

Reimagining our Political Futures



Australian Political Studies Association
2022 Annual Conference Program

Australian National University
25 to 28 September 2022

Revised program released on 20 September



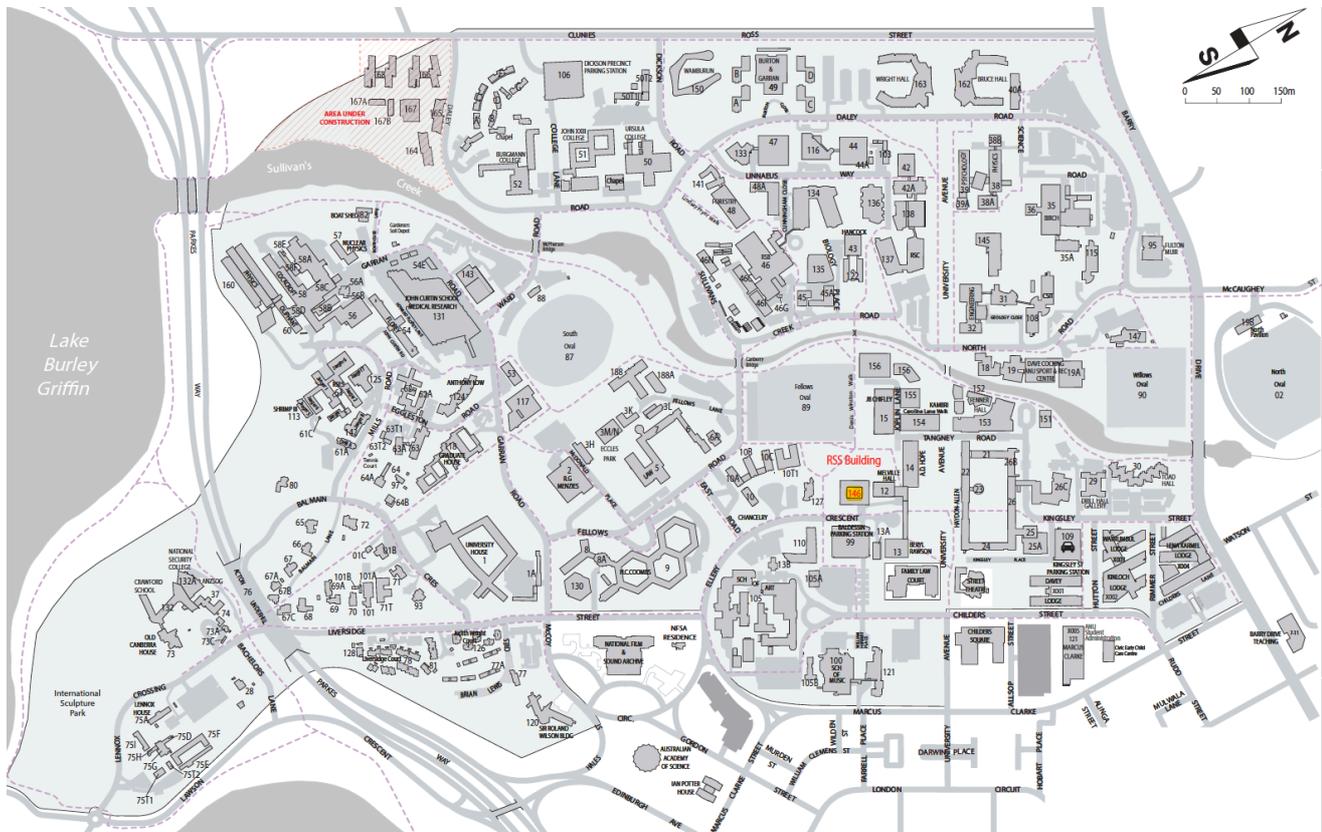
**Australian
National
University**

Conference information

DATE / TIME	Monday 26 September – Wednesday 28 September 2022, 9 am to 5.30 pm
VENUE	RSSS Building 146 Ellery Crescent, Canberra
Wi-Fi Access	Connection details are available on your conference nametag.
ORGANISERS	ANU School of Politics & International Relations ANU Crawford School of Public Policy ANU Coral Bell School of Asia Pacific Affairs
CONFERENCE CHAIRS	Dr Jill Sheppard Dr Azad Singh Bali
ORGANISING COMMITTEE	Prof Darren Halpin and Prof Ariadne Vromen Dr Marija Taflaga - Australian Politics and Dr Svitlana Chernykh - Comparative Politics
RESEARCH STREAM LEADERS	Prof Edward Aspinall - East/Southeast Asian Politics Dr Rebecca Pearse - Environmental Policy and Politics Prof Sharon Bessell - Gender and Sexuality Associate Prof Will Sanders - Indigenous Politics Dr Qyunh Nguyen - International Political Economy Dr Richard Frank and Prof George Lawson - International Relations Associate Prof Bjoern Dressel - Law and Politics Associate Prof Julien Barbara & Dr Grant Walton - Pacific Studies Dr Maria Maley & Dr Michael Di Francesco - Policy and Governance Dr Will Bosworth - Political Theory Dr Darren Lim - Security & Strategy studies Dr Katherine Curchin - Teaching & Learning

Getting to the ANU

The conference is held at the RSSS Building (Building Number 146) at the ANU.



An interactive online campus map is available at <https://www.anu.edu.au/maps#> and will be helpful in navigating your way to the RSSS Building.

Alternatively, here is a link to the coordinates of the [RSSS Building on Google Map](#).

More information on getting to the ANU is available online <https://services.anu.edu.au/campus-environment/facilities-maps/maps-way-finding>

Please note that masks are mandatory inside ANU buildings. We will also be providing masks for the safety of all attendees.

We also request that where possible, presenters use their own laptops to project slides or other material in their presentation.



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JOIN US IN
Celebrating
THE LIFE OF

MARIAN SIMMS

14 December 1951 - 28 April 2021

Wednesday, 28 September

Ann Harding Conference Centre, University of Canberra

4:30 pm - 7:30 pm

[REGISTER](#)

Registration is compulsory for catering purposes.

Please select the General Admission ticket for the face-to-face event at the Ann Harding Conference Centre. Those unable to join the face-to-face event, please select the Online ticket and join online through Zoom.

Welcome from the Organising Committee

Welcome to the APSA 2022 Annual Conference! APSA@ANU is jointly hosted by the School of Politics & International Relations; the Crawford School of Public Policy, and the Coral Bell School of Asia Pacific Affairs at the Australian National University.

We are excited to host our first in-person meeting after a break of three years! APSA represents all areas of political studies research in Australia, and this is reflected in the diversity of the 77 panels and more than 280 registered participants.

We are delighted to have Dr Adam Hannah, Dr Erin O'Brien, and Dr Marija Taflaga participate in the Keynote Plenary on the Future of Political Studies in Australia. We thank our discussants and chair Prof Keith Dowding, Prof Jenny M Lewis, and Prof Helen Sullivan for contributing to the opening panel. We hope the panel sparks a series of conversations throughout APSA@ANU and in subsequent meetings.

We thank the APSA Executive Committee, and Assoc Prof Jana von Stein, Dr Jeremiah Brown, and Dr Laura Davy for helping adjudicate the postgraduate prize awards presented at APSA 2022.

We wish to acknowledge the generous support from Australian Political Studies Association, and the financial support from Routledge, ANU Press, and International IDEA. A big 'thank you' to delegates for your patience, energy and promotion of the conference.

Lastly, we thank colleagues in the RSSS office – led by the tireless Maria Mendoza – for their tremendous support in organising conference logistics as well as volunteers helping with logistics on site.

KEYNOTE PANEL: THE FUTURE OF POLITICAL STUDIES IN AUSTRALIA

MONDAY: 9:00 -10:15 AM

RSSS AUDITORIUM

Panellists: Dr Adam Hannah, Dr Erin O'Brien, Dr Marija Taflaga

Discussants: Prof Keith Dowding and Prof Jenny Lewis

Chair: Prof Helen Sullivan

The keynote panel will provoke dialogue and discussion on the future of political studies in Australia: what needs to change, what needs to stay, and how early career academics can shape the future of our discipline. The panellists will highlight current challenges, those on the horizon, and canvass concrete and specific ideas for change. Our goal is to not only offer an honest stocktake of our discipline, but to focus discussion on specific avenues and ideas for change. The discussants will draw on their experiences in Australian political studies to reflect on their younger colleagues' visions for the future, and suggest how they can be strengthened and implemented.

APSA PhD Workshop Program September 25 (11:00 AM to 4:00 PM)

Registration is required in advance for this workshop.

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

For any questions, contact the APSA PhD Caucus Convenor, Nicholas Falcinella at nicholas.falcinella@adelaide.edu.au

Time	Session	Speakers
11:00 AM	Registrations & Introductions	
11:15 AM	APSA President's Welcome	Prof Jim Jose
11:30 AM	Establishing yourself as an ECR	Dr Blair Williams – Monash University
12:30 PM	LUNCH	
1:15 PM	Meet the Editors: Publishing advice for HDRs	Panel of Journal Editors including: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Dr Richard Frank • Dr Kimberley Moloney • Dr Katherine Curchin • Professor Darren Halpin
2:15 PM	Break	
2:30 PM	Research Impact: In and out of academia	Assoc Prof Andrea Carson
3:30 PM	Conclusion	

Schedule

Date	Time	Event	Location
Sunday 25 September	11.00 am – 3.30 pm	PhD workshop	RSSS Rooms 1.21 and 1.23
Monday 26 September	8.30 am - 9.00 am	Registration	RSSS Foyer
	9.00 am - 10.15 am	Welcome to Country by Paul Girrawah House JP	RSSS Auditorium
		Keynote Plenary: The Future of Political Studies in Australia	
	10.15 am - 10.30 am	Morning tea	RSSS Foyer
	10.30 am – 12.00 pm	Session 1	RSSS Building
	12.00 pm – 12.45 pm	Lunch break	RSSS Foyer
		Women’s Caucus meeting	RSSS 2.56
		International Relations Research Group meeting	RSSS 2.52
		Political Theory Research group meeting	RSSS 3.70
	12.45 pm – 2.15 pm	Session 2	RSSS Building
	2.15 pm – 2.30 pm	Afternoon tea	RSSS Foyer
	2.30 pm – 4.00 pm	Session 3	RSSS Building
	4.00 pm – 4.15 pm	Coffee break	RSSS Foyer
	4.15 pm – 5.45 pm	Session 4	RSSS Building

Date	Time	Event	Location
Monday 26 September	5.45 pm – 7.00 pm	Welcome reception with ANU Vice-Chancellor Brian Schmidt	RSSS Foyer
Tuesday 27 September	9.00 am – 10.30am	Session 5	RSSS Building
	10.30 am – 10.45 am	Morning tea	RSSS Foyer
	10.45 am – 12.15 pm	Session 6	RSSS Building
	12.15pm – 1.00 pm	Lunch break	RSSS Foyer
		First Peoples' Politics Forum	RSSS 2.52
		Political Organisations and Participation meeting	RSSS 4.69
		Quantitative Methods Research Group meeting	RSSS 3.70
		Environmental Politics and Policy Research Group meeting	RSSS 3.72
		Teaching and Learning Group meeting	RSSS 2.56
	1.00 pm – 2.30 pm	Session 7	RSSS Building
	2.30 pm – 2.45 pm	Afternoon tea	RSSS Foyer
	2.45 pm – 4.15 pm	Session 8	RSSS Building
	4.15 pm – 4.30 pm	Coffee break	RSSS Foyer
	4.30 pm – 6.00 pm	Session 9	RSSS Building

Date	Time	Event	Location
Tuesday 27th September	5:30 pm	Book reception hosted by the <i>Centre for Deliberative Democracy & Global Governance</i> (University of Canberra) (registration required)	Monster Kitchen, Ovolo Nishi, Acton ACT
	7.00 pm	Conference dinner (ticket required)	Monster Kitchen, Ovolo Nishi, Acton ACT
Wednesday 28th September	9.00 am – 11.00 am	APSA Presidential Address & Annual General Meeting	RSSS Auditorium
	11.00 am – 11.15 am	Morning tea	RSSS Foyer
	11.15 am – 12.45 pm	Session 10	RSSS Building
	12.45 pm – 1.30 pm	Lunch break	RSSS Foyer
		Policy Studies Research Group meeting	RSSS 3.72
	1.30 pm – 3.00 pm	Session 11	RSSS Building
	3.00 pm – 3.15 pm	Afternoon tea	RSSS Foyer
	3.15 pm – 4.45 pm	Session 12	RSSS Building

Session 1

Monday 26 September (10.30 am – 12.00 pm)

Room	2.52	2.56	3.70	3.72	4.66	5.72
Stream	International Political Economy	POP 1: Voting Behaviour	The politics of Australian masculinity in uncertain times	International Relations 1	Environmental politics and policy 1	Decisions in Policymaking Through the COVID-19 Crisis
Chair	Quynh Nguyen	Andrea Carson	Blair Williams	April Biccum	Anja Bless	Jeremiah Brown
	Power Transitions and International Economic Cooperation: Experimental Evidence from Parallel Surveys in China and the U.S. Quynh Nguyen	Women's Representation and Party Priorities: Assessing the Role of the Gender Gap Katrine Beauregard	From Daggy Dads to State Daddies: Theorising the masculinities of Australian male political leaders in the COVID-19 era Blair Williams	Canon Love Liane Hartnet	Organising for change through Participatory Guarantee Systems: a focus on small scale farmers in India Patrick Lucas Jagit Plahe	Seen and ignored: First Nations rights and policy self-determination during Covid-19 James Blackwell
	On the Free Market as Neoliberal Master Signifier: Enduring neoliberal hegemony in US Presidential discourse Henry Maher	Campaign Events and Early Voting Rodney Smith and Ferran Martinez i Coma	Masculine identity and gender equality policy in uncertain times Carol Johnson	A decolonial feminist politics of fieldwork: Centring community, reflexivity and loving accountability Alba R. Boer Cueva and Keshab Giri	Transformation or business as usual? Australian farmer perspectives on the regenerative agriculture movement Anja Bless	Free to Get on the Beers? Understanding Changes to Freedom Through the COVID-19 Crisis Jeremiah Brown
	Theorising the Creation of International Organisations: insights from a study of Multilateral Development Banks Susan Engel	Comparing the effects of media use and trust in experts on vaccine hesitancy in the United States and Australia during the COVID-19 pandemic Andrea Carson, Shaun Ratcliff and Leah Ruppner	Exploring logics of gender and race within Scott Morrison's climate change rhetoric Sian Perry		Populism's reflection upon environmental politics: the case of Brazil under President Bolsonaro Deborah Barros Leal Farias	Choice and control in the NDIS: What are the impacts of COVID-19 for people with disability? Helen Dickinson
	The Big 4 Professional Services Firms and Corporate Tax Governance: From Global Dis-harmony to National Regulatory Incrementalism John Mikler Ainsley Elbra Hannah Murphy-Gregory		Keeping up with the (Alex) Joneses: How a pro-Labor social media star courts the anti-feminist online Right's audience Declan Lawless			

Session 2

Monday 26 September (12.45 pm – 2.15 pm)

Room	2.56	3.70	3.72	4.66	5.72	6.68
Stream	POP 2: Campaigns and elections	Decolonising and Feminising Politics and the Political: Trajectories of Reactivation 1	International Relations 2	Environmental politics and policy 2	Australia and China in the world	Political Theory 2
Chair	Emily Foley	Sara Motta	Richard Frank	Patrick Lucas	Darren Lim	Keith Dowding
	<p>Supporter Participation in Independent Campaigns: Grassroots Connection or Individualisation? Phoebe Hayman</p> <p>Stereotypes, bias, and voter impressions: Australians' views of Indigenous candidates Josh Holloway Michelle Evans Duncan McDonnell</p> <p>The effects of stigmatisation on the participation of PRR grassroots members Sofia Ammassari</p>	<p>Pedagogies for a reconstruction of political life, from feminised margins to centre Annette Maguire</p> <p>Precarious politics: Decolonial feminism's reparative reworking Ybiskay González Torres</p> <p>Youth and transitional justice Caitlin Mollica</p>	<p>The Atrocity Prevention Toolbox: A Systematic Review Sascha Nanlohy Tallan Donine Kyra Fox Alexandra Hall Jessica Moody Daniel Solomon Lawrence Woocher</p> <p>Election Violence: A Latent Variable Approach Richard Frank</p> <p>Does State Capacity Matter? A Panel Data Analysis on the Implementation of Intrastate Peace Agreements Anurug Chakma</p> <p>Opportunistic insurgents and fierce females: How rebels react to major disasters Tobias Ide</p>	<p>Private governance and social licence: the case of sustainable hydrogen certification Hannah Murphy-Gregory Fred Gale, Marian Schoen and Heather Lovell</p> <p>Corporate Governance as the Site of Political Contestation: The rise of Australian Environmental, Social, and Governance Shareholder Governance Ainsley Elbra</p> <p>Assessing regulatory disparities shaping electricity insecurity in remote Australia Lee White</p> <p>A Political Theory for a Multispecies, climate challenged world David Schlosberg Danielle Celermajer Dinesh Wadiwel Christine Winter</p>	<p>Anxious Australia: World Order Change and China Benjamin Cherry-Smith</p> <p>Measuring the Australia-China relationship: A New History of Political Engagement Benjamin Herscovitch</p> <p>Can like-minded unilateralism help Australia to defend itself from the China challenge? Lai-Ha Chan</p>	<p>If democratic innovations are the key to democratic renewal, who are the gatekeepers?: An exploration of the institutionalisation of deliberative engagement Emanuela Savini</p> <p>Demons in the Demos: Anti-populism and its Amorphous Double Scott Arthurson</p> <p>Reconceptualising the integration of migrants Peter Balint Tiziana Torresi</p> <p>Algorithms, Automated Decision-making, and Freedom: An Analytic Approach Brad Taylor and Keith Dowding</p>

Session 3

Monday 26 September (2.30 pm – 4.00 pm)

Room	2.52	2.56	3.70	4.66	5.72	6.68
Stream	Teaching and learning	POP 3: Digital politics	Decolonising and Feminising Politics and the Political: Trajectories of Reactivation 2	Environmental politics and policy 3	Policy and governance 1	Political Theory 3
Chair	Katherine Curchin	Jeremiah Brown	Sara Motta	Hannah Lord	Maria Maley	Ed Handby
	<p>What do PhD Candidates want? Comparing the experiences and expectations of Australian PhD Candidates and Supervisors in Politics and IR programs Daniel Casey and Serrin Rutledge-Prior</p> <p>Teaching and Learning Politics in Australian Higher Education Peter John Chen, Michael de Percy, Sara Motta and Diana Perche</p> <p>Understanding the role of policy approaches for improving academics' motivations in doing research: Empirical evidence from Indonesia's autonomous universities Muhammad Hali Aprimadya</p> <p>Policy absence despite words? The Education Services for Overseas Students ESOS Framework and Policy on International Student Welfare Gaby Ramia</p>	<p>Parties, Partisans, and Political Memes: Election Campaigning and Articulations of Political Identity Jordan McSwiney</p> <p>Affective Polarisation and Social Media in the Australian Election Campaign Samuel Grey</p> <p>Making everything political: how the malleability of digital objects poses challenges to understanding intentionality in online public discourse Max Halupka Jeremiah Brown</p>	<p>F*** Normality and normativity: calls for rethinking intervention on political science methodology Kegan Mannell</p> <p>Neither victim, entrepreneur nor deviant!: Decolonising and feminising a politics of homeplace against and beyond the settler-colonial city Sara Motta</p>	<p>International Trade and Domestic Environmentalism: The Impact of Trading Partners' Environmental Standards on Parties' Environmental Emphases Nathan Fioritti, Christina Schneider and Robert Thomson</p> <p>Governing energy transitions in Southeast Asia: the political economy of electricity trading Hannah Lord</p> <p>Turning up the thermostat: the political economy of decarbonising gas Nikolai Drahos</p>	<p>The digital delivery of welfare-to-work: Opportunities, modes and consequences Sarah Ball</p> <p>'People need to know the struggles that [we] go through': Young people and the future of social care Laura Davy</p> <p>Service coordination and market stewardship: Gaps in NDIS support for people with disability in the criminal justice system Sophie Yates and Helen Dickinson</p>	<p>The Antimonies of Digital Citizenship and Neoliberalism in the Era of Covid-19: The Case of Australians living with Disability Lloyd Cox and Georgia van Toorn</p> <p>Biopolitics, New Materialism and Latin-American Constitutionalism: A Linguistic Encounter? Gonzalo Bustamante Kuschel</p> <p>Agency, armament, and moral luck Tuukka Kaikkonen</p> <p>Republican Freedom as Bargaining Game Will Bosworth</p>

Session 4

Monday 26 September 2022 (4.15 pm – 5.45 pm)

Room	2.52	2.56	3.70	3.72	5.72	6.68
Stream	Roundtable: (In)visibilising care in the academy	POP 4: Civil society and the state	Contemporary issues in Australian Federalism and Beyond	International Relations 3	Policy and governance 2	Contemporary threats to the public sphere
Chair	Sara Motta	Ariadne Vromen	Tracy Fenwick	Benjamin Goldsmith	Laura Davy	Peter Balint
	<p>Sara Motta Caitlin Biddolph Jihyun Kim Sian Lucy Perry Sonia Palmieri</p>	<p>The repression of political consumerism and investorism: examining the role of the state in market-based political participation Erin O'Brien Hope Johnson</p> <p>Australian CSO strategies during COVID-19 Mark Riboldi</p> <p>Emerging technologies: how narratives shape public policy in Australia Amy Denmeade</p> <p>Australian and American unions: storytelling about essential workers during the pandemic Ariadne Vromen Michael Vaughan Filippo Trevisan</p>	<p>A Democratic Audit of Australian Federalism John Phillimore</p> <p>Climate Change, Covid, and the Revival of Australian Federalism Alan Fenna</p> <p>Federalism and Public Health: A Tale of Two Pandemics Carolyn Hobrook</p> <p>Borrowing to Compete: New Directions in Australian Fiscal Federalism in the Post-Pandemic Context Tracy Fenwick</p>	<p>Power by Proxy: Explaining Innovation and Imitation in RCEP Nicholas Frank</p> <p>R2P, Terrorism, and the Protection of Civilians: Are All Humans Human? Or Are Some More Human than Others? Sascha Nanlohy</p> <p>International Hierarchies at the IAEA: Status and State Practice Michael Smith</p> <p>Italy's quiet pivot to the Indo-Pacific Gabriele Abbondanza</p>	<p>Slip sliding away: The politics of floods in Australia Johanna Garnett</p> <p>The policy surrounding financing healthcare: sticky or stuck? Using network methods to explore the influence of network actors on policy stickiness Jodette Kotz</p> <p>How do NGOs regulate harmful commodity industries? A framework of NGO engagement in the commercial determinants of health Belinda Townsend</p>	<p>Countering Violent Extremism through Democratic Resilience Selen Ercan, Jordan McSwiney, Peter Balint and John Dryzek</p> <p>“Non-systemic Influentials” Online: A Case Study of the “Free Navalny” Protests in Russia. Sofya Glazunova Malmi Amadoru</p> <p>The culture of implementing Freedom of Information in Australia Johan Lidberg Moira Paterson Erin Bradshaw</p> <p>Structural Domination of the Public Sphere Jensen Sass</p>

Session 5

Tuesday 27 September 2022 (9.00 am – 10.30am)

Room	2.52	2.56	3.70	3.72	4.69	5.72	6.68
Stream	Roundtable: Borders and Bordering Practices at times of uncertainty and transformations	POP 5: Actors and agency	Gender and Sexuality 1	Australian Politics 1	Security and Strategic Studies 1	Policy and Governance 3	Comparative Politics 1
Chair	Ari Jerrems	Daniel Casey	Carol Johnson	Carolyn Hendriks	Rich Frank	Michael Di Francesco	Svitlana Chernykh
	<p>Ari Jerrems Umut Ozguc Christine Agius Samid Suliman</p>	<p>MPs in the Constituency: Balancing Service and Policy Connecting in Uncertain Times Pandanus Petter</p> <p>'Dear Prime Minister': a study of letters to the executive as a source of public opinion and agenda setting Daniel Casey</p> <p>Exploring political agency in Australia: What is it and who has it? Sarah Warner</p> <p>The Australian Christian Lobby and Paleoconservatism Finley Watson</p>	<p>Out Online: Australian Queer Politicians and Harassment in Social Media Elise Stephenson Gosia Mikolajczak Blair Williams Jack Hayes</p> <p>Cartography of Queer Diplomacy - Mapping the lives and influence of LGBTI+ diplomats from a global perspective: a review of the literature Jack Hayes</p> <p>Queering Silence Kalika Kastein</p> <p>Queering (un)certainly in international criminal justice: Reflections on the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY) Caitlin Biddolph</p>	<p>An alternative to the party? How "Voices" groups and political parties compare. Carolyn Hendriks</p> <p>The Independents Movement 2022 - a new avenue for women in AusPol, or an evolution of non-Labor parties Angelika Heurich</p> <p>The force for realignment? "Teal" and other Independent candidates at the 2022 Federal election and other Hiroya Sugita</p> <p>The COVID-19 pandemic and confidence in government in Australia Sarah Cameron</p>	<p>What was the Trump Doctrine? Brendon O'Connor</p> <p>Metaphor and Uncertainty: The case of the SONY Hack in 2014 Sulgana Basu</p> <p>Great Power AI Competition and Chinese Economic Statecraft John Liang</p> <p>Two decades of National Security Strategies: Issue emergence, frame convergence and focus shift in 93 countries. Anselm Vogler</p>	<p>Paternalism in parliamentary debate: The case of drug testing social security recipients Katherine Curchin</p> <p>Reforming unemployment policy: the constraints and opportunities of institutional history Jacob Priergaard</p> <p>Regulating meat chicken welfare: Private standards, the third sector, and power Peter John Chen and Siobhan O'Sullivan</p> <p>The quality of public policy legislation Keith Dowding Patrick Leslie</p>	<p>Democratic Fragility, Presidentialism, and Human Rights Abuses Thiago Nascimento da Silva</p> <p>Crisis and Democratic Governance: The Turkish Case Ibrahim Genc</p> <p>Lawmakers or lawbreakers? Countering the criminalisation of politics in Asia Antonio Spinelli</p> <p>Protests by nurses and health workers during the COVID-19 pandemic Tobias Ide and Davina Jacobi</p>

Session 6

Tuesday 27 September 2022 (10.45 am – 12.15 pm)

Room	2.52	2.56	3.70	4.69	5.72	6.68
Stream	Environmental politics and policy 4	POP 6: Political Parties	Gender and Sexuality 2	Security and Strategic Studies 2	Policy and Governance 4	Comparative Politics 2
Chair	Rebecca Pearse	Anika Gauja	Sonia Palmieri	George Lawson	Katie Attwell	Matthew Robertson
	<p>A critique of the participation norm in marine governance: Bringing legitimacy into the frame Maree Fudge Karen Alexander Emily Ogier Peat Leith Marcus Hawar</p> <p>Who is Governing Marine Plastic Pollution? Babet de Groot</p> <p>Turning up the thermostat: the political economy of decarbonising gas Nikolai Drahos</p>	<p>Pursuing social democratic values in a neo-liberal society: a case study of the Australian Labor Party and temporary migrant labour exploitation Emily Foley</p> <p>The slow-burning crisis of the Liberal Party of Australia? Nick Barry Rob Manwaring</p> <p>Younger and more radical? How youth wing members see themselves and their parties Sofia Ammassari Duncan McDonnell Niklas Bolin Reinhard Heinisch, Ann-Cathrine Jungar Marco Valbruzzi Carsten Wegscheider Annika Werner</p>	<p>Towards understanding women's lack of participation in elections Fathimath Shafeega</p> <p>Know your river: Experiences of female academic leaders in Vietnam Jane Phuong</p> <p>Gender in outer space: leadership, diplomacy and policy Elise Stephenson</p> <p>The Trumpian Narrative and the Emotional Politics of Masculine White Nationalism Lloyd Cox</p>	<p>The Rise and Fall of Quad 2.0 in 2017-2020: An Australian Perspective Lai-Ha Chan</p> <p>Criminalising Gaza Tristan Dunning Martin Kear Anas Iqtait</p> <p>New Zealand, Australia and the debate over autonomous weapons systems Jeremy Moses</p> <p>Maintaining a good order at sea or developing seapower: rethinking civil maritime security in the Indo-Pacific Edward Sing Yue Chan</p> <p>From Hedging to Balancing: Australia's China Policy and Implications for US-China Rivalry Alexander Korolev</p>	<p>Media actors as policy entrepreneurs: A case study of No Jab, No Play and No Jab, No pay mandatory vaccination policies in Australia Katie Attwell</p> <p>Varieties of innovation: Policy themes, trends, and prospects in Australia Jenny Lewis</p> <p>Policy stasis in Australia's legalisation of psilocybin Erica Margovsky</p> <p>Rethinking piloting: Insights from Indian agriculture Sreeja Nair</p> <p>Impacts of Covid-19 on executive policy making in Australia Brian Head</p>	<p>"Global Populism": A Concern for Electoral Violence? Ernest Mensah Akuamoah</p> <p>Social Group Representation: Federalism and Electoral Systems Constanza Sanhezuza Petrarca</p> <p>Non-mainstream parties and interest groups: SYRIZA in government Francesco Stolfi</p> <p>The absent voters of South Asia: Challenges and prospects for the enfranchisement of migrants Antonio Spinelli</p>

Session 7

Tuesday 27 September 2022 (1.00 pm – 2.30pm)

Room	2.52	2.56	3.72	4.69	5.72	6.68
Stream	Roundtable: What's Left for Foreign Policy? Reinvigorating a Progressive Agenda	Australian Politics 3	China - India Hegemonic Contest in South Asia	Australian Politics 4	Policy and Governance 5	Law and Politics 1
Chair	Benjamin Zala	James Murphy	Stuti Bhatnagar	Rodney Smith	Patrick Leslie	Kath Gelber
	<p>George Lawson Jane Golley Helen Mitchell Ntina Tzouvala Benjamin Zala</p>	<p>State Socialism in Victoria? Victorian Labor and the corporatisation debate 1990-1992 Geoffrey Robinson</p> <p>How Was the Cain Government Possible? Frank Bongiorno</p> <p>Back to the future? Cain, Kennett and the Victorian Budget David Hayward</p> <p>Cain, Kennett and the City: The Building of a Global Melbourne James C. Murphy</p>	<p>Hegemonic Contest between China and India Stuti Bhatnagar and Evelyn Goh</p> <p>China-India Power Politics in the Indian Ocean Region: A Security Challenge for Pakistan Seema Khan</p> <p>China, India, and Shifting Geopolitics in Nepal Keshab Giri</p> <p>Political Bandwagoning” Versus “Economic Balancing”: Bangladesh’s Strategic dilemma to India, China, and the U.S. Indo-Pacific strategy Ziaul Haque Sheikh</p>	<p>The Boats and the Structure of Australian Racial Attitudes: it’s not just your grandfather’s racism Luke Mansillo</p> <p>The Dynamics of Democracy in Far-Right Discourse: An Australian Dataset Melissa-Ellen Dowling</p> <p>Electorally (Dis)Informed? Australian Parliamentary Committees and Electoral Disinformation Lachlan Poel</p> <p>The 2022 Convoy to Canberra Protests: Fringe political discourse and Australian Democracy Paul Alva</p>	<p>Future skills needs of the Australian Public Service: How universities can prepare graduates to succeed in the midst of increased uncertainty and digital transformation Laurence Brown Medha Majumdar</p> <p>The changing decision premise in Australian administration Keith Dowding Marija Taflaga</p> <p>Embedding organisational robustness in Australia: Evaluating public bodies Amanda Smullen</p>	<p>Policing Protests in a Pandemic Emily Hems</p> <p>The weaponisation of free speech in Australia Molly Murphy and Kath Gelber</p> <p>The emergence of the referendum idea in Australia, 1855-1901 Paul Kildea</p>

Session 8

Tuesday 27 September 2022 (2.45 pm – 4.15 pm)

Room	2.52	2.56	3.70	3.72	5.72	6.68
Stream	Indigenous Politics and Policy 1	Australian Politics 5	Gender and Sexuality 4	New Directions in the Study of Peacekeeping and Peacebuilding	Policy and Governance 6	Comparative Politics 4
Chair	Will Sanders	Selen Ercan	Siobhan O'Sullivan	Outi Donovan	Amanda Smullen	Svitlana Chernykh
	<p>Theorising Settler Colonialism in a Non-White Settler Nation Franka Vaughan</p> <p>Finding Creative Voice among Manobo-Pulanguiyen in the fight for land rights and cultural recognition in the 21st century Bryan Celeste</p> <p>Indigenous consensus is crucial to reach social development in poor areas in Colombia Isaura Sierra</p> <p>Indigenous Military Inclusion as a Diplomatic Capability Federica Caso</p>	<p>Reading the Room: How Online and In-Person Deliberative Town Halls Encourage Listening, Expression and Connection Nick Vlahos</p> <p>Democratic mending en masse? The growth and impact of 'Voices' groups across Australia Carolyn Hendriks</p> <p>To what extent does social media enable marginalised groups to challenge dominant narratives? Friedel Marquardt</p> <p>Social movement organisations inclusiveness: An organisational analysis of two climate action groups in Australia Sen Kwong (Patrick) Chang</p>	<p>What 907 court cases tell us about sexual violence in the workplace, and what they miss out? The Migrant Worker Rights Database: an empirical analysis Anna Boucher</p> <p>NPM and Gender (In)equality in Social Welfare Workforce: The case of Australian Welfare-to-Work Phuc Nguyen, Jenny Lewis, Mark Considine, Siobhan O'Sullivan, Michael McGann, Sarah Ball</p> <p>Women's Political Representation, Good Governance and Human Development Constanza Sanheuzza Petrarca</p> <p>Setting the parliamentary stage: Sexual harassment as systemic sexism in the institutional scaffold of the NSW parliament Mia Bianchino Helen Pringle</p>	<p>Pragmatic Peacebuilding and Women's Empowerment Outi Donovan</p> <p>The Practices of Peacekeeping Economy: Archival Research of Everyday Interactions in Cambodia Nicolas Lemay-Hebert</p> <p>Overcoming the competition cycle: Resourcing youth and gender inclusive peacebuilding Caitlin Mollica</p> <p>The Role of Trust in Peace Operations Protecting Civilians Charles Hunt</p> <p>Digital Transitional Justice Spaces: Agency and Accountability Christopher Lamont</p>	<p>Exploring temporality in policy-making processes: Enmeshing pasts, presents and futures in the construction of public enquiries Rebecca Buys</p> <p>The role of 'non-knowledge' in crisis policy-making: A proposal and agenda for future research Adam Hannah</p> <p>How policy actors contend with uncertainty in policy development Joanna Mason</p> <p>The quality of public policy legislation Keith Dowding and Patrick Leslie</p>	<p>Sovereignty and Refugees Ainoa Cabada Rey</p> <p>Governance of refugee crisis from a deliberative approach: Focus on public and empowered spaces Abdul-Hwas Mohammad</p> <p>Extractive repression Matthew Robertson</p> <p>America's New Vaccine Wars: California and the Politics of Mandates Katie Attwell Mark Navin</p>

Session 9

Tuesday 27 September 2022 (4.30 pm – 6.00 pm)

Room	2.52	2.56	3.70	3.72	4.69	5.72
Stream	Environment and Security 1	Australian Politics 6	International Relations 4	Author meets critics: Before the West by Ayse Zarakol	Security and Strategic Studies 5	Policy and Governance 7
Chair	Quynh Nguyen	Rob Manwaring	Jana von Stein	George Lawson	Meraiah Foley	Janine O'Flynn
	<p>From agenda-setting to institutionalization: National responses to climate security Matt McDonald</p> <p>Along the intervention points: A common framework for military and civil climate policies Anselm Vogler</p> <p>Resilience discourse at the water's edge: Non-traditional security threats and American foreign policy traditions Peter Ferguson</p>	<p>The South Australian State Election 2022: No longer a two-party system? Rob Manwaring</p> <p>Young women and political engagement in Australia Zareh Ghazarian Jacqueline Laughland-Booÿ Zlatko Skrbis</p> <p>No Minister: the implications of government minority for public sector leaders Brenton Prosser</p> <p>Gambling with public policy: A reflection on policymaking in Victoria, 1991-2002 Andrew Manning</p> <p>From Crabb to Kennett: continuity of support for motorways John Stone</p>	<p>Proposing the 'Ambiguity Conflict and Control Model' to Explain Implementation of the Women, Peace and Security agenda in the UK, Nigeria, and Spain Doris Asante</p> <p>Guerrilla Education in Afghanistan Tristan Dunning</p> <p>Victims or Survivors? Contested constructions of female migrants in Thailand Jihyun Kim</p>	<p>Evelyn Goh Andrew Phillips Chris Reus-Smit Ayse Zarakol</p>	<p>Cyber security for whom, by whom? How data feminism can address the gender gap in cyber security Meraiah Foley</p> <p>Mapping red zones: colour-coding and cartographies of insecurity Ari Jerrems</p> <p>Explaining Vietnamese Policy Variations in the Face of China's Assertiveness in the South China Sea: A Study of Crises and Their Lessons Minh Phuong Vu</p>	<p>Transfer, contestation and conflict: How Italian regional and national government's claim and challenge authority in mandatory vaccination policies Katie Attwell</p> <p>Producing ideas for global health: How 'vaccine hesitancy' came to overshadow systemic barriers to health care access Adam Hannah</p> <p>Collaboration and public policy: Agency in the pursuit of public purpose Helen Sullivan</p> <p>Can we better manage 'wicked' policy problems in Australia? Brian Head</p>

Session 10

Wednesday 28 September 2022 (11.15 am – 12.45 pm)

Room	2.56	3.70	3.72	4.69	5.72	6.68
Stream	Australian Politics 7	East and South-East Asia 1	Author meets critics: How the East was Won by Andrew Phillips	Environmental Politics and Policy 5	Market Governance in the Delivery of Public Services	Political Theory 4
Chair	<i>Emily Foley</i>	<i>Ed Aspinall</i>	<i>Evelyn Goh</i>	<i>Jonathan Pickering</i>	<i>Michael McGann</i>	<i>Ed Handby</i>
	<p>Parliamentarianism and the Australian Greens Stewart Jackson</p> <p>Bob Katter's Populist Initiatives: Tilting at Windmills or Misplaced Power Seeking? William Wallace</p> <p>In the eye of the beholder? Gendered consequences of parliamentary hybridity in Australia Sonia Palmieri</p>	<p>The Roles and Aspirations of Young People in Conflict Seprin Calamba</p> <p>Myanmar's constitutional moment - towards peace and federal democracy Marcus Brand</p> <p>From reimagining to realising the key roles of women in Bangsamoro peace: The C.O.P.E. program in Lanao and Maguindanao Kiriloi Ingram</p>	<p>Amy King George Lawson Andrew Phillips Ayse Zarakol</p>	<p>Micronations and Environmental Protection Harry Hobbs</p> <p>Strategies of reluctant treaty participation: dragging the chain on global climate change cooperation Jonathan Pickering</p> <p>Paris Agreement revisionists? Comparing BRIC countries' NDC implementation Fengshi Wu</p> <p>The future of globalisation: Global governance in the era of climate change Scott Liu</p>	<p>Market stewardship in the NDIS: What is it, why does it matter and what should be done? Helen Dickinson</p> <p>Implementation challenges of extending public procurement objectives: A comparative analysis of social procurement Jo Barraket</p> <p>Solving Black-Box Problems in Australia's Failing Service Market Mark Considine</p> <p>Are hybrids evil? How focusing on the mechanisms of governance masked the unfolding of a large-scale morality tale Janine O'Flynn</p> <p>Marketisation vs. professionalism in employment services delivery: a case study from Ireland Michael McGann</p>	<p>Chinese Political Ideologies on the Left-Right Spectrum: From Mozi and Laozi to Confucius and Han Feizi Devin Joshi</p> <p>Hobbes and the Theophrastus redivivus: Order, transgression and anarchy in Early Modernity Gonzalo Bustamante Kuschel</p> <p>The politician and the philosophers: Peter Coleman, Michael Oakeshott, Ken Minogue and Australian liberal-conservatism Geoffrey Robinson</p> <p>Love as Law: Leo Tolstoy on Intervention Liane Hartnett</p>

