar Baghernia is PhD researcher at the Centre for Arab and Islamic Studies (CAIS), the Australian National University.

Francesco Bailo

University of Sydney

"Francesco Bailo is interested in the use of digital and social media in politics. He obtained my PhD at the University of Sydney in 2017 with research on online political participation using computational methods for text and network analysis. Before academia, he has worked in development assistance for the Australian government, non-governmental organisations and the UN. He lived in Afghanistan, Guatemala, Mauritius and Ecuador. He has published on the role played by internet technologies on political participation in *Social Media + Society*, *Information, Communication & Society*, *Political Studies* and *Policy Studies* and on Italian politics in *European Political Science*. He has published a book with Palgrave on the online communities during the emergence of M5S.

Kerryn Baker

Australian National University

Dr Kerryn Baker is a Fellow in the Department of Pacific Affairs, ANU. She has extensive research experience in the Pacific Islands region, and has published in leading journals on issues of political participation, electoral reform and women's political representation. Her book *Pacific Women in Politics: Gender Quota Campaigns in the Pacific Islands* was published by University of Hawaii Press in 2019 and won the 2021 Carole Pateman Gender and Politics Book Prize.

Sarah Ball

Sarah Ball is a lecturer in public policy. She is currently working on an ESRC project exploring 'Ethics and expertise in times of crisis: Learning from international varieties of ethics advice'. Her research explores the concept of policy translation, specifically how policy workers (primarily in the Australian Federal Public Service) translate new ideas, innovations and knowledge into policy. Examples include her extensive research on the use of behavioural insights and experimental methods in the development of social policy in the Australian Federal Government and more recent work on digitalisation, codesign and coproduction.

Marcus Barber

Marcus Barber is an environmental anthropologist in Land and Water. He has 20 years field research experience with Aboriginal Australians, focused on water issues, livelihood development, and building contemporary Indigenous cultural and natural resource management. His postgraduate research in Blue Mud Bay, NT contributed directly to a High Court decision recognising Aboriginal rights to the intertidal zone along the Northern Territory coastline and he has researched and written about Aboriginal freshwater values, rights and interests in key locations in Western Australia, the Northern Territory, and Queensland.

Fiona Barker

Te Herenga Waka | Victoria University of Wellington

Fiona Barker is Senior Lecturer in Comparative Politics at Te Herenga Waka - Victoria University of Wellington, where she also directs the Master of Political Science degree and was Associate Investigator on New Zealand's Election Study (2017, 2020). Her research interests span the comparative politics of representation, immigration and electoral politics, political participation, and nationalism. Recent publications examine diversity in political representation in mixed electoral systems (Parliamentary Affairs 71: 3, 2018), electoral participation of immigrants (Political Science 69: 2, 2017), and the role of 'ethnic' media in democratic politics (Australian Journal of Political Science 56: 2, 2021).

Mr Clayton Barr MP

Member for Cessnock

Clayton was born and raised in Cessnock, where he lives with his wife Lisa and their four children. Clayton studied teaching at Newcastle University and taught at Mount View High School for 9 years. He then worked for the National children's cancer charity CanTeen. Immediately prior to entering parliament, Clayton worked for Port Stephens Council helping community organisations. Along the way Clayton has also driven tour buses, taught swimming, laboured for contractors and worked part-time at a local Hotel. As a father he understands the issues facing working families. Clayton will fight to make sure we have the best schools with more teachers and for more funding for local hospitals to deliver the best health care for our community. Clayton was elected to the Legislative Assembly in March 2011 as the Member for Cessnock. In the Legislative Assembly he currently holds the positions of Temporary Speaker; Chair, Legislative Assembly Committee on Community Services; Chair, Legislative Assembly Committee on Environment and Planning; Chair, Legislative Assembly Select Committee on the Residential Tenancies Amendment (Rental Fairness) Bill 2023; Deputy Chair, Public Accounts Committee, Member of Legislative Assembly Committee on Community Services; Member, Legislative Assembly Committee on Environment and Planning; Member, Legislative Assembly Select Committee on Residential Tenancies Amendment (Rental Fairness) Bill 2023; Member, Legislative Assembly Select Committee on Remote, Rural and Regional Health. Clayton has a strong history of being active on the local community. He has been involved actively with water polo, netball, swimming club, football, rugby league, hockey, golf and little athletics. He has also been involved in Healthy Heart and Road Safety campaigns. Apart from making sure that we get our fair share of infrastructure spending, Clayton is dedicated to unlocking the future of our community and our people through education.

Nicholas Barry

La Trobe University

Nicholas Barry is a Senior Lecturer in Politics at La Trobe University and Director of the Online Bachelor of Arts. Working across comparative politics and political theory, his research focuses on contemporary egalitarian theory, the place of constitutional conventions and norms in an era of democratic decline, and the ideology of Australia's political parties. His work has been published in

journals such as the Journal of Politics, Governance, the Australian Journal of Political Science, Parliamentary Affairs and the Journal of Applied Philosophy.

Azad Singh Bali

University of Melbourne

Azad Singh Bali is Associate Professor (Reader) of Public Policy in the School of Social and Political Sciences at the University of Melbourne and Honorary Associate Professor at the School of Politics and International Relations at the ANU with research interests in comparative approaches to studying public policy challenges, particularly those in health care and social policy."

Monika Barthwal-Datta

UNSW Sydney

Dr. Monika Barthwal-Datta is Senior Lecturer in International Security in the School of Social Sciences, UNSW Sydney. Monika's research areas include critical security studies, securitization studies, strategic narratives, and foreign policy. Empirically, her research focus includes non-traditional security issues, particularly food security; non-state actors and regional security challenges in South Asia, and Indian foreign policy. She is the author of *Food Security in Asia: Challenges, Policies and Implications* (IISS and Routledge, 2014) and *Understanding Security Practices in South Asia: Securitisation Theory and the role of non-state actors* (Routledge, 2012)."

Samuel Bashfield

Australian National University

Samuel Bashfield is a final year PhD candidate and research officer at the ANU National Security College. He is also defence researcher at the Australia India Institute and Non-Residential Fellow at the Royal Australian Navy's Sea Power Centre. His research interests include (modern and Cold War-era) Indo-Pacific security, defence and foreign policy, Indo-Pacific security architecture, maritime security, nuclear issues, the rules-based order and technology governance. Sam's PhD thesis examines the British Indian Ocean Territory's Cold War history, focussing on Anglo-US military, diplomatic and political cooperation. He teaches international relations at the University of Melbourne.

Sulagna Basu

University of Sydney

Sulagna Basu is a PhD candidate in the Discipline of Government and International Relations at the University of Sydney. Her doctoral research focusses on the history and politics of US cybersecurity policies based on a critical understanding of security and its relationship to space. More broadly, her research interests include a focus on the politics of language and technology along with a focus on how these intersect with the politics of race and gender.

[Adrian Bazbauers](#)

UNSW Canberra

Dr Adrian Robert Bazbauers is Senior Lecturer in International Public Sector Management in the School of Business, UNSW Canberra.

[Juliet Bennett](#)

University of Sydney - Sydney Policy Lab

Amanda Tattersall is an Associate Professor of Practice with the Sydney Policy Lab and School of Geosciences, bringing decades of change making experience to the University.

[Peter Bentley](#)

University of Melbourne

Peter Bentley is Editor-in-Chief of the Journal of Higher Education Policy and Management (2017 - present), Policy Advisor at the Innovative Research Universities (2018 – present) and an Honorary Fellow at The University of Melbourne, where he previously worked as a Research Fellow (2011 to 2017). He was recently part of the Australian University Accord Research Policy Design Working Group, providing advice on research training. He holds a PhD from the Center for Higher Education Policy Studies at the University of Twente and a European Master in Higher Education (jointly awarded by the universities of Oslo, Tampere and Aveiro). He also holds bachelor degrees from The University of Western Australia and a master degree in European Business and Business Law from Lund University. His research interest is the academic profession from an international comparative perspective. Peter tweets at: @DrPeterBentley.

[Marie Berry](#)

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[Chiranjibi Bhandari](#)

Department of Conflict, Peace and Development Studies, Tribhuvan University

Chiranjibi Bhandari is an Assistant Professor at the Department of Conflict, Peace and Development Studies and Young Leaders Neighborhood First Fellow at St. Stephen's College, New Delhi in the year of 2022. As a remarkable contribution for a nation, Bhandari served in Nepal's peace process as an operation officer, especially in terms of management of arms and ex-combatants in Nepal along with integration and social reintegration phase. He has more than a decade of experience in various peace

building initiatives and research work led by the government of Nepal, civil society actors and university.

Pranav Bhaskar

Pandit Deen Dayal Energy University

Stuti Bhatnagar

Postdoctoral Research Fellow - Australian National University

Dr Stuti Bhatnagar is a Postdoctoral Research Fellow at the Strategic and Defence Studies Centre at the Australian National University. With a PhD in politics and international relations from the University of Adelaide, she specialises in Indian foreign policy and South Asian politics. Her research involves a closer look at the domestic determinants of India's foreign policy. She has several peer-reviewed academic publications to her credit and is the author of *India's Pakistan Policy: How Think Tanks Are Shaping Foreign Relations* published by Routledge in 2021.

Pranata Bhattacharya

Bankura university

Assistant Professor at Bankura University (Public University in India) . Presented paper at British International Studies Association Annual Conference, 2023 at Glasgow UK, presented paper on related topic for SOAS, London, published work on Spatial Justice and Metaverse from Pennsylvania, USA. UGC care list publication. Wrote modules for NSOU, India. Did MPhil from IFPS, University of Calcutta, India, Did PG Diploma in Human Rights, Jadavapur University, India, did MA in International Relations at Jadavapur University, India. Pursuing PHD at Vidyasagar University, India. Currently Publicity Chair and member of Theory at International Studies Association, USA. Author, Researcher, Faculty and speaker. Member at Institute of Northeast Studies, West Bengal Political Science Association, Bengal Institution of Political Science in India. Assistant Fellow at IPRH. Received intellectual of the year award. Received the academic influencer award by IPRH.

Caitlin Biddolph

University of Sydney

Caitlin Biddolph is a Postdoctoral Research Fellow in Gender and Global Governance at the University of Sydney, Australia. Caitlin completed her PhD in International Relations at the University of New South Wales (UNSW), Australia, and was formerly a Research Associate with the Australian Human Rights Institute. Caitlin's primary research focuses on queering governance and international law, with her most recent research exploring discourses and logics of gender, sexuality, civilisation, and violence at the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY). She is particularly interested in queer, feminist, and postcolonial approaches to global politics, particularly global governance, international law, and transitional justice. Caitlin's most recent work has been published in *Millennium: Journal of International Studies*, *Griffith Law Review*, and the *Australian Journal of Human Rights*. Caitlin tweets at: @CaitlinBiddolph.

Sarah Bierre

University of Otago

Sarah Bierre is a Senior Research Fellow with He Kainga Oranga/Housing and Health Research Programme at the University of Otago. She uses qualitative and critical methodologies to look at how policy, politics and law create and alleviate inequalities in access to affordable, secure, and decent housing, with a focus on the rental sector. Her most recent work looks at the potential of a politics of kindness for housing policy, politics and narratives of rental housing standards, and experiences and consequences of eviction. She currently leads work examining the governance of public housing and associated well-being outcomes.

Sergio Biggemann

Otago University

Sergio Biggemann teaches business studies at Otago University. holds a Doctor of Business Administration from Macquarie Graduate School of Business at Macquarie University in Sydney, Australia. He also holds a Master of Business Administration and a Master of Management and Public Policy from the Catholic University of Bolivia (both with Distinction) and a bachelor's degree in Mining Engineering.

Sarah Birch

King's College, London

Sarah Birch is Professor of Political Science, as well as Director of Research at King's College, London. She studies comparative politics and public ethics. Sarah previously held Chairs at the University of Essex and University of Glasgow. She is a fellow of the British Academy and the Royal Society of Edinburgh, and an Associate Fellow of the Institute of Public Policy Research.

James Blackwell

ANU

James Blackwell is a proud Wiradyuri man from Boorowa in NSW. He is a Research Fellow in Indigenous Diplomacy at the Australian National University's Coral Bell School of Asia Pacific Affairs, as well a PhD Candidate within the School's IR Department. James' PhD and broader research work is focused on exploring how First Nations peoples across this continent understand, practice, and participate in diplomacy & international relations, and whether First Nations practices and knowledges can be better utilised in International Relations theory and Foreign Policy practice. His work also has a focus on advancing Indigenous knowledges and perspectives into spaces within policy, higher education, and of course International Relations, that have previously been built around the exclusion of Indigenous voices, to hopefully create a greater presence for his community. He is a member of the Uluru Dialogue at UNSW, and worked extensively to support the Uluru Statement From the Heart and campaigned/educated across regional NSW & Victoria during the 2023 referendum campaign. James tweets at @BlackwellJ.

Anja Bless

Institute for Sustainable Futures, University of Technology Sydney

Anja Bless is a PhD Candidate at the Institute for Sustainable Futures, University of Technology Sydney. Her PhD research is exploring the politics of regenerative agriculture, with Australia as the national case study. She also works as a Casual Academic at the University of Sydney in the Government and International Relations discipline and is a member of the Sydney Environment Institute. Anja holds a Bachelor of Arts (Honours) in Government and International Relations and Sociology from the University of Sydney, and a Master of Environment (with Distinction) majoring in Sustainable Food Systems from the University of Melbourne.

David Blunt

University of Sydney

Gwilym David Blunt is a Lecturer in International Relations at the University of Sydney. He is also a Senior Research Fellow of the Centre for International Policy Studies and Fellow of the Ethics Centre. He formerly was a Senior Lecturer in International Politics at City University of London and Leverhulme Early Career Fellow at the University of Cambridge. Guy Aitchison is a Senior Lecturer at Loughborough University. He previously taught in the Philosophy department at King's College London and before that he held an Irish Research Council postdoctoral fellowship at University College Dublin.

George Boone

University of Sydney

George Boone is a casual academic at the University of Sydney. His research focuses on realism, great power politics, the rise of China, and US foreign policy. I am currently a PhD candidate at the University of Sydney, but I have submitted my revisions and barring the unforeseen, I should have my doctorate by the time of the conference.

Miranda Booth

Charles Darwin University

Miranda Booth is the coordinator of the Bachelor of Humanitarian Aid and Development at Charles Darwin University. Her research spans across strategic narratives and perceptions, defence and strategic studies, and disaster management.

Linda Botterill

University of Canberra

Anna Boucher

University of Sydney

Associate Professor Anna Boucher is a comparative public policy scholar and Chair of the Discipline of Government and International Relations at the University of Sydney. She is the author of three books with university presses, the most recent of which is "Patterns of Exploitation" (Oxford University Press, 2023). In addition, she is a frequent advisor to domestic and international government and, on weekends in her "spare time", a practising employment and anti-discrimination law solicitor.

Penelopy Bowyer-Pont

Penelope's Doctorate was conferred in early 2023. Penelope currently works for the University of Sydney Business School as a Research Manager for an ARC Discovery project examining organisational data breach disclosure practises. She is also working on a collaborative project with the Macquarie University School of Social Sciences, NSW Tenants Union and Shelter NSW to produce a comprehensive report detailing international examples of rent regulation. She has a wide range of research interests including housing policy, political participation, truth in media and the formation of political beliefs and value sets.

Matthew Brett

Deakin University

Matthew Brett is Director, Academic Governance and Standards at Deakin University.