Session 11

Wednesday 28 September 2022 (1.30 pm – 3.00 pm)

Room	2.52	2.56	3.70	3.72	4.69	5.72
Stream	Indigenous Politics and Policy 2	Australian Politics 8	East and South-East Asia 2	Pacific Politics 1	Environmental Politics and Policy 6	Law and Politics 2
Chair	Will Sanders	Marija Taflaga	Kelly Gerard and	Kerryn Baker	Maryam Ahmad	Jana von Stein
	Governance and Indigenous-state entanglement Prudence Brown Josephine Bourne Morgan Brigg	'The tail wagging the dog': a contemporary reappraisal of Below the Line voting in Australia Martin Drum John Philimore	Herd immunity or herding the constituents: the emerging role of political parties in delivering Covid-19 vaccines in Indonesia Lila Dwillita Sari	The Gender-Sensitive Parliaments Agenda, Norm Diffusion, and the Impact of Women Leaders: A Case Study of Samoa Kerryn Baker	Reimagining the future of co-production to avoid common pitfalls in practice Maryam Ahmad	Ideology, Deliberation and the Micro-Foundations of Judicial Coalitions Zoe Robinson and Patrick Leslie
	Deliberating native title Justin McCaul	Take a shot: An investigation into election night drinking games and what they tell us about political participation Todd Farrell	Financing Women's Economic Empowerment in Southeast Asia Kelly Gerard and Joshua McDonnell	Strengthening Pacific relations through higher education Andrew Harvey	A framework for building integrative capacity in ocean governance Joanna Vince and Maree Fudge	A Partial Justice: International Civil Servants, International Administrative Law, and International Organizations Kim Moloney
	First Nations and Australia: Walking together or walking alone? James Blackwell	Early voting in 2022 Peter Brent	Populism without Popularity: Social Media and the Mainstreaming of Right-Wing Islamist Majoritarianism in Malaysia Nicholas Chan and Hew Wai Weng	Professional Women, Nation-Making, and the Negotiation of Difference at Boarding Schools in Bougainville and Solomon Islands David Oakeshott		Navigating the Cultural and Religious Needs of Women in Family Dispute Resolution Processes Amira Aftab

Session 12

Wednesday 28 September 2022 (3.15 pm to 4.45 pm)

Room	2.56	3.70	3.72	4.69	5.72	6.68
Stream	Australian Politics 9	East and South-East Asia 3	Pacific Politics 2	Environment and Security 2	Law and Politics 3	Political Theory 5
Chair	Anika Gauja	Sung-Young Kim	Grant Walton	Tobias Ide	Bjoern Dressel	Jim Jose
	<p>Losing Face: the declining fortunes of the party 'central office' in Australian political parties Stephen Mills</p> <p>Politics in Regional Australia: Place, Policy and Political Priorities Anika Gauja Darren Halpin Shaun Ratcliff Carolyn Hendriks Richard Reid</p> <p>Politics as a Transitory Vocation: Post-parliamentary Challenges Experienced by Former Victorian MPs Amy Nethery Peter Ferguson Zim Nwokora</p> <p>Pushers and Jumpers: Voluntary and Involuntary Exits from the Australian Parliament Patrick Leslie Marija Tafлага Matthew Kerby</p>	<p>The Essence of Regime Type: Identity Consolidation, Identity Homogenisation, and the Demise of the Northeast Asian Regionalism Minran Liu</p> <p>The geo-politics and domestic imperatives driving East Asia's exercise of (green) economic statecraft Sung-Young Kim</p> <p>A governance perspective on China's Belt and Road Initiative: A case study of negotiations on a Thai railway project Phumthep Bunnak Nuan Song Xinwei Chen Robert Thomson</p>	<p>Can civic nationalism reduce corruption? Transnational and translocal insights from Solomon Islands Grant Walton</p> <p>Trouble In Paradise: The Pressing Need To Develop Eco-Tourism In Papua New Guinea Matt Jones</p> <p>How does China understand its role and interests in the Pacific Islands? Geyi Xie Joanne Wallis</p>	<p>Climate-related disasters and the (de-)escalation of armed conflicts Tobias Ide</p> <p>Getting out of harm's way: Flood risk information and willingness to migrate Laura Bakkensen Quynh Nguyen Toan Phan Paul Schuler</p> <p>Sharing resources on the Korean Peninsula Annie Young Song Justin V. Hastings</p> <p>Security and geoengineering Kerryn Bren Matt McDonald Jonathan Symons</p>	<p>"I Don't See Gender": An Analysis of American Perceptions of the Judiciary Jana von Stein Zoë Robinson Mirya Holman</p> <p>The anatomy of Citizenship Amendment Act, 2019: The making and fulfillment of a pledge in India Sania Mariam</p> <p>Antecedents of Political Repression: The colonial roots of 21st Century anti-terrorism powers Tim Legrand Lee Jarvis</p>	<p>Dialogue and nonviolent discipline in nonviolent resistance movements Nengzheng Shi</p> <p>Race, Nation, and Age: theorising decolonial futures beyond modernity Callum Stewart</p> <p>Explicating the Conception of Political Obligation Embedded in Martin Heidegger's Early Treatises William Wallace Jim Jose</p> <p>A Social Choice Critique of Burke and Mill on Political Representation Edmund Handby</p>

Index of Abstracts

Parisa Abbasian
Murdoch University

My Enemy's Enemy: Iran's approach to the Re-emergence of the Taliban in Afghanistan

Over the years, Iran's approach to the Taliban has had many ups and downs. The Islamic Republic was one of the regional states that welcomed the United States' 2001 invasion of Afghanistan and worked with the American forces to overthrow the Taliban. Nevertheless, it was not long before Iran adopted an utterly opposite policy by compromising with the Taliban and supplying it with political and military support. This article examines domestic and regional factors contributing to this dramatic change in Iran's behavior toward the Taliban. It provides an assessment of how Tehran's threat perception of the US military presence across its borders, the rise of Islamic State in Khorasan Province (ISKP), the increasing Afghan drug trafficking, and the influx of refugees from Afghanistan to Iranian territory have prompted it to pursue a different approach toward the Taliban. It also explains how Iran's intention to sustain the water supply from Afghanistan's rivers to the eastern provinces of Iran and resume profitable trade with Afghanistan has acted as a catalyst in expanding Iran-Taliban relations. This article argues that the Islamic Republic sees the Taliban as an agent to weaken the United States, prevent the spread of ISIS in Khorasan, and strengthen Iran's influence in Central Asia. Finally, the article concludes that although the Taliban's rise to power in Afghanistan poses challenges for Iran, the benefits it brings to Iran are such that it prevents the Islamic Republic from relinquishing ties with the Taliban.

Gabriele Abbondanza
University of Sydney

Italy's quiet pivot to the Indo-Pacific

While the United Kingdom, France, and Germany pursue their Indo-Pacific strategies, Italy is the only 'big four' European country and NATO member seemingly uninterested in what is becoming the world's geopolitical and geoeconomic centre. Indeed, just one year ago the country's defence minister denied that Italy was planning to send a frigate to the South China Sea, despite its large naval capabilities, since that would not have been 'in the country's strategic interest'. However, a number of developments contradict the assumption that Rome overlooks the importance of the Indo-Pacific region. This paper seeks to shed light on the understudied foreign policy direction of a G7 country who has yet to formulate an Indo-Pacific strategy, in order to show its actual commitment, potential future developments, and related risks. By reviewing official policies and evolving trajectories, this paper reveals that Italy is already engaging with the Indo-Pacific through a set of high-profile initiatives falling under three broad areas: i) norms; ii) diplomacy; and iii) trade. It then explores potential new steps towards the establishment of an official Italian strategy for the Indo-Pacific, while considering the strategic hazards that are attached to this policy. As the first scholarly work on the Italian role in the Indo-Pacific, this paper makes a novel contribution to the diplomatic and the strategic study of this macro-region, and investigates what could hypothetically become a complementary approach to that of existing Indo-Pacific strategies

Mohammad Abdul-Hwas
University of Canberra

Governance of refugee crisis from a deliberative approach: Focus on public and empowered spaces

The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees describes the Syrian refugee crisis as 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 million Syrian refugees worldwide, mainly hosted in neighbouring Turkey, Lebanon and Jordan (UNHCR, 2021). UNHCR and other UN agencies, working with host governments, and humanitarian NGOs take the leadership role in governing the crisis. This paper is based on my PhD dissertation which examines 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. Using a deliberative systems approach,

my research demonstrates the various ways in which decisions that impact the lives of refugees are made.

In my empirical research, I use the case study of Jordan for it has the second highest share of refugees compared to its population next only to Lebanon. After eight weeks of extensive field research including 38 face-to-face semi-structured interviews, I discuss in the paper the opportunities for voice and norms of deliberation refugees have experienced inside and outside camps. I argue that refugees had spaces for voice and contestation, where deliberative virtues of inclusion and authenticity were upheld. The problem lies in the consequentiality of these spaces; for many refugees, these spaces have a little significant impact or consequences on the decisions and services provided by the humanitarian actors

Kumari Abeydeera

Racialized Mothers as Repositories of Healing Ancestral Knowledge. Subjectivities of Enfleshed, Cultural Knowing-being as Counter-narrative to Western Biomedicine's Hegemony of Knowledge on Maternal Wellbeing in the Blue Mountains, of So Called Australia.

The pandemic has highlighted the politicisation of wellbeing. Who is seen to create legitimate knowledge about how we maintain wellbeing? "Who produces knowledge about colonised peoples and from what space/location? What are the politics of the production of this particular knowledge?... histories of colonialism, capitalism, race, and gender...(are) inextricably interrelated" (Mohanty, 2003 p.45). Similarly, Cruz, 2001, asks "How does a brown body know?" and answers, "The most profound and liberating politics come from the interrogations of our own social locations, a narrative that works outward from our specific corporealities.

Dipika Adhikari
Australian National
University

Indigenous resource rights: Power dynamics in polycentric governance arrangement in India

Despite growing recognition for a rights-based approach in forest governance for socially just and ecologically sustainable outcomes, many indigenous communities continue to grapple with recognition of their resource rights. The passing of the Forest Rights Act in 2006 in India was meant to tackle this historical injustice by recognising Indigenous people's rights over land and forests. However, abysmal implementation, entrenched power asymmetries and the inability of Indigenous people to claim due rights have caused serious concern to their 'very survival'. This paper will discuss if the scholarly argument in favour of a more decentralized forest governance with state and non-state actors located at multiple levels of the jurisdictional or administrative scale could be applied in this context. I argue that these actors have different interests, goals and powers to perform different functions in a resource system, requiring a deep analysis of power relations and the interactions between cross-scale multiple actors. The empirical material is drawn from the study of the Van Rajis, a forest-dwelling tribal group in the foothills of the Himalayas.

Amira Aftab
Western Sydney University

Navigating the Cultural and Religious Needs of Women in Family Dispute Resolution Processes

Alternative dispute resolution processes have a lot to offer culturally, linguistically, and religiously diverse communities. In the context of family dispute resolution, it can provide a level of flexibility by providing a space for parties to draw on cultural, religious and personal values to guide the family dispute process. This paper considers the impact family dispute resolution has on certain parties, namely, women from culturally and linguistically diverse backgrounds, including religiously diverse backgrounds; and considers the impact of alternative dispute resolution processes on the intersection of different cultural and religious identities. For women from culturally and religiously diverse backgrounds, navigating mainstream processes can be intimidating. For religious women, there may also be conflict with their faith - all leading to feelings of disenfranchisement and disempowerment. Evidence suggests that some women within religious, and culturally and linguistically diverse communities will often turn to community processes as an avenue for resolving family disputes. Within religious communities (for example

Muslim and Jewish communities) there are already informal alternative dispute resolution processes taking place that parties may turn to. This is not only in seeking the cultural or religious sensitivity on offer, but also because parties may face communication barriers or not understand how mainstream services work. Additionally, there may be a mistrust of mainstream services, as well as the influence of socio-cultural norms that emphasise informal community processes over “mainstream help-seeking”. Reflecting on these issues, this paper, as part of the Feminist Legislation Project, considers whether possible amendments to the Australian Family Law Act 1975 (Cth) could introduce more culturally and religiously sensitive family dispute resolution processes. It proposes what these legislative changes might look like in order to address the needs of women from culturally, linguistically and religiously diverse backgrounds.

Maryam Ahmad
*Commonwealth Scientific
and Industrial Research
Organisation*

Reimagining the future of co-production to avoid common pitfalls in practice

Contemporary knowledge exchange practices at the interface of science and policy have established the primacy of co-production as a practice. Researchers increasingly aim to co-produce knowledge with stakeholders and practitioners without understanding what leading practice looks like, or what pitfalls they might encounter along the way. To help reimagine future research project design, this paper reports findings from a systematic literature on this topic. The review covers the co-production of knowledge as well as leading practices in knowledge transfer (for project contexts in which co-production might be inadequate, inappropriate or cost-prohibitive). This review covers a diversity of literature published between 2010 and 2021 describing practices in the field across a broad range of disciplines including health, education and environment. Common pitfalls (on both sides of the science-policy interface) include: (i) a failure to clarify goals and expectations upfront, (ii) inappropriately resourced capacity for co-production activities, (iii) tokenistic inclusion leading to stakeholder fatigue (often causing problems beyond the life of the project itself) and (iv) decreasing levels of trust and perceived legitimacy as a consequence of prior work.

Ernest Mensah Akuamoah
*Australian National
University*

"Global Populism": A Concern for Electoral Violence?

The rise of populism and its consequences for democracy has been one of the most important recent political trends. This article advances our understanding of how populism affects electoral violence. Empirical analysis of this relationship is scarce. Building on the 'populist authoritarian personality' literature, I argue that higher levels of populism increase the risk of electoral violence. I test this argument empirically using data on more than 200 "populist" leaders from sixty-four countries between 1990-2018. I find support for the proposed relationship using fixed- and random-effect estimations.

Paul Alva
University of Canberra

The 2022 Convoy to Canberra Protests: Fringe political discourse and Australian Democracy

Together we can take back the future of Australia". "This is our last chance for freedom". These striking statements are from protesters marching on Parliament House as part of the Convoy to Canberra protests. In late January, and early February 2022, thousands of people from all across Australia travelled to Canberra to protest against perceived government overreach and in defence of "freedom". These protests were inspired by the Freedom Convoy in Canada, and spread to, and within, Australia via social media platforms such as Facebook and Telegram. Protesting against Covid-19 restrictions and vaccinations were only part of the mobilising factors for the Convoy to Canberra protests, many protesters also identified as being followers of QAnon, sovereign citizens, alt-right activists, Christian Dominionists, or Indigenous land rights activists. In light of the ideologically diverse backgrounds of the protesters, it is worth investigating what brought them all together, and what they hoped to achieve. This paper will be a qualitative analysis of the self-professed motivations of protesters from the Convoy to Canberra, as recorded by livestreams on social media from the protesters themselves. It will seek to understand why people attended the protests and what they sought to achieve, but more importantly it will discuss what these protests reveal about the state of fringe political discourse in the context of Australian democracy.

Sandra Amankaviciute
University of New South
Wales

The Objectification of Women

In this paper I address the question of whether the concept of objectification remains central to feminist analysis. In doing so, I re-cast objectification as a form of systemic discrimination. The paper explores the ways in which the prevalence of pornographic images has been presented as progressive and liberating rather than as propagating the perception of woman as objects to be used. In particular, I address the claim by some feminist writers that the concept of objectification is no longer useful to feminism. Drawing on work by classic writers such as Martha Nussbaum, Rae Langton, Catharine MacKinnon and others, I consider the interconnection between the notions of objectification, pornographic imagery and substantive equality.

Sofia Ammassari
Griffith University

The Effects of Stigmatisation on the Participation of PRR Grassroots Members

Stigmatisation can have detrimental effects on the development of populist radical right (PRR) party organisations, including the recruitment and retention of a membership base. In this paper, I ask: How does stigmatisation affect the participation of PRR grassroots members? Specifically, I look at whether stigmatisation has an impact on levels of partisan activism, political ambitions and propensity to leave of PRR grassroots members. I do so by examining the memberships of two PRR parties which differ considerably in terms of the stigmatisation they are subject to: the League in Italy and the Sweden Democrats. Drawing on original membership surveys of both parties, and interviews with 56 grassroots members, this paper not only sheds light on an overlooked aspect of PRR party organisations, namely their membership bases, but also provides unique insights into the organisational growth of the PRR party family.

Sofia Ammassari
Duncan McDonnell
Griffith University

Younger and more radical? How youth wing members see themselves and their parties

The ideological congruence, whether real or perceived, between party members and their elites has been the subject of many studies, yet the evidence for whether party members are more radical remains mixed. In this study, we examine a specific sub-set of party members, those who participate in the youth wings. Because of both their age and status as grassroots members, we might expect them to consider themselves further to the right or left of the party. Specifically, we ask: Do young people in youth wings see themselves as ideologically congruent with their senior parties? Drawing upon original membership surveys of over 4000 members of eight youth wings from the main centre-left and centre-right parties in Australia, Austria, Germany, Italy, Spain and Sweden, we identify different categories of young party members based upon how they perceive themselves ideologically in comparison to their senior parties. Furthermore, we explore whether these different groups vary significantly as regards their reasons for joining, levels of activism and future political ambitions.

Niklas Bolin
Mid Sweden University
Reinhard Heinisch
Carsten Wegscheider
University of Salzburg
Ann-Cathrine Jungar
Södertörn University
Marco Valbruzzi
University of Naples
Annika Werner
Australian National
University

Muhammad Hali
Aprimadya
Australian National
University

Understanding the role of policy approaches for improving academics' motivations in doing research: empirical evidence from Indonesia's autonomous universities

Between 1999 and 2019, Indonesia's higher education sector underwent a series of multiple regulatory changes and governance transformations, including in academic research aspects. Policy implementation is an important step toward understanding the process of translating policy mandates and objectives into action, including finding the underlying forces behind every action. This article reports on a preliminary investigation in how higher education reform has impacted academics' motivations to do research. It provides an improved framework for interpreting how academics' encounter with multiple and frequently changing regulatory approaches have reformulated their perceptions and engagement with research. Using Hood's (1986) typology of governing resources, this research analysed interviews with 24 academics from Indonesia's autonomous universities and identified that while authority and treasury are imperative driving forces, academics also acknowledge the role of beliefs and traditions underpinning their decisions to do research. This finding reiterates the drawbacks of quasi-market approaches commonly found in public sector reform and highlights the importance of embracing and promoting more alternative policy approaches to prompt 'intrinsic

motivations' to engage with research. In the context of policy implementation, the article suggests that the framework can advance our understanding of agency and compliance in implementation.

Scott Arthurson
University of Melbourne

Demons in the Demos: Anti-populism and its Amorphous Double

Populism is on everybody's lips. Since the collapse of Lehman Brothers in 2008, the term has become more and more ubiquitous, as accelerating political changes call the presumptions of liberal democracy and neoliberal governance into question. Populism is presented as an eruption of the past, a threat to democracy, and the presage of a dangerous future. Yet the term remains notoriously ill-defined. The term's referents are scattered across the political spectrum and there is no consensus on the qualities that unite them, undermining political scholars' empirical work and causing confusion to journalists, policy makers, and the wider public. Though clarification is urgent, the problem is so pervasive as to suggest that seeking common objective qualities between initiatives labelled populist may be a category mistake. The way forward may not lie in seeking any conceptual unity in the eclectic phenomena to which the "populist" signifier points, but in turning our eyes in the opposite direction, to meet the gaze in which the appearance of populism is interpellated. Meanwhile, an emerging literature emphasises the importance of analysing anti-populism: pejorative use of the term populism for political purposes. Yet limited work has been done in this area. This paper seeks to ascertain whether there is any ideological coherency or any common interests underlying anti-populist discourse in order to develop a preliminary theory of anti-populism. It is hypothesised that a key component of anti-populism is the faith in various historically transcendent principles threatened by popular appeals. Yet in its adherence to these principles to the exclusion of open-ended democracy, anti-populism is complicit in denying emancipatory possibilities for the future from emerging.

Doris Asante
University of Sydney

Proposing the "Ambiguity Conflict and Control Model" to Explain Implementation of the Women, Peace and Security agenda in the UK, Nigeria, and Spain

Women, Peace, and Security (WPS) scholarship has referred to the agenda as a normative framework shaped at the international level - particularly by the United Nations Security Council - and frequently implemented within the domestic context. This has led to the application of norm theories to understand the process and barriers to WPS implementation in the domestic context. However, recent developments in WPS research suggest that norm theories alone cannot account for implementation dynamics. Developing this insight, this paper reinterprets the agenda as a set of policies to be implemented in the domestic context. To better understand the implementation of WPS resolutions (particularly the United Nations Security Council resolution 2242) as policies in the UK, Nigeria and Spain, this study applies Matland (1995)'s Ambiguity Conflict Model to explore the implementation methods adopted by states, as well as examining the roles played by civil society organisations engaged in the process and those that are excluded. Although the model provides some understanding, some aspects of implementation remain unaccounted for by the model. This raises questions about how states are implementing policies developed in alignment with UNSCR 2242 and other WPS resolutions at the national level. I incorporate the unaccounted factor of control to provide theoretical insights into the dynamics of implementation and provide a modified version of Matland's model to better capture dynamics of implementation of the agenda in the three case study countries.

Katie Attwell
*University of Western
Australia*

Mark Navin
Oakland University

America's New Vaccine Wars: California and the Politics of Mandates

In 2015, California eliminated long-standing nonmedical exemptions to mandatory childhood vaccinations. This policy change occurred in response to a groundswell of pro-vaccine public opinion, with new parent activists determined that vaccine refusers should no longer have license to spread disease. Other US states and countries have since followed in California's footsteps. California's efforts kick-started immunization rates, but also ignited polarizing debates about liberty, democracy, and power in public health. These fights have spread to other public health contexts, including government responses to the COVID-19 pandemic. This paper presents the arguments of the authors'

forthcoming book by the same title with Oxford University Press. The book explores what these developments mean for parents, doctors, and the politics of public health. It uses new interviews with key politicians, activists, and public health workers to recount recent transformations in California's immunization laws. This book considers why governments across the world have recently turned towards more coercive immunization policies, after failing to persuade enough people to vaccinate. It questions the roles played by doctors-as advocates, deviants, and political activists-and it explores other relevant players in vaccination policies, including citizens, celebrities, social media, and Big Pharma. The book rejects nostalgia for an imagined past when public health policy was marked by widespread trust in science and community solidarity; it was never that simple. Instead, the book exposes the values that underpin historical and contemporary debates about whether and how governments should "make people vaccinate." Throughout, the book relies on primary documents and original interviews with key players, connecting California's recent experiences to broader questions about freedom, responsibility, risk, and coercion that matter for political communities throughout the world.

Katie Attwell

*University of Western
Australia*

Marco Rizzi

*University of Western
Australia*

Virginia Casigliani,

University of Pisa

Transfer, contestation and Conflict": How Italian Regional and National Governments Claim and Challenge Authority in Mandatory Vaccination Policies

Vaccination policy and mandates have been a hot issue during the COVID-19 pandemic. However, the history of the politics of vaccine mandates contains prescient lessons for today's experiences. This paper explores conflictual policy transfer in Italian childhood vaccination policy 2007-2018. The region of Veneto formally suspended mandatory vaccination in 2007. Soon after, falling childhood vaccination rates across the country sparked a public health crisis. In response, another region, Emilia Romagna, adopted a new vaccine mandate for early education, which the national government adopted and enlarged in 2017. Each policy decision invoked collaboration and contestation between governments. In showing the conflictual aspects of intra-state policy transfer, we offer lessons for multi-level health governance of contested issues. We use qualitative documentary analysis of parliamentary transcripts, legislation, and government reports, supplemented with semi-structured key informant interviews, analysed using the coding software NVivo 20. We apply theoretical and conceptual scholarship to develop an analytical framework drawing out the key mechanisms through which contestation and conflict take place. Italian regional and national governments employed three key mechanisms to forcibly transfer or resist vaccination policy: ideas, evidence, and law. Ideas included "the nation", "herd immunity" and "science." Evidence included coverage rates and explanations of changes over time. Protagonists of Italy's coercive policy transfers used the law to claim and challenge authority, contesting policies in political and bureaucratic spheres. Discrepant historical and evidentiary narratives emerged between levels of government that had injected significant resources into acquiring or defending governance of vaccination policy. Scholarship has predominantly considered coercive policy transfer at a supra-national or inter-state level. We demonstrate the political blood-spilling within a country when divergent regional policies become contested in a situation of national crisis. 'Evidence' and 'law' can be open to differing interpretations, with 'ideas' shaping the context in which policies prevail.

Katie Attwell

*University of Western
Australia*

Shevaun Drislane

*University of Western
Australia*

Adam Hannah

University of Queensland

Tael Harper

*University of Western
Australia*

Glenn Savage

*University of Western
Australia*

Media Actors as Policy Entrepreneurs: A case study of No Jab, No Play and No Jab, No Pay mandatory vaccination policies in Australia

The media's central role in the policy process has long been recognised, with policy scholars noting the potential for news media to independently effect policy change. However, scholars have paid most attention to the news media as a conduit for the agendas, frames, and preferences of other policy actors, such as politicians and interest groups. More recently, scholars have more closely examined the media as a contributor to policy change. In this paper, we present a case study to argue that specific members of the media may display the additional skills and behaviours that characterise policy entrepreneurship. Our case study focuses on the imposition and expansion of childhood vaccine mandates in New South Wales and at the federal level in Australia, following the entrepreneurial actions of a particular deputy editor and her affiliated newspaper outlets. Mandatory childhood vaccination policies have grown in strength and number in recent

Jordan Tchilingirian,
*University of Western
Australia*

years across the industrialised world in response to vaccine hesitancy and refusal: parents doubting, delaying, or refusing to vaccinate their children. Australia's Commonwealth and State governments have been at the forefront of this trend to meet vaccine refusal with harsh consequences, and our case study demonstrates how media actors drove the conception of these policies. We show how the experiences, skills, attributes, and strategies of Sunday Telegraph Deputy Editor Claire Harvey led her to take on the role of policy entrepreneur, utilising many of the classic hallmarks from the literature as well as making use of some specific key opportunities offered by her place in the media. These enabled her to subvert the classic narrative of entrepreneurship, mobilising the public ahead of policymakers to force the latter's hand.

Kerryn Baker
*Australian National
University*

The Gender-Sensitive Parliaments Agenda, Norm Diffusion, and the Impact of Women Leaders: A Case Study of Samoa

The rules, norms and practices of parliaments worldwide have proven stubbornly resistant to gender equality initiatives; yet change is possible, as the gender-sensitive parliaments agenda has proven. Parliaments are gendered spaces, and those in the Pacific Islands region have historically been overwhelmingly male-dominated. In Samoa, the proportion of women representatives had never exceeded 10 per cent before the 2021 election. This election proved a watershed moment for Samoan democracy, in which the electoral dominance of the Human Rights Protection Party was challenged for the first time in almost 40 years, and Samoa's first woman prime minister was elected, albeit after a tense and protracted legal process. Building on previous work on how international norms around gender-sensitive parliaments can be successfully localised, this paper examines the influence of women's leadership in changing parliamentary practices and promoting gender equality. Using the case study of Samoa and the prime ministership of Fiame Naomi Mata'afa, it explores the potential of the symbolic impact of women's leadership in advancing the localisation of norms around gender-sensitive parliaments.

Peter Balint
*University of New South
Wales*

Tiziana Torresi
University of Adelaide

Reconceptualising the Integration of Migrants

Four false assumptions underpin existing theories of migrant integration, all of which stem from an idealised and fictional view of the world as comprising only nation-states with stable populations. First, multiculturalism theory has been dominated by liberal nationalism, which assumes that to integrate is to become a permanent part of the nation-state. Second, migration theory has too often assumed that migrants wish to settle permanently in their new location, with temporary migration as a second-best option. Third, even though it is known that migrants overwhelmingly settle in limited locales (they are not spread evenly throughout a nation-state), existing theories assume that integration will be at a national level, and fail to take into account the different needs, responsibilities, and capacities of sub-national units. Fourth, while existing integration theories accept that cultural backgrounds help determine life plans - this insight underpins the multicultural approach - they fail to notice that the choice to migrate differentiates migrants from citizens even in the absence of cultural diversity. This paper will outline these four false assumptions and show why they are problematic for both the theory and practice of migrant integration.

Katrine Beauregard
*Australian National
University*

Women's Representation and Party Priorities: Assessing the Role of the Gender Gap

Previous research demonstrates a gender gap in vote choice and public opinion where in many countries, women are more likely to vote for left wing political parties and are more likely to hold left-wing opinions than men. The paper investigates the consequence of these gender gaps on party priorities and asks whether political parties with large gender gap in voting and ideological orientation among their supporters are more likely to have party priorities reflecting the policy preferences of women. I further hypothesize that this relationship is conditional of the level of women's representation inside political parties. Using a merged dataset of the Comparative Study of Electoral System and the Manifesto Project Dataset covering 30 countries from 1996 to 2016, I show that, control for party ideology, political parties with larger gender gaps in vote choice are more likely to

prioritize welfare expansion and education policies as well as are more likely to have left-wing policy platforms.

Sarah Ball
University of Melbourne

The Digital Delivery of Welfare-To-Work: Opportunities, Modes, and Consequences

Across OECD countries the delivery of social services are being transformed by the 'expansion of digital welfare' (Coles-Kemp et al., 2020) and new forms of 'digital social policy' (Henman, 2022). For example, from July 2022, the bulk of jobseekers in Australia will no longer receive face-to-face support but will instead self-service online via an automated employment service known as Workforce Australia. This raises important questions about agency in public administration-whether frontline discretion and the empowerment of service users-the use of algorithms to automate and allocate public services.

Digitalisation promises to significantly reshape how citizens' relationship to the state is mediated by street-level workers. However, a key issue precluding any attempt to reach broad conclusions about the implications of digitalised welfare for the agency of citizens and street-level workers is the many different forms of digital social policy-even within a discrete area such as public employment services. This paper unpacks this diversity of digital social policy. Drawing on qualitative research with international experts and policy practitioners from three countries at the vanguard of the expansion of digital welfare, we identify three discrete 'modes' that digitalisation takes in contemporary employment services reforms: 'welfare-at-a-distance', 'welfare-by-oneself', and 'welfare targeting'. Each of these modes affects the agency of service users and street-level workers, and the nature and distribution of the administrative burdens associated with service access, in very different ways. By surfacing the opportunities and challenges associated with each mode, and the discrete ways in which they reshape administrative agency and administrative burdens, the paper attempts a richer and more nuanced understanding of the impact of digitalisation on social services.

Deborah Barros Leal Farias
University of New South Wales

Populism's Reflection upon Environmental Politics: The case of Brazil under President Bolsonaro

How can populism impact a country's domestic environmental agenda? This is one of many questions that have emerged in tandem with the growing number of populists in the world. Within the possible approaches to defining populism, this paper embraces Benjamin Moffit's understanding of populism as a political style. Under this conception, populism - whether right or left-leaning - is performed, embodied, and enacted through a range of political contexts. Populism here carries three key features. First, a division of society between "the people" and "the elite". Second, a systematic use of bad manners. Thirdly, a narrative of crisis, breakdown, or threats. This paper takes these three elements and juxtaposes them to an empirical case. Based on a qualitative approach, it looks at Brazilian President Jair Bolsonaro populist 'performance' vis-à-vis environmental politics, with particular attention to two connected topics: Amazon deforestation and climate change. The analysis takes a basic ontological position that it is not possible to properly comprehend the undeniable shift in Brazil's (federal) environmental policies under Pres. Bolsonaro without discussing his underlying populist political style. In doing so, it shows how populism's key features were infused in his public justification for breaking with Brazil's previous domestic and international stances on the Amazon and climate change, and his approach to dealing with criticism over such changes.

Nick Barry
Latrobe University
Rob Manwaring
Flinders University

The slow-burning crisis of the Liberal Party of Australia?

In 2021, Kaltwasser and Bale edited a collection on the crisis of the centre-right across Europe. The central thesis is that the mainstream centre-right parties are facing a slow, but longstanding electoral crisis. In the European cases this crisis has been made more prominent by the rise of right-wing populist challengers (e.g. the eclipse of the Republicans against le Pen's National Rally in the French 2022 Presidential elections). A core element is the ideological crisis facing the centre-right, and the faultline exposed by the 'silent revolution' of a liberalising cultural shift in public attitudes. This silent revolution in attitudes has been met with a counter revolution of reactionary and populist backlash,

which causes a core ideational dilemma for the mainstream centre-right. This paper applies the Kaltwasser and Bale framework to the Liberal Party of Australia, and explores the extent to which the mainstream centre-right is facing a crisis. We argue that ideologically the parties shift away from moderate forms of liberalism is causing specific electoral and identity problems.

Jo Barraket
University of Melbourne

Emma Lee
Roksolana Suchowerska
Swinburne

Michael Roy
Glasgow Caledonian
University

Martin Loosemore
UNSW

Gemma Carey
UNSW

Implementation challenges of extending public procurement objectives: A comparative analysis of social procurement

Social procurement – or using purchasing power to generate positive social outcomes in addition to the delivery of efficient goods, services and works – is currently being revisited in many, largely Western, jurisdictions as an aspirational policy lever to increase socio-economic participation of people and organisations typically excluded by mainstream economic systems. Social procurement policy initiatives seek to improve social equity through novel uses of existing public resources, and by brokering new policy networks between governments, business, and the social economy. Alongside other approaches to sustainable procurement, they nominally elevate public procurement from a technical to a strategic function of governance.

This paper presents early findings from a mixed-methods comparative study of social procurement policy implementation in two leading jurisdictions: the state of Victoria, Australia; and Scotland. Informed by field theory and drawing on key informant interviews and archival analysis of policy design, and focus groups and yarnups with purchasers and suppliers implementing these policies in both jurisdictions, we outline the challenges of integrating social value goals with established procurement norms. Informed by field theory, we conceptualise the implementation of social procurement as a form of interorganisational field development. The use of Indigenous methodological principles of holistic world views, deep listening, and reciprocity (West et al., 2012) is guided by our Indigenous co-lead to draw new insights into researcher behaviour and field results.

Sulagna Basu
University of Sydney

Metaphor and Uncertainty: The case of the SONY Hack in 2014

Metaphors have been shown to pervade political discourses in times of uncertainty. The challenges and complications presented by cyberspace has created many uncertainties for policymakers. While scholars have explored various metaphors employed in the context of cybersecurity, more attention should be paid not only to how policymakers specifically employ these metaphors in response to such moments of uncertainty but also how these serve to structure, constrain and legitimise subsequent policy action. In this paper, I draw on Lakoff and Johnson's work with metaphor analysis to uncover the rhetorical strategies employed by US policymakers during and in the aftermath of the Sony Hack in 2014. Through analysis of relevant speeches, interviews and senate hearings, I examine the role of metaphor in continually restructuring the discourses on cybersecurity culminating in specific policy practices including the placing of sanctions on North Korea. By developing some provisional ideas about the interdependence of cybersecurity discourses framing policy and policy formulation, I attempt to analyse the impacts, limits and advantages of metaphor as a response to uncertainty. More generally, this analysis can serve as an important strategy for understanding the effects of policymakers discourses on policies formulated and enacted in conditions of uncertainty.

Stuti Bhatnagar
Evelyn Goh
Australian National
University

Hegemonic Contest between China and India

In analysing the hegemonic contestation between China and India in the South Asian region, this paper will rely on the hegemonic order framework as developed by Goh (2019) that conceptualizes the architecture of hegemonic order as consisting of three social elements – compact, structure and processes – and emphasizes social exchange, power relationships and negotiation as the bridges linking hegemony and order. It will ask – does China's contestation challenge India's leadership in South Asia? What is it about the existing hegemonic order in South Asia that China is contesting? How does China present these challenges and how is it perceived in South Asia? The paper will focus on the non-linear nature of contestation with outcomes contingent upon interactions with actors and the preferences of other states – in this case the smaller states in South Asia that are keen to engage with China and India in the security, institutional and economic

domains. South Asia's colonial history and the prevalent lack of sustainable institutional arrangements at the regional level are also crucial to this enquiry into China's rise in the region – all within the larger frame of great power politics.

Mia Bianchino
Helen Pringle
*University of New South
Wales*

Setting the Parliamentary Stage: Sexual harassment as systemic sexism in the institutional scaffold of the NSW parliament

Gender inequality and sexism are systemic in Australia's parliaments, as a distinct institutional 'culture' that orchestrates gender operations in parliament. The backdrop of sexism tends to be accepted and even expected as a symptom of parliament's institutional male bias, 'staging' an ensemble of cultures, practices and attitudes towards women built into the way parliament operates as a complex and unique workplace. Largely unexplored as yet is what makes sexist culture unique to parliament as an institution emblematic of democracy yet rife with these gender problems. In contrast to recent reviews into Australia's parliamentary culture and complaint handling processes, my paper attempts to help explain what constitutes parliament's distinct gender 'culture', and why it persists, from the perspective of female political staff who are particularly vulnerable to sexist behaviour and the symptoms of the male bias. This is so because of the compounded problem of their precarious (high-risk) employment status and their status as women. My argument is that the institutional scaffold of parliament embeds rigid and hierarchical gender operations reinforced by the ornamentation of a historical masculinity, with women as an afterthought to parliamentary structure. That is, I understand parliament as an institution itself responsible for the perpetuation and sanctioned 'normalcy' of sexism in its workplace. Sexism and gender inequality largely persist as unspoken, shaping the informal institutional rules of parliament that scripts different expectations to female staff. Parliament forms the 'stage' or a theatre of gender performance in which female staff rehearse and are cued on their expected gender roles, within a context of risking their careers if they miss their lines. My perspective is informed by a small-scale research project using the 'parliamentary stage' as a motif to present and interpret the experiences of female political staff in NSW parliament.

Caitlin Biddolph
University of Sydney

Queering (un)certainty in international criminal justice: Reflections on the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY)

International criminal justice is conventionally understood as embodying certainty, a practice that offers proven and established legal judgements. The classification of crimes according to international humanitarian law, the jurisdictions of courts and tribunals, and the designation of innocence and guilt all serve to produce a definitive, certain account of law and violence. In this way, sites of international criminal justice attempt to excise the messy, the uncertain, and the political from its practice, despite these logics being intrinsic to legal representations and juridical enactments of violence. In this paper, I embrace the concept of (un)certainty in mechanisms of international criminal justice. In particular, I argue that a queer approach reveals and revels in the uncertain, the paradoxical, and the contingent practices of international criminal justice. Drawing on my queer reading of the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY or the Tribunal), I explore how queer insights and orientations can enrich analyses of law and justice. I identify three (un)certainities at/of the ICTY that queer work can disrupt: the law/violence dichotomy; the plural discourses of gender and sexuality that constitute legal subjects; and the queer logics that make violence legible at the Tribunal. These offer important interventions for deconstructing international criminal justice as a form of global governance, and for exposing both the subtle, explicit, and complicated ways in which power constitutes the (un)certainty of law. By embracing and queering political and legal (un)certainities, I advocate for a reimagining of what and how certain legal subjects and practices embody the (un)certain at the ICTY, and international criminal justice more broadly.

James Blackwell
*Australian National
University*

First Nations and Australia: Walking together or walking alone?

Relations between First Nations and the state in Australia have a long history of injustice and contestation. There is much current work exploring the British arrival, colonisation, and First Nations exclusion at the establishment of Australia. This paper takes a

contemporary look at First Nations people's push for rights, recognition, and reconciliation. First Nations are routinely excluded from governance and policy; efforts such as 'Closing the Gap' and constitutional recognition supposedly signalled the state's attempts to 'walk with' First Nations towards self-determination and justice. In most cases, First Nations have had to chart our own paths, especially on constitutional recognition, such as with the Uluru Statement From the Heart. Within foreign policy, such failures of engagement also occur. First Nations ontologies & cosmologies get disregarded, and contributions to foreign policy neglected. This paper attempts to bridge this divide, by exploring some of these Aboriginal approaches to inter-polity relations, contributions to foreign policy making, and how it is our contributions can expand international relations knowledge and foreign policy practice.

James Blackwell
*Australian National
University*

Seen and ignored: First Nations rights and policy self-determination during Covid-19

The Covid-19 pandemic affected First Nations communities in Australia in a number of ways; we were more susceptible to the virus, more at risk for long-term health effects, and more likely to face barriers to healthcare access and financial supports. During 2020, due to the foregrounding of First Nations rights around self-determination and government listening to communities on issues of policy, First Nations communities largely avoided any negative outcomes concerning the virus, economic instability excepted. Once we enter 2021 and beyond, we see this shift however. As governments at all levels moved from a model of state responsibility to individual responsibility, the framework of supports that enabled a strong First Nations response to Covid-19 disappeared, and First Nations people suffered greatly. Community input into decision-making and health risk management were often ignored or neglected by government, and the self-determination rights of First Nations over our communities dramatically decreased. We see in case study examples, including Wilcannia in rural NSW, that once outbreaks of Covid-19 entered these First Nations communities, local knowledge and expertise was noted, but left aside. Why is it that we saw such a shift in both directions concerning First Nations rights and self-determination during this pandemic, what lessons can we learn from this, and what safeguards can we employ to ensure such fundamental rights, and self-determined policy, are protected in future?

Anja Bless
*University of Technology
Sydney*

Transformation or Business as Usual? Australian farmer perspectives on the regenerative agriculture movement

Regenerative agriculture is a rapidly evolving international movement. It claims to provide the solution to arable land degradation, climate change, the cost-price squeeze for farmers, and consumer demand for sustainable products. Regenerative agriculture is also critiqued for its sidelining of First Nations knowledge, the increasing involvement in the movement of agri-food corporations, and the degree to which it is a transformative movement or simply business as usual. The diversity of actors pursuing regenerative agriculture creates a contentious political environment between different ideologies, values, and views around the transformative potential of regenerative agriculture. The cohesiveness of the regenerative agriculture movement remains underexplored in the literature, in particular the desire at the grassroots for transformative change from industrial agriculture towards a more sustainable food system.

Drawing on existing theorisations of food contentions and movements, this paper presents initial findings from semi-structured interviews with Australian farmers. Exploring how they identify with and view the regenerative agriculture movement, and what they believe a sustainable food system looks like. Building on postcolonial and food justice critiques of regenerative agriculture, the responses of these farmers will be contrasted alongside those of Indigenous Australians involved in the agriculture sector, to explore the extent of regenerative agriculture's transformative ambitions in the politically fraught Australian food system. This paper will demonstrate the fractural and cohesive elements of the regenerative agriculture movement at a grassroots level and explore the implications for achieving a more sustainable food system.

Alba R. Boer Cueva
Keshab Giri
*UKRI GCRF Gender,
Justice and Security Hub*

A Decolonial Feminist Politics of Fieldwork: Centring community, reflexivity and loving accountability

International Studies scholarship has benefitted from insights derived from anthropology, sociology, peace and conflict studies, human geography, and other disciplines in efforts to cultivate thoughtful reflections and considerations that researchers take with them 'into the field' when they embark on 'fieldwork'. In this paper, we map out a history of critical approaches to fieldwork, before moving into a consideration of fieldwork as method and as a site of critical knowledge production. Building on this critical scholarship, which traverses and challenges disciplinary boundaries, we go on to show how a foundational commitment to reflexive practice 'in the field' has developed from politically engaged encounters that initially encouraged reflection on the positionality of the researcher, 'the field' as a construct, and the power dynamics embedded in, and structuring, research, to a commitment to emancipatory goals. This ethical and political commitment necessitates critical interrogation on associated constructs of research, including 'the research participant' (or 'population'), 'expertise', and the distinction between 'the research site' and 'the research institution'. We thus argue that a more recent turn in critical fieldwork is grounded in feminist and decolonial, anti-racist, anti-capitalist politics; its proponents are committed not just to reflecting critically on 'the field' and the interactions of the researcher within it but also to challenging the divisions, exclusions, and structures of oppression that sustain the separations between 'here' and 'there', 'knower' and 'known'. This includes challenging the hierarchies of the academy, and the complex entanglements of knowledge, power and privilege that hold us not only in research relationships in 'the field' but also 'at home' and beyond.

Will Bosworth
*Australian National
University*

Republican Freedom as a Bargaining Game

John Nash's threat game (1953) assesses the conditions where threats are optimal for players in a cooperative bargaining game. A threat is taken to be the strategy of lowering the utility players associate with the game's disagreement point. A threat amounts to a commitment to enact a punishment that is costly to one's opponent in the event no agreement is reached. It therefore makes an agreement all the more pressing for one's opponent and in so doing - as Nash's bargaining solution illustrates - weakens their bargaining position. A corollary of this is that, in the event all threats are credible and agents are rational, it is optimal to threaten an opponent whenever a player can make the punishment disproportionately costlier for their opponent than themselves. An illustration of this is a billionaire landlord threatening their tenants with litigation. Say both parties prefer the status quo to litigation. Given declining marginal utility, there would be greater opportunity costs for the tenant to defend their case than the landlord and therefore the threat will considerably improve the landlord's bargaining position. The unsettling implication is that without democratic safeguards, it is rational for the wealthy to threaten the poor whenever their interests conflict, but virtually never vice versa.

I argue this captures the republican concept of domination as the capacity to arbitrarily interfere. The rich landlord has the capacity to arbitrarily interfere with their poor tenant. The same analysis extends to other paradigmatic cases like domestic relationships without legal provisions against abuse, precarious employment, executive overreach, and slavery. This conceptualisation overcomes a number of analytic and measurement problems associated with republicanism in the literature.

Anna Boucher
University of Sydney

What 907 court cases tell us about sexual violence in the workplace, and what they miss out – The Migrant Worker Rights Database: an empirical analysis

A new evidence base, the Migrant Worker Rights Database, explores work-based violations against migrant workers in 907 tribunal and court cases. These cases were brought by migrants in Australia, Canada, the United Kingdom and the United States over a twenty-year period. Both structural and demographic characteristics can influence the exploitation of workers. Gender is one such characteristic. While not the exclusive victims of sexual violence in the workplace, female migrants experience exaggerated rates of sexual harassment, sexual assault, sexual servitude and sexual-based trafficking, as evidenced by the Migrant Worker Rights Database. However, their cases are not always successful. This paper addresses the overarching gender disaggregated trends from the

Database across the four jurisdictions considered in the book (Australia, Canada, England and the State of California) and focuses in on the issue of sexual violence, asking several questions: What is the overall quantum of cases related to sexual assault, sexual harassment, sex trafficking and sexual servitude? Why might we expect the sexual violence experienced by migrant women to be higher than the reference population of the general public, and what could explain low complaints and even lower successfully litigated cases? In focusing on this broad overarching concept of 'sexual violence', this paper explores what the scholarship about sexual violence in the workplace contributes to an understanding of the abuse suffered by migrants, and what it leaves out, drawing attention to the need for more nuanced intersectional analysis in this area and more support for migrants to bring such litigation.

Marcus Brand

*International Institute for
Democracy and Electoral
Assistance*

Myanmar's Constitutional Moment - towards peace and federal democracy

On 1 February 2021, the Myanmar military staged a coup and unconstitutionally declared a state of emergency. Since the coup, the military has attempted to consolidate power through force but has failed to normalize the situation or gain legitimacy and recognition. MPs elected in the November 2020 elections formed the Committee Representing the Pyidaungsu Hluttaw (CRPH) to act on behalf of the legitimate legislature. Civil servants, civil society and large numbers of common citizens have contested military rule through a nationwide Civil Disobedience Movement (CDM) and a number of Ethnic Armed Organizations (EAOs) have resumed active resistance. Myanmar military's response to dissent has been extremely repressive. In response to a violent crackdown and a one-sided escalation of brutality, people resorted to self-defense in an effort to shake off military oppression. On 16 April 2021, a legitimate National Unity Government (NUG) was formed.

The broadest national unity front of the revolution known as the National Unity Consultative Council (NUCC), revised the Charter earlier adopted by the CRPH and approved it at a People's Assembly on 27-29 January 2022. The revised Charter lays out guidelines for drafting a permanent new constitution. It contains basic principles which should bind the constitution-making process - most importantly, the idea that Myanmar would become a "Federal Democracy Union". It also defines interim governing institutions and goals for those institutions during the interim period, as well as the process of elaborating a new constitution.

The FDC has become the written manifestation of the will of the people of Myanmar to overcome military rule and to rebuild the state in a manner that fully reflects its diversity and addresses historical grievances. The FDC is remarkable in that it represents an unprecedented ability of a broad set of democratic stakeholders to find compromise over difficult questions.

Jeremiah Brown
University of New South
Wales

Free to Get on the Beers? Understanding Changes to Freedom Through the COVID-19 Crisis

Policy responses to the COVID-19 crisis resulted in some of the most substantive shifts in the freedom that individuals possess in established democracies in living memory, with various policy interventions that have fundamentally reshaped our lives. Yet interpreting these shifts explicitly as changes in freedom is complicated, since freedom is a deeply contested concept with definitions fitting into four families that pull in very different directions and which are centred on answering very different types of moral and political questions. These four families of definitions are: 1) freedom as non-interference; 2) freedom as self-mastery; 3) freedom as non-domination; and 4) freedom as capability. The crisis has demonstrated just how important these different definitions are for political conflict, and differences in approach to advancing freedom have driven heated exchanges around what kinds of policy interventions to the crisis are necessary. This paper explains what is central to each of the four approaches to freedom in relation to the question of 'are you free to grab a pint this afternoon?' This is used to explain how each definition provides a distinct answer to how freedom has changed for individuals through the pandemic, and to explain what each definition has to say about what kinds of policy responses are required in a crisis to ensure that citizens are free.

Laurence Brown
Medha Majumdar
Australian National
University

Future skills needs of the Australian Public Service: How universities can prepare graduates to succeed in the midst of increased uncertainty and digital transformation

The Australian Public Service (APS) is facing greater challenges in public policy formation and service delivery in a landscape of increased global uncertainty and digital transformation. Concepts of policy-making as craft remain central to Delivering for Tomorrow: APS Workforce Strategy 2025 even as the career pathways of public servants and the wider world of work have been profoundly transformed over the past two decades.

In this paper we examine the future skills and capability needs of the APS workforce, and propose strategies for universities to best prepare their graduates to succeed in this environment. Using data from APS surveys, speeches by senior public servants, and interviews with policy-makers from a range of government agencies, we identify the emerging key skills most in demand in the policy workforce. We consider how university graduates within and outside their degrees, develop core professional skills of the APS, including understanding government, project management, stakeholder engagement, and strategic thinking. Although the skills gaps that are emerging with the digital transformation of policy making have initially focused on technical skills, we argue that this is also generating demand for new collaborative capabilities to engage with greater diversity of data and stakeholders. In this paper, we reflect on how universities can improve work-integrated learning programs to ensure that graduates are ready to respond to critical challenges in the future.

Prudence Brown
University of Queensland

Governance and Indigenous-State Entanglement

There are currently around 9,000 Indigenous organisations in Australia pursuing goals ranging from asserting Indigenous sovereignty to servicing community needs. The state regulates these organisations (through a variety of commonwealth and state-based legislation) with the result that Indigenous organisations have necessarily made use of introduced settler value systems and modes of governance. However, the fact that Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples have governed on the Australian continent for tens of thousands of years signals that Indigenous governance can be thought of as the primary governance reference point for many Indigenous groups. In some parts of the country this governance operates in very structured and technical terms bound with Country and kinship systems. In many other parts of the country this governance has been severely disrupted and damaged by colonialism, and yet in these regions many people are working at recuperating Indigenous governance and having Indigenous principles be the primary reference point for the goals and operations of corporations. Indigenous organisations, then, operate in "a complex intercultural, socio-economic and bureaucratic environment" (Bauman, Smith, Quiggin, Keller, & Drieberg, 2015, p. 118). In

this presentation we draw on the findings of a recent research project to argue that cultural governance is crucial to the operation of Indigenous corporations and the value they deliver for Indigenous people, Australian governments, and the wider Australian community. Further, we argue that, in the complex and entangled dynamics of settler-colonialism, greater mobilisation of Indigenous governance is likely to assist with, and should be pursued alongside, compliance with corporate governance requirements.

**Gonzalo Bustamante
Kuschel**
Adolfo Ibáñez University

Biopolitics, New Materialism and Latin-American Constitutionalism: A Linguistic Encounter?

Giorgio Agamben (the Use of the Bodies), in *Homo Sacer IV*, will indicate that the dominant categories in Aristotle's *Politics* as regards the basis of the social order is the relationship between master-slave. The rest would derive from the latter. The missing element in the analysis and narration of Agamben is that, from Aristotelian political philosophy, the understanding of nature as a slave to be used through exploitation is assumed as unproblematic. Normatively, the relevant issue would be the assimilation of some humans (slaves) to the same category of the mineral, plant, and non-human animal world but not to the exploitation of life as such.

That void, even existing in critical genealogies like Agamben's, is what New Materialism has tried to overcome.

Many of them have expressed their skepticism regarding both epistemological claims as well as the consequences of a political theory understood beyond life but from the existence of entities. However, in non-Eurocentric constitutional forms such as some Latin American ones, an idea of law and individuals with non-human rights is considered. In such constitutional forms, there might be an example of the possibilities of connecting (non-European) concepts with the proposals of a new materialism for the purpose of structuring a political-constitutional order. That is to say: non-European political languages would couple in more than one point with New Materialism's proposals. Therefore, it would be necessary to investigate to what extent recent Latin American constitutionalism does not imply a conceptualization of the law itself, compatible with the proposals of New Materialism. If so, the incompatibility between New Materialism and the understanding of reality from language exists only to the extent in which the latter (language) is understood eurocentrically. This new constitutionalism would imply an affirmative de-anthropologized biopolitical proposal regarding the existence of life itself.

**Gonzalo Bustamante
Kuschel**
Adolfo Ibáñez University

Hobbes and the Theophrastus redivivus: Order, transgression and anarchy in Early Modernity

As Paganini, Schroeder, McKenna, and Laursen, among others, have indicated, sixteenth and seventeenth-century Europe was home to a current of thinking clandestinely defying the religious beliefs and values of European society. In many respects, it constituted a more radical version of what, following the definition of Margaret Jacob subsequently popularized by Jonathan Israel, has often been called the Radical Enlightenment.

A key text within that intellectual and clandestine philosophical world was the manuscript *Theophrastus redivivus* (TR). One of the longest and most finished radical texts, the TR is comprised of 1,090 folios (900 pages in the printed edition). As a work of philosophy, the TR shares key concepts and assumptions with Hobbes. But, far from guaranteeing liberty and putting everyone on an equal footing, in the TR, "civil laws" under the sovereign's authority turn into instruments of domination, imposing servitude and inequality. For example, when no longer applied in a state of nature but instead to private property, the natural law "give to each his own" increasingly destroys the community of all living beings. In the TR, it is from the princes and the political-judicial order that inequalities arise, with private property playing a central role in breaking with nature, where everything was given equally and in common. Conversely, for Hobbes, the State is a necessity and makes it possible for people to live a worthwhile life in peace and order. This paper explores the importance of clandestine philosophy through a work as the TR insofar as it was a subversive philosophy with respect to the philosophy now recognized as part of the canon, such as that of Hobbes, which arising a counter-cultural and conceptual radicalism that helped pave the way of the Enlightenment.

Exploring Temporality in Policy-Making Processes: Enmeshing pasts, presents and futures in the construction of public inquiries

While public inquiries offer significant opportunities to influence reform agendas that seek to address past wrongs and reimagine better futures, they are most often defined as either ad-hoc and temporary events or linear processes. This paper explores these temporal constructions, before engaging with emerging critical approaches that challenge these understandings. This engagement is developed through the non-linear narratives of people engaging with the 2016 Royal Commission into Family Violence (Victoria, Australia). It contemplates the role of their recollections (of longer histories and of the Commission) and their anticipations of what might be ahead as the process of implementing the Commission's recommendations began. In doing so, this paper outlines the multiple, fluid and overlapping temporal modalities that the participants' called upon to make sense of the process they were enmeshed within, in this way offering a broader and deeper understanding of the role of time in public inquiries and their associated reform processes.

The Roles and Aspirations of Young People in Conflict

The situation of conflict in Mindanao in Southern Philippines is multi-layered and complex which involves various armed groups and militia units. In this conflict situation, young people are suffering the impacts of displacement, loss of lives and properties, and missed opportunities. Being large in number, the youths are most affected in times of conflicts. In this preliminary study, I examine how conflict has affected the young people in Mindanao in terms of their understanding of themselves, and their roles and aspirations towards change. Drawing on interviews, youth see conflict in Mindanao as a normal occurrence where war and violence are present. Though this conflict leaves young people with traumatic experiences, their aspirations towards a peaceful community remain intact. To bring peace, education and empowered leaders are necessary to provide opportunities for the youth. Young people believe they can promote peace through art, music, community service, and volunteerism. As much as we believe that the youth's aspirations have merits for change, they think the government still has the imperative to take seriously in addressing this conflict. Like many other scholars, I argue that youth play an important role for peace and development in Mindanao. However, policymakers need to integrate young people's everyday perspectives into participation (Vromen and Collin 2010). Both formal and informal participation approaches are meaningful to influence policymaking that may affect the everyday lives and experiences of the youth.

The COVID-19 Pandemic and Confidence in Government in Australia

How has the COVID-19 pandemic affected citizen confidence in government? And how has this varied over different stages of the pandemic? Prior research has found that citizens rally 'round the flag in the context of some types of crises, such as military threats, though punish governments in others, particularly economic crises. This paper examines the effects of the COVID-19 pandemic on confidence in government in Australia. The analyses draw upon a series of cross-sectional surveys of Australians from the ANUPoll, fielded at regular intervals between 2019 and 2022. The paper investigates confidence in government over time, between state and federal levels of government, and between individuals affected by the COVID-19 crisis in different ways. The results show evidence of rally 'round the flag effects with confidence in both state and federal government increasing at the start of the pandemic and remaining high for well over a year. The results also indicate that citizens were able to distinguish between the responsibilities of state governments and the federal government managing different aspects of the pandemic response. Citizens lost confidence in state governments alongside state-specific COVID-19 outbreaks, while they lost confidence in the federal government if they were experiencing financial hardship.

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

Comparing the effects of media use and trust in experts on vaccine hesitancy in the United States and Australia during the COVID-19 pandemic

Despite the United States beginning its COVID-19 vaccination program months earlier than most other countries, it has one of the lowest vaccination rates of any advanced economy and higher death tolls per capita in 2022. In contrast, Australia has one of the world's highest vaccination rates and lowest death tolls.

This paper aims to investigate the role of digital media use in contentious politics during a global crisis by providing a comparative empirical analyses of vaccine hesitancy and trust in experts during the COVID-19 pandemic.

We combine political elite cue theory and political selective exposure theory (PSE) to inform our research and hypotheses. Both digital media and medical experts are sources of authority that provide citizens with cues and in the case of news sources act as a conduit for political communications from political elites (Zaller 1992).

We find variation in vaccine hesitancy is directly linked to partisan news consumption. In both countries, respondents that relied on social and conservative media tended to be more vaccine hesitant (Brietbart and Fox News in the US, Sky News in Australia; and Instagram and Facebook in both countries).

This paper concludes that media use and trust in experts has an effect on vaccine hesitancy that is more pronounced in the US compared to Australia.

Daniel Casey
Australian National
University
Serrin Routledge-Prior
Australian National
University

What do PhD Candidates want? Comparing the experiences and expectations of Australian PhD Candidates and Supervisors in Politics and International Relations postgraduate programs

Australia boast five politics departments in the top 100 list of the 2022 QS World University Rankings, including one in the top twenty.¹ The strong (international) reputation of Australian political science scholarship may be an attractive prospect for students looking to pursue postgraduate study in this field. However, there has been little research into the quality of Australian PhD programs in Politics, in terms of methods training, the supervisor-supervisee relationship, and overall program satisfaction. Furthermore, with financial impacts of the ongoing COVID-19 pandemic on the tertiary education sector exacerbating concerns about academic job prospects for early career researchers, there is a pressing need to evaluate the quality of job training in the PhD program. This paper addresses these neglected topics by reporting on the results of two mirrored surveys of Australian PhD candidates (n = 109) and PhD supervisors (n = 55) in Politics and International Relations departments from twenty-three universities around Australia. However, the paper not only compares the experiences and expectations of current PhD Candidates and Supervisors. We also draw a temporal comparison by comparing the results of our survey with that of Kefford and Morgenbesser,² upon whose survey of Australian politics PhD Candidates our survey was partially based. Key findings from our survey indicate that methods training in PhD programs is largely non-existent or insufficient, potentially putting Australian PhD programs at a disadvantage to those of the US, Canada, and the UK. We also find that there is a lack of job preparedness training built into the PhD program, whether for academic or non-academic careers.

Daniel Casey
Australian National
University

'Dear Prime Minister' a study of letters to the executive as a source of public opinion & agenda setting

What are the topics and patterns of letters from the public to political executive (Prime Ministers and Presidents)? What does this source of public opinion tell us about how the public, and lobby groups, seek to influence agenda setting?

Studying these letters is important, because writing to political leaders is also a key part of political participation. The Australian Prime Minister receives around 150,000 letters each year (a rate of ~75 letters per 10,000 people). These letters remain an unexplored channel of public opinion and the public agenda. Unlike opinion polls, this channel is delivered directly to political leaders. Despite the important role that correspondence plays, there have not been any detailed studies of the topics of these letters. This study begins to fill this gap. Uniquely, it is based on administrative data, sourced from the National Archives of Australia, rather than survey data.

By analysing the topics of letters on a fortnight-by-fortnight basis, we can see how the letters influenced, or were influenced by, Prime Minister Howard's speeches and media appearances. Results show that this type of public opinion is driven almost entirely by elites, rather than the other way around.

Bryan Lee D. Celeste
University of Newcastle

Finding Creative Voice among Manobo-Pulangiuyan in the fight for land rights and cultural recognition in the 21st century

There's a wide array of literature focusing on power and resistance in relation to land rights and cultural recognition among indigenous peoples around the world the last 30 years. Diverse issues have also been given scholarly attention to understand the various facets of indigenous life, land and culture. But only very few studies have been conducted focusing on their aesthetic life from a sociological standpoint. However, I contend that certain elements of indigenous art or aesthetic life may project intricate cultural issues that can contribute to the deeper understanding of indigenous cultural life in the contemporary times. Thus, my PhD research aims to contribute to that body of knowledge that enables us to unpack the various creative expressions of indigenous people. Utilizing Creative Voice method, I draw out key findings from my research in relation to the following: a) everyday forms of power and resistance and b) creative expressions in the quest for cultural recognition among the Manobo-Pulangiuyan of Quezon, Bukidnon, Southern Philippines. My initial findings suggest that creative expressions of the Manobo-Pulangiuyan like their rituals, dances, arts, spoken poetry, songs, drawings and stories tell us the complex issues of land rights and cultural recognition through time. Therefore, the finding creative voice in the context of land rights and cultural recognition helps us explore that Manobo-Pulangiuyan people themselves can assert their spiritual, religious, and political power that help them in claiming their ancestral lands and revitalize cultural performances as a form of everyday embodied cultural representation.

Anurug Chakma
Australian National University

Does State Capacity Matter? A Panel Data Analysis on the Implementation of Intrastate Peace Agreements

Existing literature has measured state capacity with several indicators of Worldwide Governance Indicators (WGI) and World Development Indicators (WDI) such a government effectiveness, the rule of law, military spending, and GDP. In this cross-national study, have revisited the relationship between state capacity and the implementation of intrastate peace agreements with two alternative aggregate measures of state capacity which cover the core dimensions of state capacity: extractive capacity, coercive capacity, and administrative capacity. I have employed feasible generalized least square (FGLS) regression and panel corrected standard errors (PCSE) regression to analyse the panel dataset of this study, which covers comprehensive peace agreements of 28 conflict-affected countries from 1989 to 2015. In line with earlier research, I find state capacity to have a statistically significant relationship with the implementation of peace agreements controlling for the number of provisions o peace agreements, the type of the conflict, the intensity of the conflict, duration of the conflict and the level of democracy, and GDP per capita. Drawing upon my statistical results, I argue that the association between state capacity and the implementation of peace agreements is robust and consistent across multiple measures of state capacity

Nicholas Chan
Australian National University

Populism without Popularity: Social Media and the Mainstreaming of Right-Wing Islamist Majoritarianism in Malaysia

Conventional imaginations of populists usually conjure images of strong(wo)men with considerable electoral strength, such as that of Argentina's Peron, the United States' Trump, Turkey's Erdogan, the Netherland's Wilders or France's Le Pen. The centrality of these figures in scholarly thinking about populism often results in the conflation of populism and popular party politics, in that the identification of populists and the measurement of their impact are based around their electoral presence and gains. Those who do not achieve a mainstream political presence are often regarded as 'fringe' or 'radical' instead of populist (even if they are ideationally so). This points to a prevailing

assumption that populists cannot be successful without achieving a modicum of popularity at the polls. It implies that democratic decline only happens when populists can compete with mainstream political parties substantially, or win against them, in the elections.

Using the case of Malaysia, this paper argues that democratic regression can still happen without far-right populists making a dent in the electoral scene. It demonstrates that, with the mobilising power of social media and the social reach of pop-culture, the mainstreaming of right-wing majoritarian ideals can still happen. In a political context where established parties entrenched their positions by virtue of the First-Past-The-Post electoral system, far right organisations took advantage of seemingly innocuous medium of film and music to deposit their worldview in the mainstream. This paper explores this through two case studies that are linked to the far right Islamist group, the *Ikatan Muslimin Malaysia* (ISMA). The first is a production house named *tarbiah sentap* that created stylistically chic and content-wise conservative short films and music videos that are aimed at a young Muslim audience. The second is an ISMA-produced film named *Mat Kilau* that has become the highest-grossing domestic film in the history of Malaysia. Our study will show how electoral 'locking-out' of far right organisations is ineffective in stemming their infiltration of the mainstream, more so when (social) mediatization of politics has facilitated the hybridisation of popular culture and popular politics.

Mark Considine
University of Melbourne

Solving Black-Box Problems in Australia's Failing Service Market

Many of Australia's key social programs are now delivered through service markets in which governments act as funders and regulators while the public negotiates a service from private agents. A recent study of the biggest of these programs – childcare, employment services, vocational education and training, the NDIS and aged care – identifies common sources of system failure. The paper provides an account of these 'family resemblances' and of the mechanism design options for solving them.

Edward Sing Yue Chan
Australian National University

Maintaining a good order at sea or developing seapower: rethinking civil maritime security in the Indo-Pacific

In recent decades, the civil dimension has been the main focus in the maritime security agenda, which contains a laundry list of 'non-traditional' security threats. When addressing all these threats, governments often mention ideas such as 'maintain a good order at sea' and 'ocean governance' to indicate their support of a rules-based order in the maritime domain. However, some countries have been criticised for developing its seapower under the guise of promoting good order at sea. This paper compares the Australian and Chinese understanding of civil maritime security and their related policies. It aims to reflect the conception of a maritime rules-based order - how it is being defined and interpreted, as well as its relationship with seapower thinking.

Lai-Ha Chan
University of Technology Sydney

Can like-minded minilateralism help Australia to defend itself from the China challenge?

Amid escalating great-power competition between China and the US, Australia sometimes incurs China's wrath because of the Australia-US alliance. While maintaining its security alliance with the US, Australia is in quest for partners in the Indo-Pacific to enhance its political and economic security. In the past few years, we have witnessed Canberra has participated in two regional minilateral groupings, namely the Quadrilateral Security Dialogue (Quad) and the Australia-UK-US alliance (AUKUS), in the face of China's expansionism and great-power competition between China and the US. These two institutions claim to be built on a shared identity of liberal democracy. At issue is whether Australia's engagement with these like-minded minilateral groupings will enhance its security or whether it will instead intensify the existing tension and conflict between China and it. This project, in particular, examines how far Australia can use the minilateral groupings to reduce its dependence on China in order for it to lessen the adverse impacts of China's coercive economic statecraft, and how far it can defend and promote liberal democracy in the Indo-Pacific to resist China's growing authoritarian influence in the region.

The Rise and Fall of Quad 2.0 in 2017-2020: An Australian Perspective

The Quadrilateral Security Dialogue (Quad) was resuscitated in November 2017 (therefore known as Quad 2.0) as a grouping of liberal democratic countries to build a 'free and open Indo-Pacific' (FOIP). However, until 2021 when Joe Biden assumed US presidency, Quad 2.0 was no more promising than the short-lived Quad 1.0 in 2007-2008. Even before the onslaught of the Covid-19 pandemic, starting in early 2020, there were no Quad leaders' summit meetings. The four states did not hold any ministerial meetings until September 2019 when the ministers of foreign affairs of the four states joined in New York for the United Nations General Assembly meeting. More importantly, they took no joint quadrilateral actions to deter a rising and threatening China. After once in 2007, Australia could not join India, Japan and the US in the Malabar naval exercise until 2020. Neorealists would lead us to believe that with common tangible material interests and political values, the four states would have collaborated with each other closely on political, economic, and military fronts in deterring China, whose assertive behaviour was widely believed as their common source of security threat. How can we explain this abnormality? Experts in the foreign policy of the four states may offer their own accounts. This paper attempts to examine the issue from an Australian as well as constructivist perspectives. It puts forward an argument that prioritizes the role of the Australian Anglo-Saxon national identity. That racialized identity made Australia-India cooperation difficult to materialize - as India was a British colony between 1858 and 1947 - and led Australia to expect the US, its 'great and powerful friend', to lead the minilateral grouping, but Trump was not willing to assume the leadership responsibility. As a result, Quad 2.0 was like a 'rudderless ship' in the period 2017-2020.

Social Movement Organisations Inclusiveness: An organisational analysis of two climate action groups in Australia

Political organisations need to be sufficiently inclusive to different social and political groups so they can find ways working together effectively (Young 2002). However, sustaining higher levels of inclusiveness is a perennial challenge to interest groups, political parties and social movement organisations (SMOs) in helping to create changes on any public policy issues, including climate change in Australia, being a key example (Crowley 2020).

Literature review shows that although SMOs such as the Australian Conservation Foundation (ACF) and Extinction Rebellion Australia (XR Aus) have been critical in bringing changes, there is still an insufficient understanding on how they could accommodate diverse, conflicting yet sometimes overlapping interests across races, sexualities, ages, classes and genders (Weldon 2006). When SMOs are less inclusive, they become more vulnerable to external attacks and infighting. These negative conditions threaten an organisation's existence. Surprisingly, little research regarding the impact of institutionalisation, leadership, ways of organising and communication, trust and repertoires of contention on inclusiveness is available.

Hence, this paper attempts to answer how ACF and XR Aus establish and maintain higher inclusiveness in three dimensions: diversity, equity and conflict management. This paper hypothesises that the higher institutionalisation in terms of hierarchy, bureaucracy and formalisation, the lower inclusiveness could be, vice versa.

Results from 20 semi-structured interviews, supplemented by archival materials including Facebook data, show that XR Aus is slightly more inclusive than ACF. Both ACF and XR Aus membership is rather homogenous. XR Aus is more equitable than ACF with ease of access and participation. Nonetheless, XR Aus inclusiveness decreases substantially because there is a lack of formal organisational mechanisms to sustainably manage internal conflicts. On the other hand, ACF is highly institutionalised to maintain greater control, but it also precludes more open and interactive discussions between leaders and members, hence further reduce ACF's inclusiveness.

Regulating Meat Chicken Welfare: private standards, the third sector, and power

Reporting on a comparative study of three countries (Australia, Aotearoa-New Zealand, and the United Kingdom), this paper examines the welfare protections for chickens raised

for meat in each jurisdiction. The research focuses on two questions: how is the welfare of these highly-intensively raised animals protected?; and, what are the drivers of change? Based on 43 stakeholder interviews, the research identifies important shared characteristics of the welfare-change nexus. Firstly, welfare outcomes are predominately the domain of private practice, rather than public governance. Influential supply-chain relationships are in turn affected by the chicken meat industry's high level of integration and adoption of transnational production systems. The negotiation of production standards occurs in intra- and inter-organisational relationships that are structured by these commercial entanglements. Secondly, welfare-relevant actors lack a shared epistemological foundation, and this significantly impedes interest inter-mediation. Without an "epistemological community", these actors negotiate "bubbles of shared understanding" awkwardly and often untrustingly. There are also differences between jurisdictions including: the role of regional transnational influences on practice (the enduring influence of the European Union on the United Kingdom, the influence of industry practice in Australia and Aotearoa-New Zealand); different governance arrangements for key welfare standards (industry standards in the United Kingdom, third sector standards in Australia, government standards in Aotearoa-New Zealand), and; differences in drivers for change in each jurisdiction based on the locus of standards setting in three different domains. The research is now grappling with three unresolved questions: why is the third sector in the United Kingdom less influential in this area than comparative jurisdictions?; why have Australian producers agreed to adopt the RSPCA standard for meat chicken welfare in the absence of external pressures?; and why have progressive and novel aspects of New Zealand's animal law not had significant impacts on production standards?

Benjamin Cherry-Smith
University of Adelaide

Anxious Australia: World Order Change and China

As a middle power, Australia has a vested interest in maintaining and proliferating the American-led rules-based world order. While this stance has been standard Commonwealth policy for decades, the 2017 Foreign Policy White Paper outlines how critical the rules-based world order and American leadership are for Australian security. It can be argued that Australia's desire to maintain the rules-based world order is a way to limit the power of a growing China and its regional ambitions and admonish its past actions. However, the clear articulation of a critical aspect of Australian policy showcases that Australian security is not solely rested on conceptions of security beyond physical security but also on ontological security. Australian foreign policy and aspects of its security are derived from a status quo within the international order, a status quo of American leadership and a set of international rules derived from and supported by institutions created by the Western world post-World War II. Viewing the 2017 Foreign Policy White Paper through an ontological security lens, what can be seen is an Australia that is deeply anxious about a shifting international order and peer competition between global superpowers within its region. The policy steps taken after its publication are, in some respects, driven by this anxiety and what it means for an international 'Australian' identity and the influence that American-led rules-based world order gives Australia.

Diane Colman
Western Sydney University

Netflix and the shaping of global politics

The academic study of International Relations positions itself as a discipline that understands power and its effects on a global scale. Since cultural power gives the ability to define and attribute meaning, one of the most important sites for the production, circulation, and contestation of relations of power is popular culture. Netflix is a truly global media outlet with over 100 million subscribers in around 200 countries. Its capacity to influence its audiences' ideas about the world through its streaming of popular culture artifacts is clear. However, as the market leader in worldwide entertainment media, Netflix uses data analytics as the primary driver of its acquisitions process. This means that the customers themselves are the drivers of what Netflix produces, providing an audience-driven conception of the creation of meaning in world politics. An in-depth examination of the politics represented and contested in these important cultural artifacts provides a consideration of everyday people as political actors, an almost entirely neglected sub-field of International Relations. There is recognition that Netflix audiences exercise considerable agency in how and what international ideas, identities and

interactions are represented in the films Netflix acquires specifically for their consumption. As Jutta Weldes (2015) says, 'Consumption is inextricably linked to the production and re-production of meanings - the maintenance of some, the transformation of others (whether through subversion, overt challenge or gradual change)'. Contextualizing the politics these audiences bring to bear when they engage with this highly influential aspect of popular culture will illuminate how films can form an important site for contestation and debate in global politics. By investigating the intertextuality between this set of films and contemporaneous global events, we can see how popular culture represents, reproduces and constitutes world politics.

Lloyd Cox
Macquarie University

The Trumpian Narrative and the Emotional Politics of Masculine White Nationalism

There is broad acceptance among political commentators and social scientists that the mobilization and indeed manipulation of his supporters' emotions contributed to Donald Trump's political successes from 2016, and to his continuing appeal among a large subsection of the American electorate after his election defeat in 2020. In particular, Trump's manipulation of anger and fear among white males without a college education has been widely discussed. Despite this, scholarship that examines the content of emotions triggered by Trump's political narrative, and reveals their resonances with different elements of his electoral coalition, has been meagre. This paper addresses this relative absence. It builds on research into the emotional economies of reward and loss explaining why people often forgo material interests in pursuit of more emotionally satisfying political preferences. It is argued that Trump's masculine, white nationalist political narrative has multiple emotional frequencies that appeal to different constituencies. These emotions and constituencies are identified by deploying publicly available survey data, where answers to relevant questions are used as proxies for the expression of political emotions. Qualitative studies are also drawn on to understand the broader emotional ecology of regions and constituencies that are supportive of Trump. Emotions discussed include nostalgia, fear and humiliation, and resentment, anger and feelings of victimization.

Lloyd Cox
Macquarie University
Georgia van Toorn
University of New South
Wales

The Antinomies of Digital Citizenship and Neoliberalism in the Era of Covid-19: The Case of Australians living with Disability

Since the mid-1990s, the figure of the digital citizen has taken off as a subject of scholarly reflection and normative government prescriptions. The growth of digital platforms and e-government internationally has provided the impetus for a rapidly growing literature tracing the impact of these developments on traditional notions of citizenship. Digitalization is typically presented as having an inexorable technological logic of improvement, refinement and advancement, where the arrow of progress always points forward and upwards. The political corollary of this kind of technological optimism is promoting digital citizenship as a normative ideal where rights are grounded in the individual responsibility to be or to become digitally literate. The guiding assumptions of this dominant view of digital citizenship, along with the public and private sector actions that they license, have been both revealed and further entrenched by the covid-19 pandemic. This paper discusses how and why this is, and what the social and political consequences are. Drawing on the critical turn in digital citizenship studies, we argue that the digital citizen must be understood as part of a larger ensemble of political, economic, legal and discursive developments, rather than as an isolated abstraction conditioned principally by autonomous technological processes. Broadly speaking, the dominant image of digital citizenship, we suggest, shares an elective affinity with neoliberalism understood as a governing rationality that increasingly pervades all areas of political and economic life. We develop these arguments by exploring the contradictory impacts that accelerated digitalization during the pandemic has had on Australian citizens living with disability.