Nicholas Bromfield

Centre for Social Impact, UNSW

Nicholas Bromfield is a Lecturer with the Centre of Social Impact UNSW. Nicholas is a public policy, administration and governance researcher with a background in political science. His research agenda diagnoses and provides solutions to issues of crisis, identity and their social impact via public policy from Australian and comparative perspectives. His recent research projects have focused on Australia and New Zealand and the COVID-19 crisis, with interests in crisis administration, policy evidence, and civil society and third sector participation. He also researches issues of Australian identity and their effect on policy and rhetoric. As part of the education team, Nicholas' multi-award winning teaching style emphasises an innovative, flexible and adaptable approach that centres the diversity of student needs and experiences. His course design stresses a need for inclusivity across delivery systems, including in-person, blended and online teaching, and he fosters relationship-building skills with and between students and industry partners. Nicholas tweets at: @NicholasBromfi1.

Jeremiah Thomas Brown

University of Melbourne

Dr Jeremiah Thomas Brown is a Lecturer in Public Policy in the School of Social and Political Sciences at the University of Melbourne. His current research interests are in public and social policy, financial

wellbeing, and the role that both organisations and the welfare state play in shaping the wellbeing outcomes of democratic citizens. He is particularly interested in the principles that underpin policy choices, and the impact that both government and organisations can have in improving wellbeing outcomes in people's lives. His recent work analyses the role that administrative burden and application forms can play in preventing access to social security support, and how using a systems approach to financial wellbeing can improve individual financial wellbeing outcomes."

Patrick Brownlee

ANZSOG

Sarah Cameron

Griffith University

Dr Sarah Cameron is a Senior Lecturer in Public Policy at Griffith University.

Charlotte Carney

University of Sydney

Mariana Carvalho

Brown University

Mariana Carvalho is a Postdoctoral Fellow at Brown University. She studies comparative politics and political economy with a focus on violence, organized crime, and corruption. Mariana received a PhD in Political Science at the University of California, San Diego. She graduated from Fundação Getulio Vargas with a BA in Economics and a MA in Public Administration. Mariana is also the co-founder of Rede A Ponte, an initiative that supports women in politics.

Daniel Casey

ANU

Daniel Casey is a PhD candidate at the School of Politics and International Relations at the Australian National University. His research focuses on responsiveness of political elites to public opinion and how the political and public agenda are set. He is studying this by examining the letters of members of the public to Prime Minister Howard. His other research interests include government transparency and accountability; public administration; and the training and mentoring of PhD candidates. Prior to academia, he had an extensive career in the Australian Public Service, working across central and social policy agencies, where he worked on the establishment of the National Disability Insurance Scheme, and the rollout of digital TV. He has also worked for Members of Parliament and peak NGOs, where he was responsible for developing policy submissions to government. Daniel tweets at: @DanielCasey_CBR

Anurug Chakma

Australian National University

Dr Anurug Chakma is a Research Fellow in the Migration Hub of the School of Regulation and Global Governance (RegNet) at the Australian National University (ANU). Before this academic position, he was a casual sessional academic in the School of Politics and International Relations (SPIR) at the ANU. He also taught several undergraduate and graduate courses in the Department of Peace and Conflict Studies at the University of Dhaka, Bangladesh, for four years as a Lecturer and one year as an Assistant Professor. He also worked as a researcher at the Bangladesh Legal Aid and Services Trust (BLAST) and as a researcher and national consultant on projects at the UNDP-CHTF and University College London (UCL) over the last six years.

Paul Chamberlain

Australian National University

Mr. Paul Chamberlain is a PhD candidate at the Australian National University, in the Strategic and Defence Studies Centre, Coral Bell School of Asia Pacific Affairs. His research topic is the role of navies in the conduct of statecraft in East Asia, with the case studies of Australia, Japan, and Singapore. He previously worked for the Canadian Government in a variety of Defence Policy positions, including as the Policy Advisor to the Commander of the Royal Canadian Navy (RCN) where he was responsible for advising on domestic and international issues and maintaining the strategic direction of RCN global activities.

Lai-Ha Chan

University of Technology Sydney

Lai-Ha Chan is a Senior Lecturer in the Social and Political Sciences Program, School of Communication at the University of Technology Sydney (UTS). She was a Fung Global Research Fellow in the Princeton Institute for International and Regional Studies, Princeton University, New Jersey, USA in 2016-17.

Victor Chi-Ming Chan

The Hang Seng University of Hong Kong

Victor C. M. Chan is Assistant Professor at the Department of Social Science and Associate Director (Service-Learning) at the Centre for Teaching and Learning, the Hang Seng University of Hong Kong. His research interests include heritage politics and diplomacy, international relations of Asia, and higher education in Asia.

Phanuphat Chattragul

Chiang Mai University

Chung Chien-peng (C. P.)

Lingnan University, Hong Kong

Chien-Peng (C.P.) Chung is Professor in the Department of Government and International Affairs, Lingnan University, Hong Kong. Dr. Chung received his doctorate in political science at the University of Southern California. His research interests include the politics and history of China, Chinese and Asian economic, foreign and security relations, and ethnic nationalism. Dr. Chung has written three solely-authored books and one co-authored book, contributed chapters to edited works, and published articles in journals such as Pacific Review, Asian Survey, Korean Journal of Defense Analysis, Problems of Post-Communism, China Quarterly, Pacific Affairs, Issues & Studies, Harvard International Review, and Foreign Affairs.

Christine Chinki

Professor of International Law, LSE Paul Kirby, Associate Professor of International Relations, Queen Mary University

Osmond Chiu

independent scholar

Osmond Chiu is the Senior Policy and Research Officer at the Community and Public Sector Union (PSU Group) and a Research Fellow at the Per Capita thinktank. He recently completed a Master of Research at Macquarie University examining reverse privatisation in Australia.

EJR Cho

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E. J. R. Cho is a Research Fellow at the Institute for National Security Strategy (INSS) in Seoul. Her research interests include nuclear proliferation, ontological security, and the geopolitics of the Indo-Pacific region. Cho critically engages with the mainstream discussion of International Relations and has published many scholarly articles and policy papers, including: "Non-Proliferation Efforts at Risk: A Study of North Korea's Network for Nuclear and Missile Cooperation"; "Nation Branding for Survival in North Korea: The Arirang Festival and Nuclear Weapons Tests"; "Epistemological Turn in North Korean Studies: Critical Analysis of North Korean Threat Theory". Currently, she is working on a project that examines the geopolitical implications of European countries' Indo-Pacific Strategy and National Security Strategy for the regional dynamics in Northeast Asia.

Tom Chodor

Monash University

Tom Chodor is Senior Lecturer in Politics and International Relations at the School of Social Sciences, Monash University. His research focuses on the global governance of the global economy, and the role of private actors in contributing to and contesting global policy agendas. He has published articles in Review of International Political Economy, Journal of Common Market Studies, Journal of Contemporary Asia, Globalizations and Global Governance, and is the author of Neoliberal

Hegemony and The Pink Tide in Latin America: Breaking Up With TINA? (Palgrave 2015), and co-author of Unravelling the Crime-Development Nexus (Rowman & Littlefield 2022).

Tariq Choucair

Queensland University of Technology

Tariq Choucair is a current Postdoctoral Research Associate at the Digital Media Research Centre (DMRC) - Queensland University of Technology (QUT), working in the project Determining the Drivers and Dynamics of Partisanship and Polarisation in Online Public Debate, coordinated by Prof. Axel Bruns. Tariq holds a PhD in Communication from the Federal University of Minas Gerais (UFMG, Belo Horizonte, Brazil). His research focusses on online political conversations and mixed methods to analyse these discussions, combining manual and computational approaches. He especially researches deep disagreements over political minority rights, with a focus on countries in the Global South.

Soumyadeep Chowdhury

Master's Student at St. Xavier's College (Autonomous), University of Calcutta

Soumyadeep Chowdhury is a Master's candidate in Political Science aspiring for doctoral research. Apart from bagging the Gold Medal in Political Science Honours from St Xavier's College (Autonomous), Calcutta under the University of Calcutta, he has also been a CBSE state topper holding several student leadership positions to his credit while he was in school and college. Soumyadeep intends to specialise in Indian Politics, Comparative Government and Public Policy spatially concentrated in South Asia. Describing himself as an 'election nerd' keenly observing and tracking election results in Democracies around the world, decoding the 'qualitative in the quantitative', he regularly publishes on Indian Politics, an area which he considers his forte in national and international journals, prominent blogs, national dailies like the Telegraph and books his latest being 'The Crescent Has Its Own Stories' with Ukiyoto Publishing. He has also presented his papers at several international conferences hosted by premier institutions besides remaining an avid public speaker on issues of contemporary socio-political importance for, he believes, words are incredibly powerful to change the world.

Peter Christoff

Peter Christoff is a political scientist, a senior research fellow with the Melbourne Climate Futures Initiative, and an honorary associate professor with the School of Geography, Atmospheric and Earth Sciences at the University of Melbourne. His books include Globalisation and the Environment (co-authored with Robyn Eckersley) and Four Degrees of Global Warming: Australia in a Hot World.

William R. Clark

Texas A&M University

William R. Clark is Charles Puryear Professor of Liberal Arts at Texas A&M University. His research focus is on comparative and international political economy with an emphasis on the politics of macroeconomic policy in open economy settings.

Connor Clery

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Tegan Cohen

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Tegan is a Postdoctoral Research Fellow and Law Lecturer at the Queensland University of Technology. Her research spans the regulation of digital platforms and artificial intelligence, privacy law and theory, and the laws of democracy and electoral politics. Her doctoral thesis, *The Datafied Polity*, explored the democratic value of privacy in the context of data-driven, platform-mediated political campaigning. Combining doctrinal interrogation, theoretical exploration, and empirical methods, the work situates voter privacy within the Australian constitutional order, and evaluates legal pathways to address contemporary threats.

Philippa Collins

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Professor is a Principal Research Fellow at the Institute for Culture and Society at Western Sydney University. She Co-Directs the WSU Young and Resilient Research Centre and the Intergener8 Living Lab. She is a Stream Lead for the Wellbeing, Health and Youth NHMRC Centre of Research Excellence (2017 - 2022). A social scientist, Philippa researches the role of the digital in the social, cultural and political lives of young people, with a focus on the implications for health and wellbeing. Her work is also concerned with new forms of political participation, identity and governance as they relate to the dynamics of elitism and exclusion.

Diane Colman

Western Sydney University

Diane Colman is a lecturer in international relations and global politics at Western Sydney University. Diane has recently become interested in researching the intersection between popular culture and global politics, including fashion, film and music. Diane is currently researching the global politics inherent in Netflix Original Films.

Dara Conduit

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Dara Conduit is an Australian Research Council DECRA Research Fellow in Political Science in the School of Social and Political Sciences at the University of Melbourne, and a Non-Resident Scholar at the Middle East Institute in Washington D.C. Her research sits at the intersection of authoritarian politics and cyber technology, and she has a regional specialism in the Middle East, particularly Syria and Iran. Her work has been published in top-tier political science journals including *Democratization*, *Political Geography* and *The Middle East Journal*, and her book *The Muslim Brotherhood in Syria* (Cambridge University Press) won the 2020 OCIS book prize.

Wendy Conway-Lamb

University of Canberra

Wendy Conway-Lamb is a researcher and practitioner with over fifteen years of experience working on climate change and international development. She is currently completing a PhD at the Centre for Deliberative Democracy and Global Governance, University of Canberra, exploring how those most affected by climate change can be better included in global adaptation governance, with an empirical focus on Vietnam. She is a member of the research team evaluating the Global Citizens' Assembly on the climate and ecological crisis. Besides academia, Wendy has worked for government, the UN, think tanks, and community-based NGOs in Europe and the Asia-Pacific region.

Jack Corbett

Monash University

Jack Corbett is professor of politics and international relations and Head of the School of Social Sciences at Monash University. His research explores the intersections between comparative politics, public policy, and international relations scholarship via interpretive approaches that foreground actors and their intersubjective beliefs.

Nicole Curato

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Jennifer Curtin

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Jennifer Curtin is a Professor of Politics and Director of the Public Policy Institute at the University of Auckland. Her research focuses on Australian and New Zealand politics and policy, gender, political leadership, and the politics of sport. She is the author of 8 books and over 70 articles and chapters on these topics. Jennifer is engaged in externally funded projects on: Gender Responsive Budgeting in New Zealand; the Gendered Policy Effects of COVID19; Gender and Political Leadership at the Subnational Level in Australia and Canada; and she is a Principal Investigator on the New Zealand Election Study.

Ruth Dassonneville

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Ruth Dassonneville is an Associate Professor in the Department of Political Science of the Université de Montréal. She holds the Canada Research Chair in Electoral Democracy. Her research interests include voting behaviour, political parties, compulsory voting, as well as women and politics.

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Remy Davison

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Remy Davison is Jean Monnet Chair in Politics and Economics at Monash University. In 2010, he was appointed a UN Global Expert. He is the former Acting Director of the Monash European and EU Centre. He was Visiting Professor at the European University Institute in 2015. In 2018, Dr. Davison keynoted the Beijing conference of the Trilateral Cooperation Secretariat (TCS). He delivered the annual Schuman Lecture at ANU (2008) and was previously Research Fellow at the Contemporary Europe Research Centre, University of Melbourne (1997-2009). He is the author of six books, including *The Political Economy of Single Market Europe*.

Laura Davy

Crawford School of Public Policy, ANU

Dr Laura Davy is a Lecturer in the Department of Policy and Governance at the Crawford School of Public Policy, ANU. Her expertise is in social policy and public administration, with a particular focus on disability and care policy and theory. She holds a PhD in Sociology and Social Policy from the University of Sydney and a Masters in Political Theory from the London School of Economics and Political Science.

Gordon de Brouwer

Australian Public Service Commission

Gordon was appointed as the Australian Public Service Commissioner in 2023 and was previously the Secretary for Public Sector Reform. Prior to this Gordon was Professor of Economics, jointly appointed to the Crawford School of Public Policy and College of Business and Economics. Gordon has extensive experience in public policy and administration in Australia, including as Secretary of the Department of the Environment and Energy (2013-17) and senior roles in the Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet (2008-13), Treasury (2002-08), ANU (Professor of Economics, 2000-02) and the Reserve Bank of Australia (1991-99).

Babet de Groot

The University of Sydney

Babet de Groot is a PhD Candidate in Government and International Relations, School of Social and Political Sciences, at the University of Sydney. She is researching the politics and global governance of plastic pollution along the value chain and in the ocean. Babet observed the first and second sessions of the intergovernmental negotiating committee (INC) to develop an international legally binding instrument to end plastic pollution, including in the marine environment. She is also a Postgraduate Teaching Fellow at the University of Sydney.

Annabel Dulhunty

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Dr Annabel Dulhunty is a Lecturer at the Crawford School of Public Policy. Annabel is a development studies and social policy scholar whose research focuses on comparative overseas development assistance policies and programs, especially on their impact on inequality and alignment with a feminist foreign policy agenda. Annabel's work also addresses women's empowerment and gender and development programming. In particular, she examines the effectiveness of women's empowerment programs for the most marginalised.

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Bec is a PhD candidate at Deakin University. Her research focuses on digital authoritarianism and far right discourse in India. Bec has previously been a Digital Sherlock Fellow with the Digital Forensic Lab at the Atlantic Council and a Research Assistant at the Alfred Deakin Institute of Citizenship and Globalisation.

Elisabetta Di Minico

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Elisabetta Di Minico is a UNA4CAREER postdoctoral researcher at the Faculty of Political Science and Sociology of the Complutense University of Madrid, with a project on the 'Enmity of otherness'. She primarily works on the relationships between fiction and history, dealing with dystopia, control, otherness and violence (racial and gender). She uses novels, comics, movies, and TV series to provocatively analyze the real 'bad places' of contemporary society on a historical and sociological level. Ph.D. Cum Laude in Contemporary History from the University of Barcelona, she also teaches Comic History at IULM-Free University of Language and Communication of Milan and is part of the HISTOPIA research group.