Katherine Curchin
Australian National
University

Paternalism in Australian parliamentary debate: the case of drug testing social security recipients

Over the last three decades there has been a remarkable increase internationally in the behavioural conditions attached to the receipt of social security payments. One of the key

normative lens used to justify welfare conditionality is paternalism. Given liberal societies' presumption of respect for individual autonomy, paternalism in public policy is widely criticised and often treated with suspicion. Nevertheless, carefully reasoned arguments have been made in the scholarly literature for the justifiability of paternalism in some situations. With a view to contributing to the scholarly understanding of paternalism, our paper systematically analyses the paternalist arguments made in the Australian parliament in favour of the virtually identical 2017 and 2018 policy proposals to drug test welfare recipients.

We find that the paternalism evident in this debate is mostly soft rather than hard paternalism, weak rather than strong paternalism, and welfare rather than moral paternalism. Speakers employing the paternalist frame emphasised the purported employment benefits of drug testing people who are unemployed. They rarely acknowledged that mandatory drug testing is coercive, characterising it instead as a form of 'help'. They characterised people who test positive to drug tests as 'addicted' or 'dependent' and thereby unable to voluntarily pursue their best interests. There is a notable silence in these speeches concerning the views of people who are unemployed and use drugs. The epistemic burden on paternalists to be certain of the benefits to the target group of an intervention which restricts liberty was deftly dealt with by stating that drug testing would only be introduced initially as a 'trial' aimed at improving the evidence base. Our findings shed light on the features of paternalism that are obscured in the scholarly discussion of paternalistic public policy and suggest ways that drug and welfare policy advocates may engage more effectively with paternalist arguments.

Laura Davy
Australian National
University

People need to know the struggles that [we] go through': Young people and the future of social care

The uncertain future of the social care sector - including aged care services and the National Disability Insurance Scheme - was a major issue of concern during the 2022 federal election campaign. Financial sustainability, service and support quality, and the need to bolster workforce conditions and supply were issues of particular concern across the political spectrum. A plan for the future that includes young people is critical: today's young people will play vital roles in the aged care and disability support economy over the following decades; as unpaid family carers, care workers, and taxpayers.

This paper draws on findings from an ACT-based project investigating young people's experiences of and attitudes towards care, and a survey of a nationally representative sample of Australian voters. The COVID-19 pandemic and policy responses to the pandemic profoundly impacted people with existing care roles, intensified or created new care responsibilities for others, and generally thrust the shortcomings of existing care systems and policies into the mainstream political spotlight. The paper will focus on the experiences of young people with care and support roles during the pandemic and how these experiences have shaped their views about the need for carer and care policy reform and their own future plans and aspirations. I argue that listening to young people's accounts of their experiences, values and hopes for the future is particularly crucial given the role that young people will play in providing and paying for care in future decades.

Babet de Groot
University of Sydney

Who is Governing Marine Plastic Pollution?

The world ocean is a plastic soup. 8 million metric tons of land-based plastic enter the ocean each year, adding to a growing sink of mismanaged plastic waste estimated at 6300 Mt in 2016. Recent attention to the human and environmental health impacts of marine plastic pollution have moved IOs, MNCs and ENGOs to address this crisis. This has spurred negotiations for a United Nations treaty on plastic pollution which is due to be finalized in record timing by 2024.

This emerging regime (or nonregime as per the definition given by Dimitrov et al. 2007) may lead to a Global Plastics Treaty. If negotiations do not reach a binding agreement, plastic pollution may still be governed by a complex of overlapping legal regimes, regional agreements, global frameworks and universal rules, norms, and standards. This dynamic is central to the governance architecture of marine plastic pollution.

My research builds on constructivist regime theory to contribute to evolving literature on regime complexes and non-regimes. It also lays the groundwork for future research for

plastic pollution governance based on how existing and emerging regimes interact. My research will foreshadow and shape the political future of this wicked issue.

Amy Denmeade
Australian National University

Emerging technologies: how narratives shape public policy in Australia.

Regulators around the world are grappling with the social, economic, and political consequences of wide-ranging, fast-moving technological shifts. Relationships, often mediated by technology, between citizens, governments, industry, and other actors are becoming increasingly contested. This thesis will argue that the stories policy actors tell about emerging technologies have real world effects. Using text analysis and elite interviews, it seeks to identify and describe contemporary Australian emerging technology narratives and to shed light on the ways in which those stories, and the assumptions underpinning them, are taken up by policy actors, as they construct their interests within unstable policy discourses.

Monica DiLeo
University of Queensland

Macroprudential ideas and climate change at the Bank of England

Central banks are increasingly examining climate change as an issue within their purviews, a largely unprecedented move, especially in recent history. The Bank of England (BoE) in particular has established itself as a global leader on climate change among central banks. Utilising a historical institutionalist approach, this article charts how and why the BoE has approached climate change, including both the character of its climate-related policies and the drivers of this approach. On this latter point, four key factors are identified. First, the ideational and institutional impacts of the Global Financial Crisis (GFC), providing a framework for systemic risk that has proved integral in the BoE's climate response. Second, a domestic political environment that is broadly supportive of climate action, with this support crystallised in the Paris Agreement. Third, the leadership of Mark Carney as the Governor of the BoE, both as a leader on climate change but also architect of the post-GFC macroprudential regime. Finally, the BoE's mandate as a key tool of legitimacy that has both enabled and constrained its climate response. This article concludes that the BoE's attention to climate change does not itself constitute a major paradigm shift in the BoE's institutional role and purpose, but is best understood as a continuing evolution of its post-crisis financial stability regime. This article is one case study of a larger project that includes three other central banks: the Bank of Japan, Federal Reserve, and People's Bank of China.

Helen Dickinson
University of New South Wales

Market stewardship in the NDIS: What is it, why does it matter and what should be done?

The introduction of the National Disability Insurance scheme has been labelled the most significant and complex social reform since the implementation of Australia's public healthcare scheme (Carey, Malbon, et al., 2018). This is a substantial policy reform aiming to radically transform the design and delivery of disability services. The NDIS not only harmonises policy across the country but has also created a new disability market with States and Territories divesting themselves of services and private and not-for-profit organisations fulfilling provision. Through personalised planning and individualised funding, the NDIS aims to enhance 'choice and control' for individuals within this new market with the aim of fostering the participation of people with disability in community, social and economic life.

Helen Dickinson
University of New South Wales

Choice and control in the NDIS: What are the impacts of COVID-19 for people with disability?

Over the last decade we have seen the development and implementation of a significant social policy in the form of the National Disability Insurance Scheme (NDIS). The NDIS is an internationally leading disability scheme that seeks to give choice and control to eligible people with disability to determine how to live their lives and with what supports. While a number of challenges have been reported with the implementation of the scheme, for some it has been lifechanging and has transformed the lives of individuals and families. The COVID-19 pandemic has posed challenges to perceptions of freedoms for all Australians given the widespread adoption of public health measures in an attempt

to constrain the spread of infection. But these issues have arguably been felt more keenly by people with disability who are at more risk for a range of clinical, societal and practical (i.e. require daily supports from individuals outside of the home) reasons. In this paper we explore the range of ways that different stakeholders interpreted the ambiguity around ideas of choice and control during the pandemic. We examine the politics of the competing demands that this placed on the NDIS and the implications for policy.

Outi Donovan
Griffith University

Pragmatic Peacebuilding and Women's Empowerment

International efforts to manage conflict, instability and war to peace transitions have undergone a change. Where 'liberal peace' once informed peacebuilding strategies, international agencies now frame their work with recourse to "sustaining peace". This change signals a shift towards pragmatism in thinking about conflict and peace-making. "Pragmatic peace" is grounded in working with existing societal institutions, rather than seeking to build new ones. It emphasises facilitation rather than imposition on the part of the international actors and turns the focus to individual, rather than institutional, capacities and resilience as sources of peace. What is notable in the move to more pragmatic modes of peacebuilding is the emphasis on women as agents of peace. While gender-sensitive peacebuilding is not new, the prominent role it plays in the pragmatic peace merits attention. This paper centres on the question of whether pragmatic peace provides a more inclusionary alternative to liberal peace. It seeks to add to the scholarly understanding of pragmatic peace by highlighting some of the tensions, contradictions and problematic outcomes pertaining to its gender dimension. I argue that while the attention to women's participation should be welcomed, foregrounding women as agents of pragmatic peace is problematic on at least three accounts. First, it is underwritten by an instrumental view of women's participation that runs the risk of depoliticising women's agency. Second, pragmatic peacebuilding strategies have traditionally worked against women's participation and rights, rather than fostering more gender-equal process. Although current pragmatic peacebuilding strategies place greater emphasis on women's rights than those in the past, there are reasons to remain cautious about the inclusionary promise of pragmatic peace. Finally, capacity-building, one of the primary strategies for enhancing women's potential to act as agents of pragmatic peace, is unlikely to address the real barriers to meaningful participation.

Keith Dowding
Australian National University

The Changing Decision Premise in Australian Administration

Australian government, like other Westminster administrative systems was characterized by a clear separation between the political roles of elected ministers and career civil servants. The former set the values or aims of the organization; the latter utilize those values when generating policy ideas. This separation provides what H. A. Simon calls procedural rationality. The decision premise of public servants is (1) an apolitical commitment to government service and (2) a commitment to advise on and implement the current government values including, expert advice using their personal and institutional memory and procedural knowledge. We have argued that these career paths are being de-separated with policy advice increasingly coming from outside the career public service, including politically appointed special advisors. Furthermore, senior politicians are increasingly being drawn from the world of the special and external advisors. De-separation changes the decision premise of all actors and deleteriously affects the nature of policy formation.

Keith Dowding
Patrick Leslie
Australian National University

The Quality of Public Policy: Legislation

Measuring the quality of public policy is notoriously difficult. For partisan or ideological reasons what for some is good legislation, for others will be bad legislation. Setting aside such ideological issues, we might judge public policy in terms of whether it achieves its aims. Problems in measuring quality here include, (1) precisely identifying the aims which might have multiple elements, (2) judging how far the policy achieves those aims, recognizing they might be multiple, (3) judging the relevant time-scale in which to make those judgements. There is a literature on policy disaster and a lesser literature on policy success. These in-depth studies teach a lot about what good policy is and how bad policy is created. However, such case studies cannot provide a systematic analysis of

policy-making. This paper will review such approaches and then introduce the idea of judging legislative quality in terms of how it is amended or repealed. Using a novel dataset created from the Australian Federal Register of Legislation, the paper will detail and address challenges to measurement and then provide initial findings on the quality of Australian legislation since 1901 across several policy areas.

Melissa-Ellen Dowling
University of Adelaide

Next Generation Political Microtargeting: Pre-Emptive and Preventative Policy Imperatives

Liberal democratic societies are unprepared for the coming tide of digital political manipulation. Political microtargeting has been a fixture of political campaigning for decades, yet governments and industry have struggled to pre-empt and prevent the exploitation of big data for voter manipulation. Research has already shown the dangers of microtargeting for democracy and national security, which signals an imperative to understand how the enabling technology of microtargeting is evolving. Research on anti-microtargeting remains as-yet nascent, and we do not yet know enough about how emerging technologies will transform political influence.

This paper therefore aims to produce innovation on the likely trajectory of microtargeting technologies in a context of transforming social media use. It also seeks to enrich understanding of the implications of the confluence of those transformations for national security. Accordingly, this research: (1) identifies the ways in which social media is evolving; (2) assesses the mechanisms through which malign entities might harness technology developments to manipulate political preferences more effectively; and (3) evaluates the preparedness of current policy to curtail microtargeting in the transforming social media landscape. The paper juxtaposes transformative trends, such as the rise of 'alt-tech', alongside a comparative analysis of Five Eyes' policies to mitigate microtargeting. I argue that political microtargeting must be approached as a hybrid socio-techno problem as technology and human use of technology mutually transform the digital information space.

Melissa-Ellen Dowling
University of Adelaide

The Dynamics of Democracy in Far-Right Discourse: An Australian Dataset

Far-right ideologies are proliferating in an increasingly global alt-tech landscape. Whereas mainstream social media sites have, in recent years, become increasingly unwelcoming towards extremist political views, 'alt-tech' spaces have emerged as unregulated alternative platforms. A prominent concern, expressed by governments, is that such alt-tech spaces play host to anti-democratic discourses that may manifest in violent extremism. Yet, despite this concern, little is known about far-right attitudes towards democracy in Australia. Indeed, in the academic literature, far-right ideologies, particularly extreme far-right ideologies, tend to be associated with anti-democracy or radical democratic reform.

This paper investigates how democracy is discussed in three online Australian far-right communities to identify their ostensible attitudes towards democracy. It applies a trilateral analytical framework based on critical discourse analysis, democratic theory, and typologies of far-right ideology to an original social media dataset. In so doing, it shows that although content in alt-tech spaces is overwhelmingly chauvinist, there remains widespread overt and tacit support for 'democracy' – albeit with an idiosyncratic conceptualisation. In conclusion, the paper finds that Australian far-right alt-tech communities largely only reject the *liberal* component of Australia's political system of liberal democracy.

Nikolai Drahos
Australian National
University

Turning up the Thermostat: the political economy of decarbonising gas

Climate policy must either transform existing industries or manage their decline. When and how can states implement climate policy given potential opposition from incumbent industries? In this paper, I outline a project which explores this question using two case studies: the United Kingdom and the Netherlands. The United Kingdom and the Netherlands have two of the largest domestic gas industries in Europe and both have historically relied on natural gas for heating. Yet in recent years they have pursued different policy pathways, with the Netherlands acting more quickly than the United

Kingdom to decarbonise its heating sector - a move which requires gas producers and pipeliners to transform their business or face decline. The rapid decarbonisation of heat will be required to achieve both the United Kingdom and the European Union's climate targets. It has become even more pressing in the wake of the Russia-Ukraine war - a critical juncture for policy making around the future of natural gas in Europe.

Martin Drum
University of Notre Dame
John Phillimore
Curtin University

"The Tail Wagging the Dog": A contemporary reappraisal of Below the Line voting in Australia

Over the last two decades, there has been significant reform to the voting systems in Australia's Upper Houses. Four jurisdictions have moved away from Group Voting Tickets, to a system where voters can more easily select their own party preferences using the most popular option of voting Above the Line. This has led to renewed discussion around the role of Below the Line voting which is utilised by a small percentage of voters. While this form of voting is generally seen as enabling the voter to select their own unique inter-party and intra-party candidate preferences, this paper uses sampling from a number of jurisdictions to see whether this is in fact occurring, and whether the move away from Group Voting Tickets has impacted on voter behaviour. Question marks arise as to how many Australian electors do take a specific interest in individual candidate selection when voting for their Upper Houses. This in turn raises questions about the retention of the Single Transferable Vote (STV) in Australia.

Michael Dunlop
CSIRO

Navigating a Transition to Non-stationarity, in Policy, Narratives and Knowledge

Climate change has locked us into decades of continuing change that will affect many of the things society values and depends on. However, most of the narratives we have about those valued things, the knowledge we have about them and the rules governing decisions affecting them have evolved in a 'stationary' world: one assuming a climate that may be variable but has a fixed central tendency. That is, a climate where means and medians are useful for sense making, planning, negotiating and evaluating. While there is widespread understanding that the climate is changing, people are only beginning to understand the extent to which this disrupts the concepts and structures we use to work effectively in society. Accommodating non-stationarity, or shifting baselines, represents a significant departure from current practice. Not only does this affect individual decisions or activities within the domain of individuals or organisations, but it has entailments for all the networks of other actors and structures in society that they depend on. These include: their stakeholders with expectations about outcomes, people that supply knowledge and technical advice about their system and likely response to management options, and the layers of rules that shape what they can and can't do, including social norms, industry practices, policies, laws and so on. In this paper, we share experiences, from various contexts, with actors proactively seeking to address stationarity in their practice who not only have to reimagine how their systems works and how to manage them, but they also face the challenge of being out of sync with the parts of society that they depend on. Opportunities to learn together are missed, but worse, they face massive political risks in situations where negotiated outcomes are climate-sensitive, and contemplation of different future outcomes can be weaponised in negotiations about near-term outcomes.

Tristan Dunning
American University of Afghanistan
Martin Kear
University of Sydney
Anas Iqtait
Australian National University

Criminalising Gaza

Following the lead of the United States and the United Kingdom, the Australian federal government recently announced its intention to proscribe the entirety of Hamas as a terrorist organisation. Previously, the Australian government has only proscribed Hamas' armed wing, the Izz ad-Din al-Qassam Brigades, marking a clear separation between the Hamas' armed and socio-political aspects. Under Australian counterterrorism laws, any individual found guilty of offences related to terrorism, including membership, recruitment, training, soliciting funds, or even support or association, may face up to 25 years imprisonment. Hamas is the government of the Gaza Strip. The movement, inter alia, runs the public service, dispenses public goods, collects taxes, and coordinates with local and international non-governmental organisations working to ameliorate the ongoing humanitarian crises in Gaza. As such, this decision, if applied, has the potential to criminalise almost everyone in Gaza who have no choice but to engage with the Hamas-led government. This paper aims to provide an understanding/analysis of the potential

ramifications of this decision for Australian foreign policy vis-a-vis states and other organisations that might engage with the government of Gaza, or the Palestinian Authority if a unity government is formed, and for furthering any constructive engagement in terms of alleviating the ongoing humanitarian crisis in Gaza and reaching a meaningful political solution to the Palestine-Israel conflict in general.

Tristan Dunning
*American University of
Afghanistan*

Guerrilla Education in Afghanistan

In August 2021, the government and armed forces of the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan rapidly collapsed pending the imminent withdrawal of the remainder of foreign troops. The rapid demise of the regime was both due to matters of logistics and morale. The Taliban seized Kabul and, with it, the campus of the American University of Afghanistan (AUAF). Undeterred, AUAF has continued its mission to educate Afghans in a progressive liberal arts tradition online. In practice, this has comprised of a sort of 'guerrilla education' as many of the AUAF's students remain in Afghanistan, despite extensive efforts to relocate them aboard to partner institutions. In brief, AUAF retains a direct line of communication and continues to educate students in defiance of the Taliban. This is especially the case vis-a-vis the university's ongoing education of women. The paper details the challenges faced by AUAF's staff and students throughout the 2021-2022 academic year. In particular, it highlights the travails encountered by our staff and students who in remain in Afghanistan, yet persevere with the cause of progressive education and incremental generational change.

Ainsley Elbra
University of Sydney

Corporate Governance as the Site of Political Contestation: The rise of Australian Environmental, Social, and Governance Shareholder Governance

The politics of climate change in Australia remain highly fractious. This is despite the impact of a changing climate being acutely visible as Australia experiences mega-fires, floods, and severe and prolonged drought. The country is currently committed to Paris aligned targets of net zero by 2050 but little by way of a plan to reduce emissions further, or sooner. There are limited market signals encouraging producers or consumers to move away from carbon intensive energy production to clean energy. In the absence of regulation, Australian shareholder activists, ethical investors and fund managers are increasingly engaging with company directors and executives to reform company behaviour. This engagement is known as environmental, social, and governance (ESG) shareholder activism. In recent years, Australia has experienced a marked increase in ESG shareholder activism. This activism has targeted the mining, oil and gas, and finance sectors, due to their contribution to the Australian economy and their direct impact on global emissions. This paper presents evidence that ESG shareholder resolutions have wide-ranging effects, forcing change at the corporation and industry level. The paper also explores the reasons for, and the political implications of, the growth in ESG shareholder activism in Australia. It argues that the emergence of this activism in Australia was delayed due to the complexity in the country's corporations' law. It is concluded, that despite these challenges, Australian government inaction on climate change has transformed corporate governance into a site of political contestation over emissions reduction. The rise of ESG shareholder activism in Australia is linked to growing tension between societal expectations, regulation, and the behaviour of firms. And, ESG activists have been successful in leveraging this tension, or governance deficit, by pushing corporations to make public commitments to addressing climate change and extracting greater commitments from those who already have.

Claire Elder
University of Melbourne

Diaspora States: New Comparative Perspectives on Dual Citizenship Regimes and the Global Populist Backlash

For the last three decades, diaspora (those holding dual citizenship and residing abroad) have returned and become overrepresented in the government, politics, militaries and economies of countries in the Global South. This trend and the increasing acceptance of dual citizens by developing states is tied to globalisation and the world becoming more interconnected. More specifically, however, diaspora states are emerging as developing states compete for comparative advantage within global capitalism. Thus, the increasing openness to dual citizens is not the result of the spread of democracy and growing

political tolerance as is often assumed in the literature. Furthermore, just as quickly as diaspora states have formed across the gambit of fragile and authoritarian regimes in the developing world in the 21st century rising populist movements have pushed for more protectionist economic and political policies to limit the power of globalised elites and have sought to expunge these groups violently (also within the context of violent extremism and other revolutionary movements). This paper looks at the global phenomenon of diaspora states and comparative developments in populist political activity against the role of dual citizens in political and economic life. Relying on an original dataset on dual citizenship openness and comparative barometer data on citizen trust in government and political leaders across Sub-Saharan Africa, South Asia and Post-Soviet states, this paper provides robust findings on how the rise of diaspora states has agitated a populist backlash.

Susan Engel
University of Wollongong

Theorising the Creation of International Organisations: insights from a study of Multilateral Development Banks

Building off our 2021 book, *The Global Architecture of Multilateral Development Banks: A System of Debt or Development?*, this paper explores the strengths and limitations of extant literature on International Organisation creation in relations to multilateral development banks (MDBs). We argue that the state-centricism of this literature limits its usefulness to understanding the creation and duplication of MDB, which has resulted in a system of 32 banks covering all corners of the globe. The extant literature tends to either relegate IOs and their creation to basic understandings of inter-state actions or provide atomistic understandings of IOs, observing their individual emergence. This paper seeks to address both of these points, to provide a detailed critique of the IO literature relevant to IO creation and position IO emergence within broader systems of IOs, in this case MDBs creation needs to be situated within the broader multilateral development finance architecture. The paper speaks to the conference theme as it explores the future of MBDBs as international organisations.

Nicholas Falcinella
University of Adelaide

From 'Tackling Inequality' to 'No One Held Back, No One Left Behind': ALP ideology under Shorten & Albanese

What are the continuities and changes in ideology and discourse between the Australian Labor Party led by Bill Shorten and that led by Anthony Albanese? Both prominent Labor figures for decades, this paper will examine the ideology and discourse of each with reference to key speeches and policy documents during each's respective term as opposition leader. The paper will begin with a brief outline of the concepts of ideology and discourse as concepts or tools for analysing political parties and actors.

It will then be argued Shorten Labor underwent a relatively significant degree of ideological transformation. While not without ideological contradiction, notably regarding Labor's own neoliberal economic reform legacy, it will be argued that Shorten's leadership represented a significant progressive reorientation of ALP ideology and discourse on both economic and social issues, particularly compared to his immediate predecessors Gillard.

Specifically, Shorten Labor articulated a socially progressive and inclusive social democratic politics that was once-again prepared to critique markets and their role in producing inequality. Perhaps surprisingly given Albanese's factional position within the 'socialist left' of the NSW Labor Party, and Shorten's among the right of the Victorian Labor Party, it will be argued that while the ALP under Albanese has kept Shorten Labor's focus on job insecurity and a lack of wages growth, it has shed a discursive focus on inequality as a social and economic pathology. Instead, its focus has been the concepts of 'aspiration' and 'opportunity', although without some of the policy 'habits' of the social democratic 'Third Way' often associated with such terms.

The paper will conclude by discussing the implications - ideological, electoral and programmatic - of these respective ideologies and discourses.

Todd Farrell
University of Melbourne

Take a Shot: An investigation into election night drinking games and what they tell us about political participation

Election night parties are a much-vaunted component of the Australian political and cultural landscape. Depicted as the backdrop to the famous David Williamson play 'Don's Party' (1971), election night parties foster civic engagement and augment the experience of election night broadcasting. One cross-national practice during election-night broadcasts are election drinking games. Drinking games allow for direct, active participation in election night as a collective experience that celebrates both the planned rituals of election night and the foibles of live television. Given their low barrier to entry and ease of distribution, these games signal ideological cues and give greater focus to particular results during the election.

This paper examines election night drinking games to determine their place in broader civic culture. It identifies existing drinking games across Anglo-American democracies and evaluates their ideological content to determine whether these games are published for specific political party supporters. It seeks to determine what the general profile of participants are, the nature of the publishers of these games and whether the practice is widespread. Finally, the paper puts these drinking games to the test for Australian national elections between 2013 and 2022 to understand their efficacy and whether it is feasible to complete these drinking games.

Alan Fenna
Curtin University

Climate Change, Covid, and the Revival of Australian Federalism.

The steady centralisation or even 'degeneration' of Australian federalism, as one scholar has put it, has been widely remarked. This has been occurring over a long period of time and on a number of fronts and is in line with the federal experience more broadly. Recently, though, Australian federalism seems to have roared back to life. Much to the frustration of a number of opinion writers and others, and the surprise of others, the States played an assertive and central role in the management of the pandemic. This paper assesses what such recent developments mean for, and tell us about, the short, medium and long-run dynamics of Australian federalism.

Tracy Fenwick
Australian National University

Borrowing to Compete: New Directions in Australian Fiscal Federalism in the Post-Pandemic Context.

As a percentage of GDP, all Australia net public sector debt has risen from a low of -6.4% in 2007-2008, to a high of 52.3% in 2019-2020. In comparison to other federal countries however, subnational debt remains relatively low, representing only 17.5% of Australian public sector debt as of June 30, 2020. Notwithstanding, state net sector debt increased 142.9% (ABS, 2020), rising in all states and territories except W.A. This paper will suggest that given Australian fiscal arrangements, the Commonwealth continues to be seen as the ultimate provider of subnational funds and creditor of state debts, and because of Australia's notoriously high Vertical Fiscal Imbalance, the Commonwealth has largely absorbed the fiscal shock of COVID19. However, new centrifugal forces in the post-pandemic context have increased the public's understanding and expectations regarding the public services and welfare assistance that ought to emanate from the states and territories. As state and territories are not able to slash publicly provided services, or raise taxes given their limited ability to utilise this mechanism in Australian federalism, their most obvious option remaining is to borrow to compete both horizontally and vertically. The increased contribution of state public sector debt relative to decreasing Commonwealth contributions, in the post-pandemic context, underscore new directions in Australian Fiscal Federalism.

Nathan Fioritti
Monash University

International Trade and Domestic Environmentalism: The Impact of Trading Partners' Environmental Standards on Parties' Environmental Emphases

This paper adds to a growing body of research on how, with internationalisation, environmental standards in one jurisdiction can influence standards in another. It investigates how trade with partners who have higher climate standards - as an indicator of environmental standards more generally - impacts domestic environmental politics by observing increases in environmental emphasis in national-level party manifestos. Our theoretical argument is that national policymakers and parties support domestic policies that facilitate international trade, and it is easier for states with high environmental standards to trade with each other than it is for states with different standards. Therefore, parties promote higher environmental standards domestically when major trading partners also have higher environmental standards. Our mixed-methods study design utilises established measures including the KOF Globalisation Index, Climate Change Cooperation Index, Direction of Trade Statistics and Manifesto Project dataset. We describe and explain the extent to which parties in 34 OECD countries emphasise environmental issues in their manifestos between 1970 and 2019. Our analyses replicate the findings from previous research focused on domestic determinants of parties' environmental emphases and add insights into the impact of international integration. Our key explanatory variable is a yearly measure of the climate standards of each states' trading partners. The robust effect of this variable is illustrated in more detail with qualitative insights from selected case studies.

Emily Foley
La Trobe University

Pursuing social democratic values in a neo-liberal society: a case study of the Australian Labor Party and temporary migrant labour exploitation.

The Australian Labor Party (ALP) pursuit of social democratic values is based on the primary objective to 'eliminate exploitation and other anti-social features' (ALP National Constitution 2018, p.4). In Australia, temporary migrants are widely considered to be the

most vulnerable cohort of workers that experience discrimination and exploitation, through insecure work, wage theft and limited advocacy and support pathways. Building on existing literature that looks at immigration as a political, electoral and economic dilemma for social democratic parties, this paper explores the ALP's approach to migrant labour exploitation to greater unpack the ideological tensions between social democratic parties and the neoliberal state.

Meraiah Foley
University of Sydney

Cyber security for whom, by whom? How data feminism can address the gender gap in cyber security

Cyber activity is the heart of the modern knowledge economy, underpinning the core functions of governments, businesses, health care, education, infrastructure, and emergency services. As the digital landscape has grown more interconnected and inter-reliant, it is becoming increasingly vulnerable to attacks from malicious actors. The world is facing an acute shortage of cyber security professionals to meet this rising threat. A lack of gender diversity has been identified as a key driver of the skills shortage, with women comprising just less than 25 percent of the global cyber security workforce. Popular perceptions of cyber security are grounded in 'hacker' stereotypes and 'geek culture', characterised by images of hoodie-clad men working alone in darkened rooms. Consequently, women are less likely than men to pursue cyber security careers, even as women are disproportionate targets of cyber-enabled attacks. Data feminism, which interrogates how data and data science are used to uphold existing power structures, offers a theoretical lens through which to better understand - and thus address - the gender gap in cyber security. Using a data feminist perspective, this paper examines whose interests are served through cyber security work (cyber security 'for whom'), and how these interests in turn shape the workforce (cyber security 'by whom'). Finally, this paper conceptualises how cyber security might be reconstituted to create a more equitable cyber landscape and create a more diverse workforce.

Tira Foran
CSIRO

A Co-productive Methodology to Catalyse Collaboration in Water-Related Governance

The search for institutional arrangements that enable the use of water and land to sustain rural livelihoods constitutes an ongoing global challenge. Notwithstanding ongoing global initiatives to enhance water governance, efforts to coordinate water-related public institutions horizontally and vertically have been modest. We propose a novel, interdisciplinary methodology to enhance stakeholder engagement around water-related institutional reform. The methodology is a synthesis of collaborative planning, exploratory scenario modelling, and applied institutional analysis. Application to river basin planning in Nepal (2017 to present) has yielded practical insights into forms of knowledge, whose coproduction catalyses collaboration across state organisations. This application enabled production of the first water resources development strategy in Nepal since its 2015 constitutional restructuring to a federal state, and ongoing resource mobilisation to implement the strategy. The methodology is applicable to institutional reform challenges in other domains, notably smallholder agriculture.

Laurel Fox
University of Queensland

A National Indigenous Voice to Parliament: Understanding our past to reimagine our political future

The Uluru Statement from the Heart proposes an Indigenous Voice to the Commonwealth Parliament. The Voice has been described as exemplifying 'the transformative potential of liberal democratic governance' and 'an elegant and legally viable solution to the challenge of inclusive governance within established public law principles'. No Voice has been established. Rather, 'a complex political process' has developed. My paper finds this symptomatic of reticence to, and misunderstanding around, the concept of a singular, national Indigenous Voice and a singular Indigenous politics within Australia. It reveals cyclical confusion and criticism.

My paper considers:

- The Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Commission (ATSIC, 1989-2005) and surrounding political debate;

- Actors involved in debate - Indigenous and non-Indigenous, civil and State - and their assumptions and motivations;
- ATSIC's institutional design; and
- ATSIC in light of the National Aboriginal Consultative Committee (1973-1977) and the National Aboriginal Conference (1978-1985).

It reveals commonalities across time that persist today that can impact the Voice proposal and its future. Ultimately, Australia still has a problem understanding the role of a national Indigenous representative body. My research shows this bears upon the prospects of a Voice being created, its ultimate shape, and its anchorage in Australia's political landscape. It can be used to respond to unfolding debate. I have found flawed understandings about national representative government, specifically in respect of accommodating and engaging with a singular national Indigenous politics, underly Australia's problem. Australia has not come to terms with its responsibility as a settler-State and what national representation for Indigenous Peoples means. The concept of a national Indigenous electorate for Indigenous political representation has proven especially unsettling for the State. To meaningfully, sustainably reimagine our political future with Indigenous Peoples, in such a way as has been handed to the settler-State with the Voice proposal, we must understand our past.

Nicholas Frank
Australian National University

Power by Proxy: Explaining Innovation and Imitation in RCEP

In 2020, fifteen countries in the Asia-Pacific signed the Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership Agreement (RCEP) and fundamentally changed the trade governance architecture of the globe's most economically dynamic region. Power-based accounts of institutional design suggest that materially dominant states shape institutions – including trade agreements – to reflect their interests. Some scholars have suggested that RCEP is a Chinese-led agreement while others have emphasised the role played by ASEAN in its design. This raises the question: which state(s) played an important role in the development of RCEP's text? Employing text-as-data analysis, I systematically compare the text of RCEP to the previous agreements of RCEP's members as well as with those of the United States. My analysis indicates that ASEAN language featured more prominently than that of the major economic powers –China, Japan, and India – that were party to the negotiations. Language derived from US agreements – a state not involved in the negotiations – and Australian agreements – a middle power – accounted for a disproportionate share of the finalized text. These results highlight the importance of non-coercive power and power-by-proxy in the diffusion of regulatory norms and suggest that particular trade agreements serve as reference points for subsequent agreements.

Richard Frank
Australian National University

Election Violence: A Latent Variable Approach

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

Maree Fudge
University of Tasmania

A Critique of the Participation Norm in Marine Governance: Bringing legitimacy into the frame

Citizen and stakeholder participation is held to bolster the democratic legitimacy of marine governance by building trust in the decision-making system through inclusion. However, a growing body of literature points to increasing disillusionment and exclusion,

and thus decreased legitimacy. In this study we apply a 'legitimacy lens' to examine a dominant conceptualisation of participation in marine governance. We argue that the social-ecological systems paradigm (SES) exerts a substantial intellectual influence within marine governance. We identify that an ontological underpinning of the conceptualisation of participation within this paradigm results in the absence of a coherent articulation of democratic legitimacy in marine governance scholarship. We suggest that the development of a more nuanced and overt account of democratic legitimacy is necessary to strengthening the application of SES-informed marine governance practices.

Johanna Garnett
University of New England

Slip Sliding Away: The Politics of Floods in Australia

Floods are widespread natural severe weather events that are increasingly common in certain areas in Australia, particularly South-east Queensland and the Northern Rivers region in NSW. Responding to natural disasters falls within the remit of local, state and federal government, and contemporary politicians are not strangers to the challenges of natural disasters. However, following the flooding events of late February/early March 2022, and again in early April, while local residents watched as their homes and businesses, possessions and livestock, were being washed away, the state was rather glaringly missing in action.

Recovery from floods, like other natural disasters, requires a re-imagining from the flood survivors; for their daily lives and livelihoods. This paper argues that floods require a re-imagining of disaster politics in Australia, one that speaks to a changing climate, uncertainty surrounding natural disasters, and increasing vulnerability of many individuals and communities. Further, this reimagining needs to focus on community-led responses and the nexus between community and state mechanisms, utilising innovation and creativity emanating from the community. This paper considers varying responses to natural disasters, including floods from around the world, through the lens of disaster politics.

Disaster vulnerability intersects with practices of power. As the state slip slides away in relation to natural disasters in Australia, individuals and communities are strengthening, presenting opportunities for hope and possibilities for innovative trajectories towards a shared, increasingly uncertain, future.

Anika Gauja
Shaun Ratcliff
University of Sydney
Darren Halpin
Carolyn Hendriks
Richard Reid
Australian National University

Politics in Regional Australia: Place, Policy and Political Priorities

Studies of voter behaviour in Australia have previously identified a rural-urban divide that has been reflected in notions of 'countrymindedness' and has traditionally correlated with electoral success for the National Party. In this paper, we report new data from the 2022 wave of the Cooperative Election Survey to examine whether regional and urban populations differ in their attitudes to politics, their policy preferences and their engagement with government and elected representatives. We examine whether there continue to be distinctive traits of rural voting populations that might support regional, or place-based, identities, but also explore policy attitudes and participatory practices that may be shared with citizens in urban centres. Our data provide a foundation for an understanding of the state of rural politics, its values and preferences, and has implications for resourcing rural communities, ensuring vibrant political participation and elite responsiveness to policy across Australia and assessing the salience of different forms of community organisation and representation.

Ibrahim Genc
Griffith University

Crisis and Democratic Governance: The Turkish Case

The decline of democracy has received an increasing scholarly attention in the last decade. In face of such increasing attention there is an overwhelming consensus in the literature that democracies decline gradually (Runciman 2018). Yet there is no systematic tool to help us identify the nature of gradual decline in democracies. In an attempt to account for the recent gradual decline in democratic regime attributes, a few political scientists tried to explain ways in which the leaders of such countries use new tactics to remain in power while slowly ebbing away from democracy.

Levitsky and Ziblatt and other authors speak in broad terms about authoritarian leaders inventing crises, and others speak about ways in which leaders use crises to their own

advantage, but there has been relatively little unpacking of these broad ideas. How do we know that a crisis is being exploited? How does a crisis trigger measures that initiate/contribute to democratic backsliding?

This paper undertakes a nuanced investigation of various ways in which would-be authoritarian leaders in backsliding democracies seek to use 'natural' crises to consolidate their own hold on power focusing on Turkey as a representative democratic backsliding case. Furthermore, the paper aims to unpack how leaders may prolong or intensify crises through their own actions, ways in which they frame or 'construct' events as crises, and ways in which they may in fact invent or create crises when opportunities arise.

Lynrose Jane D. Genon
*Mindanao State University -
Iligan Institute of Technology*

How Integrated Communications Technology (ICTs) supported (and disrupted) the Peace Process in Mindanao, Philippines amidst a pandemic

The importance of the use of ICTs in different contexts has already been established in scholarship but its importance in the Mindanao Peace Process, especially during the pandemic is understated. In this exploratory research, we document the role of ICT in the Mindanao Peace Process from negotiations to the normalization stage. From May to June 2021, thirty online reviews were conducted. Results were then thematically analyzed. According to the findings, ICT served as a facilitator, amplifier, and spoiler in the Mindanao peace process. For instance, with limited mobility, ICT has become a tool for human rights reporting in Maguindanao, a method of communicating with retired combatants in far-flung areas, and a venue for community peacebuilding initiatives, albeit online, to support and strengthen Mindanao's fragile peace. Furthermore, findings revealed that ICT tools can be polarizing, and their impact on users is determined by the amount of time spent on these platforms, as well as the level of awareness and capacity for proper tool use. The research recommends that additional support for the establishment of ICT infrastructures in Mindanao be prioritized alongside the mainstreaming of digital literacy in formal and non-formal education.

Kelly Gerard
*University of Western
Australia*

Financing Women's Economic Empowerment in Southeast Asia

Women's economic empowerment is now firmly enshrined as a key global development objective, with support coming not only from development institutions but also corporations. Alongside increased funding for women's economic empowerment, over the past decade donors have also increasingly reported if their aid spending is gender sensitive. However, tracking how much is spent, by whom, where, on what activities, and with what results remains a fraught task, due to significant variations in reporting across donors and databases. This gap is important, not only because it makes it extremely difficult to monitor progress and hold donors to account, but given the longstanding tendency towards rhetoric rather than commitment in gender initiatives-'gender wash'-the lack of accurate data risks diminishing support for the objective of gender equality. This paper outlines the three challenges that currently exist in tracking the volume and characteristics of women's economic empowerment funding. It then seeks to fill the data gap for one region where funding has markedly risen over the past decade: Southeast Asia. Through a systematic review, the paper identifies and codes women's economic empowerment programs across Southeast Asia, drawing on results sourced from the International Aid Transparency Initiative database and a web search. Data is then analysed according to geographic distribution, thematic distribution, and types of participants in the aid chain. Our analysis reveals the low transformative capacity of funding for women's economic empowerment in Southeast Asia. We argue for greater consistency in funding reporting to hold donors to account and advocate for improved programming.

Keshab Giri
University of Sydney

China, India, and Shifting Geopolitics in Nepal

The last decade has seen tectonic shifts in the geopolitics of South Asia. Nepal has been a laboratory to investigate this rapidly shifting geopolitical reality. While India remains a long-established dominant player in Nepalese politics, the last decade has seen resurgent China playing a growing role in the politics of Nepal. Chinese growing activism has amplified in the last few years. Surprisingly, the increasing Chinese presence

coincides with the receding assertiveness of India, the US, the Indian strategic partner in the region, is playing a more proactive role in shaping Nepalese politics. I will explore this changing configuration of global power politics in Nepal focusing on the Chinese, Indian, and US activism surrounding the BRI (Belt Road Initiative) and MCC (Millennium Challenge Corporation) projects in Nepal. I contend that BRI and MCC capture the microcosm of shifting geopolitical configuration in South Asia and the world. Nepalese foreign policy responses at this critical juncture of intense geopolitical rivalry have implications for not just other small states in the region but also extend beyond South Asia.

Zareh Ghazarian
Monash University

Jacqueline

Laughland-Booÿ

Australian Catholic
University

Zlatko Skrbis

Australian Catholic
University

Young Women and Political Engagement in Australia

In recent years, issues concerning gender and representation in the nation's political system have been prominent in Australia. Thousands of people marched in Australian cities demanding a change in the culture of parliament in 2021, while a review of the parliamentary workplace was undertaken in the same year. In 2022, the prime minister apologised for 'the terrible things' that had taken place in parliament.

This paper seeks to understand the impact these significant events, as well as the disruption caused by the COVID-19 pandemic, have had on young women's political engagement and participation in Australia. It examines the factors that may motivate and enable young women to be politically active and engaged in Australia. The paper also explores the factors that may be preventing young women from engaging with politics and government.

The paper presents the voices of young women which was collected from the latest round of interviews undertaken as part of the Social Futures and Life Pathways Project. Also known as Our Lives, this longitudinal research project began in 2006 and has regularly gathered data from a single age cohort from young people living in the state of Queensland. The data will provide insights on existing enablers and barriers to young women's political participation, as well as how they may be remedied in Australia.

Samuel Charles Grey
University of Queensland

Affective Polarisation and Social Media in the Australian Election Campaign

Affective polarisation, or a sustained antipathy between political social groups, is frequently linked to the divisiveness of election campaigns. This qualitative study explores ways in which online campaign communication might polarise the wider electorate: What kinds of political messaging contribute to negative attitudes towards political out-groups? The study develops a social identity model of campaign effects to theorise the relationship between online political communication and affective polarisation. Through analysis of campaign items sourced from Facebook during the 2022 Australian elections, this theory is applied to real-world material to discover in what ways campaign messages can 'apolarise'.

Edmund Handby
Australian National
University

A Social Choice Critique of Burke and Mill on Political Representation

A particular feature of the use of methods in social choice is their application to classic theorists from the history of ideas. The political theories of Hobbes, Rousseau, and Madison, for example, have been subject to critiques of social choice. One of the more prominent of these critiques is Riker's critique of Rousseau, which suggests that Rousseau's concept of the general will is impossible in light of Arrow's impossibility theorem. In this paper, I draw on Arrow's impossibility theorem to outline a social choice critique of two theorists from the history of ideas yet to be subject to such a critique: Edmund Burke and J. S. Mill. I argue that while Mill's account of representative government corresponds more with contemporary intuitions about democracy, Mill is susceptible to errors of social choice whereas Burke avoids such errors.

Max John Halupka
University of Canberra
Jeremiah Thomas Brown
University of New South
Wales

Making everything political: how the malleability of digital objects poses challenges to understanding intentionality in online public discourse

The politicality of online objects is generally conceptualised through the paradigm of author intentions. Simply put, the political meaning of a digital object is tied to the political meaning that the given citizen imbues their online engagements with. However, because

many online engagements are principally comprised of semi fixed objects which lack a traditional marker for context, it means that objects can have their meaning altered by changing the context around them. This is an issue because it implies that the meaning behind online engagements is not necessarily bound to author intention, and thus the political meaning of posts can be malleable. In turn, meaning can be substantively shifted in online engagements through shifting their context, and digital objects and interactions which are not political can be made overtly political. In this paper we theorise two elements related to the increased malleability of digital objects and the related potential for a digital objects author's original intention to be co-opted: the potential for digital objects to be repackaged and the potential for digital objects to be repurposed. Because of the important role that digital objects now occupy in the public sphere, this presents a significant shift in the way that contemporary politics plays out in social and cultural spaces, and since these new cultural and social spaces are becoming some of the most deeply embedded features of contemporary society, this is driving a shift in our political landscape. In this paper we show how repackaging and repurposing of digital objects has already been used as a political tactic in recent political campaigns, and in doing so, we explore the implications which the fluidity of digital objects might have for contemporary political participation moving forward.

Adam Hannah

University of Queensland

Jordan Tchilingirian

University of Bath

Linda Botterill

University of Canberra

Katie Attwell

University of Western

Australia

The Role of 'Non-Knowledge' in Crisis Policymaking: A proposal and agenda for future research

Recent complex and cross-boundary policy problems, such as climate change, pandemics, and financial crises, have recentred debates about state capacity, democratic discontent and the 'crisis of expertise'. These problems are contested and open to redefinition, misunderstanding, spin, and deception, challenging the ability of policy makers to locate, discriminate, comprehend, and respond to competing sources of knowledge and expertise. We argue that an under-explored aspect of responses to major policy crises is the role of 'non-knowledge'. While discussed in recent work in sociology and other social sciences, non-knowledge has been given less explicit attention in policy studies, and is not fully captured by orthodox understandings knowledge and evidence use. We outline three main forms of non-knowledge that challenge public agencies: misinformation, ignorance, and amnesia. In each case, 'non-knowledge' is not simply the absence of policy-relevant knowledge. To be misinformed is to actively believe false or misleading information, while institutional amnesia focuses on what is forgotten, reinvented or 'unlearned'. Ignorance pertains to the obscuring or casting aside of relevant knowledge that could (or even should) be available. We demonstrate the relevance of non-knowledge through a brief case study, emerging from the inquiry into the COVID-19 hotel quarantine program in the Australian state of Victoria. We argue that both amnesia and 'practical' forms of ignorance contributed to failures during the early part of the programs

Adam Hannah

University of Queensland

Katie Attwell

University of Western

Australia

Producing Ideas for Global Health Crisis: How 'vaccine hesitancy' came to overshadow systemic barriers to health care access

Recent complex, cross-boundary crises have generated significant interest in the role expert ideas, and why certain ideas emerge as dominant explanations or drivers of responses to crisis. In this paper, we investigate the concept of 'vaccine hesitancy', which had become the paradigmatic explanation for under-vaccination among global health experts and public health organisations by 2019. With the onset of the COVID-19 pandemic and associated mass vaccination campaigns beginning in late 2020, it penetrated the popular and media consciousness as a means of explaining divergent vaccination rates among different groups, regions and countries. We make two main arguments. First, the hesitancy concept emerged within a global vaccine policy landscape that was increasingly focused on individual behaviours and attitudes. While the WHO Working Group that developed the concept made some efforts to keep attention focused on the access-related drivers of undervaccination, their work ultimately contributed to the misdiagnosis of access-related barriers as a problem of end-user attitudes. Second, the COVID-19 pandemic has generated politicised contestation over the concept, outside the realm of global policy experts. On the one hand, some political leaders and governments have used the hesitancy diagnosis as a means of deflecting blame back

towards individual citizens. In response, vulnerable populations have argued for re-evaluation or even to discard the concept, highlighting their various systemic struggles in accessing timely vaccination.

Liane Hartnett
*Australian National
University*

Canon Love

Despite the nascent interest in love and world politics, love is yet to form the subject of serious, systematic study in International Relations (IR). This is perplexing because love has played an important, historical role in shaping our understanding of IR. This article claims that love explicitly shaped canonical understandings of 'the international' then, and continues to implicitly shape our understandings of it now. To demonstrate this, the article focuses on the period from the 1880s to the 1960s or the transition from the inter-imperial to the inter-national order, when most historiographies concur International Relations or the systematic study of world politics emerged. Via an engagement with key theorists of world politics such as Alfred Zimmern, who was instrumental in the founding of the League of Nations; Herbert Butterfield, who played a formative role in shaping the concept of 'international society', and Hans Morgenthau, whose name is synonymous with the study of power and global politics, the article posits that three ideal-typical expressions of love prevailed in this period, namely, the Hegelian, the Augustinian, and the Nietzschean. Inscribed today in commonplace understandings of community, order, and power, the article concludes love continues to shape the norms of the world we inhabit.

Liane Hartnett
*Australian National
University*

Love as Law: Leo Tolstoy on Intervention

Leo Tolstoy was revered as a prophet of peace in the latter half of his career, inspiring a global generation of conscientious objectors, offering a blueprint for anti-imperial and civil rights movements, animating a transnational Tolstoianism which spanned from the Antipodes to the Americas. Yet while there is some work on Tolstoy's pacifism and his critique of war (Christoyannopoulous, 2020; Moyn, 2021), little attention is paid to how these views relate to his anti-imperialism, or indeed arise from his thought on love. This paper offers a systematic study of the role love plays in Tolstoy's anti-imperial thought on the question of war and intervention. To this end, it offers a reading of Tolstoy's shifting understanding of love and its role in the sanction of intervention in *The Cossacks*, *Anna Karenina*, and *Hadji Murad*. Reading Tolstoy's literature alongside his diaries, correspondence, and anti-imperial epistles on the Boer War, the Russo-Japanese War, and Indian uprisings for independence, the paper examines how Tolstoy's law of love informs both his doctrine on non-violence and his anti-imperial critique of intervention. The paper concludes by considering the extent to which Tolstoy's critique resonates with present debates on humanitarian intervention, responsibility to protect, and endless war.

Andrew Harvey
Griffith University

Strengthening Pacific Relations Through Higher Education

International education remains Australia's fourth largest export industry. Given this strength, and Australia's particular influence within the Indo-Pacific region, there are remarkably few deep partnerships between Australian universities and Pacific nations. As discussion of the need for 'soft power' in the Pacific region grows, it is worth considering why universities appear to have shown relatively little engagement in the region, and why Australian Government development partnerships have typically been limited educationally to supporting schools and offering vocational education and training (VET), including through the Australia Pacific Training Coalition. The paucity of higher education partnerships, either with individual Pacific universities or with broader organisations and civil society, is particularly intriguing given the original Colombo Plan of the 1950s and the more recent New Colombo Plan (NCP), which supports individual domestic students to study abroad.

This paper will explore potential models of deeper university engagement in the Pacific, drawing on parallel international programs. In particular, the relationship between higher education providers in Scotland and Malawi will be examined, along with the Borderless Higher Education for Refugees Program (BHEP) led by York University in Canada. Reference will also be made to existing partnerships, such as Charles Darwin University's

engagement with East Timor, with a view to developing a blueprint for deeper engagement. It will be argued that development and multilateral partnerships could support the sustainability of Pacific nations while simultaneously strengthening the Australian university sector and its approach to internationalisation.

Jack Hayes
*Australian National
University*

Cartography of Queer Diplomacy - Mapping the lives and influence of LGBTI+ diplomats from a global perspective: a review of the literature

In the field of diplomacy, where the self-interest of states is writ large across the international system, much can be learned from the experience of diplomats. As the last half century has witnessed the gradual improvement of the rights of women, LGBTI+ (queer) people and ethnic minorities, a line in the sand has been drawn. On one side, states such as Sweden are legislating more equitable foreign policy on an institutional level. On the other, illiberal and populist governments are weaponising foreign policy to reject gender equality and queer rights. Navigating this line as mouthpieces for national policy are diplomats, and in amongst this cohort, queer diplomats. Until their perspective is studied, any assumption as to the hostility or support of queer rights by a nation-state through a ministry of foreign affairs (MFAs) is incomplete. This paper represents the literature review of a larger PhD project, seeking to answer, "How do the lived experiences of queer diplomats align with the determination of their host state as pro or anti-LGBTI+?" It canvasses existing literature on the experiences of LGBTI+ diplomats, the history of queer people international diplomatic institutions, and the role of representation in diplomatic practice.

Phoebe Hayman
La Trobe University

Supporter Participation in Independent Campaigns: Grassroots Connection or Individualisation?

This paper presents the preliminary findings of the first round of qualitative in-depth interviews with Climate 200 independent candidates to understand the changing nature of electoral political participation. Complemented by the existing literature, this paper will explore the shifts in supporter participation in election campaigns, within the context of the broadly accepted environment of declining party participation. Finally, this paper will reflect on the potential implications for the health of political participation, considering competing narratives of supporter involvement in election campaigns as individualised or as forming grassroots communities.

Brian Head
University of Queensland

Impacts of Covid-19 on Executive Policy Making in Australia

The COVID-19 pandemic tested the capacities of government agencies to manage a complex crisis. The widespread and enduring disruptions to everyday life created a strong community expectation that governments would manage the crisis effectively and would mitigate the health, social and economic impacts. Inside the government sector, existing routines were placed under sudden pressure, and better processes for policymaking, coordination, monitoring and communication were required. This article reports on findings from a recent survey of 1500 senior executives in state and federal agencies in Australia. Their responses provide insights into how the additional pressures of the pandemic affected the perceived speed and quality of decision-making, and how the crisis also led to enhanced coordination and collaboration among agencies and stakeholders. The capacity of many agencies to operate effectively before the pandemic was perceived as somewhat deficient, and the new challenges of an extended crisis tested the fundamentals of agencies' capacity to perform at high levels. Our study contributes to the understanding of policy-making and of the experiences of policy-makers during a crisis.

Brian Head
University of Queensland

Can We Better Manage 'Wicked' Policy Problems in Australia?

Since the 1980s, there has been much support for using better evidence to solve our big policy problems. But the optimistic outlook concerning evidence-informed policymaking has been strongly challenged, and a degree of malaise has emerged. Claims that the policy process could be substantively based on rigorous 'evidence' have been widely dismissed, either because policymaking is 'inherently political' or because evidence-

driven approaches tend to be 'technocratic' or elitist. Secondly, the spread of disinformation and emotive propaganda through digital media has undermined the plausibility of a 'science-first' model of rational policy discussion and decision-making. Thirdly, we are confronted by many policy problems that are intractable, controversial and turbulent. This is the domain of 'wicked' problems. These exhibit complex interactions, gaps in reliable knowledge, and enduring differences in values, interests and perspectives. The paper canvasses several common approaches used by Australian and other governments in tackling such problems, and provides a preliminary assessment of why some policy issues can be seen as partial successes and others as clear failures.

Emily Hems
University of Sydney

Policing Protests in a Pandemic

Using a critical policing studies perspective, this paper investigates the political context and practices of protest policing in New South Wales during the global COVID-19 pandemic. The COVID-19 pandemic launched countries into a state of emergency which significantly disrupted people's daily lives and interrupted the trajectory of the global economy. While these disruptions revealed problematic features within our society that perpetuate social inequalities, they also exacerbated their severity. Consequently, people became disillusioned with the government and civil unrest emerged throughout Australia. Therefore, though New South Wales entered lockdown, political engagement by the public in the form of protests continued. Though the severity of the health threat of COVID-19 should not be trivialised, to ensure the protection of protests within Australian democracy, it is vital to understand how the pandemic was utilised by the police to continue their criminalisation of dissent. I argue that police attitudes that serve to maintain existing social hierarchies and ideologies, such as a preference for hyper-masculine behaviours, the infantilisation of the public, and the stereotyping and criminalisation of minorities, can explain how unequal power dynamics and the police force's perception of protestors have contributed to the ongoing criminalisation of dissent that existed before the pandemic. This has led to officers interacting with protestors in discriminatory and inconsistent ways, often adopting pre-emptive and sometimes militarised approaches that threaten rule of law processes. This paper posits that the police need to reform their tactics used during protests, demonstrate their ability to cooperate with protesters, and must face stricter penalties for their transgressions.

Carolyn Hendriks
Australian National University

An Alternative to the Party? How 'Voices' groups and political parties compare

In contemporary democracies political parties remain the dominant vehicle for political organisation and collective representation. Major party membership numbers may be at a record low, but electoral results show that parties continue to dominate the political system.

Yet in Australia the stronghold of the major parties on political representation has been increasingly under threat by groups and individuals offering an alternative to the party model. In the federal parliament this has tended to focus on the Senate but is now shifting to the House of Representatives. Among these, are the 'Voices' groups, which have emerged since 2013 in well-over 40 federal electorates. In their primary form 'Voices' groups are community-led organisations that seek to strengthen democracy in their electorate, often - but not always - by standing or endorsing a 'community independent' candidate. Other independents have connected their campaigns with the broader independent mood of the 'Voices' movement. A central motivation for 'Voices' groups is to offer an 'alternative' to political parties. But what in practice does this mean?

This paper compares the political organising approaches of 'Voices' groups with those of conventional political parties. Drawing on qualitative data (including interviews, campaign materials, websites and media), the analysis examines how 'Voices' groups and parties compare with respect to place, community connectivity, organisational infrastructure and approach, candidate selection, and election campaigning. The discussion considers the implications of this comparative analysis for current thinking on contemporary political organising and political parties.

Carolyn Hendriks
Australian National
University

Democratic Mending *en Masse*? The growth and impact of 'Voices' groups across Australia

Democratic repair can take many forms, among which are the 'mending' efforts of groups seeking to strengthen connections between local communities and their elected representative. This kind of community-led democratic mending is typically rooted in place and local relationships. In this respect it contrasts with other democratic reform proposals, which are easily replicated across contexts, such as rule changes, institutional reform or deliberative forums.

This paper considers what happens when communities seek to replicate a model of democratic mending across localities. It asks: can local community-led democratic renewal be scaled up to achieve system-wide repair? For empirical insights the paper examines the experiences and electoral impact of over 30 'Voices' groups across Australia, many of which were inspired by Voices4Indi, a community group that has successively changed the electoral landscape of the federal seat of Indi.

The analysis examines how the 'Voices' approach was replicated across diverse electorates in the lead up to the 2022 Federal election, and the opportunities and challenges replication presented to communities. On one hand the 'Voices' model has provided communities with a blueprint for how to generate grassroots engagement. Yet on the other hand the 'Voices' model has been used by some groups as an established brand, allowing them to 'short cut' the slow, iterative community building work that mending demands. In such cases the local community has not been fully engaged and their mending capacity not fully utilised.

National media reports and the 2022 election results provide insights into whether the replication of the Voices model has had any broader systemic democratic effects, for example on electoral outcomes and public discourse. But the paper takes this further to reflect on the 'Voices' movement, its growth, diversity, and the broader lessons that the growth in 'Voices' groups hold for the practice and theory of democratic renewal.

Benjamin Herscovitch
Australian National
University

Measuring the Australia-China Relationship: A new history of political engagement

Managing the Australia-China relationship is one of the most consequential policy and political challenges confronting Australia in the twenty-first century. Every Australian has a stake in this relationship and it is profoundly shaping Australia's economic wellbeing, security, and social cohesion. Yet despite extensive data on the trade, investment, people-to-people, and other metrics of the relationship, no datasets exist documenting the full history and trajectory of official high-level political engagement between Canberra and Beijing. This presentation will introduce a new dataset documenting all high-level political contact between Australia and China since the establishment of official ties in 1972. Drawing on elements of this dataset, this presentation will chart some of the key trendlines and shifts in high-level engagement between China and Australia over the last 50 years. This presentation will offer an historical baseline to contextualise the ongoing and dramatic downturn in bilateral relations. As well as providing grounds for assessing that the recent collapse in political contact is the most protracted and severe in the history of official ties, this presentation will interrogate and challenge the widely espoused view that negative developments in the Australia-China relationship can be attributed to the more authoritarian and assertive turn in Chinese politics and policy under President Xi Jinping. Based on the data of high-level political contact, this presentation will show that President Xi's tenure is an unlikely proximate cause of the recent deterioration in bilateral ties.

Angelika Heurich
University of New England

The Independents Movement 2022 - A new avenue for women in AusPol, or an evolution of non-Labor parties

Leading up to the 2022 Australian federal election, grassroots movements in many electorates saw the creation of community based groups, aiming to return the voice and the vote to the people. These 'Voices for' type movements followed the template created by Voices for Indi and the success of Cathy McGowan in 2016 and 2019, in the Liberal held seat of Indi. This was followed by the nomination and success of Helen Haines in 2019, upon McGowan's retirement; making Haines the first Independent to succeed an Independent. With this new-found ability of the electorate to nominate candidates seen as

representing the people rather than the party, all but two candidates at the 2022 election were women. Also becoming known as the 'Teal' independents (although some used other colours) the challenges by these community supported candidates created what was seen as a significant threat to mostly Liberal incumbents. An analysis of the possible reasons for this movement and outcomes at the 2022 election is the focus of this paper. This will include a review of the historical evolution of the party system in Australian politics since federation, and the more recent public disillusion with party politics. Possible reasons for these changes, their effectiveness in changing the Australian political landscape and how future elections may see more electorates supporting this kind of candidate will be considered. This paper examines the reasons for this broader phenomenon and whether this is seen as a vehicle for women to increase their numbers in Australian politics, whether capable women have finally found a way to be considered for representation outside of party pre-selections, or whether this is simply another evolution in non-Labor parties.

Lisa Hill

University of Adelaide

Lowering the Voting Age in Australia

Should the Legal Voting Age in Australia be Lowered?

Along with many other established democracies, Australians are currently debating whether or not the legal voting age should be lowered to 16 (or even younger). In the US, over one hundred members of Congress support lowering the voting age for federal elections while in Australia in 2018 the Australian parliament debated an electoral amendment to lower the national voting age to 16. Despite support from both the ALP and Greens, the bill failed. In this paper I discuss why this happened and why the ALP had good grounds for rejecting the model proposed by the Greens. I then consider what benefits, if any, lowering the voting age might bring to political life in Australia. I also explore the potential harms of extending the franchise to younger voters with specific reference to Australian voting conditions.

Harry Hobbs

*University of Technology
Sydney*

Micronations and Environmental Protection

International efforts to combat climate change have left many people disappointed. Much attention has focused on the failure of states to take the necessary action to curb pollution and protect the planet. These concerns reflect how the debate has been conducted at events such as the 2021 United Nations Climate Change Conference (COP 26) in Glasgow. As many have noted, the environment was not represented at Glasgow; states were. Is there a way to fix this? Some community groups and environmental activists have adopted creative means to do so. They have formed their own nation states with the purpose of securing a voice for the global commons.

These nation states are not recognised countries. They are micronations. Micronations are self-declared nations that perform and mimic acts of sovereignty, and adopt many of the protocols of nations, but lack a foundation in domestic and international law for their existence and are not recognised as nations in domestic or international forums. However, led by committed and eccentric individuals, micronations assert their claims to sovereignty in myriad ways; they issue coins, print stamps, compose national anthems, sign treaties, and sometimes even declare war on recognised states. In mimicking statehood protocols, micronations catalyse larger questions over the nature of sovereignty and legitimate authority. Micronations challenge the notion of a world divided into states and invite us to reimagine our political future. In this paper, I explore how micronations and micronationalism can be used as a vehicle for political and environmental protest.

Charles Hunt

RMIT University

David Curran

Coventry University

The Role of Trust in Peace Operations Protecting Civilians

This paper examines how concepts from the academic field of trust research can be utilised to better understand the form and function of civilian protection in areas where a UN peace operation is deployed. It will offer a significant and policy-relevant contribution to the fields of civilian protection and sustainable peacebuilding, whilst opening up an original agenda of inter-disciplinary research.

Trust has been identified as an important variable at different levels of UN peace

operations. At UN HQ, the bureaucracy talks about trust deficits between member states and their own staff. In the field, the breakdown in relationships between missions and host states as well as between peacekeepers and local populations are also commonly attributed to a lack of trust. This is particularly acute when it comes to questions of civilian protection. Yet, trust is rarely interrogated in the field of UN interventions. This paper addresses this gap by incorporating theoretical and methodological contributions from trust scholarship to develop a framework for better understanding how key stakeholders engaged in civilian protection through UN interventions perceive the role, nature and effects of trust in the relationships required to undertake such operations.

The framework will be guided by the UN's three-tiered approach to civilian protection, thus examining the role of trust in: Protection through Dialogue and Engagement; Provision of Physical Protection; and Establishing a Protective Environment. At the core of this analysis is a deeper understanding of the interaction between international interventions, host states, and the intended beneficiaries of civilian protection efforts.

Carolyn Hobrook
Deakin University

Federalism and Public Health: A Tale of Two Pandemics

National crises often work as centripetal forces, consolidating authority in national government and funneling public sentiment towards the centre. This is a phenomenon that appears to reflect the behaviour of human beings when faced with a common existential threat. But the COVID-19 pandemic induced a different impulse in the Australian polity. Rather than uniting under the Commonwealth government, the Australian federation fractured into its constituent parts. Western Australia's 'State daddy' Mark McGowan, who closed the state border for close to two years, enjoyed the most conspicuous political success. The eastern states premiers, 'Gladys', 'Dan' and 'Annastacia', became national figures and the subjects, variously, of idolatry and derision. The events of 2020-21 are uncannily similar those of the Spanish influenza pandemic one hundred years earlier, when the Commonwealth and the states proved unable to work co-operatively to control the disease. This paper examines the ways that the Spanish flu and COVID tested and strained the Australian federal system a century apart, and what lessons we might learn for the benefit of our federation in the future.

Josh Holloway
Flinders University
Michelle Evans
University of Melbourne
Duncan McDonnell
Griffith University

Stereotypes, bias, and voter impressions: Australian's views of Indigenous candidates

While Indigenous Australians face historic and continued underrepresentation in the country's legislatures, research examining the causes of this disparity is limited. In this paper, we focus on a key demand-side explanation for candidate emergence and success: voter attitudes. To do so, we present results from surveys conducted in 2022 testing voter impressions of a range of fictional candidates, comprising women and men from white, Chinese-Australian, and Indigenous backgrounds. Specifically, we analyse how voters perceive a series of candidate traits, in addition to suitability for office and electability. The results provide new insights into Australian social and political attitudes, in addition to highlighting the potential for prejudice among the electorate to influence the emergence of Indigenous candidates.

Tobias Ide
Murdoch University

Protests by Nurses and Health Workers During the COVID-19 Pandemic

During the COVID-19 pandemic, there were more protests from nursing staff, among others because health systems were under a lot of strain. This study examines protests by nursing staff in the context of the COVID-19 pandemic in the period from 01/03/2020 to 31/08/2021 worldwide. Drawing on the ACLED database, it identifies 3,517 protests in 90 countries, showing that nurses are important political actors. Protests were particularly common in North America, Latin America, southern Europe and parts of North Africa and the Middle East. There, COVID-19 had a relatively strong impact on health systems and major conflicts existed even before the pandemic. Poor working conditions, lack of work safety and wider social issues were the most common reasons for protests. In 2021, anti-vaccination (particularly in rich countries) and pro-vaccination (particularly in poor countries) protests became more frequent. Countries with very high human development,

many nursing staff and few corona deaths see fewer protests on average. This shows that nurses in good health and welfare systems tend to have less motivation to protest. Dictatorships also have fewer protests because they suppress them with violence.

Tobias Ide
Murdoch University

Opportunistic Insurgents and Fierce Females: How rebels react to major disasters

Disaster are potential critical junctures for political systems. Both governments and non-state actors have to deal with considerable disturbances to political and economic life, including massive destruction, close national and international public scrutiny, the need to provide emergency relief and reconstruction support, and a scarcity of critical resources. Based on quantitative and qualitative data from 36 armed conflict areas struck by disasters, this study analysis how rebel groups react to such extreme events. Results of a qualitative comparative analysis (QCA) reveal that rebels mostly act opportunistic. They only intensify their armed activities if they are not negatively affected by the disaster and can exploit disaster-related grievances among their constituencies. The picture changes, however, when taking the prevalence of female combatants into account. Insurgents with a large share of women among their fighting force tend to escalate armed conflicts even in unfavourable strategic environments. A potential explanation for this finding is that many female combatants experience comparative disadvantages in post-conflict periods, making them more sceptical about disaster-related concessions.

Kirilo M. Ingram
Charles Sturt University

From reimagining to realising the key roles of women in Bangsamoro peace: The C.O.P.E. program in Lanao & Maguindanao

The establishment of the Bangsamoro Autonomous Region in Muslim Mindanao (BARMM) in 2019 was a watershed moment for the struggle for peace in Mindanao. Women have played a key role in the Bangsamoro peace process and now, with the creation of the BARMM, have key position as ministers in the Bangsamoro Transition Authority (BTA), bureaucrats throughout the new government's ministries, and as civil society leaders. The gendered challenges facing Bangsamoro women remain particularly for those who are vulnerable to recruitment by violent armed groups. Drawing on both field research and our experiences working in Mindanao, this paper explores the key challenges facing the BARMM over the next three years of the transition extension and the vital role that Bangsamoro women must play in shaping the region's present and future. It particularly focuses on the role of female-led civil society organization engaged in peacebuilding activities in communities that have been targeted by the Dawlah Islamiyah and Bangsamoro Islamic Freedom Fighters (BIFF) groups. We argue that incorporating local female experiences and perspectives into peacebuilding strategies, prioritising their participation in decision-making processes, and implementing initiatives to empower women as peace advocates is crucial to safeguarding women and their communities against both 'peace spoiler' and gendered violence. To these ends, we present the initial findings of applying the Capacitate to Out-Compete, Persuade and Empower (C.O.P.E) program in Lanao del Sur and Maguindanao communities. C.O.P.E focuses on four lines of effort: capacitation through knowledge-sharing workshops (Pillar 1), material support to female-led community initiatives (Pillar 2), public messaging campaigns (Pillar 3), and the establishment of women's networks for organising advocacy and community outreach activities (Pillar 4).

Tatsuya Iseki
Kyoto University

Participation of Multiple Actors and Retrospective Voting on COVID-19 Measures: Experimental Evidence from Japan

Since the breakout of the COVID-19 pandemic in early 2020, many governments have carried out novel pandemic control measures. While planning and implementing these pandemic control measures, which many governments have never experienced, actors outside government in ordinary times participate in government-level decision-making. Even though the participation of these actors allows governments to mobilize several resources that national governments lack, the involvement of multiple actors would diffuse responsibility for pandemic-control measures and, therefore, could make it difficult to hold governments accountable for COVID-19 measures. To test whether the participation of multiple actors diffuses accountability for pandemic-control measures, we conducted a survey experiment in Japan. Like many other democratic governments, the

Japanese government has cooperated with experts, organized professionals, local authorities, and other outside actors to deal with the COVID-19 pandemic. Our results show that among respondents informed of experts' influence on stay-at-home encouragement orders without enforcement (declaration of emergency state), order evaluation does not correlate with vote intention for incumbent parties. However, for other COVID-19 measures, informing of any actors' influence does not counteract the correlation between respondents' evaluation on COVID-19 measures and their vote intention for incumbent parties. These results imply that experts may diffuse government responsibility for COVID-19 measures for a specific type of measure, but it is not valid for the other outside actors.

Stewart Jackson
University of Sydney

Parliamentarianism and the Australian Greens

In many respects it would seem odd not to think of the Australian Greens as a parliamentary party - after all, the party attained official Parliamentary Party status after the 2010 Commonwealth election, and has formed governing coalitions in the ACT and Tasmania. However, the party was not necessarily conceived as a 'parliamentary party'. While 'founding father' Bob Brown was convinced that the path to saving the environment led through parliamentary structures and into government, this was not uniformly the case across the MPs and parties that would eventually make up the Australian Greens. So how did the party become entrenched in accepting the logic of both parliamentary politics and the primacy of parliamentary action?

This paper will examine the rise of parliamentarianism within the Australian Greens and its various constituency parties, and consider whether the competing objective of policy change (whether the party is in or out of government) has been obscured. The paper will also consider whether key policy areas of the Greens (climate change and the environment in general, expansion of Medicare and increased transparency in government) have been assisted or hindered by this process.

Ari Jerrems
Australian National University

Mapping Red Zones: Colour-coding and cartographies of insecurity

Red zones have proliferated in the context of the global pandemic where colour-coded security zones have been employed to define the spatial dimensions of diverse restriction implemented to combat the spread of the virus. Prior to this, red zones had already been established and delimited in diverse locations around the globe. Despite this, there has been little specific theorisation of red zones in International Relations and Political Geography. There is, however, burgeoning literatures on emerging spaces of (in)security and variegated regimes of sovereignty that interrogates related phenomena. Building on this work, this paper seeks to provide an initial conceptualisation of red zones. It does this by, firstly, offering an initial typology of red zones by outlining how they are deployed across diverse fields including policing, military intervention and hazard and disaster risk analysis. Secondly, it analyses the logics underpinning the classification of red zones looking particularly at the importance of the colour red in doing so. Finally, it seeks to illustrate the specific ramifications of zoning for those living in red zones, drawing on the case study of Port-au-Prince in Haiti. In theorising red zones, the paper seeks to contribute both to political geographies of insecurity and emerging work on the chromatology of security.

Carol Johnson
University of Adelaide

Masculine identity and gender equality policy in uncertain times

This paper explores the implications of masculine identity for Australian federal gender equality policy. It argues that, despite an increasing commitment to gender equality by governments and major political parties, a masculine norm still often underlies conceptions of citizen identity that influence broader policy prescriptions. This is particularly the case for neoliberal policy prescriptions designed around conceptions of the abstract, self-reliant individual but is also evident in some more centre-left policy prescriptions as well. Furthermore, despite the increasing numbers of women in senior ministries/shadow ministries, conceptions of political leadership are also still highly gendered in ways that can hold back progress on gender equality. Indeed, conceptions of masculine leadership have played a significant role in Australian election campaigning,

with differing forms of protective masculinity having gendered impacts on policy. Meanwhile the influence of anti-gender, politics has contributed to conservative attempts to fix gender identity in socially conservative, biologically determined ways. The paper focuses on the contemporary period in federal Australian politics while also drawing attention to some relevant historical and international examples. It mainly draws on an analysis of political discourse and related policy framing. It argues that challenges to traditional gender roles, geoeconomics, geopolitics, the pandemic and security issues have all contributed to forms of uncertainty that have made issues of gender identity even more significant in Australian politics.

Matt Jones
University of Sydney

Trouble In Paradise: The Pressing Need to Develop Eco-Tourism In Papua New Guinea

Papua New Guinea's Development Strategic Plan 2010- 2030 (PNGDSP) ought to receive a fresh appraisal in light of Solomon Island's decision to sign a security pact with China. For too long, Australia has taken our relationship with PNG for granted, built largely on the ongoing legacy maintained following their independence nearly 50 years ago. Now, because of COVID19, the need for a sustainable future, and a changing strategic environment, this is a salient feature highlighting the increasingly uncertain political future of how we engage with the Pacific. Australia's foreign affairs policy has been expressed in the language of friendship and family with neighbouring countries in the Pacific, and to what end? Solomon Island's decision indicates that for all the considerable security investment in a nation's stability during RAMSI, it was not enough to favour Australia's national interests with respect to China's expansion in the region. Similarly, aid gifted to PNG has often focused on the construction of roads, too often washed away in the wet season. Have we understood well enough PNG's ambitious plan for nation building articulated through PNGDSP? Activities of extractive enterprises have dominated the importance of this relationship with PNG for Australia. In this paper I argue that a policy window exists for establishing a new platform of relationship with PNG focused on the development of eco-tourism through leveraging Australian excellence in tourism, education, environmental design, architecture, and social impact. This argument builds on published work by Matt Jones on the pressing need to develop eco-tourism in Papua New Guinea following the Alfred Deakin Research Institute's PNG Symposium, 2012. Eco-tourism offers compounding effects that would contribute towards national objectives outlined in PNGDSP to influence an increase in higher education, growth in tourism with economic and employment benefits.

Devin Joshi
Singapore Management University

Chinese Political Ideologies on the Left-Right Spectrum: From Mozi and Laozi to Confucius and Han Feizi

Scholars of the left-right spectrum argue that fundamental divergence over inequality between the political left and right exists in all societies wherever there is competition between different groups, intellectual schools, or political parties subscribing to different ideologies. As a novel test of this claim, this study considers how the political thought of four famous historical Chinese political theorists compare on the political left-right spectrum given their views about equality and hierarchy in human society. As illustrated here via a close textual analysis, there are two main forms of affinity. Firstly, Mozi and Han Feizi are more rigid and statist in their views whereas Laozi and Confucius seek more balance in state-society relations. Secondly, Mozi and Laozi prefer a more egalitarian society whereas Confucius and Han Feizi offer a more hierarchical vision. When we put this together, I contend that these thinkers can be relatively positioned on the left-right spectrum from Left (Mozi) and Center Left (Laozi) to Center-Right (Confucius) and Right (Han Feizi). While these philosophers may differ in their relative positioning on other issues, the findings uncovered here support the paper's broader hypothesis that the left-right spectrum is indeed applicable over time and across societies. This study additionally has the benefit of providing a useful schema for political theorists to understand the relative positioning of classical political ideologies in China, several of which are still influential today.

Tuukka Kaikkonen
Australian National
University

Agency, Armament, and Moral Luck

The role of luck in political life has been acknowledged and debated for millennia, from Aristotle to Machiavelli to Clausewitz. More recently, the philosophical concept of moral luck has attracted controversy. This is because luck, if taken seriously, appears to permeate who we are, what we do, the situations we find ourselves in, and the outcomes that our acts and omissions have. Such pervasiveness of luck has been argued to undermine moral responsibility, at least if responsibility is understood to require a degree of free agency. After all, if luck is pervasive and undermines agency, then it is not clear what, if anything, remains open to legitimate moral judgement. And yet, even if we recognise the pervasiveness of luck, we nevertheless often attribute responsibility as if agents were free to act. Seen in this light, then, moral luck raises troubling questions about how we are to attribute responsibility in domestic and international politics in ways that are coherent and just. Questions of responsibility and justice are particularly relevant in the context of war, where the stakes are high and outcomes shaped by luck to a large degree. To interrogate how and why moral luck matters in this context, this presentation examines how luck complicates our moral assessments of one important aspect of contemporary armed conflict: that is, the provision of arms to fighting parties. The presentation will argue that the provision of arms is a morally important issue as it elicits questions about who is responsible for conflict and on what grounds. It will examine how arming other parties contributes to how conflict is enabled, conducted, and prolonged or ended; how such provisioning of arms is subjected to moral judgement; and how such judgements are vulnerable to moral luck due to fundamental uncertainties about wars and their outcomes.

Romitesh Kant
Australian National
University

Accruing Masculinity Capital: Culture, Power and Gender Politics in Fiji

Fijian politics functions as a masculinised space—an arena in which men dominate numerically and specific forms of masculinity have essentialised legitimacy. Military-led coup d'états—a prominent feature in Fiji politics since 1987—mean that militarised masculinity exists alongside and even inside democratic institutions that remain in a phase of development. As a direct consequence of men dominating the Fijian military and the continued military interventions in the governance of Fiji politics, a culture of militaristic masculinity has filtered through the political sphere. For example, political elites acquire masculine capital by making claims that support their masculinity in party political campaign communication. Typically, male leaders portray themselves as essential, firmly decisive, and able to act aggressively in the political arena. This component of masculinity capital corresponds to Messerschmidt's definition of dominant masculinity, a 'celebrated and widespread type' (2010, p. 159).

This paper exposes the gendered power effects of the relationships between masculinities, militarisation and democratisation in Fiji. I show how Fijian political discourses construct diverse masculinities by focusing on Fijian political parties' portrayals of political masculinities. I analyse both the gendered discourses of political parties and their leaders and argue that the gendered structure of Fiji politics in general, particularly political parties, uses and reproduces masculinist techniques. I find that in politics, leaders are more concerned with the praxis of manhood than with their ideological commitments.