Keith Dowding

Australian National University

Keith Dowding is Distinguished Professor of Political Science and Political Philosophy at The Australian National University. Keith researches political elites and their career paths around the world and works on the philosophy of methods in political science. He is currently engaged on the Australian Research Council-funded Discovery Project Pathways to Power examining Australian political careers and their impact on public policy.

Christian Downie

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John Dryzek

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John Dryzek is Centenary Professor and former Australian Research Council Laureate Fellow in the Centre for Deliberative Democracy and Global Governance at the University of Canberra. Before moving to UC, he was Distinguished Professor of Political Science and ARC Federation Fellow at the Australian National University. He is a Fellow of the Academy of Social Sciences in Australia. Working in both political theory and empirical social science, he is best known for his contributions in the areas of democratic theory and practice and environmental politics. One of the instigators of the 'deliberative turn' in thinking about democracy, he has published eight books in this area with Oxford University Press, Cambridge University Press, and Polity Press.

Tristan Dunning

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Dr Tristan Dunning is an honorary research fellow at the University of Queensland. He is the author of *Hamas, Jihad, and Popular Legitimacy: Reinterpreting Resistance in Palestine*.

Selen A. Ercan

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Selen A. Ercan is Professor of Political Science and Director of the Centre for Deliberative Democracy and Global Governance at the University of Canberra. Her works focuses on the theory and practice of deliberative democracy in multicultural societies.

Rhonda Evans

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Rhonda Evans, J.D., Ph.D. is an Associate Professor of Instruction in the Department of Government and directs the Edward A. Clark Center for Australian and New Zealand Studies at the University of Texas at Austin. In addition to contributing to a number of edited volumes, her research has appeared in the *Policy Studies Journal*, *Australian Journal of Political Science*, *Congress and the Presidency*, *Osgoode Hall Law Review*, and *Journal of Common Market Studies*. She is co-author of *Legislating Equality: The Politics of Antidiscrimination Policy in Europe* with Oxford University Press (2014).

Muhammad Faisal

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Muhammad Faisal is a PhD Candidate at Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences, University of Technology Sydney. His research focuses on relations between middle powers and great powers, peace and security in Asia with focus on South Asia security.

Todd Farrell

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Todd Farrell is a casual academic tutor at the University of Melbourne who completed his PhD in 2020. He is interested in the role of electoral institutions and their role in shaping both political behaviour and party systems.

Luara Ferracioli

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Luara Ferracioli is Associate Professor in Political Philosophy at the University of Sydney. She was awarded her PhD from the Australian National University in 2013, and has held appointments at the University of Oxford, Princeton University, and the University of Amsterdam. Her first book *Liberal Self-Determination in a World of Migration* was published in 2022 with Oxford University Press, and her new book *Parenting and the Goods of Childhood* is forthcoming (with Oxford University Press).

Anne Faulkner

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Anne Faulkner is a researcher at UNSW working with the Public Partnerships and Impact Hub.

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Paul Fawcett is Associate Professor (Reader) of Public Policy in the School of Social and Political Sciences at the University of Melbourne, Treasurer of the Australian Political Studies Association, and co-Editor of the *Australian Journal of Public Administration* with research interests in metagovernance, collaborative governance and depoliticisation studies.

Joanne Faulkner

Macquarie University

Joanne Faulkner is a Senior Lecturer in Cultural Studies and Media Studies at Macquarie University, Sydney, Australia, specialising in the cultural politics of childhood. Her books include *Representing Aboriginal Childhood: the politics of memory and forgetting in Australia* (Routledge, 2023), *Young and Free: [post]colonial ontologies of childhood, history, and memory in Australia* (Rowman & Littlefield International, 2016), and *The Importance of Being Innocent: why we worry about children* (Cambridge University Press, 2011). She has also written about feminist philosophy and philosophy of race, settler colonialism, Nietzsche and Nietzscheanism, and psychoanalysis.

Nathan Fioritti

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Nathan Fioritti is a PhD Candidate at Monash University and Teaching Associate at Monash and the University of Melbourne. His research investigates how internationalisation impacts environmental and climate politics.

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Karen Fisher is a professor at the Social Policy Research Centre UNSW Sydney. Her research areas are the organisation of social services in Australia and China, disability and mental health policy and inclusive research.

Emily Foley

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Emily Foley is a PhD candidate and Associate Lecturer in the Department of Politics, Media and Philosophy at La Trobe University, Melbourne. Her research focuses on the relationship between the Australian Labor Party and temporary labour migration. Her broader research interests include examining the role of unions in contemporary Australian politics, Australia's immigration policies and Social Democratic parties. Emily is also a member of the APSA Political Organisations and Participation steering committee and is the Academic Vice President of the La Trobe NTEU branch. Emily tweets at: @emilyrosefoley.

Tira Foran

CSIRO

Tira Foran is an interdisciplinary social scientist based at CSIRO since 2010. His prior work has focussed on governance challenges associated with energy, water, and rural development, addressing topics such as policy framing, participatory planning, and implementation. His current work focusses on sustainability transition in Australian regions. He is currently co-leading the - Latrobe Collaborative Planning' project, which aims to facilitate multi-stakeholder deliberation on preferred forms of post-mining land use for regional development in Victoria's Latrobe Valley. Originating from an interest in messy complex problems, Prof Fran Ackermann has been working in the area of strategy making for two decades. Her approach (developed with Prof Colin Eden) sees strategy as both a social and analytical activity and has resulted in an approach that allows management teams to develop strategy that is robust, coherent and owned (enhancing implementation success). The approach attends to critical elements such as the identification of distinctive and core competences, the management of issues, identification and negotiation of purpose and stakeholder management. The approach has been extensively used in organisations and has been adopted in a number of university courses.

Patrick Fournier

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"Patrick Fournier is a professor in the Department of Political Science of the Université de Montréal. He was principal investigator of the Canadian Election Study for the 2011 and 2015 elections. He studies political psychology, citizen competence, and opinion change. His work has notably been published in the American Political Science Review and the Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences.

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Nicholas Frank is a Laureate Research Fellow with the Planetary Health Equity Hothouse in the School of Regulation and Global Governance. Prior to this, he was an Associate Lecturer in the School of Politics and International Relations at the Australian National University. Nicholas specializes in the political economy of trade and investment governance. Nicholas employs formal theory, econometrics, inferential network approaches, and text-as-data techniques in his research. Nicholas has consulted for the ITC and OECD on inclusive trade and industrial policy respectively. Before joining ANU, Nicholas worked at the WTO and ICTSD on a variety of trade and development topics including trade negotiations, regional integration, value chain upgrading, trade and gender, and services sector development. Nicholas holds a PhD in Regulation and Global Governance from the Australian National University, an MSc in International Political Economy from the London School of Economics, as well as Honours in International Relations and a Bachelor of Commerce (PPE) from the University of Cape Town. He has undertaken graduate quantitative methods training at Purdue and the University of Michigan.

Kentaro Fujikawa

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Kentaro Fujikawa is an Associate Professor at the Graduate School of International Development at Nagoya University, Japan. He previously worked as a Fellow in International Relations at the London School of Economics where he also obtained his PhD in March 2021. Working at the intersection of International and Comparative Politics, he is primarily interested in the issues surrounding self-determination conflicts, referendums, and secession. His articles have appeared in the Pacific Review, Global Policy, and Territory, Politics, Governance.

Hiromi Fujishige

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Professor Hiromi Fujishige is a professor at Department of International Politics, Aoyama Gakuin University in Tokyo, Japan. Her familiarity includes UN and other international peace operations/peacebuilding and the security, conflict and development issues as well as statebuilding and stabilisation issues. She is also an expert in Japan's peacekeeping/peacebuilding policy and has widely published in the field. She attended postgraduate schools of the University of London and received a M.Sc. in International Relations and Development Studies from the London School of Economics and Political Science (LSE) and a Ph.D. in Political Studies from the School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS).

Chunyuan Gao

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I am an ANU PhD candidate at the Department of Political and Social Change. This abstract is a summary of a part of my PhD project. This thesis has recently received a very positive outcome from the thesis examination, accompanied by commendable comments from esteemed professors at both Oxford and ANU. Alongside my studies, I was also a consultant for the Shanghai Social Worker Agency for Public Affairs from 2021 to 2022. I was an exchange scholar at Fudan University in 2019 and was a core member of a World Bank project team from 2016 to 2017.

Anika Gauja

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Anika Gauja is Professor of Politics in Government and International Relations at the University of Sydney. She researches political parties, Australian politics and electoral law and has co-edited two previous volumes of the federal election book series: *Morrison's Miracle* (ANU Press, 2020) and *Double Disillusion* (ANU Press, 2018).

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Dr Vivian Gerrand is a Postdoctoral Research Fellow at ADI where she coordinates Stream 2 (Building resilience to social harms including violent extremism) at the Centre for Resilient and Inclusive Societies. She was a chief investigator on the Horizon 2020 Building Resilience to Violent Extremism and Polarisation (2019-21) Project. In 2017-18 she was an Endeavour and a Max Weber Fellow at the European University Institute, Florence. Vivian is the author of a range of publications including *Possible Spaces of Somali Belonging* (MUP, 2016)

Zareh Ghazarian

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Dr Zareh Ghazarian is a Senior Lecturer in Politics and International Relations at Monash University. His research and teaching interests include public policy, political parties, elections, and political knowledge.

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Dr Jess Gifkins is a Senior Lecturer in International Relations at the University of Manchester and the Queering Atrocity Prevention Research Fellow at Protection Approaches. Her research is on United

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Benjamin Goldsmith is a Professor in the School of Politics & International Relations, ANU.

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Dr Leon Goldsmith works on Middle Eastern and comparative politics. His research looks at ethno-religious conflict and integration processes, sub- and supranational identity politics, youth politics, political participation, political culture, institutions and comparative political systems. His main geographic areas of research are Syria and the Levant, and Oman and the Arab Gulf states. Leon's current theoretical interests are Arab-Islamic empiricists Ibn Khaldun and Abd al-Rahman al-Kawakibi.

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Xue Gong is Assistant Professor in China Programme of S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies, Nanyang Technological University, Singapore. Her current research interests include International Political Economy, China's economic diplomacy, regionalism and governance.

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Eda Gunaydin is a Lecturer in International Studies at the University of Wollongong, whose key research interests are in race, gender and violence, with an area focus on Turkey and northern Syria. She has published her research in International Studies Quarterly, The International Feminist Journal of Politics, and Patterns of Prejudice.

Amish Gupta

Independent scholar

Shahar Hameiri

University of Queensland

Shahar Hameiri is Australian Research Council Future Fellow and Professor of International Politics in the School of Political Science and International Studies, University of Queensland. His work mainly examines security and development issues in Asia and the Pacific. His most recent book, with Lee Jones, is *Fractured China: how state transformation is shaping China's rise* (Cambridge University Press, 2021). His previous co-authored books include, *Governing borderless threats* (CUP, 2015) and *International intervention and local politics* (CUP, 2017). He is also co-editor, with Toby Carroll and Lee Jones, of *The political economy of southeast Asia* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2020). He tweets @ShaharHameiri.

Adam Hannah

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Adam Hannah is a Lecturer in Political Science, focusing on comparative politics and public policy. He is primarily interested in the translation of political ideas and expert knowledge into health and social policy. He has particular expertise in international comparative research, including with regard to major bouts of health care and public pension reform in Sweden and the United States, policy responses to health crises such as antimicrobial resistance and COVID-19 vaccinations and distributional inequality across welfare systems. He has published in scholarly journals such as *Nature*, *Policy & Politics*, *Public Administration*, *Policy Sciences*, *Policy & Society* and *The Journal of European Social Policy*.

Kate Harrison Brennan

Sydney Policy Lab

As the former Head of Policy & Design at the Paul Ramsay Foundation, Kate has seen the positive impact of good policy and partnerships to help to break cycles of disadvantage across Australia. Prior to this, she was CEO of Anglican Deaconess Ministries, a 130-year-old Christian women's foundation, where she worked to reimagine the vision of the organisation and re-establish their work in public and practical engagement. In government, Kate was an adviser to former Prime Minister Julia Gillard. Working with the Chief of Staff and Deputy Chief of Staff, Dr Harrison Brennan worked across the policy portfolios and on caucus management. She had also previously served former Deputy Prime Minister Gillard in the portfolio of social inclusion. Prior to joining the Office of the Prime Minister, she was Director of Strategic Communications and Global Affairs at the Australian Consulate-General in New York.

Ateka Hasan

PhD Scholar, Jamia Millia Islamia

Ateka Hasan is a PhD scholar at the Nelson Mandela Centre for Peace and Conflict Resolution, in Jamia Millia Islamia, India. With a passion for addressing the pressing issues of our time, Ateka's research revolves around the imminent climate crisis in the region of South Asia. Specifically, she

delves into the multifaceted challenges of climate-induced displacement, shedding light on its implications, and studying and relating the role of climate justice and peacebuilding with it.

Pascale Hatcher

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Pascale Hatcher is Associate Professor in the Department of Political Science and International Relations at the University of Canterbury, New Zealand. She works on the political economy of mining in the Asia-Pacific region with a specific interest on how transnational norms are being transplanted and contested in local arenas. She currently leads the project “Actors and Controversies Driving the Adoption of the World's First Deep Sea Mining Governance” funded by New Zealand's Royal Society Marsden Fund (2023-25). The project seeks to map and analyse the actors and controversies contributing to DSM debates, how these influence the development of DSM governance in the Pacific Island Countries and what lessons can be drawn for local communities and international stakeholders.

Ali Hayes

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Ali Hayes is a lecturer in the School of Humanities, Arts and Social Sciences at Murdoch University. He holds undergraduate and master's degrees in politics and international studies, and a PhD in sociology. Ali teaches in the university's global security and sociology programs, and takes a political sociology approach to understanding issues in security and international relations.

Eli Hayes

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Eli Hayes is an undergraduate student at the Australian National University, pursuing a degree in International Security Studies.

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Wenting He is a PhD candidate at ANU. She is also working as Higher Degree Research (HDR) Candidate Representative at the Department of International Relations.

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Carolyn Hendriks

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Carolyn Hendriks is a Professor at the Crawford School of Public Policy with a background in political science and environmental engineering. She has published widely on the democratic aspects of contemporary governance, including participation, public deliberation, inclusion and representation. She is the author of three books, including *Democratic Mending: democratic repair in disconnected times* (with Ercan & Boswell, Oxford University Press, 2020, Oct), *The Politics of Public Deliberation* (Palgrave, 2011), *Environmental Decision Making: Exploring Complexity and Context* (with Harding and Faruqi, Federation Press 2009). She has also authored over 30 journal articles, a number of which have won international prizes.

Natalie Herold

Southern Cross University

Natalie Herold is an adjunct fellow at Southern Cross University's Faculty of Business Law and Arts. Her research focuses on the skilled migration and asylum seeker policies of Austria and Australia.

Angelika Heurich

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Dr Angelika Heurich is a casual academic teaching in the disciplines of Politics and International Studies, and Sociology, at the University of New England, Armidale. With a focus on politics and gender, Angelika's research includes a study of Australian women who influence policy and social change from either elected office, or by using their public platform. Her PhD on this topic will be published as a book, with editing currently underway. Angelika is also honoured to be working with Ngarabal, Dharug woman, Lynette Marlow and Elders, to learn more about First Nations culture and traditions.

Harry Hobbs

UTS

Harry is an experienced constitutional and human rights lawyer working at the forefront of academic research and legal and political debate about Indigenous-State treaty making. His work also examines the role of political and governance institutions.

Josh Holloway

Flinders University

Josh Holloway is a Lecturer in Government in the College of Business, Government & Law. Josh's research interests include party and environmental politics, digital governance, and democratic resilience to crisis.

Jacob Holz

Swinburne University

Jacob Holz is PHD student at Swinburne University, and a published academic with the American journal of Critical Military studies. I have recently spoken/presented at the 2023 OCIS conference and am looking for opportunities to expand my connections throughout academia.