Kalika Kastein
University of Otago

Queering Silence

Exploring liminality through queer readings of silence, holds immense possibilities and implications for the fields of political science, international relations, and peace studies. Queer readings can encompass understandings outside binaries, embracing paradoxes and in-between spaces. Through the practice of queering, with the intention of exploring liminality, this research examines writing on silence from five queer authors: Gloria Anzaldúa, John Cage, Audre Lorde, Adrienne Rich, and Susan Sontag. This research strives to establish how queering, derived from queer theory, can be used to conceptualise multi-dimensional and liminal aspects of silence. Additionally this research explores queer themes and criticality within these writings on silence. Queering silence provides a space to interrupt a dualistic framings of silence as an opposing idea to voice.

Instead, queering silence reveals a polysemic depth of silence that can investigate dimensional political futures.

Simran Keshwani
Macquarie University

Asia's "Other" Giant: The Political Economy of India's Energy Transition

Through this research, I argue that the need to confront new pressures at home in terms of energy insecurity, laggard economic growth and unemployment; and abroad - the rise and domination of China in the solar supply chain and India's ambitions to become a solar leader - have led to a refurbishing of state activism which has acted as a precursor to introducing process innovation, creating institutional clusters with industry linkages, facilitating strategic international collaboration, and promoting green financial instruments to achieve green growth, and have created a 'developmental state' within the political and economic bureaucracy in the solar energy sector in India. In doing so, my core aim is to elaborate on the importance of state action in driving economic growth for developing economies, and to examine the relationship between a developmental state and a pluralistic democracy, where different interest groups place different demands on the state. Conventional wisdom dictates that democratic systems fail to insulate policymaking elite, and can fall into the predatory state type as the electoral fortunes of incumbent governments depend on pacifying different interest groups, channeling subsidies away from productive sectors of the economy. This has been true in the case of India, with the state demonstrating developmental tendencies in some sectors for short periods of time, before falling into the trap of divergent interests within the domestic policymaking elite. However, the very fact that some technocratic elites, particularly those at the Ministry of New and Renewable Energy have, overtime, enjoyed variable degrees of insulation relative to other governmental agencies implies that the developmental state project is inherently a political one, and can be compatible with democracies.

Souvidhya Khadka
Australian National University

Representative Functions of Neighborhood-Level Citizens Assemblies in Nepal.

Deliberative forums such as citizen's assemblies (CA) deepens democracy and contributes to addressing democratic deficits. CA adds democratic values because 1) it engages public (ideally randomly selected citizens) in future visioning or making policies and decisions that affects them, and 2) it gives power to the public to directly represent their interests and opinions. OECD and Participedia databases reveal that in last decade CAs are being organized in unprecedented numbers on a wide range of topics across the globe. While CAs are increasingly popular among citizens and policymakers alike, little is known as to how and to what extent does a CA represents its constituents, when it is applied in the global south.

This paper seeks to answer this question based on Nepal's neighborhood level citizens assemblies organized by municipalities as a part of their annual planning process. I administered over 50 semi-structured interviews with participants as well as the non-participants in these forums, and with the elected representatives at 3 municipalities. I also recorded deliberations in these assemblies; three at the neighborhood level (face to face), and one at the municipality level (over zoom). I then administered random survey among residents of the neighborhoods and the municipality where these deliberations were recorded. Drawing on these along with the ward and municipal government's archives, this paper seeks to answer 1) what does representation mean in this context; 2) to what extent does the participants of a CA represent their neighborhood and/or community; and 3) what representative functions does a CA serve.

Souvidhya Khadka
Australian National University

Deliberative Agenda Setting Framework: Assessing multiple aspects and drivers of deliberative policy making

Deliberative forums such as participatory planning and citizen's assemblies (CA)- engaging the representative public in setting common agendas and/or making collective decisions-not only deepens democracy, but also address democratic deficits in pluralistic societies. While CAs are increasingly popular among citizens and policymakers alike, little is known as to how (democratically) a CA sets its agendas or preferences while making its collective decision(s). The public policy literature reveals that a policy agenda-setting approach to examine the key elements and the forces shaping local policymaking

have been utilized by very few studies. Drawing on the literature in deliberative democracy and public policy, this paper first integrates John Dryzek's deliberative system framework with Thomas Birkland's framework of agenda setting. Next, I incorporate the key elements and forces or the drivers of agenda setting, transmissions, and accountability aspects of deliberative policy making. I propose this integrated framework, namely deliberative agenda setting (DAS) framework or Birkland and Dryzek's framework of DAS, because 1) it adds empirical depth while assessing agenda setting or deliberative decision making, and 2) it contributes in filling the communication gap between the scholars of deliberative democracy and public policy.

Seema Khan
Deakin University

China-India Power Politics in the Indian Ocean Region: A Security Challenge for Pakistan

China's ingress to buyers' markets through massive investment in the host country is a smart expansionist approach, which satisfies its economic and strategic goals. The grand investment plan—Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) provides China with an opportunity to expand its outreach and enhance its area of influence in the South Asia region using small countries like Pakistan, Sri Lanka and Bangladesh. China's ambitious expansionist strategy has perturbed other power contenders in the region particularly India, which is also aspiring for a leading role in regional affairs. Out of six economic corridors under the BRI, the China Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) is taken as a flagship project but simultaneously has irked many regional and global players. It provides China a permanent presence in the westward side of Indian Ocean through the Gwadar Port, which is an area of concern for few including India. The CPEC is China's funded project that can potentially transform Pakistan into an economic hub. Pakistan through the CPEC can emerge as an economic hub and can serve as conduit for trade activities for regional and global actors. However, since its inception in 2015, the corridor faces both internal and external challenges due to the conflicting and competing interests of regional and global players in this region.

Paul Kildea
*University of New South
Wales*

The Emergence of the Referendum Idea in Australia, 1855-1901

The idea of holding referendums was not initially a feature of the system of government that the Australian colonies adopted during the 19th century. The constitutional system of representative and responsible government inherited from the United Kingdom assumed the existence of a sovereign parliament, with periodic elections forming the main opportunity for the people to influence government decisions and law making. And yet, by the 1890s, the colonies were holding and proposing advisory referendums on a variety of policy issues in the absence of any constitutional requirement to do so. South Australia held the continent's first referendum in 1896, on the teaching of scripture in state schools, while other jurisdictions considered polls on women's suffrage and fiscal policy. What explains the openness of these early governments to giving voters a direct say on policy issues? This paper examines parliamentary debates of the late 19th century to track the emergence of the referendum idea in Australia. It argues that elected politicians were attracted to the referendum as a tool to manage political tensions within the constitutional system, whether that be in the form of deadlocks between lower and upper houses, or internal party disagreement on contentious policy issues. It further explores how these justifications for the advisory policy referendum (sometimes called a 'plebiscite') feature in contemporary debates about when governments should, or should not, consult the people directly on policy matters.

Sung-Young Kim
Macquarie University

The Geo-Politics and Domestic Imperatives Driving East Asia's Exercise of (Green) Economic Statecraft

In response to the ravages of the COVID-19 pandemic, East Asian governments prioritised green-led national economic recovery plans. Why have investments into green industries been at the centre of the region's economic strategies under COVID? In this paper, I highlight the exercise of economic statecraft amongst the region's smaller economies including Korea, Taiwan and Singapore in response to the escalating technological rivalry between the U.S and China specifically over green technologies. My core argument is that Korea, Taiwan and Singapore have used economic statecraft as a

hedging strategy to cope with China's growing role as a global clean energy superpower and America's efforts to reinvigorate its industrial ecosystem especially in green industries. The region's economies have also taken advantage of the unprecedented incentives to deepen commitments to green growth under the pandemic to strengthen energy security and strategic industry development objectives.

Jihyun Kim
University of Sydney

Victims or Survivors? Contested constructions of female migrants in Thailand

In mainstream development discourses, female migrants who come from developing countries have often been represented as victims of sexual trafficking, gender-based violence and the exploitation of labour. However, with the emergence of post-colonial feminist scholarship on migration and trafficking in the 1980s, discourses and representations of passive and essentialized "Third world women" have been critiqued. With a rise of women's empowerment agenda and an institutional focus on women's agency, and in an attempt to overcome the representations of "Third world women" as victims, dominant development actors including UN agencies and international NGOs have started to change the word 'victim' to 'survivor/agent of development' in their development programs. Through analysis of data created through interviewing development practitioners from UN agencies and NGOs in Thailand, this paper examines how female migrants are constructed as 'victim' or 'survivor/agent of development' in different contexts, and with what discursive effects. By analyzing the construction of female migrants in the South-South migration context drawing upon the discourse analysis and the postcolonial feminist theoretical framework, this paper explores what gendered and racialized hierarchies are constituted within the South compared to the South-North axis which has been widely discussed so far. Further, this paper argues that discourses of 'victim' and 'survivor/ agent of development' are not separate, but rather are co-constituted and are used interchangeably across the gender development fields to construct homogenizing narratives about women's migration experiences.

Alexander Korolev
*University of New South
Wales*

From Hedging to Balancing: Australia's China Policy and Implications for US-China Rivalry

For more than a decade, Australia was able to find a balanced position between China - its largest economic partner - and the United States - its core ally and security provider. Before the outbreak of the COVID-19 global pandemic, Canberra hedged its economic and security bets between China and the United States rather successfully, with Australian top policymakers announcing that the country would not have to choose between the two great powers and that there are ways to maintain a close alliance with the US while enhancing friendship with China. Such a foreign policy stance, while not without problems, contributed to the mitigation of US-China rivalry in the Asia-Pacific region. However, Australia-China relations started to deteriorate drastically in 2016, with Canberra giving up on hedging after the COVID-19 pandemic by signing the AUKUS security pact, which has been widely received as an effort to contain China. The war in Ukraine and the consolidation of China-Russia alignment further exacerbated US-China rivalry, making Australia's hedging between China and the US even more difficult. This chapter explores this shift in Australian foreign policy, paying special attention to how it affects US-China rivalry. It conceptualises the shift as a transition from hedging to anti-China balancing and demonstrates how Australia's role has evolved from constraining to accelerating US-China rivalry as an outcome.

Jodette Kotz
*Australian National
University*

The policy surrounding financing Healthcare: Sticky or Stuck? Using network methods to explore the influence of the network of actors on policy 'stickiness' in the health care sector in Australia

This research explores the role of a network of actors in creating or locking down a policy path. The aim is to gain a better understanding of the influence of the network of policy actors (advocates, lobbyists) on the health care sector. It explores how actors in the network support or prevent changes to the major policy parameters that structure the financing mechanism in the health system.

This paper will discuss three major attempts to vertically integrate healthcare, reduce fragmentation and increase the efficiency of the system through altering what funders can

pay and how they can pay for it (Robinson and Casalino 1996) (Tirole 1989, 170). Changes have been implemented in other countries in a variety of ways, however attempts to alter the financing rules that would allow greater integration in Australia have not been successful (Gauld 2014) (Jackson and Gauld 2018) (Mosca 2012). Policy change does not exist in a vacuum. To understand why attempts to changes to the financing mechanisms were unsuccessful, an examination of attempts over time is conducted. Path dependence arguments are highly relevant for explaining the persistence of public policies in the face of intentional reform. In this research they are combined with suitable theories that acknowledge the impact of environmental factors, the role of power and the use of resources and strategies to examine actors' attempts to change the policy, or mindfully deviate from the path (Torfing 2009) (Garud and Karnoe 2001) (Taylor, McLarty and Henderson 2018). Network analysis methods are used to explore how the structure of the network influenced the outcomes and to identify patterns of relationships, such as hubs, cliques, or brokers, and to link those relations with the outcome of interest, which is the stickiness of the policy.

Prasanna Kumar G S
O.P. Jindal Global University

Rising Uncertainty on Regional Maritime Security Order in the Indo-Pacific: Strategies from India, Indonesia, and Australia

Amid rising power rivalry between the US and China in the Indo-Pacific, this paper assesses India, Indonesia, and Australia's maritime security visions and strategies. Given the divergent views between the ASEAN members on addressing maritime security challenges and the lack of clarity within the Quadrilateral Security Dialogue (Quad) regarding the group's identity, it becomes necessary to assess the strategies and visions of key middle powers. It will explore and evaluate India, Indonesia, and Australia's maritime security visions and strategies by providing a comparative framework. The framework consists of 1) interdependency with the US and China, 2) strategies for the Indo-Pacific, and 3) the ability to implement their strategic maritime interests. By addressing these aspects, this paper would contribute to understanding the possible diverse roles these three countries can play in building a free, inclusive, open, and rules-based Indo-Pacific. It also contributes to predicting the evolving regional maritime security order.

Naim Kapucu
University of Central Florida

Network governance for urban disaster resilience: Policies and practice

As the scale and intensity of disasters continue to increase, building and enhancing resilience to disasters has become a critical policy and governance issue. Of particular importance to this topic is urban infrastructure resilience because infrastructure systems support the continuity of operations of governments and businesses, and are essential to the economy, society, and safety. The purpose of this presentation is to apply a network governance to examine interdependent infrastructure systems' resilience such as water, electric power, transportation, and telecommunication. The presentation will focus on institutional dimension of urban resilience and examine the interface between planning, policy, and governance to understand the resilience of urban infrastructure systems. This is critical for our understanding of the role of governing interdependent infrastructure systems in enhancing urban infrastructure resilience to disasters. The presentation will also highlight the need to leverage collaborative leadership and organizational capacity to develop robust and connected networks to enhance urban infrastructure resilience to disasters.

Christopher Lamont
Tokyo International University

Digital Transitional Justice Spaces: Agency and Accountability

Artificial intelligence (AI) has transformed public policy and governance with machine learning (ML) facilitating decision-making in security, criminal justice, and surveillance. AI has also become increasingly opaque and autonomous of inputs, as recent technological advancements have led to the development of increasingly complex AI-powered systems. However, despite these technological developments, transitional justice practice and scholarship has not yet engaged in a sustained manner on the question of what these

developments mean for the field. This paper will highlight how transitional justice, with its focus on dealing with the legacy of large-scale and systemic atrocity, is faced with dilemmas presented by new digital justice spaces, and it will also explore how these dilemmas will grow as digital spaces continue to expand. First, digital governance draws upon big data analysis for both everyday governance and repression. As a result, truth commissions established to confront the legacy of digital authoritarianism will be confronted with the challenge of opening the black box of digital surveillance technologies that include a broad range of tools from tracking digital footprints to facial recognition. Second, AI governance raises a number of new dilemmas relating to individual criminal liability and state responsibility. To be sure, the 'algorithmic opacity' of new generations of AI systems that produce AI outputs that are untethered to inputs and raise questions of how to understand human and machine agency. By drawing upon a spatial framework, this paper will explore AI in the context of an emergent digital space within transitional justice and attempt to unpack some of the consequences of the growing role of AI across fields of decision-making for transitional justice practice and research with a specific focus on dilemmas of agency and accountability.

Declan Lawless
University of Adelaide

Keeping up with the (Alex) Joneses: How a pro-Labor social media star courts the anti-feminist online Right's audience

Backlash against feminism, LGBTQ rights activism, and anti-racism has flourished on the Internet since the mid-2010s. These social movements are often rejected as identity politics. Efforts to combat discrimination are dismissed as political correctness. Content-creators who adopt this position and advance reactionary perspectives on social issues are often branded alt-right or alt-lite. Their output appeals most to disaffected young men. Some researchers contend that this phenomenon exists in response to objectionable behaviour common within Anglophone identity movements. These authors maintain that prominent social movements have made their peace with neoliberalism, and developed risible preoccupations in lieu of anti-capitalist critique. Activists with skewed priorities supposedly triggered the alt-right/-lite hostility towards identity politics. These researchers contend that men drawn to the online reactionary Right could be reached by socialist or social democratic discourse which itself ridicules shallow forms of social movement activism. With over 600,000 subscribers and 170 million views on YouTube, Jordan Shanks a.k.a. 'friendly jordies' is one of Australia's most prominent online political commentators. Shanks is a supporter of trade unions and the Australian Labor Party and an opponent of the Liberal-National Coalition and many corporations. He also critiques and mocks contemporary feminism, LGBTQ rights activism, and anti-racism. His videos resonate most with disaffected young men. This research analyses the combined critique of neoliberalism and identity politics which Shanks targets at the same demographic courted in alt-right/-lite discourse. It finds that Shanks fails to narrowly attack neo-liberalised instances of social movement activism, but rather dismisses these movements in general. In his overtures to would-be and actual members of the alt-right/-lite, Shanks echoes many of its discriminatory narratives. This research provides reason to be cautious about the possibility of diverting men from the reactionary Right by catering to their distaste for identity politics

Nicolas Lemay-Hebert
Australian National University

The Practices of Peacekeeping Economy: Archival Research of Everyday Interactions in Cambodia

There is a growing literature on the peacekeeping economy understood as the economic activities associated with a peacekeeping missions presence in host communities. The debates so far have focused on the relative importance of the peacekeeping economy (or whether or not it is present), or if the peacekeeping presence is cumulatively more positive or negative in specific cases. Departing from these debates, this article makes a crucial contribution by analyzing the practices behind the peacekeeping economy, understood as interactions between peacekeepers and the local population, whilst also filling the gap identified by many about the paucity of robust analyses of peace economies at the micro level which could inform general theories about peace economies. Using archival research as means to flesh out practices in one of the legacy cases, of peacekeeping, this article focuses on how the local population expressed their grievances to the UN around the peacekeeping economy, whilst also looking at the

United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia (UNTAC) deployed innovative strategies to mitigate its own detrimental impacts on the local economy. Seen from this dual perspective, the peacekeeping economy acquires a new dimension, shedding new light on the complex entanglements linked to UN peacekeeping presence in host communities.

Tim Legrand
University of Adelaide

Antecedents of Political Repression: The colonial roots of 21st Century anti-terrorism powers

Anti-terrorism powers across the world are employed by liberal democratic states and autocratic regimes alike to identify and dismantle enemies of the state. While many states use such powers judiciously, in many more states the use of anti-terrorism powers since 2001 has proven to be little more than repressive. The crucial precursor for all such anti-terrorism powers is the designation and proscription of an entity as terrorist. Recent scholarship has demonstrated the inherently political and often arbitrary determinations that lead to terrorist designations in the 21st Century, and their frequently counter-productive consequences. Yet, the antecedent practices of contemporary proscription powers are yet to be fully revealed: where did such powers first develop and mature, and what contributed their design? To address this question, this paper undertakes a genealogical analysis of the use of proscription powers in colonial administrations across the world, specifically those of Britain's colonial practices in Kenya and Nigeria in the 1940s and 50s. The paper, first, draws out the discursive framing of (emancipatory) political movements in these countries as anti-state enemies, and identifies the laws and experimental repressive practices of exclusion employed by colonial authorities. Second, it traces the movement of these 'experimental' approaches into the UK's domestic anti-terrorism frameworks addressing violence in initially Northern Ireland and, latterly, the post-9/11 era. Finally, the paper traces the impact of colonial proscription practices on contemporary anti-terrorism regimes worldwide.

Patrick Leslie
Marija Taflaga
Matthew Kerby
Australian National University

Pushers and Jumpers: Voluntary and Involuntary Exits from the Australian Parliament

While political scientists increasingly understand how parliamentary actors enter parliament and how their careers evolve, we know little about how and why they exit. Just as the reasons for entry into political careers are important, so too are the reasons for their going. In parliamentary systems Westminster offices are the key unit of political currency which MPs and parties marshal to influence and make policy outcomes. Why MPs may choose, or are forced, to give up this resource has important implications for representative governance. We use a newly created dataset of parliamentary careers from the Australian Federal Parliament (1946-2016), to examine the conditions under which parliamentarians exit the Australian federal Parliament. Our central finding is that parliamentary high fliers like ministers and opposition leaders are more likely to exit Parliament at a time of their choosing, as opposed to backbenchers are far more likely to lose pre-selection or election campaigns. The findings are important because they demonstrate the intervening effect of intraparty competition on legislative careers.

Jenny M Lewis
University of Melbourne

Varieties of Innovation: Policy themes, trends, and prospects in Australia

What do governments mean when they talk about 'innovation'? The term carries many different meanings, but some dominant varieties can be observed. The first of these is international innovation policy, which is created and diffused around the world. OECD policy on innovation is thematically divided into science, technology, and innovation policy, each of which have a different emphasis in building innovation capacity. The second variety is national innovation policy, meaning policy documents that signal national governmental intentions on how to make the nation more innovative. The third is the related but targeted variety, public sector innovation, which is directed at innovating the public sector, its organisations, and the people who work in the public service. The fourth and final focus is social innovation, which sometimes refers to civil society/third sector innovation, and sometimes to anything that aims to have a social good (therefore overlapping with public innovation).

In this paper, these four varieties of innovation are starting points for an examination of innovation using published documents. Our central questions are: What themes do these documents reveal? How do these themes change over time? What can we conclude about the state of innovation policy in Australia, based on these analyses? To track the general conceptual change in 'innovation' we use three different documentary collections - government policy documents, the scientific literature, and media documents, mainly drawn from the period 1996 to 2019. Manually reading documents, topic modelling and cluster analysis were all used to address our questions. Our analysis highlights how different themes signal the dominant policy intentions of successive Australian governments in relation to innovation, highlighting some divergence from international trends, substantial ambiguity about it along with clear differences between governments, and a strong rise in social innovation as an important theme in recent times.

John Liang
University of Sydney

Great Power AI Competition and Chinese Economic Statecraft

This paper focuses on the significance of artificial intelligence in the ongoing US-China technological competition. China's dramatic and rapid economic rise in the past four decades has enabled it to take on greater geopolitical ambitions. One of the key hurdles that China has to overcome before achieving global leadership is technological supremacy. The dawn of the fourth industrial revolution centred on artificial intelligence (AI) is coinciding with US-China technological competition. This paper will first explain China's leapfrog strategy of skipping an industrial development stage by mastering AI and enable the latecomer power to transform backward industrial disadvantage into an advantage in adopting next generation technology. It will then lay out the theoretical framework of domestically oriented economic statecraft, an art of the state that the United States has mastered in the objective of winning the technological competition against the former Soviet Union during the Cold War. The concept of economic statecraft will also be used as a lens to inspect how China has been able to catch up with the US in AI development and application. The significance of AI in geopolitical competition is reflected in the US bolstering investment in the new technology in order to maintain its technological lead. The paper will conclude on the note that China's economic rise has created a new model of statecraft designed to excel in the next generation technology.

Johan Lidberg
Monash University

The culture of implementing Freedom of Information in Australia

The political functionality of the public sphere rests on a number of assumptions, namely that there exists, at a minimum: freedom of speech/expression, freedom of assembly and the free flow and access to information. If any of these three pillars are weakened, so is the vitality of the public sphere. This paper deals with the third assumption, the access to and free flow of government created and held information. As Australia celebrates 40 years of Freedom of Information laws (the Commonwealth and Victorian Acts came into force in 1982), this paper reports on the second study (2021) building on a pilot study conducted in 2019. In a partnership between Monash University and the Office of the Victorian Information Commissioner, this project granted access (for the first time in Australia) for journalism scholars to FOI officers, managers and government agency executives. The aim of the study was to capture the culture of implementing FOI and wider information access to government held information. The aim was achieved by a mix of online surveys, followed up by focus groups and individual interviews. The principal finding of the project was the pivotal importance of the executive level in government agencies for building and maintaining an information access culture that prioritises information access facilitation, rather than information gate keeping. The participants in the study were close to unanimous in nominating the agency executives as more important for building this culture than the political leadership of agencies. This paper also summarises the findings thus far in the Australia Research Council funded project, 'The culture of implementing Freedom of Information in Australia'. This study extends the project to include South Australia and Western Australia and includes the political level in surveying and interviewing ministers to map their attitudes toward information access and how the implementation of FOI.

The Essence of Regime Type: Identity Consolidation, Identity Homogenisation, and the Demise of the Northeast Asian Regionalism

Some recent research emphasises a process called 'power consolidation' in deepening or weakening the states' identity-foreign policies nexus. This article reviews the trend and examines whether it helps advance state identity-foreign policy research. The article explores two questions. First, if power consolidation is the critical mechanism in such a nexus, how could democratic regimes ever produce foreign policies related to their state identities, given the number of domestic players and the difficulty for actors to consolidate power under such an institutional structure? Second, if state identity change is merely (or essentialising as) a product of the leaders' power consolidation, what is the point of conducting social research at all? The article argues that the 'new' trend of applying or linking power consolidation to identity research suffers from the 'old' problem of essentialising identity research while 'ideas floating freely'. To address the flaws in the scholarly literature, this article provides a novel framework to analyse the 'social' interactions between state identities and power consolidation across different institutional contexts. In an autocratic regime, the internationalised mechanism of 'identity consolidation' is a crucial process, while in democracies, 'identity homogenisation' is the counterpart mechanism. These mechanisms are demonstrated through a case study of China and Japan's identity changes and policy shifts as well as the subsequent demise of the Northeast Asia regionalism, where different regime types and their associated institutionalised mechanisms played a different but determining role in the foreign policy shifts.

The Future of Globalisation: Global governance in the era of climate change

With the advancement of communication technology, the world is developing rapidly. The world is now integrated. Countries in the world are not only interconnected, but also interdependent. A vessel is stuck on the Suez Canal, and a European company is waiting for Chinese supplies because it needs timely delivery to replenish inventory. The world is also integrated into the climate. The impact of the United States on the environment has affected Canada, and Australia's handling of bushfires has also affected New Zealand. So we are merged by technology and environment. In today's world, in the process of globalisation, whether it is Australia, the United States, China, or any country, in addition to its own problems, these domestic problems also involve international relations. These are global issues. Therefore, it is necessary to discuss a country's problems from the global trend of changes in the world situation. How to see whether globalisation can continue to lead our new trends? On the one hand, technological innovation has promoted the rapid development of globalisation and has reshuffled the distribution of labour and markets. The speed of technological change is getting faster and more durable. On the other hand, with the rise of populism and unilateralism on a global scale, some countries and regions are encouraged to implement de-globalisation policies, which brings severe challenges to the development of globalisation and global governance. In addition, since international technological activities have increased, China-US relations have been tense. Technological innovation must be a core part of any successful climate change strategy and energy policy. This paper will discuss how the future of globalisation will develop in the era of climate change under the rise of the rapid development of technology. How should we deal with global solutions to climate change through global governance?

The Multiple Significance of the Australia-India Economic Cooperation and Trade Agreement in the Context of the Indo-Pacific Strategy

Australia and India have been advancing negotiations on the Comprehensive Economic Cooperation Agreement (CECA) since 2011 and the bilateral economic relationship has improved over the years. Following the implementation of the US Indo-Pacific Strategy, geopolitical factors in the Australia-India relationship have driven the bilateral economic relationship forward at an accelerated pace. With the escalation of the Quadrilateral Security Dialogue (QUAD) agenda, the launch of the Japan-Australia-India Supply Chain Resilience Initiative (SCRI) and the perceived threat posed by China's growing power under COVID-19, the strategic needs of Australia and India have increased significantly

and both sides have become more active in each other's markets. On 2 April 2022, the Australia-India "landmark" free trade agreement, the Economic Cooperation and Trade Agreement (ECTA), was finally signed. The signing of this agreement will mean further market opening for both sides, not only by liberalising investment restrictions in key areas of interest to both countries and significantly reducing tariffs on imports and exports, but also by further facilitating rules of origin and customs clearance procedures. The Australia-India FTA relationship is characterised by significant concessions on the Australian side, with asymmetrical tariff reductions and market access for services and goods. The signing of the ECTA is important for the development of the Australia-India Comprehensive Strategic Partnership, the recovery of the Australian and Indian economies after the epidemic, the engagement between QUAD partners and the resilience of the Japan-Australia-India supply chain, affirming Australia's and India's desire to enhance strategic synergies and improve international influence. This situation is a reflection of the fact that Australia and India do not want the Indo-Pacific region to be defined by US-China competition and that autonomous cooperation between middle powers should also play a role in international affairs.

Hannah Lord
Australian National University

Governing Energy Transitions in Southeast Asia: the political economy of electricity trading

Southeast Asia is a major driver of growth in fossil fuel demand globally, and there is urgent need for research on effective decarbonisation pathways for this region. Reducing emissions in the electricity sector is one key dimension, with cross-border electricity trading set to play an important role. However, increased interdependence through electricity trading generates a range of political economy and governance challenges - challenges which have been empirically understudied in Southeast Asia. This research addresses this gap by examining two cases of existing cross-border electricity trading systems in Southeast Asia, through the lens of an emerging literature on regulatory regionalism. The findings will contribute to broader debates about the political economy of energy, and how this shapes the implementation of global climate goals through regional governance frameworks.

Melissa Lovell
Australian National University

The Politics of Indigenous Childhood in Australia: The 2017 Royal Commission into children in detention in the Northern Territory

While the figure of the vulnerable and abused Aboriginal child is a key political lever for Government intervention and action, this often fails to translate into better welfare outcomes for Indigenous children and their communities. This research uses the case study of the Royal Commission into children in detention in the Northern Territory (2017) to explore recent political narratives regarding Indigenous children and youth. Sparked by an episode of current affairs program Four Corners entitled 'Australia's shame' (ABC, 2016), the Royal Commission investigated claims of abuse towards mostly Indigenous children in the Northern Territory (NT) criminal justice system.

This is a desk-based project and sources include: the Royal Commission report, and media coverage and political speeches on the establishment and results of the Royal Commission. This research builds places the Royal Commission into children in detention in the Northern Territory in the context of broader scholarship on Australian Indigenous Affairs policy and criminal justice sector reform. It draws on relevant policy and theoretical literatures to aid in the analysis including literatures on the racialized and imperialist roles of 'child-saving' discourse; historical logics of exclusion of Indigenous people from full citizenship rights; contemporary paradigms in Indigenous Affairs policy; and conceptions of citizenship in neoliberal/ advanced liberal democracies. This research contributes to an improved understanding of governments' failure to address Indigenous disadvantage in the Northern Territory, including the over-representation of Indigenous children and youth in the out-of-home care and criminal justice systems. This failure has occurred despite multiple reports, reviews, and ongoing financial commitments from both the Northern Territory and Federal Governments.

Kizito Lubuulwa
University of Tasmania

The Demise of Democracy Promotion in a Post-COVID World, Exacerbating the Apparent Crisis and Division in Liberal Internationalism

During COVID-19 lock down, many countries traded away liberty of their citizen with impunity as the rest of the world struggled to cope with the pandemic. This challenged the ideas of liberty and freedom and civil rights in various forms exacerbating the apparent crisis and division in liberal internationalism to promoting of democracy. World Health Organisation for example, a well-established part of international system, failed to mobilize global government response resulting in what was called a toxic response to the crisis and raising questions on whether internationalism can still work. In this article I will explore the possibility of resumption of the aspects of pre-pandemic influence of liberal internationalism on domestic politics in some authoritarian countries that were on their own but managed to sail through the pandemic.

Patrick Lucas
*University of New South
Wales*

Organising for Change Through Participatory Guarantee Systems: A focus on small scale farmers in India

Over 80 per cent of global consumption for organic produce occurs in the Global North, yet almost 75 per cent of certified organic farmers are situated in the global south (Willer and Lernoud 2017, p. 62 & 70). Such imbalances, between consumption and production, transform organic agri-food systems from disparate local networks to interconnected global trading systems. A key mechanism governing these systems is internationally recognised organic certification. For small-scale farmers in low-income countries to participate in organic agri-food systems, international standards generally demand compliance through third-party certification (TPC) (Fouilleux and Loconto 2017). These standards are embedded in market conventions of efficiency and standardisation (Raynolds 2004) and documented through audit trails with norms of objectivity, replicability and validity (Power 1999). Experience points to limitations of organic TPC to accommodate the social, cultural, and biophysical conditions of small-scale farms (Cuvellar-Padilla and Ganuza-Fernandez 2018). Questions abound on how well positioned organic TPC is to ensure the principles and values of organic agriculture - health, ecology, fairness, and care. Participatory Guarantee Systems (PGS) are an alternative certification system that offers potential pathways for small-scale farmers to engage in organic agri-food systems on more equitable terms. However, the lack of studies on farmer participation in PGS (Kaufmann, Hruschka, and Vogl 2020) constrains our understanding of whether PGS is well-suited for small-scale farmers to pursue food sovereignty. This study addresses this gap by presenting a case study of PGS across three Indian states, taking a relational perspective to understand the experiences and practices of that guide PGS.

Annette Maguire

Pedagogies for a reconstruction of political life, from feminised margins to centre

The elephant in the room of contemporary political life is the enormous disengagement from politics that we are living through. This carries inherently ominous consequences because - as seen in the reaction to pandemic mandates - the far right is the main force that is coalescing political action within this vacuum of disengagement. This desert landscape of the political is an ever more urgent wake up call for those of us who, as political scholars, are cognisant that without active citizenship, democracy is starved of its lifeblood, and hence we witness the accelerating slide toward authoritarianism that is unfolding both in Australia and internationally.

Henry Maher
University of Sydney

On the Free Market as Neoliberal Master Signifier: Enduring neoliberal hegemony in US Presidential discourse

The 'free market' performs a crucial yet largely unrecognised ordering function in neoliberal ideology. This paper seeks to denaturalise the ideological work performed by the free market by theorising the free market as neoliberal master signifier - that is, as a signifier without a signified, around which all the other signifiers within a discourse are situated. After defining the concept of the master signifier, I trace the development of the free market in neoliberal thought, highlighting that the free market conceals fundamental contradictions in neoliberal ideology regarding the correct role of the state in the economy. Subsequently, I examine the use of the free market master signifier in contemporary political discourse, using 367 documents from the American Presidency

Project to analyse the economic discourse of US Presidents Bush, Obama and Trump. Despite significant variation in economic policy across these different administrations, all three leaders claimed that their administration was guided by free market principles, and used the concept of the free market to justify both deregulatory and interventionist economic policies. Within the corpus of speeches, all three leaders defined the free market as both the transgressive binary opposite of the state, but also as the necessary partner of the state, illustrating the ability of a successful master signifier to 'float', taking on different meanings in different contexts, and reconciling antagonisms. My conclusions point to the enduring hegemony of neoliberal ideas in the US context. Contrary to narratives of the rise of anti-neoliberal populism, the key discursive contest in US Presidential discourse is not between supporters and opponents of the free market, but rather between competing conceptions of the free market.

Rafat Mahmood
New York University
Abu Dhabi

Income and Terrorism: Insights from subnational data

This paper first introduces a theoretical formalization connecting a polity's income level to terrorism. Our framework can accommodate different underlying assumptions about individual- and society-level grievances, yielding competing hypotheses. We then construct a panel database to study terrorism for 1,527 subnational regions in 75 countries between 1970 and 2014. Results consistently imply an inverted U-shape that remains robust to incorporating a comprehensive set of region-level covariates, region- and time-fixed effects, as well as estimating an array of alternative specifications. The threat of terrorism systematically rises as low-income polities become richer, peaking at GDP/capita levels of ,âàUS\$12,800 (in constant 2005 PPP US\$), but then falls consistently above that level. This pattern emerges for domestic and transnational terrorism alike. While peaks differ by perpetrator ideology, the inverted U shape also prevails across ideology-specific subsamples. In sum, alleviating poverty may first exacerbate terrorism, contrary to much of the proposed recipes advocated since 9/11.

Kegan Mannell
University of Newcastle

F* Normality and normativity: calls for rethinking intervention on political science methodology**

What might it mean to rethink the political to meaningfully give space to the political lifeworld's that exist outside of the scope of the settler liberal democratic understanding but nonetheless remain grounded in deep and multidimensional resistances against unequal and hierarchical power relations that characterise many of the disenfranchising and alienating problematics of western liberal democratic political hegemony? Scholarship on how precarious, marginalised and othered folk are conducting 'new' forms of political practices characterised by resistance and autonomy and mobilised around everyday acts are not necessarily a 'new' area of research. However, these areas of focus still occasionally remain bound within hierarchical researcher-participant relationships. Participants are positioned as juvenile, or unsophisticated knowledge havers - unable to think deeply to develop unique, personalised and/or collective forms of political analysis and who need to 'rely' on the translation or implantation of thoughts by political and academic experts.

Luke Mansillo
University of Sydney

The Boats and the Structure of Australian Racial Attitudes: It's not just your grandfather's racism.

Asylum seeker politics has dominated Australian politics since the mid-1990s changing political discourse with consequences for how Australians vote. The issue fits into a broad race-related factor of Australian political ideology. So far studies frame the asylum seeker issue within a rational-choice voting model whereby voters opt for parties with proximal policy positions to their views on the issue. The underlying political psychology that forms these policy preferences are opaque. I employ a structural equation model on the 2019 Australian Cooperative Election Survey data to recover structure of the racial attitudes based on three racial belief components: overt racism, deficient character racism and racial discrimination denialism. These are respectively unambiguous, clear and uncertain measures of prejudice. Again, these are respectively based on biological inferiority, internal attribution and external attribution of success. I then link these beliefs with authoritarian personality to predict attitudes towards asylum policy and the race-related factor within Australian political ideology. Authoritarian personality structures voters' beliefs. Overt racism and deficit character racism are highly interrelated, and both strongly predict policy preferences. Overt racism strongly predicts deficient character racism in structural equation models. Deficient character racism has the most explanatory power explaining voters' attitudes towards turning around boats carrying asylum seekers and their preferred refugee intake level. These results confirm that attitudes towards 'the boats' are based on both overt racism and the more subtle deficit character racism. Explanations for these attitudes do not need to rely on new racism measures

Rob Manwaring
Flinders University

The South Australian State Election 2022: No longer a two-party system?

On 21 March 2022, the South Australian State Election was held. The result saw the end of the single-term Liberal government led by Steven Marshall, and a newly installed Labor government under the leadership of Peter Malinauskas. This paper reviews the key aspects of the SA election campaign, and the decisive factors which saw the Labor party emerge with an unexpected large win. We explore the implications of the win, using Sartori's classic definition of party system types. In effect, since the end of the Playford era - heavily shaped by electoral malapportionment - South Australia has been dominated by the SA Labor party, with significant periods of rule under Dunstan, Bannon, and Rann-Weatherill. Here, we use Sartori's frame to re-think the implications of the state election on South Australia's party system, and we argue that it might no longer be useful to describe it as a two-party system, and what this means for future electoral competitiveness.

Erica Margovsky
University of Sydney

Policy Stasis in Australia's Legalisation of Psilocybin

The research question driving this paper is why psilocybin legalisation policy in Australia is currently in policy stasis - despite the recent opening of a discretionary policy window, increase in attentiveness, and incremental shift in the national mood. I argue that this

stasis has been caused by a discernible lack of policy entrepreneur to connect the streams of problem and politics. I also examine the underlying role of power relating to the covert power displayed by pharmaceutical companies, and the potential perception of psilocybin patients within the social construction of target populations. This is an important issue to look at because the potential therapeutic benefits of psilocybin - the psychoactive compound found in hallucinogenic mushrooms - has been a topic of research for the international scientific community for decades. International studies have largely concluded that psilocybin can offer "substantial advantages over current therapies" in the treatment of mental illnesses such as anxiety, depression, and post-traumatic stress disorder (RANZP 2020: 3). Utilising Kingdon's (1995) multiple streams theory as a framework, this presentation explores how the lack of a policy entrepreneur within psilocybin legalisation policy resulted in a missed discretionary policy window. The problem identified in this issue is the TGA's decision not to reclassify psilocybin from a prohibited to therapeutic substance, which would allow for treatment of patients to take place. The policy discussed is the recent grant of \$15 million AUD towards psychedelic therapy for mental health treatment, in the parameters of early-stage medical research. In this paper, I find that psilocybin policy reform requires a policy entrepreneur to couple the multiple streams: to manage the emotional habitus of psychedelic therapy, address the complexities of institutional power structures, find ways to link the mental health crisis to the solution of a potential new treatment, and engage in persistent political lobbying.