William Hopkinson

University of Melbourne

William is a PhD candidate in the School of Social and Political Sciences at the University of Melbourne. His research focusses on comparative climate change politics. Merging theoretical perspectives from sustainable transitions and comparative politics, William analyses the drivers and structural conditions for states' climate ambition under the UNFCCC.

Julia Horne

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Julia Horne is Professor History and University Historian at The University of Sydney.

Cosmo Howard

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Cosmo Howard is an Associate Professor in the School of Government and International Relations and Centre for Governance and Public Policy at Griffith University. He is the lead CI on the ARC Discovery Project Understanding the Antipodean -Fair Go' (2022-2025). His research focuses on inequality, comparative public administration and the politics of expertise.

Yuxin Huang

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Yuxin Huang is presently pursuing a Master's degree in Political Science (advanced) at the Australian National University, following his achievement of a Bachelor's degree in International Economics and Trade from the esteemed East China Normal University. His expertise extends to the application of quantitative research methodologies within the realm of political science, with a keen interest in the areas of authoritarian politics and political economy. In terms of regional focus, Yuxin has a strong interest on China and Taiwan. He exhibits a comprehensive understanding of the historical trajectory of democratization within these regions.

Ley Gregoire Ikpo

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Dr Ley G. Ikpo, is an Expert in Conflict, conflict resolutions, sustainable development, and a specialist in diplomatic, democratic, political issues. He is a Double PhD, graduated from the Universities of Stockholm (Sweden), CEDS (France), Sorbonne Paris (France) and the War College in Paris (France). He is the CEO of Samaritan's Leading Action Sweden.

Yoji Ishii

Researcher at the Embassy of Japan in Australia (Visiting scholar at Asia Public-Private Partnership Institute)

Yoji Ishii is currently working as a researcher at the embassy of Japan and he has been involved in several regional development projects as an expert on forests and environmental & social considerations. He was involved in the development of participatory environmental monitoring in Barra Del Colorado National Wildlife Refuge in Costa Rica. Also, he was engaged in the study for assessment of ecosystem, coastal erosion and protection & rehabilitation of damaged area in Tuvalu. Furthermore, he supported to formulate a provincial action plan to implement REDD+ activities in the province of Dien Bien in Vietnam.

Aisha Ismail

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Aisha Ismail is a PhD Candidate at the University of Melbourne in the political economy of food systems. Aisha's research investigates how ultra-processed food (UPF) companies have transformed everyday food environments in Mexico and how local actors are resisting UPF corporate power and influence, through the case study of Oaxaca de Juárez.

Fariz Ismailzade

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Dr. Fariz Ismailzade is vice rector at ADA University and director of Institute for Development and Diplomacy. He has PhD from Maastricht School of Management. He is editor of 'Baku Dialogues' quarterly policy journal

Lookman Issa

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I am Lookman Issa, I hold an MSc degree (Environmental Resource Management) from the Brandenburg University of Technology, Cottbus, Germany. I am currently a PhD student (Political Economy of Environmental Policy) at the Brandenburg University of Technology, Cottbus, Germany. For my PhD, I am working on the political economy of carbon pricing, a market-based climate policy. In general, my research interests lie at the intersection of the politics and economics of climate Change Mitigation.

Sekou Jabateh

New York University Abu Dhabi

Sekou is a Political Science graduate from New York University Abu Dhabi with a background in behavioral - and macroeconomics, research design, and quantitative methods for development and policy analysis. Keen on political economy with a clear eye on how political developments affect

business practices and ultimately livelihoods, Sekou is passionate about public policy and international affairs and has over three years of experience managing social change initiatives. For graduate studies, Sekou hopes to pursue a Ph.D. in Political Science to gain the substantive, analytical and methodological expertise to produce innovative research, teach in an academic setting, and consult for governments and development agencies. Sekou is originally from Ganta, Nimba County, Liberia.

Stewart Jackson

University of Sydney

Dr Stewart Jackson is a Senior Lecturer in the Discipline of Government and International Relations at the University of Sydney. His broad interests cover the breadth of Green politics in Australia and the Asia Pacific, with a special interest in party development. These interests also extend to green political theory, particularly environmental feminism, and the intersection of social movements and parliamentary politics.

Wendy Jarvie

University of NSW in Canberra

Wendy Jarvie is an Adjunct Professor at the Public Service Research Group at the University of NSW in Canberra. She also works for the World Bank in the Pacific on secondary education and vocational education and training projects. She spent 22 years in the Australian Public Service, including seven years as Deputy Secretary in the Education and Employment Departments. She managed evaluations and strategy development at the World Bank in Washington and has been a member of government audit and evaluation committees. She has a PhD in Geography as well as post graduate degrees in computer science and engineering science.

Anne Nygaard Jedzini

Centre for Deliberative Democracy and Global Governance, University of Canberra

Anne Nygaard Jedzini is a PhD Candidate on power-sharing at Centre for Deliberative Democracy and Global Governance at University of Canberra. She is the recipient of the ARC SRI 2021 PhD Scholarship. Anne is the former Vice Mayor of the City of Aarhus in Denmark where she held public office from 2014-2018. For her PhD, Anne examines how power is shared, exercised and experienced by councillors, public officials and deliberative democracy practitioners in Australian local governments. Anne's research has been published in ECPR's blog The Loop and her first academic article is forthcoming in The Special Issue '50 Years of LGS' in the journal of Local Government Studies in 2024. Anne is currently elected as the Postgraduate Caucus Representative at APSA and serves on Executive Committee and the Local Organising Committee for APSA Annual Conference 2023. Anne's research interest particularly includes power and power-sharing in democratic/political institutions and the role of deliberation and political leadership in this context. Anne tweets at: @AnnNygaardJed.

You Ji

Xian Jiaotong Liverpool University

Dr. You Ji is a Professor at School of Humanities and Social Sciences, Xian Jiaotong Liverpool University. His research focuses on China's political and economic reforms, elite politics, military modernization, and foreign policy.

Callum Jones

Monash University

Callum is a researcher and PhD candidate whose research focuses on political extremism, particularly the networks and discursive strategies of radicalised groups and the violence they produce. His wider research focus extends to other ideological groups, including religious extremists and members of the 'Manosphere'.

Matt Jones

The University of Sydney

Matt Jones is presently enrolled as a student at The University of Sydney towards a Master of Public Policy, specialising in Economic Policy. With a professional background in the military, Matt graduated from the Royal Military College, Duntroon and deployed on operational service including to Timor Leste as Lead Operations and Plans Officer for the Australian Defence Force supporting United Nations Mission in Support of East Timor. Matt has a keen interest in advancing deeper collaboration between Australia and South Korea through shared domestic, regional and global policy issues. His outlook is influenced by considerable travel outside of the military.

Jim Jose

University of Newcastle

Jim Jose is Emeritus Professor of Politics in the Newcastle Business School at the University of Newcastle in New South Wales, Australia. He is the author of *Biopolitics of the Subject: An Introduction to the Ideas of Michel Foucault* (1998), co-editor of *Reoccupying the Political: Transgressing and Transforming Political Science* (2019); and *Not So Strange Bedfellows: The Nexus of Politics and Religion in the 21st Century* (2013), and a contributor to *Anarchists and Anarchist Thought: An Annotated Bibliography*, ed Paul Nursey-Bray (1992). He has published numerous articles in leading international journals on political theory, governance and politics, and Australian politics and public policy.

Niranjan Jose

Independent scholar

Niranjan Jose is a professional with expertise in global governance, climate change, law, and technology. He is currently working as a Risk Intelligence Analyst at Xpertisehub Risk Management Services LLP. He has also held positions such as Program and Research Intern at Carnegie India and Editorial Intern at The Caravan Magazine. Niranjan has a BBA LLB degree in International Law and Legal Studies from National Law University, Odisha. He has been involved in various research projects and has written for publications such as The Hindu, The Fletcher Forum of World Affairs, ORF, and the

Middle East Monitor. His research focuses on climate change, global political economy, and international security.

Flavia Julius

Macquarie University

Flávia Julius is a PhD candidate in Politics and International Relations at Macquarie University. She was born in São Paulo and has been living in Sydney for twenty years. She researches neoliberalism and US imperialism in Brazil, focussing on how the ruling class utilises race relations to retain power, sabotaging progressive initiatives and perpetuating inequality, oppression and dispossession.

The Hon. Dr Sarah Kaine

Sarah Kaine is a member of the NSW Legislative Council. Her policy areas of interests are labour standards, gender equity, sustainable fashion, procurement, the gig economy, university governance and artificial intelligence. Sarah completed an economics degree at the University of Sydney while working at the AWU before going on to become an Organiser at the ACTU. After having children, Sarah completed a PhD at the University of Sydney and was an Associate Professor at UTS for 10 years before moving into her role as Director, Industrial Relations Inspectorate in the NSW Department of Premier and Cabinet. She was elected to the NSW Legislative Council in the 2023 Elections. Sarah has over 15 years of engagement in research that has explored labour standards set by labour law and other forms of regulation. As an academic Sarah developed a public profile as a 'go-to' commentator on workplace issues. Her research, and public advocacy emphasised the importance of organised labour in protecting the right to dignity and fairness at work as well as recognising the contribution made by women in the workplace and the labour movement.

Romitesh Kant

The Australian National University

Romitesh began his PhD candidacy with the DPA in 2022. Romitesh's PhD research examines the symbiotic relationship of politics and masculinity in the Fijian national context. Drawing upon scholarship on masculinities, feminist institutionalism and political decolonisation, he analyses how masculinity and politics are mutually constructed and reinforced. A Fijian national, he completed his Bachelor of Arts (History/Politics and Economics), Post Graduate Certificate in Gender Studies and Master of Arts (Politics and International Affairs) at the University of the South Pacific.

Masatoshi Kato

Ritsumeikan University, Japan

Rosemary Kayess

UNSW Sydney

Rosemary Kayess is a researcher in the Faculty of Law and the Social Policy Research Centre UNSW Sydney. Her research is about disability, human rights, disability discrimination, international law, equality. She is a member of the UN Committee on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities. "

Martin Kear

University of Sydney

Dr Martin Kear is a sessional lecturer at the University of Sydney. He is the author of *Hamas and Palestine: The Contested Road to Statehood*.

Boon Keng

Singapore Management University

Boon Keng is a lecturer at Singapore Management University. He received his PhD in sociology from Nanyang Technological University. His research endeavours are at the intersection of political sociology, urban politics, and neoliberal urbanisms in the examination of political actors, their political experiences, and the reproduction of politics. His current research project is a political ethnography of community volunteers' civic and political engagement within state-funded grassroots organisations in Singapore, and their wider significance to the city-state's urban politics and governance. George is a trained ethnographer, specialising in political ethnography with a background in East and Southeast Asian political regimes and urban politics.

Marilyn Kwan Kharkongor

University of Sydney

Nina Markovic Khaze

Macquarie University

Nina is an expert in national security, policing and diplomacy, having worked on the Australian Federal Police (AFP), Defence Department and Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade (DFAT) issues in Canberra, with over 40 parliamentary research publications. She has lectured and tutored in these subjects at Macquarie University since 2018, and UNSW in 2014 and 2017. Dr Markovic Khaze holds a PhD in Political Science (ANU), Master of Arts (International Relations) with Hons (ANU), Master of Diplomacy (ANU), Graduate Teaching Certificate (ANU) and a B.A. (Hons) in Italian Studies and Political Science (UWA). Before joining academia, she was working in Canberra as a public and senior parliamentary servant (Foreign Affairs, Defence and Security), and in the private sector in Perth. Nina is fluent in Italian and German, and reads French and Spanish. Her academic publications are widely cited and some are listed here.

Jiye Kim

University of Sydney

Tae-Kyung Kim

National Assembly Futures Institute

Tae-Kyung Kim is an associate research fellow at the National Assembly Futures Institute in South Korea. Her research interests encompass inter-Korean relations, North Korean politics and diplomacy, the peace process on the Korean Peninsula, grassroots peace movements, and Cold War history and culture in East Asia and beyond. In a recent policy report that she both edited and co-authored with 23 researchers, Kim sheds light on the preferable future governance for peace and integration on the Korean Peninsula. Currently, Kim is interested in examining alternative approaches to constructing a unit of peace on the Korean Peninsula that transcend ethnic nationhood.

Alexander Korolev

University of New South Wales, Sydney

Dr. Alexander Korolev is a Senior Lecturer in Politics and International Relations in the School of Social Sciences at the University of New South Wales, Sydney. His research interests include international relations theory and comparative politics with special reference to China and Russia; great power politics; and China-Russia-US relations in East and Southeast Asia. His recent articles appeared in various peer-reviewed journals, including International Relations, Foreign Policy Analysis, International Studies Review, Journal of Strategic Studies, Studies in Comparative International Development, Pacific Affairs, Asian Security, Chinese Journal of International Politics, The China Review, and other journals.

Katherina Kretschmer

University of Adelaide

Katherina Kretschmer is a PhD Candidate in Politics at the University of Adelaide

Michael Kumove

Norges teknisk-naturvitenskapelige universitet

James Langston

CSIRO

James Langston has a broad-based interdisciplinary background and works on the interconnected issues that shape development trajectories in forest landscapes. He is interested in governance, learning, and how change happens. Previously he explored ways of achieving 'embedded science' in high-stakes forest landscapes where people, nature, and their institutions are going through transition. His PhD centred on a practical political ecology of spatial development initiatives in Indonesia; he continues that work with the Landscape and Forest Function Team at CSIRO.

Sung-hoon Lee

Dr Sung-hoon Lee, retired Brigadier General of the Republic of Korea Air Force, is a Senior Research Fellow at the Institute for National Security Strategy (INSS). He received his PhD in International Politics from Yonsei University in South Korea. He has served as a visiting scholar at the RAND Corporation (2009-2010), an advisor to the Joint Chiefs of Staff (2013), a professor at the Korea National Defense University (2014-2017), the Assistant Secretary for the NSC Secretariat (2017-2019), the Dean of Joint Forces Staff College (2020), and the President of the Joint Military University (2021). His major research areas include the Korea-US alliance, nuclear strategy, and air and space strategy.

Yun Seh Lee

Flinders University

Yun Seh Lee is currently a PhD candidate and Higher Degree of Research Student Representative in the College of Business, Government and Law at Flinders University. Her current research traces the influences of PRC and Taiwan in Malaysia's Kuching City. She has a background in Economics and Public Policy, was a George Town World Heritage intern for a Malaysian Oral History project. She can speak and write Chinese/Mandarin, English, and Malay; and is familiar with Chinese dialects such as Hokkien, Hakka, and Cantonese. She tweets <<https://twitter.com/yunseh>>

Gary Leigh

Gary Leigh is a graduate of the Strategic and Defence Studies Centre, Australian Pacific College of Diplomacy and the National Security College. He is an experienced technologist and wargames facilitator.

Jenny M Lewis

University of Melbourne

Professor Jenny Lewis is Professor of Public Policy in the School of Social and Political Sciences, University of Melbourne. She is also Academic Director, Scholarly and Social Research Impact for Chancellery Research and Enterprise. She was made a Fellow of the Academy of Social Sciences Australia in 2020 and presented with a Routledge lifetime achievement award by the International Research Society for Public Management in 2023. Jenny is a past President of the International Research Society for Public Management, and the Australian Political Studies Association. She is an expert on policy making, policy design and public sector innovation. Jenny is the winner of four different international journal prizes. She returned to Australia from Denmark as an Australian Research Council Future Fellow in 2013.

Jimmy Lim

Lee Kuan Yew School of Public Policy, National University of Singapore

I obtained my PhD in Political Science at McGill University in 2022. I specialize in contemporary political theory and the history of political thought. My research focuses on deontological ethics; moral motivation; social contract theories; theories of justice; democratic theory; the common good;

the relation between human nature and social unity; and the relation between reason and the passions. I am currently working on a reconstruction of Part III of John Rawls's A Theory of Justice, and what this might mean for thinking about the realist revival in recent political theory. I am currently an educator with the Lee Kuan Yew School of Public Policy at the National University of Singapore. I am currently an instructor with the Lee Kuan Yew School of Public Policy at NUS.

Matthew Lister

Bond University

Matthew Lister is an associate professor of law at Bond University Faculty of Law. He has a PhD in philosophy and a JD from the University of Pennsylvania, and has worked as a law clerk on the US Court of International Trade and 3rd Circuit Court of Appeals. He regularly teaches migration and refugee law and workplace/employment law, among other topics, and has written widely on immigration policy and legal and political philosophy more generally.

Minran Liu

UNSW Canberra at ADFA

Dr. Minran Liu is a lecturer in International Political Studies, UNSW Canberra at the Australian Defence Force Academy (ADFA). He received his Ph.D. at the University of Sydney. Dr. Liu's research focuses on how the domestic institutions mediate the interactions between state's foreign policies and their identities. He is interested in foreign policy, domestic-international interaction, East Asia political economy and security.

Tilani Sugandika Liyanage

University of Sydney

Tilani Sugandika Liyanage is a Master of Public Policy Student at the University of Sydney with a background in middle-level administration and development roles within the Government of Sri Lanka.

Katie Lovelock

University of Melbourne

Katie Lovelock teaches politics, public policy and history at the University of Melbourne.

James Loxton

University of Sydney

James Loxton is a Senior Lecturer in Comparative Politics at the University of Sydney. He studies authoritarianism, democratisation, and political parties, with a focus on Latin America. He is the author of the award-winning Conservative Party-Building in Latin America: Authoritarian Inheritance and Counterrevolutionary Struggle. He has held visiting positions at Oxford University,

the University of Notre Dame, and Princeton University. He holds a PhD in Government from Harvard University.

Nguyen Phuong Ly

Diplomatic Academy of Vietnam

Nguyen Phuong Ly is a lecturer at the Faculty of International Politics and Diplomacy, Diplomatic Academy of Vietnam. She has recently finished her PhD studies at the University of Melbourne.

Bo Ma

Nanjing University

Bo Ma is an associate professor at School of International Studies at Nanjing University and is a 2019-20 British Chevening Scholar. He graduated from the Graduate Center at the City University of New York (CUNY) with a PhD in Political Science in 2014. In addition, he holds a LLM from Queen Mary University of London, a MA in International Relations from New York University (NYU), and a MSC in Comparative Politics from the London School of Economics (LSE). His recent books include *Chinese Foreign Policy in Xi Jinping's Era: A Grand Design and Hot Issues* published by Singapore's World Scientific Publisher in 2018, and *the Belt and Road Initiative: Opportunity and Challenge for China's Neighboring Foreign Policy* by Social Sciences Academic Press in Beijing in 2023. Dr. Ma's research interests are Chinese IR theories/foreign policy, Sino-U.S. relations and public international law with a focus on territorial disputes in the South China Sea.

Zsuzsa Magyar

Pompeu Fabra University

Zsuzsanna B. Magyar is Postdoctoral Fellow in University Pompeu Fabra in Barcelona, Spain. She received a Ph.D. in Political Science from University of California, Los Angeles. She studies legislative politics. Her research has been published in peer-reviewed journals such as *Political Analysis* and *British Journal of Political Science*.

Henry Maher

The University of Sydney

Dr Henry (Harry) Maher is a Lecturer in Politics in the Discipline of Government and International Relations at the University of Sydney. His research interests lie in post-structuralist approaches to neoliberalism, international relations and international political economy, and his main body of research concerns the survival of neoliberal forms of governance during times of crisis. Henry's work is published in *International Studies Quarterly*, *Thesis Eleven*, *Patterns of Prejudice* and the *Australian Journal of Political Science*.

Maria Maley

ANU

Maria Maley is a senior lecturer at the Australian National University.

Rob Manwaring

Flinders University

Dr Rob Manwaring is an Associate Professor in the College of Business, Government and Law at Flinders University. Rob has published widely on political parties and democratic politics. Rob is member of the Australian Political Science Association, and is currently a co-editor for the Australian Journal of Political Science.

Erica Margovsky

University of Sydney

Erica Margovsky splits her time between being a drug and social policy researcher, and a strategic communication and engagement specialist for NSW Education. She has presented her ongoing research surrounding Australia's rescheduling of psilocybin at Australian Political Studies Association 2022, as well as the International Society of Drug Policy at KU Leuven in 2023. Erica is passionate about drug reform and harm reduction initiatives, and also volunteers for Students for Sensible Drug Policy. She hopes to continue to further study and research after the completion of her Master of Public Policy at the University of Sydney.

Lynette Marlow

University of New England

Lynette Marlow is a Ngarabal, Dharug woman, undertaking a Doctor of Philosophy at the University of New England, specialising in Ngarabal placemaking. The Ngarabal are the First-nation people of New South Wales's Northern New England Tablelands. With experience in local and Commonwealth Government, Lynette worked at the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Commission, specialising in First-nations Treaty. She also has Executive experience within NSW Aboriginal land councils. Lynette is a Dharug Ngurra Aboriginal Corporation member and a Director of the Severn River, Ngarabal and Kwiambal Aboriginal Corporation. Lynette hopes to use the Ngarabal placemaking as an exemplar for future projects.

Friedel Marquardt

University of Canberra

Aaron Martin

University of Melbourne

Aaron Martin is Associate Professor of Political Science at the University of Melbourne.

Ferran Martinez i Coma

Griffith University

Ferran Martinez i Coma is Senior Lecturer in the School of Government and International Relations at Griffith University. An applied political scientist with consulting, public policy, research and teaching experience, his current research specialises in elections, electoral integrity, comparative politics, political parties and electoral behaviour.

Ellie Martus

Griffith University

Eyal Mayroz

University of Sydney

Dr Eyal Mayroz is a Senior Lecturer in Peace and Conflict Studies at the University of Sydney. His professional background includes counterterrorism (Captain, Retd) and Middle East affairs. Eyal is a member of the Genocide Prevention Advisory Network, an international network of experts advising governments on the causes, consequences, and prevention of mass atrocities. His book *Reluctant Interveners: America's Failed Responses to Genocide from Bosnia to Darfur* (Rutgers University Press) was selected by Choice magazine as an Outstanding Academic Title for 2020. His current research explores interactions between Australian policymakers, the media and the public in relation to foreign atrocities.

Michael McGann

University of Melbourne

Jemima McKenna

University of Melbourne

Jemima McKenna is currently completing her PhD in Political Science at the University of Melbourne, focusing on border externalisation and political theory. Her dissertation is tentatively titled "Understanding bilateral relations between third-states and destination states within asylum governance. She holds an M-IR and B-ARTS (Hons) from the University of Melbourne.

Natalie McLean

Australian Civil-Military Centre

Natalie McLean - Natalie McLean is the Assistant Director of Research at the Australian Civil-Military Centre. Natalie has research expertise in civil-military relations, how Australia use violence and Private Military and Security Companies. Natalie has worked various at academic institutions include ANU, Deakin and RMIT conducting research and education into international relations, criminology and political science. Natalie has also previously worked as an Australian Army Officer.

[Henrietta McNeill](#)

Australian National University

[Jordan McSwiney](#)

Centre for Deliberative Democracy and Global Governance, University of Canberra

Jordan McSwiney researches the far right, with a focus on the organisation of far-right parties and movements, their use of social media, and discourses of racism and white supremacy. His work also explores internet cultures, with a particular interest in memes and visual culture. Jordan is a Postdoctoral Fellow at the Centre for Deliberative Democracy and Global Governance at the University of Canberra.

[Alejandro Medina](#)

Alejandro Medina is a game theorist and data analyst based in Chicago.

[Akanksha Meena](#)

Jawaharlal Nehru University

I am a doctoral candidate at the Centre of Inner Asian Studies, School of International Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University. I have completed my M Phil from the Centre of Inner Asian Studies, School of International Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University. I have completed my master's in Politics with specialisation in International Relations from Jawaharlal Nehru University. I have completed my graduation from St. Stephens College, Delhi University. My areas of interest include Politics, Society, and Development in Central Asia and Afghanistan, Security issues in Afghanistan, Energy Security, and Indian Foreign policy.

[Sara Meger](#)

University of Melbourne

Sara Meger is a Senior Lecturer in International Relations in the School of Social and Political Sciences. She joined the School in August 2017, where she teaches international security and gender in international relations. Her research lies at the intersection of critical political economy and feminist perspectives on security, with a particular focus on the gendered drivers of war, armed conflict, and political violence.

[Trish Mercer](#)

Australia and New Zealand School of Government

Trish Mercer is a Visiting Fellow with the Australia and New Zealand School of Government (ANZSOG). Her diverse career in the Australian Public Service, with over 20 years at the senior executive level, spanned policy development and research, financial management, program

implementation, community education and direct service delivery experience. Trish is now involved in executive education training offered through the Crawford School at the Australian National University and in public policy research, including co-editing *Learning Policy, Doing Policy* (ANU Press, 2021). Trish has a doctorate in history from ANU and a Diploma in American Studies from Smith College, Massachusetts, United States.

John Mikler

University of Sydney

John Mikler is Associate Professor in the Department of Government and International Relations at the University of Sydney. His research focuses on corporate power and capitalism. He is currently undertaking research on global corporate tax avoidance, and has a long-term focus on business-government relations and climate change. He has published over 30 book chapters and journal articles, and six books, including: 'The Political Power of Global Corporations' (Polity 2018); 'MNCs in Global Politics: Pathways of Influence' (with Karsten Ronit, Edward Elgar 2021); and 'Capitalism for All: Realizing its Liberal Promise' (with Neil E. Harrison, SUNY 2022).

Abraham Ename Minko

Istanbul University - Turkey

The Honourable Jacqui Munro MLC

Jacqui Munro is a Member of Parliament in the NSW Upper House, elected in March 2023. Ms Munro is the youngest Liberal woman to be elected to the NSW Legislative Council, and the NSW Liberal Party's first LGBTQI+ woman Parliamentarian. Ms Munro holds a Bachelor of International Studies from the University of Sydney and worked for state and federal Parliamentarians before beginning her career as a PR and communications professional. She appears regularly as a commentator across TV, radio and print media on public policy matters and political leadership. Ms Munro is particularly passionate about promoting innovation and entrepreneurship for the state's prosperity and developing housing policy that is equitable and sustainable for all residents.

Todd Morley

Curtin University

Todd Morley is a PhD candidate and lecturer conducting research with the Curtin Extremism Research Network (CERN) at Curtin University in Perth, Western Australia.

Jim Murphy

University of Melbourne

Dr James Murphy teaches politics and public policy at the University of Melbourne. His research focuses on policy conflict, advocacy groups, and Victorian state politics.

Assel Mussagulova

University of Sydney

Assel Mussagulova is a lecturer in public policy and public administration at the University of Sydney. She received her PhD in public policy and global affairs from Nanyang Technological University, Singapore. Previously, Assel worked as a civil servant in the area of HR management in Kazakhstan, and as a research associate at the UNDP Global Centre for Public Service Excellence (GCPSE) in Singapore. She also worked as a consultant on various civil service reform-related projects with the UNDP in Kazakhstan and Myanmar. Her work was published in *Public Administration Review*, *Public Administration*, *Australian Journal of Public Administration*, *Public Administration and Development*, *Review of Public Personnel Administration*, *Journal of Public Affairs Education*, and *Asia Pacific Journal of Public Administration*, among others.

Sascha Nanlohy

Institute for Economics and Peace

Dr Sascha Nanlohy is a Research Fellow at the Institute for Economics and Peace. He holds a PhD from the University of Sydney (2021) where he was a Research Associate. Sascha is also a Research Associate at the Australian National University. Dr Nanlohy specializes in the field of genocide prevention and has worked with the US Holocaust Memorial Museum and Auschwitz Institute and is on the board of the International Association of Genocide Scholars. He has publications with *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, *Global Responsibility to Protect* and *RUSI Journal*.

Dharana Nepal

University of New South Wales (UNSW), Canberra

Dharana has more than a decade of diverse experience in different aspects of international development and has worked with agencies such as the World Bank, UK aid and international consulting firms. She is a Certified Chartered Accountant (ACCA) and in her last full-time role, she led the public finance management reforms in Nepal as a Governance advisor in UK aid. Previously, as a graduate student at the Australian National University, Dharana conducted research on the governance mechanism of the Murray Darling Basin under the supervision of Professor Robert Costanza.

Maxine Newlands

Independent scholar / APSA EPP executive committee member

Dr Maxine Newlands is a political scientist, currently in the role of policy analyst with the Australian Academy of Science. Recent roles include co-lead of the Reef Restoration and Adaptation Regulatory subprogram (2017-2023), led author on Scientific Consensus Statement (social-ecological values), and several other articles and policy reports, and is treasurer for the APSA Environmental Policy and Politics group.

Katherine Newman

University of New South Wales

Katherine Newman is a PhD candidate at UNSW. Her research focuses on the role of settler colonialism in shaping the character and ideology of Far-Right and White Supremacist violence in settler colonies and interrogating the tension between the site-specificity of settler colonialism and global whiteness.

Simon Niemeyer

University of Canberra

Simon Niemeyer is Professor and co-founder of the Centre for Deliberative Democracy and Global Governance at University of Canberra. His research covers the broad field of deliberative democracy, with a focus on the use of empirical research to inform its theoretical foundations and understand how they translate into practical democratic innovations. He has contributed to the development of several pathbreaking concepts in the field, such as metaconsensus and discursive representation (both with John Dryzek) as well as developing innovative methods for the analysis of deliberation. His more recent work has involved conceptualising, measuring, and analysing deliberative reason, against the effects of misinformation and other forms of public manipulation. Much of his work has focussed on deliberative democracy and environmental issues, including climate change, but also covers a broad range of topics including technological development, medical ethics, energy futures, immigration, and parliamentary reform.

Zim Nwokora

Deakin University

Dr Zim Nwokora, Dr Peter Ferguson and Dr Amy Nethery are Senior Lecturers in Politics and Policy Studies at Deakin University. They are the lead investigators of Deakin's Parliamentary Careers Project, which has investigated the various challenges experienced by former parliamentarians in the transition to life after parliament and evaluated existing support structures available during and after a parliamentary career. See link below for more information:

<https://www.deakin.edu.au/humanities-social-sciences/research/the-parliamentary-careers-project#:~:text=The%20Parliamentary%20Careers%20Project%20is,underlying%20democratic%20culture%20and%20practice.>

Erin O'Brien

Queensland University of Technology

Janine O'Flynn

Australian National University

Janine O'Flynn is the Director of the Crawford School of Public Policy at the Australian National University. Janine's research interests are in public management, especially reform and relationships, which covers topics such as the creation and evolution of public service markets, collaboration,

joined-up government, public value, performance management systems, and the intersection of morality and public management practice.

Ilseok Oh

Institute for National Security Strategy (

Dr Ilseok Oh is a Research Fellow at the Institute for National Security Strategy (INSS) and a Vice President of the Korean Academy of Space Security (KASS). He obtained his Ph.D. in Law from Korea University and his L.L.M. from Northwestern University School of Law in Chicago. With expertise in emerging security issues, he has authored numerous articles on topics such as Cyber Security, Space Security, Energy Security, and laws and policies related to Emerging Technology. Prior to INSS, he served as a research fellow at the National Security Research Institute (NSRI).

Victoria Orlova

Independent Scholar

Victoria Orlova is currently an independent scholar, focusing her research on international relations, conflict resolution, diplomacy, and geopolitical challenges. She published studies on U.S.–Russia relations, public diplomacy, and global news networks.