Sania Mariam
Monash University

The Anatomy of Citizenship Amendment Act, 2019: The making and fulfillment of a pledge in India

A promise to enact the Citizenship Amendment Bill by the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) in its 2019 manifesto sparked controversy in India. The bill proposed to make non-Muslim migrants from Pakistan, Afghanistan, and Bangladesh eligible for Indian citizenship. The fulfillment of the pledge led to massive protests all across India wherein religious bodies, political parties, state governments and non-governmental organizations challenged the constitutional validity of the Act in the Supreme Court. In this paper, we examine the origin of the pledge, the process of its fulfillment, and the outcome of it through the lens of public reason. In its broad view, public reason requires that all legislations—including both constitutional and ordinary laws—be justifiable to all members of the political community (Quong 2004). In this paper, we analyze the arguments put forward by government and opposition party leaders in campaign speeches and parliamentary debates, supreme court legislations, and protest leaders and its effect on the fulfillment of the pledge.

Friedel Marquardt
University of Canberra

To What Extent Does Social Media Enable Marginalised Groups to Challenge Dominant Narratives?

If the last few have done anything, they have reinforced that political upheavals are a major factor in politics. We see this particularly in recent social movements and in the way they have challenged dominant and harmful narratives. Through the discourse produced within these movements, phrases such as "me too" and "black lives matter" have become prominent in the public space. Consequently discussion, or at the very least knowledge, about these issues have found their way into general public conversation. Social movements are key sources for bringing the issues these phrases house to the fore, with social media often being a key tool for sharing information, mobilisation, political discourse, and a space to "reimagine" society and institutions (Papacharissi 2016, p. 320). Social media is largely accessible, meaning almost anyone can use it for this, which can make it a useful channel for marginalised groups to provide an alternate perspective into issues that matter to them and in their own way. By being a direct and instant tool for spreading information, social media can bypass established institutions that may not adequately allow for marginalised voices to contribute to the public space.

With this in mind, my research asks whether and how social media can empower marginalised groups in contemporary politics, particularly when it comes to producing and distributing narratives about issues that matter to them? By considering the social media

discourse around a Black Lives Matter protest in Australia, which had a major focus on First Nations deaths in custody, I explore social media's empowering potential for First Nations to produce and disseminate their own narratives, thereby challenging harmful narratives, and discursively reimagining a new political present, as well as a new political future.

Joanna Mason
University of Wollongong

How Policy Actors Contend with Uncertainty in Policy Development

Government policies are routinely devised amidst partial and incomplete evidence about what would make for effective and appropriate responses to complex societal needs. This process involves policy actors drafting proposals and advice to decision makers that are informed by evidence, but also sensitive to the political imperatives of the policy process. How policy actors navigate through uncertainty in their daily work and utilise information from diverse sources, however, has been little studied using in-situ observational techniques.

Drawing from ethnographic fieldwork conducted in 2018-19 that examined the research and evidence engagements of policy staff within a Commonwealth department, this paper delves into a world where bureaucratic and political logics meet in shaping future policy directions. Harnessing ethnographic vignettes from across the study's case studies, it presents selected findings to shed light on how policy actors prepare for future policy trajectories through engaging in review and evaluation of previous government action. The practices of policy actors as they navigate shifting policy intentions and wavering certainty in the value of government investments feature as examples of shared institutional and political expectations that impact on policy futures. These highlight the entanglements of policy staff and their practices with the imperative to demonstrate tangible outcomes resulting from policy initiatives, and how policy agendas can morph over time and become unrecognisable against the original theory of change. With a particular focus on the skills required for doing 'policy work' and how actors craft reliable and persuasive narratives to bureaucratic and political decision-makers, this paper presents a grounded and actor-centred perspective on how actors engage in shaping future policy. It highlights that while research and evidence can instill credibility to their communications, traditional policy skills of argumentation and judgement are indispensable to guide decision makers about desirable policy options and their likely effects.

Justin McCaul
*Australian National
University*

Deliberating Native Title

The 2017 Uluru Statement from the Heart called for the creation of a First Nations Voice to Parliament in order for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people to exercise a greater degree of influence over public policy and political decisions. The proposal was quickly rejected by the Coalition government while the idea of a single Indigenous political voice has attracted criticism from Indigenous and non-Indigenous interests alike for varying reasons.

Under Australian settler-colonial law, native title has been constructed as a domestic property right and not a set of political and sovereign rights. However, sovereignty and self-determination are evident within a number of processes made possible under native title including agreement making, participatory governance, and Indigenous nation building. With Australia continuing to deny any meaningful structural reform in Indigenous-settler state relations, Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people must engage pragmatically and innovatively with existing state processes and institutions. As such, native title is an often overlooked space for public deliberation on self-determination, the exercise of self-government, and decolonising relations between Indigenous polities and the settler colonial state.

This paper is concerned with the current interest on the most appropriate institutional form for an Indigenous 'voice' to talk back to the Australian state. The Uluru Statement, the Victorian Government's Treaty negotiations with First Nations groups, and the ongoing role of native title prescribed body corporates (PBCs), suggests future Indigenous political representation as being considerably diverse with an Indigenous voice (singular) to parliament needing to align with individual community based Indigenous voices (plural) on the ground and their responsibility to engage with the state.

Michael McGann
University of Melbourne

Marketisation vs. professionalism in employment services delivery: a case study from Ireland

'Professionalism' in activation work has become an increasingly important issue; not least as activation has been extended to wider cohorts of citizens with more complex needs that require more tailored, individualised support. Achieving such levels of personalisation will depend considerably on the 'professional judgement' (Rice, 2017) and level of expertise of frontline workers. Yet activation workers often resemble 'professionals without a profession' (van Berkel et al., 2010) - expected to personalize services without any formal qualification to work in employment services or recognized body of professional knowledge. The 'professional' status of activation work may come under further pressure in governance contexts where service delivery has been contracted-out to market providers through forms of performance-based contracting. This arises from how market governance instruments generate trade-offs between cost and quality, while generating incentives for providers to reduce costs.

Jordan McSwiney
University of Canberra

Countering Violent Extremism through Democratic Resilience

This paper focuses on extremist threats as a key problem affecting the functioning of public sphere in multicultural societies. We develop the concept of 'democratic resilience' drawing on the theory of deliberative democracy, and novel empirical research on countering violent extremism (CVE) in Australia. A deliberative approach to resilience suggests shifting the focus from communities to the institutions and actors of public sphere and provides normative conditions under which public sphere can respond to external shocks without losing its democratic character. We redefine resilience as the key characteristics of an inclusive public sphere, which is an overlooked target of extremist threats in multicultural societies. Empirically, the paper draws on document analysis of CVE policies and programs as well as semi-structured interviews conducted with actors involved in developing and/or implementing them in New South Wales, Australia.

Jordan McSwiney
University of Canberra

Anika Gauja

University of Sydney

Michael Vaughan

Weizenbaum Institute

Parties, Partisans, and Political Memes: Election Campaigning and Articulations of Political Identity

This paper analyses the use of memes and other digital visual media by five Australian political parties and associated partisan meme spaces on Facebook and Instagram during the 2022 federal election campaign. Using qualitative visual analysis and interviews with a members of parties social media teams and creators behind partisan meme pages, we explore how memes and other images are used to articulate political identity. By analysing official party materials alongside content created by in informal partisan spaces, we also explore how parties and partisans use visual media for different purposes in the context of an election.

John Mikler
University of Sydney

Ainsley Elbra

University of Sydney

Hannah Murphy-Gregory

University of Tasmania

The Big 4 Professional Services Firms and Corporate Tax Governance: From Global Dis-harmony to National Regulatory Incrementalism

The Big Four professional services firms - PwC, Deloitte, KPMG and EY - promote, sanction, and regularize the behaviour and practices of business and government. This is especially the case in the area of multinational tax avoidance. This large, and growing, sector of the Big Four's business model places them at the centre of both causing and addressing the problem. Their role is not limited to advising MNCs on complex tax structures. They also advise governments and international organisations on regulatory reform of the global tax system. This article examines their role in so doing through an analysis of Australian Senate Inquiry hearings and responses to the OECD reform program on the digitalisation of the economy. We show that advice provided by the Big Four is not purely technical, but is intended to achieve a global corporate tax system that is either globally dis-harmonized or a matter of national regulatory incrementalism. This is despite their claims of supporting global regulation based on multilateral agreements. Ultimately, we demonstrate that the Big Four use their significant structural power to discursively undermine the ideals of the OECD, the leading international organization working to reform global taxation.

Stephen Mills
University of Sydney

Losing Face: The declining fortunes of the party 'central office' in Australian political parties

Australian political parties exemplify Katz and Mair's observation that the three faces of party are in constant competition. This paper reviews the changing competition, over the past decade, between the electoral-professional ('party in central office') and parliamentary ('party in office') faces of the Australian Labor Party and Liberal Party, at the state and national levels. At a time when the Prime Minister himself is a former party official, an important aspect of this contest centres on the 'stepping stone' movement of central office party officials into elected office. The paper sets out the distinctive methods developed within the Labor and Liberal parties to curb this practice. At the same time, parliamentary leaders have become increasingly assertive in candidate preselection, traditionally a function performed by the central office and members. Finally, the paper reviews the damaging controversies around head office roles in political donations (including the findings of the NSW ICAC's Operation Aero), financial management (the jailing of a Victorian official for theft), and misuse of parliamentary funding (the Victorian Ombudsman's 'Red Shirts' inquiry). The paper concludes that while, in both parties, central office continues to exercise the predominant role in campaign management including fundraising, its authority and reach have declined relative to the parliamentary party.

Caitlin Mollica
University of Newcastle

Overcoming the competition cycle: Resourcing youth and gender inclusive peacebuilding

International peacebuilding efforts are increasingly focused on the pursuit of inclusive practices, mostly notably the substantive engagement of women and youth. Yet, the UN Secretary General has noted that despite increased normative commitments the absence of dedicated and accessible funding for inclusive peace initiatives remains one of the key challenges impacting the meaningful realisation of sustainable and inclusive peace (2020). The adequate resourcing of youth and women led peacebuilding is critical for ensuring that international obligations to the Women, Peace and Security Agenda and the Youth, Peace and Security Agenda are upheld. Yet the hyper competitive funding landscape often creates tension between these agendas, that have the capacity to be mutually reinforcing and enabling. Drawing on examples from international donor programs including the Gender and Youth Promotion Initiatives this paper examines the impact of these contestations on the meaningful realisation of both agendas. Despite best intentions large scale, international funding practices often continue to be donor-driven rather than community-led, which limits their capacity to respond to the needs of both women and youth. Thus, reinforcing a problematic competition cycle. I suggest that a commitment to participatory grantmaking offers opportunities for the meaningful realisation of both inclusive agendas.

Caitlin Mollica
University of Newcastle

Youth and transitional justice

Young people's voices are essential for the realisation of transitional justice processes that address the intersectional conditions, which produce violence and instability. Without *care-full* attention to the diverse positionalities of youth, transitional justice practices are unable to fulfil the 'never again' ethos central their mandate, namely to the pursuit of accountability for human rights violations. Young people are not a monolith, yet often institutional justice practices assume that their experiences are homogenous, thus producing unresponsive accountability solutions. In response, youth have increasingly pursued justice through alternative pathways. Drawing on examples of informal mechanisms (art), this paper examines the role of storytelling for the realisation of *care-full* and inclusive justice. It argues that youth's voices, revealed through these mechanisms produce a complex tapestry of stories, that challenge the status quo of formal institutions, and when prioritised can contribute to more inclusive justice.

Kimberly Erika Moloney
Hamad bin Khalifa
University

A Partial Justice: International Civil Servants, International Administrative Law, and International Organizations

Abstract: Just over 11,000 cases involving employees of international organizations have been heard by Administrative Tribunals since 1927. Each case involves a claimant

(aggrieved international civil servant) seeking redress against an alleged behavior by their employer (international organization). As a topic sitting in a crevice among public personnel administration, international organizations, and the law, the limited access to justice available to international civil servants and the resulting accountability concerns have been overlooked. By noting how relevant employment laws, immunities, administrative tribunals, and multiple access to justice concerns negatively impacts international civil servants when compared to domestic administrative systems, this paper highlights the accountability concerns which arise as well as opportunities for further administrative research.

Neil Mortimer
Loughborough University

Governing the Endemic: COVID-19 & Policy Experimentation; A Comparative Analysis of Two Approaches to the COVID Crisis; Australia & the United Kingdom

COVID-19 represents one of the major challenges to governance and policymaking of the 21st century. It is widely understood that COVID-19 will have a transformative impact on crisis policymaking and governance more broadly. There remains a need to understand differences in governance responses to the pandemic in different countries.

The Australian federal system and the United Kingdom's system of devolution provide excellent cases for studying different forms of governance and policymaking across and within various stages and domains of the pandemic.

Australia's response embraced initial successes yet was marred by a myriad of future mistakes. Comparatively and conversely, the United Kingdom's response featured a litany of initial mistakes, assisted by future successes.

By comparing these case studies with differing outcomes, we address questions over policy and politics, to paint a coherent and relevant picture of the two country cases.

Without a "silver bullet" for COVID-19 policymaking, the advancement of incremental solutions remains vital to find and then share elements of effective governance and policymaking. We draw from new modes of governance to discuss their potential and explain variation(s).

Policymakers, scientists, citizens, and business leaders are working to find new and more experimental approaches to governing in times of crisis. New modes of governance are conceptualised through the theory of "experimentalist governance", which identifies a distinct yet distinguishable logic of policymaking. We argue that the COVID-19 crisis can drive "experimentation" beyond pilot activities toward a general approach in crisis policymaking.

Current scholarship is limited to the diffusion of experimental architectures, lacking analysis of their practises and emergence of the "experimental style" in COVID-19 policymaking. This paper utilises governance theory to explain and identify COVID-19 policymaking styles and outline conditions where a government will opt for 'x' approach or even a mixture.

Jeremy Moses
University of Canterbury

New Zealand, Australia and the debate over Autonomous Weapons Systems

This paper examines the complexities of New Zealand's position in the debate on lethal autonomous weapons (or 'killer robots'), particularly as it relates to Australia's pursuit of these technologies. It will discuss NZ Minister of Disarmament Phil Twyford's push for a strong voice for New Zealand in the debate, before considering two obstacles that may stand in the way of such a leadership role: management of New Zealand's alliance with Australia, and second, the desire to not impede technological research and development within New Zealand. Finally, it considers, if any, avenues could be explored in order to overcome these obstacles.

Molly Murphy
Kath Gelber
University of Queensland

The Weaponisation of Free Speech in Australia

In recent years, the concept of 'free speech' appears to have reached a position of significant prominence in public debate. The place of free speech in Australian political culture has always needed to be considered cautiously in the sense that the 'posturing' of politicians 'is often incommensurate with a commitment to freedom of speech in the concrete reality of policy making'. Nevertheless, today it is arguable that posturing around free speech has increased, and appears to be impacting on policy making in new ways.

We investigate whether this is the case. We evidence both an increase in the presence of 'free speech' in Australian public discourse over time, especially the last five years, and an inconsistency in its application. This leads us to conclude that free speech has been 'weaponised' in Australian public discourse. By this we mean both that the presence of the idea of free speech in political discourse does not reflect a principled defence of this central human right, and that the idea is used strategically, often in ways that contradict a stated commitment to its protection.

Hannah Murphy-Gregory
University of Tasmania

Private Governance and Social Licence: The case of sustainable hydrogen certification

This paper examines the links between the scholarship on transnational private governance – in particular – product certification schemes – and the emerging literature on 'social licence'. This is directed towards understanding the evolving governance of the sustainable hydrogen industry in Australia and peripheral regions where 'hydrogen hubs' are currently being developed. Australia and peripheral regions such as Tasmania stand to benefit enormously from the emerging global hydrogen economy, projected to add over 17,000 jobs and \$26 billion in GDP. To secure these benefits, it is vital that hydrogen exported from Australia meet supply chain actors and stakeholder's expectations which are being shaped by competing discourses of nationalism, globalism and sustainability. This paper examines the sustainability criteria on which a certification scheme might be based, looking beyond narrowly focused techno-economic aspects of hydrogen production to include social, environmental and governance issues, that if avoided, may undermine the fuel's potential to contribute to wider sustainability and thus store up social licence challenges for the emergent hydrogen industry. The theoretical contribution of the paper is to address the linkages between social licence and certification governance and the extent to which certification processes may address social licence concerns.

Sreeja Nair
*Lee Kuan Yew School of
Public Policy*

Rethinking Piloting: Insights from Indian agriculture

Piloting is an important form of policy experimentation and a promising tool for policymakers to innovate, formulate and test alternative policy designs for the future. While this is recognized in theory, there are several challenges in realizing a pilot's potential to do so in practice. Addressing these challenges ask for a deeper understanding of the design of policy pilots and their outcomes in terms of how they scale-up and mainstream into routine policymaking. The key question under investigation is: how do design features of pilots influence their policy translation?

Looking back over 25 years of agricultural policymaking in India, thirteen pilots launched at the national level are selected for a comparative analysis. Four design features are identified as being instrumental to national-level piloting- the pilot's vision for scaling-up, stakeholder partnerships that govern the pilot and similarity of pilot's goals and instruments (to achieve these goals) with ongoing policies. Data pertaining to these design features for the selected pilots are obtained through interviews with central and state-level policymakers, researchers and donor agencies in India and compared across the cases. A fuzzy-set Qualitative Comparative Analysis is conducted to identify combinations of design features (causal conditions) associated with low and high levels of scaling-up and policy translation (outcome).

The results indicate that despite being acknowledged as a tool that can enable risk-taking and innovation, in practice pilots are conservatively designed with their operational contribution being limited to periodically update existing policies through marginal changes to their scope.

Sascha Nanlohy
University of Sydney
Tallan Donine
Daniel Solomon
Lawrence Wocher
*Simon-Skjoldt Center for the
Prevention of Genocide*
Kyra Fox

The Atrocity Prevention Toolbox: A Systematic Review

The post-Cold War period has seen significant advancements and innovation in the policy "toolbox" to prevent and respond to mass atrocities. Despite these advancements and a growing research agenda on policy responses to civil war and human rights violations, however, there is little systematic knowledge about the effects of these policy tools---such as military intervention, mediation, and targeted financial sanctions---on mass atrocities and closely-related outcomes. In this paper, we present the results of a systematic review

Alexandra Hall
Ploughshares Fund
Jessica Moody
King's College London

of evidence surrounding the atrocity prevention toolbox. We proceed in four parts. First, we outline our method of identifying and summarizing the conclusions of approximately 480 relevant academic and "grey literature" studies about more than a dozen tools published from 1990 -- 2020. Second, we summarize our analytic conclusions about the general effects of these tools and the characteristics of policy context and design that influence their outcomes. Third, we offer conclusions about the methodological challenges that we confronted in this analysis. We conclude by outlining implications for empirical research about policy responses to mass atrocities.

Sascha Nanlohy
University of Sydney

R2P, Terrorism, and the Protection of Civilians - 'Are All Humans Human? Or Are Some More Human than Others?'

Terrorism is often cited in the justifications of state perpetrators of mass atrocities. The reality behind these claims runs the gamut from thin pretext to genuine security threats. Irrespective of this reality, the discursive abuse of counter-terrorism to perpetrate atrocities is a key challenge to the Responsibility to Protect. Perpetrators employing the language of counter-terrorism to justify their actions, in an attempt to pre-empt objections or interventions, disincentivises external action by actors unwilling to incur the risk that they may inadvertently protect terrorists. This risks limiting the application and successful operationalisation of the Responsibility to Protect to relatively simple or ideal cases. This paper provides a comparative analysis of two crises often described as successes or failures for R2P, Kenya (2007-08) and Sri Lanka (2009) respectively, to demonstrate this challenge for the operationalisation of R2P even in cases with complex conflict dynamics.

Amy Nethery
Deakin University
Peter Ferguson
Deakin University
Zim Nwokora
Deakin University

Politics as a Transitory Vocation: Post-parliamentary Challenges Experienced by Former Victorian MPs

A career in parliament is, by its nature, a transitory vocation and parliamentary turnover is critical for a healthy democracy. Yet many MPs fail to prepare for the time when they must leave parliament, and this creates and exacerbates challenges for the individuals concerned. Their problems are also concerns from the standpoint of democracy because poor outcomes for former MPs may discourage high-quality candidates from diverse socioeconomic and cultural backgrounds from running for office. This article explores MPs' experience of leaving parliament based on data from former members of the Parliament of Victoria, Australia. We find that former MPs, particularly those who leave the parliament involuntarily, typically experience serious challenges including a loss of identity, a fracturing of social relationships, and employment and financial stress. Acknowledging that the role of modern parliaments is expanding well beyond their traditional purview, we offer practical recommendations to mitigate these issues.

Phuc Nguyen
La Trobe University
Jenny Lewis
University of Melbourne
Mark Considine
University of Melbourne
Siobhan O'Sullivan
UNSW
Michael McGann
University of Melbourne
Sarah Ball
University of Melbourne

NPM and Gender (In)equality in Social Welfare Workforce: The case of Australian Welfare-to-Work

Over recent decades, New Public Management (NPM) which has become a significant driver of public management policy around the world. The application of NPM to the public sector is expected to generate multiple benefits, for instance, improved efficiency, enhanced responsiveness and innovation, and a wider range of consumer choice for service users (Andrews and Van de Walle, 2013, Davidson, 2011). It however has been argued to have significant impacts on public sector workforce, including de-professionalisation and de-unionisation. Viewed through a gender lenses, such influences are especially concerning given the phenomenon of feminisation of social welfare occupations since the mid-1980s in Australia and some other OCED countries. Not to mention speculations about negative impacts of NPM on the feminist movement and gender equity (Newman, 2013, Sawyer, 2007, Kantola and Squires, 2008, Davies and Thomas, 2002).

This study therefore aims to shed lights on the intersection between NPM and gender equality (or the lack of) in the social welfare workforce. The analysis is conducted in the context of welfare-to-work sector in Australia, a pioneer in NPM-driven welfare reforms. Specifically, using four waves of survey data (1998, 2008, 2012 and 2016), we first track the changes to the sector's frontline labour force on multiple fronts, e.g. sex segregation, work nature, and working conditions. Then, using qualitative data collected via semi-

structured interviews and observations and secondary data, it aims to explore the implications of such changes through a gender lenses by engaging in in-depth analyses of the interactions between the identified changes and their potential drivers and/or outcomes such as sex-role stereotypes, emotional labour, age, education levels and workplace satisfaction.

Quynh Nguyen
Australian National University

Power Transitions and International Economic Cooperation: Experimental Evidence from Parallel Surveys in China and the U.S.

How do changes in the balance of power, such as the power transition between the U.S. and China, affect public support for international cooperation? Power transitions not only spur political conflict between the dominant and the rising power, but also lead to severe economic disruptions. Specifically, we expect that citizens in the declining power are more critical of bilateral trade cooperation than citizens in the rising power because they are concerned about unequal economic gains for their country. By means of parallel survey-embedded experiments with samples in China and the United States, we examine how American and Chinese citizens respond to information about the evolution of their countries' economic power vis-à-vis one another. The results support our hypotheses. Moreover, the impact of the power transition on support for bilateral cooperation is similar across partisan camps and among citizens with diverse socio-economic status. Great Power competition, therefore, interferes with the course of international economic affairs also in our current world order -- an aspect that has been downplayed for a long time in international political economy research. The bilateral tensions between the U.S. and China, thus, have deep structural roots and are unlikely to disappear in the future.

Erin O'Brien
Queensland University of Technology

The repression of political consumerism and investorism: examining the role of the state in market-based political participation

In November 2019, the Prime Ministers of the United Kingdom and Australia both declared their intent to impose limits on political activism in the marketplace by introducing bans against indirect, or secondary, boycotts. Boris Johnson proposed a ban on the controversial 'boycott, divest and sanction' (BDS) campaign against Israel, while Scott Morrison threatened to ban secondary boycotts by environmental action groups protesting mining. While there is an extensive, and growing, body of scholarship examining the mobilisation and outcomes of market-based political participation, relatively little attention has been given to the role of the state in enabling, instigating, or repressing political consumerism and investorism. This paper analyses the political statements about the proposed bans on political consumerism and investorism in Australia and the UK in 2019, arguing that the bans reflect government opposition to the political cause behind the boycott, rather than the boycott tactic itself, yet serve to delegitimise and repress market-based political participation.

Brendon O'Connor
University of Sydney

What was the Trump Doctrine?

It is easy to dismiss the notion of a Trump Doctrine and see the foreign policies of the Trump Administration as principally directed by the often-erratic whims of an egotistical president whose main aim each day of his presidency was to gain the maximum amount of attention possible. For example, on North Korea in Year 1 it was the "mad-man theory" and in Year 2 it was courtship. In August 2017 Trump claimed that if Kim Jong Un continued to provoke America, he would unleash "fire and fury like the world has never seen"; however, by February 2018 he was praising Kim saying "I was really being tough and so was he, and we would go back and forth. And then we fell in love. No really. He wrote me beautiful letters." And then there were Trump's mysterious relations with Putin and Russia. Some tried to theorise his attitude towards Kim, Putin, and Erdoğan as evidence of Trump's favouring of strongmen and autocracy. Foreign policy doctrines are bumper sticker summaries of a president's defining outlook towards international relations. For Truman his doctrine was "containment"; for Reagan it was "spreading democracy"; and for Bush Jr it was his "freedom agenda". Trump's foreign policy bumper sticker was "America first". Some scholars have argued that with Trump it is always in reality "Trump first"; others have contended that "America first" is too transactional to be considered a doctrine. This paper will suggest that all presidential

doctrines are inconsistent and often hypocritical, but what is important to follow is how policies flow from these defining beliefs. With "America first," we can see with regard to the global environment, immigration, alliance relations and trade with China that there were clear attempts during the Trump Administration to convert this slogan into policies.

Janine O'Flynn

*Australia and New Zealand
School of Government*

Are hybrids evil? How focusing on the mechanisms of governance masked the unfolding of a large-scale morality tale.

Suddenly the study of hybridity is everywhere. And there is much attention on hybrid forms of organising as a smart solution to complex challenges (Koppenjan, Karré and Termeer, 2019). Hybrids though are nothing new; many writers in other fields having long focused on how they mix or sit somewhere in-between markets and hierarchies (Williamson, 1979; Heydebrand 1989; O'Flynn, 2019). While current discussion is about how smart hybrids might be (Koppenjan et al, 2019), Williamson (1991) argued that they inevitably sacrifice some of the advantages of both markets and hierarchies. It is also possible, even probable, that hybrids may join together the worst aspects of each, creating new problems, destructive dynamics, or even monstrous combinations (O'Flynn, 2019).

Professional Women, Nation-Making, and the Negotiation of Difference at Boarding Schools in Bougainville and Solomon Islands

Workplace dynamics and professionalism have been left out of scholarship on the nation-making the middle class undertakes in Papua New Guinea and Solomon Islands. This paper analyses how professional women—teachers at secondary boarding schools—performed their professionalism in ways that challenged conservative ideals about their roles in the workplace. Significant cultural diversity characterised the boarding schools, and the daily routine gave ample opportunity for students and teachers to discover similarities between them. These discoveries were a part of their nation-making, but were also entangled with ideas teachers and students held about professionalism. Thus teachers came to understand that professionalism was a mix of official duties and shared cultural practices. Despite pressure to include their motherhood in their professional identities, women could utilise reconciliation practices and shame to assert a form of professionalism that gave them equal standing with male colleagues. The data suggest female teachers were convincing students of their alternative.

Sonia Palmieri

*Australian National
University*

In the Eye of the Beholder? Gendered consequences of parliamentary hybridity in Australia

The 'time of crisis' sparked by the coronavirus pandemic presents feminist political scientists with an important opportunity to reflect on the gender sensitivity of parliamentary rule changes. As representative bodies, parliaments were entrusted with the critical approval of legislative and budgetary response packages that would save lives and livelihoods. While significant attention was paid to the content of those packages and their differential impact on marginalised social groups, less was paid to the gendered effect of rule changes made by parliaments to enable that review (the work of Smith and Childs, 2021 being an important exception here). An interesting change made as a consequence of the pandemic related to 'hybridity', or the ability of parliamentarians and staff to participate and vote in the chamber either in person or remotely, and for parliamentary committees to operate remotely. A common assumption is that this greater flexibility in the parliamentary process had a positive impact on parliamentarians (and staff) in terms of their increased ability to channel the views of their constituencies into debates and oversight work, but also in juggling work and family responsibilities. This paper offers a critical reflection of the gendered consequences of parliamentary hybridity in this time of crisis and argues that the assumed benefits offered by remote working arrangements are not simply 'in the eye of the beholder', that is, a matter of personal preference for MPs and staff. Specific attention is required to mitigate demonstrated disadvantages, particularly for marginalised groups including those with caring responsibilities.

Technology and the Modern Tyrant

Are modern authoritarian leaders destined to be defeated by advances in technology? Or to the contrary, does modern science empower authoritarian leaders with new weapons, a portent of a future technological totalitarianism? The paper first explores the powerful and promising claim that certain forms of technological innovations present an insurmountable obstacles to authoritarian leaders by examining the 'dictator's dilemma', the choice authoritarian leaders are said to confront in being compelled to adopt modern technology, while in doing so risking their power due to liberating force of communication technologies. It then examines the alternative possibility, whether modern technology by its very nature will tend to favour authoritarian leaders by exploring modern advances in big data and artificial intelligence and how it seems to promise the unprecedented potential of total control. It concludes by reflecting on the more radical possibility that advances in technology may efface the distinction between authoritarian and democratic rule, due to the susceptibility of democracies to favour innovations even if at the risk of individual liberty, or to the increasing dominance of technocracy as 'technicity'.

Exploring logics of gender and race within Scott Morrison's climate change rhetoric

It is increasingly recognised within climate change literature that anthropogenic climate change (ACC) compounds gendered, racialised and class-based inequities in society. Despite recent polling indicating that the Australian public are deeply concerned by climate change, Scott Morrison's government has been consistently accused of taking inadequate climate change action, especially during the 2019-2020 bushfire season. Despite this, there has not yet been sustained scholarly attention paid to the relationship between Morrison's championship of the coal industry, the specific masculinity of Morrison's leadership style, and the ways in which climate change is discursively constructed by Scott Morrison as Prime Minister. Through a discourse analysis of the statements Scott Morrison has made in relation to climate change since his election in August 2018 to March 2022, this research explores the operation of gendered and racial logics underpinning the climate change policy of the Australian Government. The analysis shows that such logics structure the language Morrison frequently employs to dismiss heightened climate change action and construct Australia's economic and defensive position in the international arena. Finally, this paper recognises that specific expressions of political masculinity may continue to hinder meaningful climate change action in the future.

Social Group Representation: Federalism and Electoral Systems

A fast-developing corpus of research examines the effects of institutional characteristics on the representation of minorities in national legislatures (e.g. Morales and Saalfeld, forthcoming; Lublin, 2014; Forest, 2012; Bloermraad, 2012; Bird et al, 2010). Notwithstanding these advancements, understanding the impact of institutional characteristics on minority substantive representation is compromised by limitations on how past work conceptualizes and measures it. Furthermore, data scarcity has led to most analyses focusing on a small number of cases that may not be representative. This paper seeks to address these concerns and gain greater purchase on the impact of federalism and electoral systems using a measure of minority power available across a wide range of countries. Specifically, minority representation is conceptualized as the distribution of power by social group with minorities considered well represented when "all social groups have roughly equal political power." Power distribution by social group - differentiated based on caste, ethnicity, language, race, region, or religion - is measured over time for over 180 countries and over 2,300 elections from 1945 to 2021 (V-DEM, 2022). Our empirical analysis presents robust results of the effects of federalism and proportional electoral systems on power distribution by social group.

Women's Political Representation, Good Governance and Human Development

As women's political inclusion has become the international norm, many countries have implemented gender quotas or actively tried to increase women's political representation.

Women's inclusion is also expected to bring positive development outcomes, as women, both as voters and politicians, may prioritize policies conducive to development. Yet, previous research has shown that descriptive representation does not automatically improve governance, and that various contextual factors influence (female) politicians' ability to shape policy outcomes. In this study, we examine how political corruption affects the dynamics of women's representation. We argue that while the presence of women in politics has the potential to increase development, it can also be used as "window-dressing" to legitimize rule where in-reality male patrons continue to dominate policy decisions. Thus, women representatives recruited from the same corrupt networks as these male patrons may be used to perpetuate the status-quo or even decrease development outcomes. Building on previous research, we argue that patriarchal gender norms and relatively weaker standing of women in corrupt environments can explain why women in these societies may support policy decisions that go against their preferences and interests as a group. We conduct a quantitative analysis drawing on time-series cross-sectional data on 182 countries from 1900 to 2014 to shed light on the linkage between women empowerment, corruption, and development. We find that women's representation only promotes human development if corruption is at low levels, while under high level of corruption women's inclusion is associated with worsened development outcomes. This finding suggests that women political empowerment might not always be a silver bullet to increasing substantive representation, and especially not under very poor levels of governance and prevalent corruption.

John Phillimore
Curtin University

A Democratic Audit of Australian Federalism

Federalism has often been seen as a way of promoting democracy, by bringing government closer to the people. But at the same time, its actual operation — in terms of relations between the different governments — has been criticised as 'opaque' and dominated by the executive, and hence undemocratic. In 2009, Marian Sawer and colleagues declared in 2009 that "the question of how to make intergovernmental decision-making democratic, transparent and accountable remains one of the most intractable problems of Australian democracy." In this presentation, I assess that claim, outlining the nature of Australian federalism and intergovernmental relations including how the Covid-19 pandemic has seen a reassertion of State government powers as well as a change in the way Commonwealth and State governments interact.

Jane Phuong
University of Canberra

Know Your River: Experiences of female academic leaders in Vietnam

Gender inequities in leadership positions in academia persist globally. However, there are significant variations in the form these inequities take depending on country contexts, and as such devising strategies to overcome these will require developing a thorough understanding of the country specific barriers to equality. While the underrepresentation of women in senior leadership positions has become a burgeoning field of inquiry in recent years, few studies have been conducted to investigate this problem in Vietnam. This qualitative research uses photo elicitation interviews and interpretative phenomenological analysis (IPA) to bridge this gap. Grounded in the conceptual framework of the metaphor, the research examines Vietnamese women's lived experiences as academic leaders in a male-dominated environment. It argues that by analysing the metaphors they use, we can extend our understanding of the issues they face. In the Western context, static challenges such as the 'glass ceiling' or the 'sticky floor' have been used to describe the barriers to career progression. We show that in Vietnam, the metaphor of river that constantly flows and changes is more representative of the careers of women in academia. Overall, the study seeks to help organisations to plan for difference in the workplace, and therefore promote gender equality at work by enabling women to progress in their academic careers.

Jonathan Pickering
University of Canberra

Strategies of Reluctant Treaty Participation: Dragging the chain on global climate change cooperation

Overcoming the reluctance of some states to commit to and implement treaties remains a key challenge for international cooperation. While some reluctant countries may simply refuse to join treaties, others join yet fail to participate wholeheartedly or obstruct efforts

at cooperation. In this paper we seek to understand the different ways in which states may participate reluctantly in international environmental agreements.

First, we present an analytical framework for categorising strategies of reluctant treaty participation. In doing so we connect recent developments in research on reluctance in international politics (in particular the work of Sandra Destradi) with the longstanding body of research on compliance with international agreements. We then apply this framework to the participation of G20 member states in agreements under the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change, focusing primarily on the Kyoto Protocol and the Paris Agreement. Drawing on a range of data sources, including (a) parties' timing of treaty ratification and submission of UNFCCC reports, (b) reports of negotiations and (c) the longstanding 'Fossil of the Day' awards convened by the Climate Action Network-International, we aim to build a more systematic picture of which parties tend to demonstrate more reluctant behaviour than others. We also seek to ascertain whether this behaviour manifests itself primarily in terms of delay (e.g. failing to submit reports or update targets on time) or obstruction (e.g. making counter-productive proposals or seeking to block constructive proposals made by other parties) or a combination of the two. We conclude with recommendations on how parties committed to progress on global climate change cooperation could address the risks associated with reluctant behaviour.

Lachlan Poel
Flinders University

Electoral (Dis)Informed? - Australian Parliamentary Committees and Electoral Disinformation

Democracies face serious challenges from social media disinformation aimed at electoral integrity. The question is how governments understand the uncertainty posed by this threat. This project compares evidence of electoral disinformation presented to Australian parliamentary committees with that presented to US congressional committees. This paper will present preliminary findings of the Australian analysis. This analysis consists of a content analysis of 37 committee hearings and 185 witnesses between 2016 and 2021. The coding framework was developed from Tenove's conceptualisation of the three major threats disinformation poses to democracy, threats to: democratic deliberation, self-determination, and responsible & accountable government. Initial analysis of evidence and testimony provided to the Australian parliamentary committees shows that the threat is largely understood as arising from foreign actors; this may be a limited perspective with consequences for the scope of the Australian response.

Rodrigo Praino
Flinders University

Invalid Votes: Theory, taxonomy, and empirical observation

Lisa Hill
University of Adelaide

In every democratic election, a proportion of votes cast by citizens is declared invalid for various reasons. Some of these invalid votes are intentional, that is, voters choose to waste their votes on purpose, and some of these invalid votes are unintentional and end up being wasted due to voter error. All can be considered lost votes and in Australia the rate is unusually high. Existing research uses either aggregate data or individual-level data to study this phenomenon. Both approaches are unsatisfactory, as the former is unable to adequately distinguish between intentional and unintentional invalid votes, while the latter is only able to collect data on intentional invalid votes. This collaborative project with the Victoria Electoral Commission represents the first exhaustive study of informal voting ever undertaken anywhere. In it, we combine experimental data, aggregate level data and individual level data to provide a multi-dimensional understanding of the full implications and effects of both intentional and unintentional informality. Guided by existing research, we have developed a comprehensive theory of invalid voting and a new taxonomy of invalid votes. Using our taxonomy, the VEC counted and classified every single one of the 160,144 invalid votes cast during the 2020 local government elections in the Australian state of Victoria. We report on our initial findings and also on the methods we will employ in our three other intersecting studies on invalid voting over the next two elections in Victoria.

Athena Charanne Presto
National University of
Singapore

Robredo Supporters in Marcos Territory: Exploring women's political agency in a space of hyperpolarisation

The Marcoses of the Philippines have maintained a strong support base in the so-called 'Solid North', broadly composed of Ilocos Norte, Ilocos Sur, La Union, Pangasinan,

Isabela, Cagayan, Mountain Province, and other areas in the Philippines where there is an Ilocano community. In the run-up to the 2022 Philippine national elections, majority of the Northern provinces throw their support for Ferdinand Marcos, Jr, promising to deliver votes to him towards the Presidency. This picture, however, is not that solid. In many parts of Solid North, support for the presidential candidacy of incumbent Vice President Leni Robredo rings loud. This paper specifically explores the political agency of women supporters of Robredo, the only woman among the 2022 Presidential candidates, who were born, raised, and are residents of the Solid North. This paper argues that the support for Robredo's candidacy in Marcos territory is an exercise of political agency characterised by three things: 1) feminist values, 2) defiance of regional stereotypes, and 3) democratic aspirations. These three things should be seen as mutually reinforcing in the face of heightened polarisation of the Philippine political space and the continued attribution of Northern Philippines as the Marcoses' bailiwick. Finally, this paper takes stock of the results of the 2022 national elections and puts forward what it means for women's exercise of political agency in a hyperpolarised society.