Renee O'Shanassy

ANU - School of Politics and International Relations

Renee O'Shanassy is a PhD student at the School of Politics and International Relations at the Australian National University. She is interested in the role of feminist movements in international relations. Renee holds a Masters in Arts (Women's Studies) with Flinders University, a Masters of Public Policy and Management from Monash University and Bachelors of Laws and International Relations from La Trobe University. Renee has worked with the UNDP, various agencies of the Australian Public Service, development organisations and academia. She works in public policy, with a strong interest and experience in gender, development, and international relations.

Przemyslaw Osiewicz

Adam Mickiewicz University, Poznan, Poland

Przemyslaw Osiewicz is a Non-Resident Scholar at the Middle East Institute (MEI) in Washington D.C. and Assoc. Prof. of Political Science at Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznan, Poland. Prof. Osiewicz also serves as a member of the Polish Accreditation Committee (PKA).

Xuwan Ouyang

University of Queensland

Xuwan Ouyang is a doctoral candidate at University of Queensland. Her PhD thesis uses Myanmar as a case study to analyze practice of supposed Chinese peace approach. She holds a double master's degree in international relations from the University of Glasgow and Nankai University.

Octaviano Padovese

UNSW

Octaviano Padovese: PhD at Hamburg Universität (Law Faculty - 2018) DAAD (Deutscher Akademischer Austauschdienst) Stipendium, Occasional Lecturer (Lehrer) at Hamburg Universität and Bremen Universität, PhD at UNSW - Sydney - School of Social Sciences (2021-) RTP Fellowship

Guangyi Pan

UNSW, Sydney

Guangyi Pan is a PhD candidate at UNSW Sydney.

Brandon Beomseob Park

Soongsil University

Dr. Park is an Assistant Professor in Comparative Politics at the Department of Political Science and International Relations at Soongsil University in Seoul, South Korea. With a research focus on democratic accountability under globalization and during foreign policy crises, Dr. Park examines citizens' capacity to constrain representatives based on their "relative" policy performance at home and abroad.

Jieun Park

University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA)

Jieun is a Ph.D. candidate in political science at UCLA, with prior experience as a professional researcher at the Korea National Diplomatic Academy and the Association of World Election Bodies. She holds a master's degree in International Relations from Seoul National University and a Bachelor's degree in International Relations from the Australian National University. Her research focuses on the political economy of migration and East Asian politics, particularly immigration attitudes and gender in politics in Japan and South Korea. Currently, she is working on several projects, including the examination of attitudes toward female emigrants in Asia, attitudes toward climate migration, and Asian-specific preferences in the US and Australia. Jieun employs survey experiments and computational social science, emphasizing text analysis.

Susan Park

University of Sydney

Susan is a Professor of Global Governance at the University of Sydney. She joined the department in 2008, after teaching at Deakin University for three years and previously at the University of New South Wales. She researches how intergovernmental organisations become greener and more accountable and how accountability can be used to improve global environmental governance.

Pankaj Kumar Patel

International Institute for Population Sciences

I am a Ph.D. student in Population Studies at the International Institute for Population Sciences (IIPS) in Mumbai. I have a bachelor's degree in Political Science and a master's degree in Population Studies. I am currently working on India's political demography in my Ph.D. research. I focus on building a new methodology for the delimitation process of Parliament in India by constructing a new data set that requires extensive data analysis and multidimensional population projections.

Lucy Pedrana

Independent Scholar

Chris Pepin-Neff

University of Sydney

Chris Pepin-Neff (they/them) is a Senior Lecturer in Public Policy at the University of Sydney. Their research focuses on LGBTIQ+ public policy, emotions, agenda setting, and human-shark interactions.

Diana Perche

UNSW

Diana Perche is Senior Lecturer in Social Research and Policy at the University of New South Wales, Sydney. Diana's research focuses on the participation of First Nations people in Australian politics and policy-making, and on how Australian governments use evidence and ideology to design public policy affecting or targeting Indigenous people.

Sian Perry

The University of Sydney

Sian Perry is a PhD Candidate in Government and International Relations, School of Social and Political Sciences, at the University of Sydney. Her research interests include climate change, environmental politics, intersectionality and feminist international relations theory. Sian tweets at: @sianperry

Georgia Peters

University of Sydney

Georgia Peters (she/her) is a PhD student and a recipient of the Postgraduate Research Scholarship in Gender and Global Governance. Her research interests are feminist/queer theories of international political economy and discourse analysis. In 2021, she graduated from the University of Sydney with a First Class Honours degree in Politics and International Relations. Her Honours research focused on

the representation of Solomon Islands in Australian political discourse and media during the Regional Assistance Mission to Solomon Islands. She lives and works on unceded Gadigal country.

Maxfield Peterson

Australian National University

Dr. Maxfield Peterson joined the ANU School of Regulation and Global Governance in 2022. Max is a political scientist whose work investigates questions at the intersection of governance, political economy, energy politics, and international development. Prior to joining the ANU, Max completed his dissertation, entitled "Unsustainable Development: How Incoherent Governance Stunts Africa's Energy Future," at the University of Pittsburgh under the direction of Dr. B. Guy Peters and Dr. Michaël Aklin. This work explored how the interaction between successive waves of international regulatory interventions and the domestic political economies of Sub-Saharan African nations has affected the possibilities for renewable energy development in the region.

Pandanus Petter

Griffith University

Pandanus Petter is a postdoctoral research fellow at Griffith University's Centre for Governance and Public Policy. His research focuses on members of parliament and representation in Westminster jurisdictions, with a particular interest in the Australian State of Queensland. He is also a member of the research team for an Australian Research Council funded project on the Antipodean idea of the 'fair go', in which he is studying discourses of inequality in Australian and New Zealand public policy. "

Hung Pham

Monash University

Hung Pham is Doctoral Researcher at School of Social Sciences, Monash University, Melbourne. His research focuses on international cooperation in ASEAN.

Sarah G. Phillips

The University of Sydney

Sarah G. Phillips is an ARC Future Fellow, and the author of three books, the latest of which, 'When There Was No Aid: War and Peace in Somaliland' (Cornell University Press, 2020) was awarded the Australian Political Science Association's biennial Crisp Prize for the best political science monograph. It was also a 'Book of the Year' at Foreign Affairs (US) and The Australian Book Review, a finalist for the African Studies Association's 'Bethwell A. Ogot Book Prize,' and was shortlisted for the Conflict Research Society (UK) 'Book of the Year' Prize.

Jonathan Pickering

University of Canberra

Jonathan is an Associate Professor in the Canberra School of Politics, Economics and Society at the University of Canberra, where he has lectured in international relations since 2020. From 2015 to 2019 he was a postdoctoral fellow at the University of Canberra, based at the Centre for Deliberative Democracy and Global Governance. He completed his PhD at the Australian National University, graduating in 2014. His research focuses on democracy and justice in global environmental governance, with an emphasis on climate change, biodiversity and sustainable development.

Juliet Pietsch

Griffith University

Juliet Pietsch is Professor of Politics and Head of the School of Government and International Relations and Deputy Director of the Centre for Governance and Public Policy at Griffith University. She has published more than 60 research publications on the topics of national identity, social attitudes, migration and politics.

Lachlan Poel

Flinders University

Lachlan is a PhD student at Flinders University. His thesis examines how Australian and US legislative committees construct the threat of disinformation through the oral testimony of witnesses. Lachlan's areas of interest include elections, disinformation, and international relations.

Heela Popal

The university of Sydney

Heela Popal has submitted her PhD in the discipline of Government and International Relations at the University of Sydney. Heela is a post grad teaching fellow at the faculty of Arts and Social Sciences and has taught in the units of Public Policy (GOVT2941), International Organisations (GOVT6116) and Studying Arts and Social Sciences (FASS1000) at the University of Sydney. Heela is also a digital Research trainer at Intersect (Research Technology), teaching NVivo, Qualtrics, Excel, Programming with R etc. to researchers across different Australian universities. Heela contributed to the development of teaching resources "Teaching Politics During the 2022 Election resource kit".

Rodrigo Praino

Flinders University

Rodrigo Praino is an Associate Professor of Political Science at Flinders University

Scott Prasser

Independent scholar

Scott Prasser has worked in federal and state governments in public service and senior ministerial positions and held academic positions across five universities in four states and territories, the last at professorial level in public policy. His recent publications include: Royal Commissions and

Public Inquiries in Australia 2nd ed 2021 (Lexis Nexis) and coedited, The Whitlam Era: A Reappraisal of Governments, Politics and Policy (2022 - Connor Court Publishing). Scott gained his PhD from Griffith University and his undergraduate and masters degrees from UQP.

Jacob Priergaard

Australian National University

Jacob Priergaard is a PhD candidate at the Crawford School at ANU who researches Australian social security and unemployment policy. His thesis explores the institutional and administrative history that has created our current social security policies. Before commencing at Crawford, Jacob worked in the Australian Public Service.

Helen Pringle

UNSW

Dr Helen Pringle is an Associate Professor in the School of Social Sciences at the University of New South Wales, Sydney, with experience and expertise in research and teaching in the areas of human rights and discrimination against women. She is co-founder and co-convenor of the Nordic Model Information Network, a global alliance of researchers on prostitution and the sex industry, trafficking, and other forms of violence against women.

Brenton Prosser

UNSW

Brenton Prosser is Professor of Public Policy and Leadership at UNSW Canberra. He has a deep and practical understanding of the relationship between parliament, public sector leadership and policy. Brenton has led numerous multi-million-dollar national evaluations of defence, health and social policy for Commonwealth departments. Brenton was Chief of Staff to Senator Nick Xenophon during the period when the Senator first held the balance of power from 2008-2011. Most recently, he was Director of an internationally recognized centre for social and economic modelling (NATSEM). His deep policy experience across government, parliament, private, public sectors and NGOs made him the ideal leader for the UNSW Public Partnerships and Impact Hub.

Robynne Quiggin

UTS

Professor Robynne Quiggin is Pro Vice Chancellor Indigenous Leadership and Engagement at the University of Technology (UTS). Robynne is a Wiradyuri lawyer who has worked on legal and policy issues of relevance to Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people including business, investment, financial services, consumer issues, human rights, governance, rights to culture, heritage and the arts. Robynne is a Trustee of the Museum of Applied Arts and Sciences Trust (Powerhouse), a Board member of the Australian Sustainable Finance Initiative (ASFI) and NAISDA Dance College Board, a member of ASIC's Consultative Panel. She is also currently a member of Minister Plibersek's Circular Economy Committee and the Prime Minister's Net Zero Agency Advisory Board.

Giridharan Ramasubramanian

Australian National University

Giridharan Ramasubramanian is a doctoral research candidate at the Coral Bell School of Asia Pacific Affairs in the Australian National University. He was a former Visiting Fellow at the Ostrom Workshop in Indiana University. He was also a former Visiting Student Research Collaborator at the Princeton School of Public and International Affairs in Princeton University. He previously completed a Master of Diplomacy and Master of International Relations from the Australian National University.

Sanjay Ramesh

University of Sydney

Dr Sanjay Ramesh is Associate Lecturer in the Department of Criminology and Sociology at the University of Sydney. He has written articles in *Journal of Critical Theory*, *Pacific Studies*, *Pacific Dynamics*, *Fijian Studies*, *Commonwealth Journal of International Affairs*. His latest article is on political governance in *Pacific Journalism Review*.

Gaby Ramia

The University of Sydney

Gaby Ramia is Professor of Policy and Society in the Discipline of Government and International Relations, and Deputy Head of School (Research) in the School of Social and Political Sciences at The University of Sydney. Gaby teaches public policy and governance and he researches the governance of welfare, utilising public policy theory to explore social policy problems. He co-leads the Work, Education and Welfare theme of the Sydney Centre for Healthy Societies and he is a Fellow of the Australian Basic Income Lab. Gaby's latest book is *Governing Social Protection in the Long Term* (2020), and his forthcoming book is entitled *International Student Policy in Australia: The Welfare Dimension*. Gaby tweets at: @GabyRamia.

Ben Raue

Ben Raue is an independent electoral analyst and the creator of The Tally Room website. He also produces and hosts the linked podcast of the same name. Ben is a prominent media commentator on election results. He has been a regular analyst on The Guardian's election night liveblogs and was also ABC Radio's election analyst for the 2023 NSW state election and the 2023 Voice referendum.

Serena Raza

Deakin University

Serena Raza is a PhD candidate at the Alfred Deakin Institute for Citizenship and Globalisation at Deakin University. Serena's PhD thesis is exploring the roles that women play, or can play, in preventing and countering violent extremism (P/CVE) through an investigation into how female social intimates of extremists experience the sociopsychological phenomenon of the 'bystander effect'. Serena's research interests include P/CVE, (de)radicalisation, International Security studies, and

gender. Serena is also employed as a Research Assistant at Deakin University, where she is contributing to research on radicalisation and violent extremism in Australia for the Department of Home Affairs, Australia.

Kyle Redman

newDemocracy Foundation

Kyle Redman is the Director of Research and Design at the newDemocracy Foundation.

Morgan Rees

Queensland University of Technology

Dr Rees is a Lecturer of Politics and Policy at QUT's School of Justice. His research interests include US foreign policy, international relations theory, and US politics. His monograph 'Ideas and the Use of Force in American Foreign Policy' was published by Bristol University Press in 2021.

Richard Reid

Australian National University

Richard Reid is a researcher in politics and political history at The Australian National University. He researches contemporary rural and regional politics in Australia and Australian and British conservative politics in the 1950s and 1960s."

Angelika Rettberg

Universidad de los Andes

Angelika Rettberg, Professor of Political Science, Universidad de los Andes

Mark Riboldi

University of Sydney, University of Technology Sydney

Mark Riboldi is a PhD candidate at the University of Sydney and teaches Advocacy and Social Change at the University of Technology Sydney. He was born and raised on Dharug Country in Western Sydney and now lives, works and studies on Gadigal lands. Outside of the university, Mark has an extensive professional background working in education, politics and with civil society organisations. He has advised various politicians and organisations - sometimes they even listen to him. Mark's research interests centre on supporting the capabilities of communities and organisations that are working towards environmental, social and economic justice. He did his BA in Humanities at Macquarie University, an MA in Creative Writing from UTS and a Graduate Diploma in Public Policy from the University of Sydney. Mark tweets from: @markriboldi.

[Imogen Richards](#)

Deakin University

Imogen Richards a lecturer in criminology at Deakin University and a research fellow at the Alfred Deakin Institute for Citizenship and Globalisation. Imogen researches in the areas of social, news, and alternative forms of online media. She also writes on the political economy of (counter-)terrorism and the performance of security in response to social crisis. Her first book, *Neoliberalism and Neo-jihadism: Propaganda and Finance in Al Qaeda and Islamic State*, was published with Manchester University Press in 2020.

[Rebecca Riggs](#)

University of British Columbia

Rebecca is a Postdoctoral Fellow at the University of British Columbia with the Vibrant Forest Landscapes Lab. She completed her PhD in 2020 at James Cook University, where she examined the governance of landscape transitions in Cambodia. She has an interdisciplinary background and is dedicated to the pursuit of resilient, prosperous and sustainable development in high-stakes landscapes, primarily in the tropics.

[Matthew Robertson](#)

Australian National University

[Sally Robinson](#)

Flinders University

Sally Robinson is a professor of Disability and Community Inclusion, Flinders University. Her research focuses on opportunities and barriers to inclusive lives for people with disability.

[Geoffrey Robinson](#)

Deakin University

Geoff Robinson is senior lecturer in politics and policy at Deakin University. He is currently completing for Routledge a book on intellectuals in the Liberal Party.

[Shevera Rodrigo](#)

University of Sydney

I recently completed a Master of Public Policy at University of Sydney. The paper I have submitted for consideration is my Master's dissertation

[Katren Rogers](#)

Institute for Economics and Peace

Dr Katren Rogers is a Research Fellow with the Institute for Economics and Peace. She holds a PhD in Political Science from Lund University, Sweden (2022). Dr Rogers latest publication is "Changing faces of the Modern State" in *Governance* (with Johannes Lindvall).

Maria Rost Rublee

Monash University

Maria Rost Rublee is an Associate Professor of International Relations at Monash University, with expertise in constructivism, nuclear politics, maritime security, and diversity in security studies. As Chair of the International Security Studies Section (ISSS) of the International Studies Association (ISA), Maria created the ISSS Taskforce on Diversity in Security Studies to gather data on both demographic and intellectual diversity within global security studies, including surveys, interviews, analysis of syllabi, and analysis of security studies authorship. She is also leading an effort to analyze the (in)visibility of women in Australian national security studies and policymaking. "

Jason Roy

Wilfrid Laurier University

Jason Roy is a professor and undergraduate officer in the Department of Political Science and North American Studies at Wilfrid Laurier University. His primary areas of interest include political participation and behaviour, electoral politics, and public opinion. He is currently engaged in research projects that employ online experiments to assess how individuals form political preferences."

Sean Rupka

UNSW

Sean is a PhD student at UNSW working on the effects of technology on military labour and the relationship between the politics of national identity and the symbolic value of the modern soldier. He has particular interest in trauma, memorialization and political subjectivity.

Serrin Rutledge-Prior

Australian National University

Serrin Rutledge-Prior is a post-doctoral Research Fellow at the Australian National University's Crawford School of Public Policy. Her research focuses on animal politics and law, and political participation.

Imogen Ryan

University of Sydney

Imogen Ryan is currently a medical student at the University of Sydney. In 2022 she completed her Honours thesis on *Gaslighting Australia: Examining Australia's Climate Inaction at COP26*, for which she was awarded Honours First Class. She has an ongoing interest in research on climate change."

[Camilo Sanchez](#)

University of Virginia

Camilo Sanchez, Associate Professor of Law, University of Virginia

[Will Sanders](#)

Australian National University

Will Sanders has worked in four departments of the Australian national university since 1981, the North Australia Research Unit in Darwin, and in Canberra the Urban Research Unit, the Department of Political Science, and since 1993 the Centre for Aboriginal Economic Policy Research. His work has focused on Indigenous issues in Australian politics and public policy, particularly in remote areas. He has worked on issues relating to social security, housing, local government and elections, as well as on inter-government relations.

[Constanza Sanhueza Petrarca](#)

The Australian National University

Dr. Constanza Sanhueza Petrarca is a Lecturer in Comparative Politics at the School of Politics and International Relations at the Australian National University.

[Emanuela Savini](#)

University of Technology Sydney

Emanuela Savini is a PhD student the University of Technology Sydney specialising in the institutional design of deliberative governance in Victoria.

[Lucas Scheel](#)

The University of Adelaide

Lucas made the long way from Germany to Adelaide to commence his PhD, after completing his Bachelors in Bonn, Germany, and the Masters in Dublin, Ireland. As a scholar of political science, he is particularly interested in populism, democracy, and political extremism. Before starting his PhD, he was working in a research project, based at the University of Bonn, which sought to analyse the factors that lead people to a feeling of disenfranchisement and alienation from society and politics. His PhD-thesis on violent language in populist discourse, is - in a way - a continuation of this academic journey.

[David Schlosberg](#)

University of Sydney

David Schlosberg is Director of the Sydney Environment Institute and Professor of Environmental Politics at the University of Sydney. His work focuses on a range of environmental justices - environmental, climate, ecological, multispecies, and just approaches to climate adaptation/resilience - as well as broader issues of environmental politics, action, and sustainability in everyday life. His more applied and collaborative work, with a range of governments and organisations, focuses on disaster, resilience, and adaptation response, planning, and policy.

Caitlin Scott

University of Sydney

Jocelynn Scutt

University of Buckingham

Dr Jocelynn A. Scutt is a barrister and human rights lawyer, admitted to practice in England and Wales, and all Australian jurisdictions, a member of the Inner Temple and Victorian Bar Association. Senior Teaching Fellow at the University of Buckingham, England, she is a filmmaker and writer. Her films include *The Incredible Woman* and *A Greenshell Necklace* (with Karen Buczynski-Lee) and *Covered*, a DVD Installation of three streams – ‘Romancing the Veil’, ‘The Contradictions of Cover’, and ‘Debating the Scarf’. Her books include (most recently) *Women and Magna Carta – A Treaty for Rights and Wrongs: Women, Law and Culture – Conformity, Contradiction and Conflict*; *Beauty Women’s Bodies and the Law – Performances in Plastic*; and *Wage Rage for Equal Pay – The Long, Long Struggle* (in press).

Justin See

University of Sydney

Justin See is a Postdoctoral Research Fellow in Climate Adaptation at the Sydney Environment Institute, University of Sydney.

Afsaneh Seifinaji

University of Melbourne

Afsaneh Seifinaji is a third-year PhD candidate at the University of Melbourne and a Research Fellow at Deakin University's Alfred Deakin Institute and her research focuses into extremism and radicalization in the Middle East, particularly on their recruitment through online platforms. Before moving to Australia, she has worked at the UN office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs.

Kurt Sengul

University of Sydney

Kurt Sengul currently works as a lecturer and tutor at the University of Sydney and the University of Newcastle where he teaches into a range of media and communication subjects, specialising in strategic communication, social media, digital media and communication and public relations studies

With an emerging international reputation in the study of far-right populist strategic communication, Kurt has published extensively in internationally recognised Q1 ranked media and communication journals including Media International Australia, Communication Research and Practice, and Critical Discourse Studies.

Fathimath Shafeega

University of Adelaide

Most Farjana Sharmin

South Asian University, New Delhi, India

Most Farjana Sharmin is a doctoral student at the South Asian University New Delhi, and India. Her research interests and expertise are_ International Relations, Geopolitics, Geo-economics and Astro-politics. However, she is currently working on 'Geopolitics on Outer-Space' focused on South Asia. She completed her Under-Graduation in History from the University of Dhaka, Bangladesh, and her Post-Graduation in South Asian Studies from Pondicherry University, India. She was awarded 'UNESCO and South Asian Foundation Scholarship" (2015-2017) during her Post-graduation. And she is currently receiving SAARC Silver Jubilee Scholarship. She has also been awarded with a research fellowship on 'Young Voice in Geopolitics 2023"; the Fellowship is jointly funded by the Centre for Government Studies (CGS), Bangladesh & Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung foundation, Germany. She has written papers and blogs on space geopolitics and international relations issues. Other than this,She is also part of a Volunteer project, 'Space Safety and Sustainability' initiated by the Space General Advisory Council.

Laura J. Shepherd

University of Sydney

Laura J. Shepherd is a Professor of International Relations at the University of Sydney, Australia. Her primary research focuses on the United Nations Security Council's Women, Peace and Security agenda, and attendant dynamics of gender, violence, and security governance. Laura is author/editor of several books, including, most recently Narrating the Women, Peace and Security Agenda: Logics of Global Governance (Oxford University Press, 2021), and New Directions in Women, Peace and Security (edited with Soumita Basu and Paul Kirby; Bristol University Press, 2020). She still spends too much time on Twitter (which she refuses to call X), where she tweets from @drljshepherd.

Ridwan Islam Sifat

University of Maryland, Baltimore County

Ridwan Sifat is a Ph.D. student in Public Policy with a specialization in Health Policy at the School of Public Policy, UMBC. His research interests include public policy analysis, public management, governance and human rights, health policy, health disparities, digital health, climate change & health, and health communication.

Thiago N. Silva

Australian National University

Thiago N. Silva is Assistant Professor at the School of Politics and International Relations and Deputy Director of the Australian Centre for Federalism at the Australian National University. His research focuses on comparative politics, with an emphasis on political institutions and political economy, and addresses the dynamics of coalition governments in presidential and parliamentary democracies. "

Lian Sinclair

University of Sydney, Geography

Lian Sinclair is Postdoctoral Research Associate in Geography at the University of Sydney (funded by the Faculty of Science). Her current research focuses on how Australian critical minerals industry is plugging into global production networks in batteries, electric vehicles and renewable energy, and the resulting contestations around land, development and environment. Lian's first book *Undermining resistance: Extractive accumulation, participation and governance in global capitalism* is contracted for publication by Manchester University Press.

Shane P. Singh

University of Georgia

Shane P. Singh is a professor and the director of graduate studies in the Department of International Affairs within the School of Public and International Affairs (SPIA) at the University of Georgia. He is also an instructor in the ICPSR Summer Program in Quantitative Methods of Social Research. His research focuses on comparative politics, with an emphasis on comparative political behavior and elections. He is an expert on the use of compulsory voting around the world.

Aim Sinpeng

University of Sydney

Aim is a Senior Lecturer in Comparative Politics in the Department of Government and International Relations. She is currently a Discovery Early Career Researcher Award (DECRA) fellow for her project on 'Cyber Repression and Political Protests in Thailand.' Her research interests centre on the relationships between digital media and political participation in Southeast Asia. She is particularly interested in the issues of social media campaigning, disinformation, online harassment and AI bias. Aim won the FASS Early Career Research Excellence Award in 2022.

Peter Skilling

Auckland University of Technology

Peter Skilling is a Senior lecturer in the Department of Management at Auckland University of Technology.

Wayne Snell

Australian Civil Military Centre

Wayne Snell is the Director, Concepts and Capabilities at the Australian Civil Military Centre. Wayne commenced this role in June 2020 after serving nearly two years as the Director, Police and Emergency Services in Afghanistan for NATO. Wayne has also served as the Commander State Operations for the NSW State Emergency Service and with the International Criminal Police Organisation (INTERPOL), the Australian Federal Police, NSW Police, WA Police, Edith Cowan University, Australian National University and as a self-employed consultant. Wayne has extensive international experience in Asia, Middle East and the Pacific.

Alastair Stark

University of Queensland

Alastair Stark is an Associate Professor at the University of Queensland's School of Political Science and International Studies. Alastair is a public policy scholar, a crisis management expert and has an ongoing interest in the institutionalization of participatory modes of governance. His current policy research examines, inter alia, the role that institutional amnesia plays in the policy process, post-disaster lesson-learning and the effectiveness of public inquiries.

Jack Hudson Stewart

University of Western Australia (Student)

Jack Hudson Stewart is a Bachelor of Philosophy (Honours) student at the University of Western Australia. His undergraduate training is in philosophy, politics, and economics, and he has previous research in the Australian Journal of Political Science on the topic of come-from-behind electoral victories.

Gerry Stoker

University of Southampton

Professor Gerry Stoker is a Professor of Governance at the University of Southampton. He is a truly a truly international scholar, with his publications on 'Why Politics Matters' and 'Evidence Based Policy' being seminal works in the field. Professor Stoker has provided advice to various parts of the UK government and civil services, while he is also an expert advisor to the Council of Europe on local government and participation issues. His work led to the development of a heuristic to help public authorities investigate their public participation strategies and identify how they might be improved.

Francesco Stolfi

Macquarie University

Sarah Stoller

The University of Melbourne

Sarah is undertaking her PhD at the University of Melbourne with support from the Indigenous Knowledge Institute. Her research aims to highlight de-colonising Indigenous policy collaboration and engage with diverse Indigenous knowledge. She works with Weenthunga Health Network, an Indigenous-controlled organisation underpinned by two-way working. She previously worked with the Aboriginal Peak Organisation NT. Working for Indigenous organisations provided an opportunity to experience systems where Indigenous knowledge is preferred. Sarah also worked for the Victorian and NT Governments. Sarah has a degree in Arts(Hon)/Law from Monash University and a Masters in Public Policy and Management from the University of Melbourne.

Judi Storer

Flinders University

Judi is a PhD candidate having completed a Bachelor of Laws with First Class Honours, for which she was awarded the University Medal. Judi is two years into her PhD. Prior to completing her Law degree, Judi completed a Bachelor of Teaching and a Master of Disability Studies, and worked with non-government organisations and Education Departments as a consultant for students with disabilities for 21 years. Judi's passions for the environment, human rights, and animal conservation, coalesced into a concern, with climate change mitigation and adaptation. Her Honours dissertation and PhD both focus on climate change mitigation.

Anna Sturman

Sydney Environment Institute

Anna Sturman is a Postdoctoral Research Fellow at the Sydney Environment Institute and Project Manager of a funded project on animals and disasters.

Zeynep Somer-Topcu

University of Texas at Austin

Zeynep Somer-Topcu is an Associate Professor in the Department of Government at the University of Texas at Austin. Her research is on the relationship between political parties' strategies and voter behaviour.

Marika Sosnowski

Melbourne Law School

Marika Sosnowski is an Australian-qualified lawyer and a Postdoctoral Fellow at Melbourne Law School affiliated with the Peter McMullin Centre for Statelessness. She is also a Research Associate at the German Institute for Global and Area Studies (GIGA) in Hamburg. Her primary interests are in the fields of state violence, legal systems, local/rebel governance, with a geographical focus on Syria.

Fei Su

USYD

Ph.D candidate in the department of Government and International relations, research on Northeast Asia political economics and Free Trade Agreement

Helen Sullivan

Australian National University

Professor Helen Sullivan is a public policy scholar and academic leader. Her research and teaching explore state-society relationships and their interactions with public policy systems. She is the author/editor of nine books, including *Collaboration and Public Policy. Agency in the Pursuit of Public Purpose* (2022). Her leadership practice focuses on institution building, innovation, and renewal in complex systems. Helen is a National Fellow of the Institute of Public Administration Australia (2017), a Fellow of the Higher Education Academy (2003) and a Past President of the Australian Political Studies Association (2020-21). She currently serves as Dean of the ANU College of Asia and the Pacific at the Australian National University.

Oliver Summerfield-Ryan

The University of Sydney

Oliver Summerfield-Ryan is a PhD candidate in the Discipline of Political Economy at the University of Sydney researching energy transitioning, with a particular focus on Australia's electricity sector. Drawing on institutional and ecological economics, his research interests include climate change and energy policy, and identifying the barriers and drivers for the uptake of renewable energy.

Josh Sunman

Flinders University

Josh is a PhD Candidate at Flinders University looking at Democratic Stagnation in anglo-parliamentary democracies. His other academic interests include elections and campaigns, electoral systems, populism and it's democratic challenges, and state and regional politics.

Sebastian F. K. Svegaard

Queensland University of Technology

Sebastian F. K. Svegaard is a current PostDoc with the Digital Media Research Centre at Queensland University of Technology, where he researches drivers of polarisation and partisanship online as part of Prof. Axel Bruns' team. In 2022, he completed his PhD in media studies at Birmingham City University in the UK, where he focused on the intersections of affect, critique, and music in narrative, fan-made music videos. His current focus brings notions of fandom, identity, affect, and culture to the study of polarisation and partisanship, with recent work centred around political leaders' Facebook posts during elections.

Marija Taflaga

The Australian National University

Marija Taflaga is a Senior Lecturer and the Director of the Australian Politics Studies Center at The Australian National University. Marija is co-host of the Australian Politics Podcast, Democracy Sausage. She is currently engaged on the Australian Research Council-funded Discovery Project Pathways to Power examining Australian political careers and their impact on public policy.

Ross Tapsell

Australian National University

Ross Tapsell is a researcher at the Australian National University's College of Asia and the Pacific, specialising in Southeast Asian media. He is the author of *Media Power in Indonesia: Oligarchs, Citizens and the Digital Revolution* (Rowman & Littlefield, 2017) and co-editor of *From Grassroots Activism to Disinformation: Social Media in Southeast Asia* (ISEAS Publishing, 2020). He has written for *The New York Times*, *The Guardian*, *VICE* and other publications in the Southeast Asian region.

Amanda Tattersall

University of Sydney - Sydney Policy Lab

Juliet Bennett is Collaborative Research Manager with the Sydney Policy Lab, and recent PhD graduate. Her thesis is entitled: *Process Thinking and its Application for a Sustainable Future*.

Nivek Thompson

Deliberately Engaging

Nivek Thompson recently completed her PhD looking at how democratic innovations could improve democracy. The title of her thesis is *Deliberative mini-publics: institutional design and the quality of democracy*. Whilst her research focused on a particular type of democratic innovation (citizens' juries), the framework she developed to consider the design of these processes is applicable to other participatory initiatives. Nivek Thompson is the founder and Executive Director of Deliberately Engaging, a boutique consultancy. Deliberately Engaging provides services to government and non-government organisations, primarily in designing and recruiting participants for engagement processes. We focus particularly on recruiting mini-publics and similar bodies for short and long-term consultations. Nivek is also the producer and host of *Real Democracy Now! A Podcast* where she interviews thought leaders about democracy and democratic innovations. Nivek tweets at: @NievkKThompson.

Elizabeth Thurbon

UNSW Sydney

Tiziana Torresi

University of Adelaide

Tiziana Torresi is Senior Lecturer in Political Theory at the University of Adelaide. She holds a BA from the University of New South Wales, and a DPhil in Politics and International Relations, from the

University of Oxford. Her research interests are mainly in political philosophy and normative international theory. She writes on migration and temporary labour migration, migrants' voting rights, the role of cities in migration, citizenship, and populism. She has published on state policies about women's bodies, especially in relation to health and development policy. She has an interest in the philosophy of love, both in interpersonal relations and as a public and political value. She is a founding member of the Global Justice Network and the Vice-president of ARIA- Associazione Ricercatori Italiani in Australasia.

Daniel J. Tower

Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain

Daniel J. Tower is an academic, engineer, and researcher, whose work focuses on the intersection between the anthropology of religion and the geopolitics of armed conflict. He has done extensive field work in the Middle East, including in Iraq during the ISIS conflict. Daniel completed his PhD at the University of Sydney in the Department of Studies in Religion. His doctoral thesis investigated the geography of religious violence during ISIS in northern Iraq. He is a Fellow of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain, and volunteers for Iraq Body Count (IBC) and the Etuti Organisation.

Filippo Trevisan

American University

Dr. Filippo Trevisan is the Associate Dean for Faculty Affairs and an Associate Professor of Public Communication at American University's School of Communication in Washington, D.C.

Linda Trimble

The University of Alberta (Edmonton, Canada)

"Linda Trimble is a Professor Emeritus in the Political Science Department at the University of Alberta, Canada. Her work focuses on women's representation in political office, especially political leadership roles, and media representations of political leaders. She is the author of *Ms. Prime Minister: Gender, Media, and Leadership* (University of Toronto Press, 2016), and more recently co-author of several journal articles drawn from a grant-funded project, held with Professor Jennifer Curtin at the University of Auckland, on premiers in Australia and Canada.

Sian Troath

University of Canterbury

Dr Sian Troath is postdoctoral fellow at the University of Canterbury. Her work is focussed primarily on mapping the lethal autonomous weapons debate and the politics of new and emerging technologies. Her research also focuses on Australian foreign and defence policy, theories of trust in international relations, and the US-UK relationship.

Ana Maria Ulloa

The University of Sydney

Ana is a PhD candidate in the Department of Government and International Relations at the University of Sydney. Her research examines how and to what effect NGOs influence governments to fulfil their global environmental commitments under the Convention on Biological Diversity and the Paris Agreement on Climate Change and explores the link between accountability, policy learning, and environmental outcomes. She recently published the article *Accountability as Constructive Dialogue: Can NGOs Persuade States to Conserve Biodiversity?* in the journal *Global Environmental Politics*. She is a research assistant and a PhD fellow at the Sydney Environment Institute, and a guest lecturer in Global Environmental Governance.

Pia Van de Zandt

NSW Premier's Department.

Pia Van de Zandt is the Director of Connected Communities, NSW Premier's Department.

Neel Vanvari

University of Canterbury, New Zealand

Neel Vanvari is PhD Candidate in the Department of Political Science and International Relations at the University of Canterbury, New Zealand.

Franka Vaughan

Victoria University

Franka Vaughan is a Research Associate for the Victoria University-led anti-racism project: - *Understanding reporting barriers and support needs of those experiencing racism*'. She convenes the African Studies Group at the University of Melbourne and is a Teaching and Research Associate in the School of Social and Political Sciences. Her research interests are in -fringe' settler colonialism, governance and statebuilding in post-conflict settings, diaspora and migration discourses and antiracism praxis in research and curriculum. She holds an MSc in International Development from the University of Birmingham, UK and a BA in Political Science (Honours) from the University of Ghana.

Michael Vaughan

London School of Economics

Dr. Michael Vaughan is a Research Officer at the London School of Economics' International Inequalities Institute.

Blanche Verlie

University of Wollongong

Blanche is a Lecturer in Humanities and Social Inquiry at the University of Wollongong. Her research investigates how people understand, experience, and respond to climate change, and how we might do this differently and better.

Samantha Vilkins

QUT

Samantha Vilkins is a Research Associate at QUT's Digital Media Research Centre, working on Professor Axel Bruns's ARC Laureate project "Determining the Drivers and Dynamics of Partisanship and Polarisation in Online Public Debate". Samantha's research looks at how evidence and expertise are distributed and discussed online, with a focus on their role in the dynamics of political polarisation. Her Master and PhD research at the Australian National University was on responsibility for interpretation in producing and communicating scientific and statistical evidence for decision-making, and the increasing influence of quantification on politics and public debate.

Mun Vong

Griffith University

Mun Vong is a sessional lecturer in the School of Government and International Relations at Griffith University. His research focuses on the development and evolution of political institutions in Cambodia. His research has appeared in the *Journal of East Asian Studies* and *South-East Asia Research*. He received his PhD in Political Science from Griffith University. "

Ariadne Vromen

Australian National University

Professor Ariadne Vromen is the Sir John Bunting Chair of Public Administration at the Australian National University's Crawford School of Public Policy.

Andrew Walter

University of Melbourne

Andrew Walter is Professor of International Relations in the School of Social and Political Sciences, University of Melbourne. He specialises in the political economy of international money and finance, including their governance among and within countries. Prior to his current appointment he has held positions at the University of Oxford and the London School of Economics, and his most recent book, *The Wealth Effect* (with Jeffrey Chwieroth) was published with Cambridge University Press in 2019. "

Shuqi Wang

Nanyang Technological University

Shuqi Wang, Ph.D. candidate, Public Policy and Global Affairs Programme, School of Social Sciences, Nanyang Technological University, Singapore. Shuqi's research interests centre on international security, alliance politics, and foreign policy analysis, with a particular focus on the Asia-Pacific region. Before enrolling at NTU, Shuqi received her BA in International Politics and her MA in Diplomacy from the School of International Studies at Peking University.

Azim Syed Wasif

Ghazi University Dera Ghazi Khan

Dr. Syed Wasif Azim is currently working as Head of the department and Assistant Professor, department of History and Political Science, Ghazi University Dera Ghazi Khan. He holds a PHD from the University of Peshawar, Pakistan (2019) which was funded by the Government of Pakistan. He has been a post-doctoral research fellow in the department of Political Science, University of Innsbruck, Austria (2021-2022) which was funded by the Ministry of Education, Austria. He has also been a research fellow in the South Asia Center, University of Washington, Seattle, USA which was funded by the Government of Pakistan (2017-2018).

Adele Webb

University of Canberra

Adele Webb is Research Fellow in Democracy & Citizen Engagement at the University of Canberra's Centre for Deliberative Democracy and Global Governance. Her research focuses on questions pertaining to how citizens think about democracy, when and why they hold complex attitudes to democracy, and how lived experiences shape and constrain their engagement with democratic processes. She is also interested in Southeast Asian politics, post-colonial theory, and interpretive methods. Adele holds a PhD in Political Science from the University of Sydney (2019) and MSc in Political Sociology from the London School of Economics and Political Science.

Scott Webster

Sydney Environment Institute

Scott Webster is a Postdoctoral Research Fellow at the Sydney Environment Institute and Project Manager of a funded project on spontaneous community responses to disasters."

Laura Welty

University of Sydney

Dr Laura Welty works in comparative politics and international relations studying ethnic conflict, religious history, nationalism, and terrorism. She received her PhD from the University of Sydney in 2022 researching counter-radicalisation strategies implemented by religious institutions, civil society actors, and the government in Bosnia and Herzegovina. She currently is a Sessional Lecturer in the Department of Government and International Relations and the United States Studies Center. She has previously held research positions at the Sydney Policy Lab (2022), USYD FASS Postgraduate

Teaching Fellow (2020), Survey Administrator for the Global Party Survey (2019), and Project Coordinator for the Electoral Integrity Project (2018-2019).

Jasmine-Kim Westendorf

La Trobe University

Dr Jasmine-Kim Westendorf is an Associate Professor of International Relations and ARC DECRA Fellow at La Trobe University in Australia. Her current research focuses on sexual exploitation and abuse in peacekeeping and humanitarian operations. She is the author of *Violating Peace: Sex, Aid and Peacekeeping* (Cornell University Press, 2020) and *Why Peace Processes Fail: Negotiating Insecurity After Civil War* (Lynner Rienner Publishers, 2015). Her articles have appeared in *International Affairs*, *International Studies Quarterly*, *Australian Journal of International Affairs*, *Global Studies Quarterly* and the *Journal of Intervention and Statebuilding*. She recently conducted three months of research in four refugee contexts with her two small children in tow.

Lee White

Australian National University

Jessica Whyte

University of New South Wales

Jessica Whyte is Scientia Associate Professor of Philosophy at the University of New South Wales, with a cross-appointment in the Faculty of Law. Her work integrates political philosophy, intellectual history and political economy to analyse contemporary forms of sovereignty, human rights, humanitarianism and militarism. She is author of *Catastrophe and Redemption: The Political Thought of Giorgio Agamben*, (SUNY 2013) and *The Morals of the Market: Human Rights and the Rise of Neoliberalism* (Verso, 2019) and an editor of *Humanity: An International Journal of Human Rights, Humanitarianism and Development*. She is currently writing about economic sanctions after the Cold War.

Kinga Wieczorek

Adam Mickiewicz University, Poland

I am a PhD Candidate in the discipline of political science and administration at Adam Mickiewicz University, Poland. I am a principal investigator in a research grant on advocacy in the field of climate policy. My research interests are mainly in lobbying, advocacy and political aspects of climate change.

Sam Wilkins

RMIT University

Sam Wilkins is a Lecturer in International Business at the School of Management at RMIT University. He received his doctorate in political science from the University of Oxford in 2018, where his thesis

used ethnographic methods to study the electoral survival authoritarian NRM regime in Uganda. His primary interests in authoritarianism include local politics, dominant party structures, rural politics, and research methodology. More recently his research has focused on the comparative study of globally populism and its relationship with the international business environment.

Trissia Wijaya

Ritsumeikan University / Murdoch University

Trissia is a Senior Research Fellow at Ritsumeikan University, Osaka and Honorary Postdoctoral Fellow, Indo Pacific Research Centre, Murdoch University, Australia. She has worked with development agencies including UNDP, the USAID, and the ADB informing technical expertise, programming & policy related to infrastructure development. She has published in leading academic journals and policy outlets on issues related to green development, infrastructure financing, and public-private partnerships.

Sam Wilkins

RMIT University

Sam Wilkins is a lecturer in International Business at the School of management, RMIT University. He received his doctorate in political science at the University of Oxford in 2018, where his dissertation studied the survival of the authoritarian Museveni regime in the 2016 elections. Since then his main research focuses have been comparative authoritarianism, populism, and the link between these and the international business environment.

Blair Williams

Monash University

Eleanor Williams

University of Queensland

Eleanor Williams is a PhD candidate at the University of Queensland and Acting CEO of the Victorian Collaborative Centre for Mental Health and Wellbeing. Eleanor was previously the Director of the Victorian Department of Health's Centre for Evaluation and Research Evidence. She holds a Masters of Public Policy and Management and Masters of Evaluation from the University of Melbourne and has worked in a variety of senior management and executive roles in Government and as a management consultant. Eleanor co-founded the Australian Public Sector Evaluation Network and is a recent Board Member of the Australian Evaluation Society.

The Hon. Leslie Williams MP

Member for Port Macquarie

Leslie Williams was elected to the State Member for Port Macquarie in 2011. Leslie successfully re-contested the seat of Port Macquarie in 2015, 2019 and again in 2023 where she received 60.7% of

the vote. She has held numerous roles in the NSW Parliament since being elected in 2011 including Chair, Committee on the Health Care Complaints Commission, Parliamentary Secretary for Renewable Energy, Minister for Early Childhood Education, Minister for Aboriginal Affairs and Assistant Minister for Education as well as Parliamentary Secretary for Regional and Rural Health, and Deputy Speaker. In May Leslie was selected as part of the Shadow Cabinet for the Coalition and has responsibility for Aboriginal Affairs, Prevention of Domestic Violence and Sexual Assault and Women.

Victoria Woodman

University of Auckland

VKG Woodman is a doctoral student at the University of Auckland and a research collaborator with Professors Jennifer Curtin and Linda Trimble on a grant-funded project examining the career paths, longevity, and media representations of women premiers in Australia and Canada. She and Professor Curtin have developed a theoretical approach and novel method to political biography as a way of understanding the gendered factors shaping women's rise to and performance of government leadership.

Fengshi Wu

University of New South Wales, Sydney

Fengshi Wu is an Associate Professor of political science and international relations at the School of Social Sciences, University of New South Wales, Sydney. She specializes in environmental politics, state-society relations, civil society, and global governance with an empirical focus on China and Asia. She is the inaugural Series Editor of *Environment and Society in Asia*, Amsterdam University Press. Her recent academic works have appeared in *Environmental Politics*, *China Journal*, *VOLUNTAS*, *China Quarterly*, *International Studies Quarterly*, and *Global Policy*. Her edited book *China's Global Conquest for Resources* (Routledge, 2017) examines China's overseas investment in and acquisition of natural resources.

Sophie Yates

Australian National University

Sophie Yates is a Research Fellow at the Crawford School of Public Policy at the Australian National University. Sophie has an interest in value creation in public services, and particularly how public policy and public administration affect value creation and service experiences for marginalised groups.

Junghyun Yoon

Institute for National Security Strategy

Dr Junghyun Yoon is a research fellow at the Institute for National Security Strategy (INSS). He was previously a researcher at the Science and Technology Policy Institute (STEPI) and a member of the Presidential Advisory Council on Science and Technology (2019-2020). Dr Yoon has a PhD in International Relations from Seoul National University, and his expertise includes emerging security,

global governance, technology systems and risks, and future strategic research. He is interested in convergence research that encompasses the field of emerging technology and Political Science.

Janelle Young

University of Melbourne

Janelle Young is a PhD Candidate in the School of Social and Political Sciences at the University of Melbourne. Janelle holds a Master of Arts in Anthropology from Dalhousie University and a Master of Social Work from La Trobe University and has worked in Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander child welfare policy for the past five years. Her PhD research focuses on representations of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander children in Australian social work, and the discipline's influence on the development of child protection and youth justice systems.

Jingdong Yuan

University of Sydney

Associate Professor Jingdong Yuan is an Associate Professor of International Security at the Department of Government and International Relations, University of Sydney. He is also an Associate Senior Fellow at SIPRI. His research focuses on Indo-Pacific security, Chinese foreign policy, Sino-Indian relations, and nuclear arms control and non-proliferation.

Wang Yue

University of Melbourne

I am a third year PhD student at the School of Politics and International Relations, East China Normal University (ECNU); a PhD student at the Centre for Australian Studies, ECNU; and a visiting PhD student at the School of Social and Political Science, University of Melbourne. My main research interests are Australia's bilateral relations with Indonesia and Indo-Pacific strategy.