Jacob Priergaard
Australian National University

Reforming Unemployment Policy: The constraints and opportunities of institutional history

This paper considers how the uncertain future of Australia's long-term unemployed will be shaped, at least in part, by the institutional configurations of the present. The policy structures for the unemployed in Australia have been decreasing in supportiveness for decades, with declining real-value of payments punctuated by increasing conditions and sanctions delivered through private employment service providers. The challenges for unemployment policy are going to increase with the growing prevalence of underemployment, stagnant wages and a declining real value of benefit payment rates (which will be about half the rate of the pension within the next decade) putting significant pressure on a policy area that will likely become untenable in its current form. When the appetite for reform comes, the existing institutional and policy arrangements will, to a significant extent, determine and constrain the available policy prescriptions. Drawing on the early work of a PhD, this paper considers how institutional constraints shaped the last wave of substantive social security reform in the 1980s and early 1990s and the consequences this had for future policy development. The early findings suggest that a combination of institutional layering of service provision and the lack of representation for the unemployed have resulted in a weakened institutional environment, open to being reshaped and reoriented by willing actors. Moreover, this paper will consider how these institutional constraints operate in the present day and the implications this might have future reform.

Helen Pringle
University of New South Wales

Understanding the Carceral Society: The Web of Coercive Control

This paper engages with critiques of law and policy measures that address 'coercive control'. I argue that such critiques commonly draw on an understanding of power as primarily exercised by the formal institutions of the state. That is, power (in this area) takes the form of a systematic program with a central intention promulgated in law and executed by institutions such as police and courts. Against that understanding, I set out an analysis of the control of women as operating on a franchise system, where organizations and individuals are simply granted permission to do their work, in what appear to be anarchic and decentralized actions. This analysis of a web of coercion is related to violence against women in intimate relationships and in the prostitution system.

Helen Pringle
University of New South Wales

Under the Black Flag: Identification of a pirate

Certain values of the international community are considered so fundamental that they are taken to be jus cogens, or norms that bind all states in all circumstances, and allow no exceptions. Examples of such norms are now usually understood to include prohibitions on piracy, slavery, torture and genocide. These norms characterise the (singular) pirate as *hostis humani generis*, an enemy of the human race, one whose actions shock the conscience of mankind. This paper is concerned specifically with the identification of the figure of 'the pirate', rather than with piracy. I highlight the significance of the black flag, or Skull & Crossbones, in the construction of modern nations and

conceptions of nationhood. Pre-modern pirates were less (romantic) rebels against the state than they are often portrayed, and more often were players in disputes between the rulers of early modern states, leading to a consolidation of the formation of borders. At the same time, the black flag paradoxically served as the primary means to identify the pirate as outside of the protection of bordered states and their rulers, allowing the emergence of a conception of a humanity to which they were an enemy. My argument is made with reference to early piracy cases in American and British courts, which were much troubled by the question of identification. The argument also has implications for the study of colour in politics.

Brenton Prosser
University of NSW Canberra

No Minister: The implications of government minority for public sector leaders

In the lead up to the 2022 Federal Election, Prime Minister Scott Morrison asserted that it was he and his ministers, not the public service, who ran government. But what he failed to mention was that for most of the last three decades Prime Ministers have not had complete control of government either. What are the implications of this political upheaval for the current and future work of public service leaders?

For many years, the major parties have dismissed minority as an aberration. Yet it has become a defining feature in at least one house over recent years. Practice within the public sector and elements of public policy literature focus on the primacy of the minister, particularly in decision-making phases. Many public servants hold to the a-political principle that political interference results in bad policy. However, public sector leaders with experience on the Hill find such approaches difficult to reconcile with contemporary conditions and the requirement for evidence-based policy.

This paper examines the real influence of the cross-bench and back-bench to diffuse ministerial power using specific examples from recent parliaments. In particular, it explores the implications of government minority for public sector leaders who are responsible for design and delivery of policy in highly politicized contexts. On this foundation, a number of practical strategies to support evidence-based policy will be provided. This paper draws both on the author's experience as 'balance of power' parliamentary advisers and their academic publication on policy in minority contexts.

Primitivo III Ragandang
Australian National University

Ayóm-ayóm: Resilience and memory in political order

This paper introduces ayóm-ayómic political order as a concept situated in-between state fragility and hybridity. I argue that the semantic move of naming 'fragile' states into 'hybrid' political order does not eliminate the fact that states can be resource scarce and therefore make use of a hybrid of elements for a political order to endure through time. Using the Bangsamoro case, the paper revisits the initiatory conditions of resilience, the 'hybridness' of the a political order, and the transformation of hybrid political order across time and space.

Rishika Rai
University of Sydney

Hindutva Politics and Idea of India: Visual Culture of Memes

Through analysis of Internet meme contents, this paper will analyze the ways in which productions, reproductions, and circulation of these digital images on Facebook impact the social and political discourses in India and how these visual-heavy digital contents are used as a tool to create a specific type of "imagined community" (Anderson 1991). This thesis probes into how memes commenting on various political events offer a specific idea of India. It is an idea dominated by upper caste, upper class, Hindi speaking population and echoes the Hindutva concept of national, cultural and religious identity of India. In other words, my research delineates the role of memes in propagating Hindutva politico-cultural hegemony. In doing so, it primarily studies Facebook pages that support what I call the Hindutva idea of India. It will look into how memes made on political figures and social and political events can be used to stereotype certain sections and communities in India in order to vilify and marginalize them from an emerging idea of a Hindutva nation.

More specifically, this thesis will concern with memes that shaped popular political discourses during the Covid-19 Lockdown, Anti-CAA protests, and West Bengal Legislative Assembly Elections in 2021. In doing so, the dissertation argues that memes

actively contribute, propagate and even amplify the Hindutva idea of India, both in her historicity and in her contemporaneity.

Frank Reichert
University of Hong Kong

Non-Participation of Youth Sympathizing with Hong Kong's Anti-Extradition Bill Social Movement

Youth-led protests have become more common in the recent past as younger cohorts prefer informal modes of participation in politics and face fewer time constraints and familial obligations. At the same time, youth face more barriers to civic engagement than older cohorts. Yet although youth mobilization has been widely examined, why some young people participate whereas others remain on the sidelines has not been adequately explored. In 2019, opposition to an extradition bill amendment led to unprecedented mass demonstrations, riots, and electoral turnout in Hong Kong, a Special Administrative Region of the People's Republic of China. Young people were among the largest and most engaged participant groups in the protest movement. Within a short period of time, protests became a part of daily life on campuses during this city-wide crisis. Yet despite sympathy for the movement and its aims, some of the sympathizing students did not actively support the movement. In this paper, we examine the reasons for non-participation among sympathizing youth using survey and interview data from undergraduate students. In particular, this study analyzes possible causes for the non-conversion of sympathizers into participants and the erosion of protest participants (i.e., why some students who were initially active in the movement stopped supporting the movement). The analysis also explores differences among students of different origins (i.e., Hong Kong local students, students from mainland China, and those from other overseas regions). The findings show that non-participation was not merely a result of the ineffective mobilization of otherwise highly sympathetic individuals. Instead, perceived (in)effectiveness, identity conflicts, and barriers played an important role in students' decisions not to participate in protest action. The findings further our understanding of non-participation and are discussed regarding students' networks and the implications for culturally diverse societies.

Elise Remling
University of Canberra
Stockholm International
Peace Research Institute

Mapping the Impact of COVID-19 on the Practices, Discourses and Imaginaries of Global Sustainability Governance

Throughout time and across the ideological spectrum the relation between crisis and change has been an important research theme for social and political scientists. According to political theorists Ernesto Laclau and Chantal Mouffe (1985 and beyond), such 'dislocatory moments' make societal and political changes possible. Like other moments of shock and dislocation in history, the COVID-19 pandemic creates openings for deep structural changes. Behaviours, policies, and ideas that seemed impossible have become to be seen as both legitimate and necessary.

The global governance architecture currently in place to address and negotiate synergies and trade-offs in sustainability governance is the United Nations (UN) High-Level Political Forum on Sustainable Development (HLPF), which works to achieve the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development. Culminating in the 17 Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), the 2030 Agenda provides a multi-level, holistic approach to pressing global problems, including health.

This paper maps the changes taking place in the UN's sustainability governance architecture (the HLPF and institutions related to the SDGs) in the aftermath of the COVID-19 pandemic. It investigates changes in practices (new ways in which daily operations are conducted, e.g. via digital means), processes (new decision-making processes becoming legitimate, e.g. regarding quorum or civil society participation) and narratives (new ways of referring to sustainability, e.g. the post-COVID programs of UN system organizations, new descriptions of the SDGs).

By examining the interplay between the pandemic and the SDGs, the paper provides policy-relevant knowledge on global sustainability governance. The resulting mapping shows the dynamics of political change in terms of what is new and what has become obsolete, through what narratives these changes are justified, the competing practices and contestations.

Ainoa Cabada Rey
University of Adelaide

Sovereignty and Refugees

Populism is on the rise, bringing with it a potential new form of sovereignty. This article introduces some of the characteristics of this notion. The analysis will focus on the type of authority and power employed by the nation-state under the governance of a populist leader or, more generally, by global leaders who manifest the political strategy of the nation bolstered by ideological discourse and socio-cultural rhetoric.

It will be argued that this new form of sovereignty presents a threat to the protection of refugee rights as it blurs the obligations that states have towards non-citizens due to their lack of commitment to the rules of the refugee protection regime. This is explored under the most radical populist sentiment but also under non-populist leaders who are influenced by populist rhetoric.

In this article, firstly, I introduce some of the characteristics of this potential new notion. Secondly, I examine how the upswing of populism frames the concept of borders as a way to bring back control over the sovereign territory and how COVID-19 assisted in strengthening the authoritative sovereign approach by suspending rights for those seeking asylum. Thirdly, I analyse how this new type of sovereignty presents a threat to refugee rights by drawing on examples of rhetorical discourse and policy by both populist and non-populist leaders.

Mark Riboldi
University of Sydney

Australian CSO strategies during COVID-19

In many ways, the COVID-19 pandemic was a stress test for civil society organisations (CSOs), particularly when it comes to their connection with the people and communities that they claim to represent and serve. This paper addresses the question: what strategies did Australian CSOs employ to support communities during COVID-19? This question is explored in the context of the suite of strategies that CSOs typically employ, including advocacy, service delivery, and supporter engagement, through an analysis of interviews and focus groups with over 100 Australian CSO leaders between June 2020 and July 2021. The results will offer insights into how and why CSOs choose particular strategies, particularly in times of crisis.

Matthew Robertson
Australian National University

Extractive Repression

In the context of authoritarian rule, repression and co-optation have been theorised as dichotomous strategies the autocrat may engage in to establish and consolidate political power. Here I show their complementarity. I argue that in China, the organs of prison populations have come to function as lootable assets in the same manner as natural resources -- one of the "spoils of public office." Proximity to political power enables the extraction of these illicit rents. I gather and present three novel panel datasets: clinical papers documenting human organ transplant activity at Chinese hospitals; public security yearbooks and gazetteers from dozens of cities over several decades; tens of thousands of grassroots reports of repression and arrests. I also document the incentives and explore the mechanisms by which the bodies of political prisoners are turned into commodities. This work contributes to scholarship on rent seeking by introducing both a novel target and method of predation by state agents, namely extracting resources from the human body itself.

Zoe Robinson
Patrick Leslie
Australian National University

Ideology, Deliberation and the Micro-Foundations of Judicial Coalitions

In this paper, we propose a method to measure the impact of deliberation on judicial cooperation. Using data from High Court of Australia 1995-2021, we estimate the deliberative distances of Justice-pairs during oral argument using single-dimension scaling of justice speeches. We validate the measure by showing the association between deliberative distance and voting/writing coalitions conditional on ideological distance and other factors in a Bayesian hierarchical model adapted for dyadic data and measurement error in the predictors. Deliberative distance during oral argument is associated with a slightly decreased propensity for Justice-pairs to vote together and a moderately decreased propensity to write together.

This paper is a study in political ideologies, and the process whereby which the beliefs of political philosophers are transformed into a programme for political action. The Australian politician, author, editor and political activist Peter Coleman was distinctive in his claimed allegiance to a coherent philosophical position. Inspired by the teaching of John Anderson at the University of Sydney Coleman went on to complete a masters on Georges Sorel under the supervision of Michael Oakeshott at the London School of Economics. Throughout his long career Coleman avowed a devotion to Oakeshott's work. Ken Minogue like Coleman studied under Anderson and found his way to London but remained there and eventually succeeded Oakeshott as professor of Politics at LSE. Minogue situated himself within a tradition of 'conservative realism' of which he regarded Oakeshott to be a pioneer. In the 1970s and 80s Minogue was an active participant in the Salisbury group, of conservative philosophers, including Roger Scruton, who sought to construct a post liberal Toryism. Minogue retained close connections to Australia and published in *Quadrant* under Coleman's editorship. Oakeshott eschewed direct political involvement but his sympathies lay with the Conservative right. From the seventies centre-right parties in Australia and the UK emancipated themselves from the compromises of the post-war consensus. The three subjects of this paper were advocates of this shift, but ironically Minogue and Oakeshott were more political and assertive than Coleman.

Herd Immunity or Herding the Constituents: The emerging role of political parties in delivering Covid-19 vaccines in Indonesia

This paper explains the contemporary phenomenon of the political parties and politicians' involvement in delivering the COVID-19 vaccines in Indonesia by using the political science concepts of political clientelism and informal governance. Taking advantage of the COVID-19 global pandemic - where many people desperately were searching for free coronavirus vaccines - the politicians and their parties were able to informally attain government vaccine allocations for their political supporters and constituents. We identify this phenomenon as a new method of patronage clientelism, specifically occurring in Indonesia. The eagerness of the political parties and politicians to get the vaccines from the authorised government institutions and hold the mass-vaccination events shows the intense competition among political parties and politicians in Indonesia's newly democratised political system. They have to discover new opportunities to get patronage sources even during this difficult time of the pandemic. Distributing this possibly life-saving commodity like COVID-19 vaccines has become a new patronage method, an excellent way to supplement the old-fashioned forms of patronage distribution, which are typically more costly and have less impact. We argue that while these efforts might help to accelerate the achievement of the herd immunity target, these annexations of state resources for political interests are heavily political and only benefit the political parties and politicians. These party-led vaccination programs typically use the public health care workers to administer the vaccines that the political parties freely acquire from the government agencies. Such practices can disrupt the vaccination targeting and interrupt the delivery of day-to-day healthcare services. By closely examining the practices in several regions in Indonesia, we show the political parties' role in vaccine distribution, how their approaches differ, and we demonstrate that the institutional weaknesses in managing the COVID-19 pandemic have facilitated this appropriation by political elites and have little impact on the rollout.

Structural Domination of the Public Sphere

In republican political theory, domination is conceived as arbitrary interference into the affairs of a person. Here I apply the concept of domination to an institutional domain, namely, the public sphere. As the preeminent site of political contestation, a properly functioning public sphere is indispensable to many theories of democratic legitimacy. Contemporary public spheres, however, are episodically and perhaps structurally dominated institutional domains. I examine three sources of public domination that indicate the need for expansive legal and institutional reform that would safeguard political contestation within a modern pluralistic state.

Emanuela Savini
*University of Technology
Sydney*

If Democratic Innovations are the Key to Democratic Renewal, Who are the Gatekeepers?: An exploration of the institutionalisation of deliberative engagement.

Over the past few decades, the proliferation of deliberative democratic theory has been grounded in a perceived 'democratic deficit', a sense that there is increasing dissonance between elected representatives and the decisions they make on their constituents' behalf. Premised on the normative assumption that by involving 'everyday' people in deliberations policies are more likely to respond to the common good, democratic innovations have emerged, largely undisputed (Spada and Ryan 2017), as an effective means of strengthening government decision making. Along with numerous discrete initiatives, there have been some attempts to institutionalise democratic innovations and systematically renew democratic participation through legal and regulatory frameworks that incorporate these practices into the rules of public decision-making and governance arrangements (OECD 2020). However, very little is known about how the practices can be institutionalised (Smith 2019), including how they interact with existing authorising environments.

This paper will explore how authorising environments interpret and interact with democratic innovations through an attempt to institutionalise them with the Victorian Local Government Act 2020. By authorising environments, the paper means political actors who have influence over whether, and how, policies and processes are realised - these actors essentially become the 'gatekeepers' of democratic innovations. The research draws from a mixed methods study, which has included 47 interviews with public servants, elected representatives, and practitioners: as well as a survey of 205 public servants and elected representatives around deliberative engagement practices. The paper argues that a more complete sense of the dynamics and institutional constructs which influence and affect how democratic innovations are embedded in government organisations is needed. Through a better understanding how authorising environments conceive and interpret these practices, the pathways for integrating them into existing decision-making and governance processes become clearer, and therefore (potentially) opening the gate for the democratic renewal.

David Schlosberg
University of Sydney

A Political Theory for a Multispecies, Climate Challenged World

By 2050, two types of 'extended events' have dismantled critical assumptions upon which normative political theory based itself right up until the early part of the twenty first century. One is climate change, whose ravages have forced the realization that humans, animals and environments are similarly vulnerable and that their capacity to flourish or even survive depend on the existence of shared conditions and functioning interdependencies. The second is a by-now established epistemic shift across the humanities, social sciences and natural sciences whereby the view that the basic building block of life or organization is the individual person or entity has been replaced by a recognition of the symbiotic character of life and organization. In light of these changes in the world and in knowledge, normative political theorists have come to appreciate that they must take relationships and not individuals, as the fundamental unit of normative concern, and that the scope of their ethical concern must include not only all humans, but animals, environments and the more than human world more generally.

Writing from an imagined future, this article considers how the concept of justice has been transformed as key cognate concepts such as agency, freedom, equality and property have been recast in relational terms. We critically reflect on a number of key issues, including:

- Institutional challenges to the property status of animals and ecosystems and the development of their economic rights.
- The modalities and procedures of political representation and decision making, including debates over participation or representation for beings other than humans.
- Judicial developments, including the debates over the expansion of the attribution of personhood.

Kurt Sengul
University of Newcastle

Platforming hate: The media's role in mainstreaming and normalisation the contemporary far-right in Australia

This paper will critically interrogate the media as a key site for the mainstreaming and normalization of far-right actors, discourses and parties in Australia. It is widely accepted that the far-right benefit from disproportionate media coverage as the logics of commercial media are said to converge with the communication style of contemporary far-right populist actors. Drawing on a Critical Discourse Analysis of three prominent case studies, this paper advances the argument that the increasing presence of anti-liberal and anti-pluralist far-right actors and ideas in the media represents a threat to a healthy and inclusive public sphere.

Fathimath Shafeega
University of Adelaide

Towards Understanding Women's lack of Participation in Elections

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. An interrogation of why modernisation of the country has not led to the expected progress in this area, reveals that Modernisation Theory provides only a partial explanation for women's absence from mainstream politics. Hence, in my research, I propose a composite framework for investigating the topic utilising three theories: Modernisation Theory, Feminist Standpoint Theory, and the new concept of Island Feminism. These three, in combination, better expose important crevices of this phenomenon in small island communities, which none by itself can adequately explain.

Md Ziaul Haque Sheikh
Deakin University

Political Bandwagoning” Versus “Economic Balancing”: Bangladesh’s Strategic dilemma to India, China, and the U.S. Indo-Pacific strategy

This paper aims to investigate the behavior and interaction of Bangladesh as a small power in South Asia in relation to India, China and the U.S. Indo-Pacific strategy. India's interest in Bangladesh is driven by its geo-political, strategic, and economic and cultural factors as New Delhi has sought to continue its regional hegemonic position as a counter to China. Since 2013, China's proposal of "One Belt, One Road (OBOR)" has become the centrepiece of South Asian regional politics and has explicitly demonstrated China's vision to create a regional and cross-continental multi-layer network for getting access to the Bangladeshi coast and Bay of Bengal through the construction of seaports and economic corridors that connect Beijing via sea and land. Investing in strategic assets in Bangladesh, China seeks to reduce India's influence in Bangladesh. As China has actively evolved with new a strategic mind map in the Indo-Pacific region, the U.S. along with Japan, Australia and India have developed the U.S. Indo-Pacific Strategy to curb China's influence in the region. A part of this strategy is to support India's continued rise and regional leadership in South Asia and to promote regional stability in South Asia. The Strategy also aims to expand the U.S. bilateral cooperation with Bangladesh and as a part of this the U.S. is pressuring Bangladesh to align with the Strategy against China. Therefore, it is critically important to look at how Bangladesh is responding to the China-India competition and the U.S. Indo-Pacific strategy. The existing literature has mainly focused on Bangladesh's balancing Act between India, China. However, focusing on the great power handling strategy, this paper explores that the growing rivalry between India and China and the pro-active engagement of the US through its Indo-Pacific strategy that is pushing Bangladesh to opt for a strategic dilemma between political bandwagoning with India and economic balancing with India and China.

Nengzheng Shi
University of Queensland

Dialogue and Nonviolent Discipline in Nonviolent Resistance Movements

Nonviolent discipline- a restraint from committing violence -is a crucial component of nonviolent resistance success. However, as a nonviolent movement progresses, it can be extremely difficult to maintain nonviolent discipline due to the diversifying population and increased occasions of clashes with authorities who seek to quell the threat of resistance through repression. The field of dialogue suggests a huge potentiality for personal and social transformation and is also seemingly linked to nonviolent principles. However, dialogue has not been conceptualized as a form of nonviolent resistance, and the Foucauldian notion of productive power provides an avenue to bridge these two fields. While the literature reveals several theories regarding nonviolent discipline, these findings tend towards structural and organizational explanations with little done on individual-level analyses. This paper entails a re-conceptualization of dialogue through the lens of nonviolent resistance and its understandings on power, and proposes how dialogue can facilitate the development and maintenance of nonviolent discipline within resistance movements.

Isaura Sierra
University of Sydney

Indigenous Consensus is Crucial to Reach Social Development in Poor Areas in Colombia

It is crucial to highlight that renewable energy has had a fast expansion in recent decades in Colombia. For instance, since 2007, the capacity of renewable energies has doubled, with a progressive yearly growth (Dwyer, 2018). Furthermore, through rules and incentives, Colombia has increasingly diversified its energy grid, encouraging renewable energies and other technologies, as well as sustainable projects (Caquimbo-Medina & Rodríguez-Urrego, 2018). Notably, one of the places where the Colombian government has implemented strategies to develop renewable energies projects has been La Guajira, one of the 32 departments in Colombia, located in the Colombian Caribbean. It is warm, dry, and inhospitable, with temperatures ranging from 28 to 38 degrees Celsius and significant levels of evaporation due to the severity of the winds. All of Colombia's current efforts in developing renewable energy technology could significantly boost the economy of Colombia's rural areas if the Colombian government reaches an agreement with Colombian indigenous communities. In La Guajira, there is an indigenous community called Wayuu, whose settlement lies in Nazareth, a rural section with about 2,000 people. Basically, given the dearth of research on wind farms in Colombia and the fact that environmental performance is largely overlooked, this community has been a hurdle to improving wind farm projects. Furthermore, this group has said that the government has missed components in wind energy installation studies' life cycle assessments, resulting in severe truncation mistakes and misestimation of results. As a result, indigenous groups predicted that they would be the most brutal hit (Vélez-Henao & Vivanco, 2021; Pomponi & Lenzen, 2018).

Thiago Nascimento da Silva
Australian National University

Democratic Fragility, Presidentialism, and Human Rights Abuses

The viability of presidential democracy has been debated for decades. Currently, the future of democracy seems tenuous even in the most long-lived presidential democracy. Perhaps it is a good time to reconsider the fragility of this form of government. It is well established that presidential democracies 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. One way they can do this is through the commission of human rights abuses. Indeed, we find that while parliamentary regimes perform better than authoritarian regimes across a wide range of indicators of abuse, there is no robust evidence that presidential regimes have, on average, better human rights records than authoritarian regimes. If the commission of such atrocities is aimed at manipulating executive-legislative bargains, then it will not result in regime failure if actors acquiesce in order to preserve the regime. Thus, regime failure should not occur under complete information and factors that are common knowledge and believed to be associated with regime failures (such as number of parties, legislative fractionalization, or the majority status of the government) are likely to be uncorrelated

with regime failure. This explains why little evidence exists for otherwise logically compelling explanations of the fragility of presidential democracy.

Rodney Smith
University of Sydney

Campaign Events and Early Voting

The relationship between campaign events and early voting is an unexplored empirical issue. Early voting may have a fixed rhythm across all electorates a slow start building to rapid increases in early votes in the final days before election day, that is unaffected by specific campaign events. Alternatively, campaign activity and events at either the national or the local level may prompt variations in early voting on particular days or in particular electorates. This paper explores these alternatives using data from recent Australian federal elections. In addition to contributing to our understanding of the dynamics of early voting, the results allow a more fine-grained response to the common normative concern that early voters lack information that is vital to them casting a properly informed vote.

Michael Smith
Griffith University

International Hierarchies at the IAEA: Status and state practice

The International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA or Agency) is the central feature of the contemporary global nuclear governance regime. Although the Agency and its members nominally maintain a statutory commitment to sovereign equality, diplomatic hierarchies at the IAEA are a fact of life. Given the profound importance the IAEA's work, surprisingly little scholarly attention has focused on the configuration and composition of this informal international pecking order. Utilising a practice theory approach, I suggest that divergent patterns of engagement at the Agency act to define and produce status inequalities between member states. The constellation of these inequalities is the hierarchy. Empirically illustrating and analysing the IAEA hierarchy via Factor Analysis of Mixed Data (FAMD) and Multiple Correspondence Analysis (MCA) methods, I demonstrate the utility of the former in better preserving not only rank-a state's position in the hierarchy, but also the relative distance between ranks. This, I suggest, is a significant advantage in the study of organisational hierarchies and offers improvement on existing approaches. In both cases, the resulting distributions indicate a strong, positive relationship between particular patterns of member state practice engagement and status at the Agency; three distinct familial clusters emerge corresponding with the Lower-Bottom, Middle-Upper, and Top tiers of the IAEA hierarchy. Finally, I note that while functional contributions disproportionately constitute hierarchy at the Agency, I find that a practice-aware methodology complements and surpasses purely traditional indicators of state status—namely GDP, military strength, and international tourism—offer much lower resolution approximations. This finding is in line with similar research concerning NATO and the UN. Beyond advancing existing understandings of international hierarchies at the IAEA, these findings indicate the broader analytic utility of practice-conscious approaches to the study of international hierarchies and member state dynamics at international organisations.

Amanda Smullen
Australian National University

Embedding Organisational Robustness in Australia: Evaluating Public Bodies

As lynchpins within wider policy environments, public organizations are key constituent units for facilitating system effectiveness (Ansell, 2011; Lodge & Wegrich, 2014; Haines, 2020; Howard 2021). Their meso and micro interactions with other system parts contain dynamic potentialities for novel internal organizational capacities and external organizational legitimacy. Intuitively, robust organizations are core muscles that scaffold exertion of macro system authority, not least for responding to turbulence. Organizational scholars have long explored measuring organizational robustness, although interactions with political systems thinking is still exceptional (Levchuk, G. et al., 2001; Trondahl, et al. 2021). This article adapts existing models of robustness and multi-level governance to examine public agencies. It will explore and evaluate agency robustness in Australia's federation through examining different agency cases over time.

For public organizations, the model obliges further attention to the special case of organizations as potential institutions of their own (Selznick, 1957; Botterill, 2011).

Organizations in general host both internal elements of self-organization mechanisms for adaptation, even mission enactment, and external elements to reinforce and reproduce

agency survival and action (Selznick, 1957). This includes respectively internal capacities, or rather practices, for competency and normative character (Selznick, 1957; Ansell, 2011; Ansell et al. 2015), and external capacities for information gathering and legitimation with constituencies (Braun & Arras, 2018; Ferraro et al. 2015; Ansari et al. 2013), among others. By further articulating the internal dimensions of organizations/organized action, it becomes possible to describe and evaluate their robustness with respect to internal adaptation, feedback and interaction, and how the nature of their connections with the wider system evolves.

Mohsen Solhdoost
University of Queensland

The (his)story of the US-Iran Relations in IR

The decades-long tense relations between US and Iran continue to pose a significant challenge not only in practice but also for International Relations (IR) theory. My critical analysis draws upon postcolonial critiques of eurocentrism in IR and the critical historiographies of the discipline. In particular, I show how the bedrock of the US-led liberal order during and after the Cold War rests on an availability heuristic that can be explicated in the context of US-Iran relations. The availability heuristic is manifested in the 'self-(i.e., the US) serving' historiography of the post-1979 relationship in terms of a narrative ("story") aimed at justifying US preponderance, and the 'liberal' story it portrays. By excising the historical and long-standing desire of the Iranian people and its leaders to attain a role defined by independence and national sovereignty in world politics prior to 1979, this narrative has narrowly defined US-Iran relations in terms of how the post-1979 Iran has begun challenging the US-led rules-based order in the greater Middle East region and beyond. While the legacies of the US-led liberal order, and the post-1979 US-Iran conflictual relations have increasingly been addressed in IR scholarship, neither this availability heuristic, nor its political implications for international ordering have been examined in the way I pursue them here. Through the lens of the case of US-Iran relations, I argue that how IR and IR theory conventionally conceive of the post-WWII international political order is largely informed by ideological and political bias towards the US, one of the parties to the conflict in this case. The struggles by the Iranian leadership for survival, the Iranian people's quest for a more democratic political system, and the continued regional interventions point out the necessity of revisiting international political practices as well as premises in IR theory.

Phumthep Bunnak
Nuan Song
Xinwei Chen
Robert Thomson
Monash University

A Governance Perspective on China's Belt and Road Initiative: A case study of negotiations on a Thai railway project

We develop and test a conceptualization of China's Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) based on the governance perspective. According to this understanding, the BRI is constructed through collaborative negotiations involving a broad range of diverse stakeholders with varying degrees of autonomy from the states involved. Understanding the processes leading to BRI projects and the design of those projects requires analysis of the stakeholders involved, their relationships and interdependencies, and the negotiations through which agreements are crafted. This conceptualization differs markedly from common characterizations of the BRI in broad geopolitical terms. While acknowledging the value of such broader analyses, we argue that they tell us little about how BRI projects are designed and implemented on the ground. We illustrate this argument with a review of BRI projects in Thailand, reportedly a country with a relatively large number of BRI projects, and a detailed case study of a new railway link. The review highlights the significant differences among BRI projects in their main design features. The case study reveals that a diverse range of Chinese and Thai stakeholders were involved in the project and how the patterns of relationships among them shaped the outcomes.

Antonio Spinelli
*International Institute for
Democracy and Electoral
Assistance*

Lawmakers or Lawbreakers? Countering the Criminalisation of Politics in Asia

The criminalisation of politics is a pervasive, multifaceted, and malignant phenomenon bearing profound consequences on the economic and political fabrics of societies, eroding and weakening, from within, the mechanisms, functioning and quality of democracy. Crime and politics have always been connected but in the last decades they have become increasingly intertwined, proliferating at an unprecedented fast pace and alarming rate. Unsettlingly, the diffusion of this malfeasance is no longer confined to

vulnerable countries, autocratic regimes, or weak political institutions, but it has become predominant in all systems of government and all the world's regions. Today, no single country or government - irrespective of their levels of political maturity and integrity, of institutional consolidation and democratic accountability - can claim to be immune from their politics being infiltrated by criminals. While prevalent across the world, it is in the specific context of Asia that this phenomenon has assumed exceptionally large and evident proportions, in India but also in other countries - such as Philippines, Taiwan, Indonesia, Thailand, South Korea and Japan. The following questions may be asked: What correlation exists between crime and politics? Why are these two worlds, meant to be antithetic, instead so closely intertwined? What drives and incentivises the lawbreakers (e. g. individuals with criminal charges or records, or associated to criminal organizations) to penetrate politics, capture political systems and subvert representative institutions? What tactics do they most commonly employ and how have these evolved through the passage of time, morphed to institutional and political transformations and survived to greater levels of integrity and intensity of the electoral competition? And, above all, why do electors, despite being aware of ongoing criminal charges, past records or connections of such dubious, lawbreaking candidates, are still willingly choosing to vote for them? And what can be done to counter this 'crime against democracy'?

Antonio Spinelli
*International Institute for
Democracy and Electoral
Assistance*

The Absent Voters of South Asia: Challenges and prospects for the enfranchisement of migrants

Despite global efforts to achieve a 'universal' suffrage, to this day not all the barriers between disadvantaged societal groups and their right for equal and equitable participation in elections have yet been fully overcome. Among still prevalent forms of exclusion from suffrage, perhaps the most outstanding and largely unresolved is that stemming from human migration. A manifest dichotomy spurs from the antithesis between a migrant's status - as their mobility inherently creates a physical absence in their country of origin - and the practical fulfilment of equal and universal suffrage which instead remains statically anchored to requirements for stability compelling them to vote in person, at the assigned polling station on election day. There is a conflict between the mobility of hundreds of millions of migrants in today's increasingly globalised world and the stillness of rigid, long-standing electoral frameworks, systems and processes unable to keep the pace of time. By and large, in many countries, voting channels appear to be neither capable nor yearning to address, once for all, the evolving needs of today's populations increasingly on the move. Seemingly affecting most of the world's regions, when it comes to guaranteeing a universal, equal and equitable suffrage to its populations, the current outlook across South Asia remains bleak. Massive migratory movements continue to drive millions of people away from their countries of origin, yet, most of the South Asia's nations are either selectively enfranchising few privileged voters or not offering them any viable alternative. Until efforts to bring voters to the ballot box will be complemented by efforts to bring the ballot box to voters, South Asia's migrants will remain excluded from their country's democratic processes and the resulting institutions will not be as truly "representative" as they should be.

Elise Stephenson
Gosia Mikolajczak
Blair Williams
Jack Hayes
*Australian National
University*

Out Online: Australian Queer Politicians and Harassment in Social Media

Australia now evidences more progressive laws and social norms towards LGBTIQ+ individuals, and yet 2021 also revealed the damaging, systemic and 'live' nature of sexism, harassment, misogyny, and discrimination in Australia's highest offices of politics. While considerable attention has been devoted to the harassment and experiences of female politicians, other minority candidates, such as LGBTIQ+ politicians, have received little or no attention. Therefore, incorporating a mixed qualitative and quantitative research approach, this project seeks to analyse social media comments about 'out' queer politicians in Australia to understand: do queer politicians experience more harassment on social media than their straight counterparts, and is this harassment qualitatively different? Covering the 2022 election period, we analyse the Twitter accounts of a select number of prominent queer Australian politicians from across the political spectrum, at the federal level of politics to understand the amount, severity and content of harassment they receive in comparison to a sample of non-queer politicians - their counterparts from matching electorates. This paper will present emerging themes.

We aim to contribute to the theoretical debates around the media framing and harassment of non-normative political candidates (ranging from trolling to sexist, racist, homophobic, or transphobic harassment and their intersectional nature), as well as produce empirically-rich data on social media treatment of queer politicians.

Callum Stewart
University of Melbourne

Race, Nation, and Age: Theorising decolonial futures beyond modernity

Political and social theory predominantly takes modernity as its object of study. The social sciences therefore centre questions of 'what, where, and when is modernity?' and 'what is modernity's history and future?'. Decolonial theory argues that modernity is defined by the colonial structure of race. Settler colonial studies argues that modernity is defined by the settler colonial structure of nation. As such, Australia is not 'postcolonial' or 'postmodern'; the colonial structures of race and nation continue into the present, as the recent upheavals of Black Lives Matter protests have highlighted once again. This paper therefore seeks to shift attention away from modernity towards the uncertain possibilities of decolonial futures by asking, 'when is the end of modernity?'. This question is complicated, however, by the fact that modernity itself is a colonial construction. Through a colonial modern/primitive binary, European political and social theory has produced modernity not only as the present age of human civilisation, but also as the end of human history. From within colonial relations, it is therefore not possible to imagine or enact a future beyond colonial modernity. This paper therefore argues that, to theorise decolonial futures, we need to problematise not only the contents of modernity, in terms of race and nation. We also need to problematise modernity itself, in terms of age.

Francesco Stoffi
Macquarie University

Non-mainstream Parties and Interest Groups: SYRIZA in government

In recent years a large literature has developed about the rise of challenger parties, discussing the factors that have fed their rise and whether and in what way they are significantly different from the established parties that they aim replace. In this paper, we address an aspect that is as yet unexplored, namely whether challenger parties differ from mainstream parties with regard to their relationship with interest groups. Our assessment is based on original research on the experience of Greece's SYRIZA, which was in government between 2015-2019 and was called upon to implement structural reforms requested by Greece's international creditors in the wake of the country's 2010 fiscal crisis. In particular, the paper addresses the question of SYRIZA's specificity with regard to its relationship with interest groups by assessing whether the implementation of the structural reforms during the SYRIZA government was influenced by the preferences of specific interest groups and, if so, whether the pattern of influence was similar or not to that of the mainstream governments that preceded and immediately followed the SYRIZA government.

John Stone
University of Melbourne

Taking Victoria for a Ride

The Kennett government's complex privatisation of public transport operations in Melbourne and regional Victoria was controversial and arguably limited the overall pace and scale of the resurgence of train and tram patronage which began in 2005. While the motives of the Liberal Party to support a private-sector approach to transit has clear origins in party rhetoric, it is less clear why the Bracks Government was not inclined to reverse this push after 1999, even when the opportunity to do so was created when one of the new franchisees chose to withdraw from their contracts. This paper traces the transition in Australian Labor Party (ALP) attitudes to privatisation during the 1990s. Using data from historical sources, including media articles, interviews and speeches, and semi-structured interviews with transport policy experts and key political actors (including two former Victorian premiers, John Cain and Steve Bracks), we reveal the internal mechanisms by which the ALP shed its social democrat ideologies and embraced market-oriented approaches to providing public services. We show that Labor Unity, the ALPs right-wing faction at the time, was able to capitalise on the favourable international context for neoliberal ideas to transform party platforms and to accept many of the critiques of the Cain/Kirner period that were encapsulated in the Liberals' 1991 'Guilty Party' media campaign. The ideological transition was subtle but ran deep, and it allowed the Bracks Government to ignore some of the core ideals that

the party had espoused during the Cain era to the detriment of the social, environmental and economic performance of Melbourne's transport system.

Hiroya Sugita
Kanagawa University

The Force for Realignment? "Teal" and Other Independent candidates at the 2022 Federal election

At the 2022 federal election, much attention has been paid towards independent candidates, especially so-called "teal" or "Voices" candidates many of whom are women standing for inner metropolitan electorates previously regarded as safe Liberal seats. This paper is going to examine their performances at the election held on 21 May and consider its implication to the Australian party system. As the conference will be held only after 4 months of the election and the Australian Election Study is yet to be conducted, this paper will mostly focus on the election results. Are they successful in winning seats? Do they influence the election outcome? For that purpose, this paper will examine their share of votes and the flow of preferences.

This paper is also a preliminary to a wider research project. Ultimately, the paper will pose a question if their performance can be regarded as harbinger to the realignment of Australia's two-partism. For that purpose, this paper will consider its historical context. It has been pointed out that this movement of middle-of-the-road, liberal-inclined independent candidates inaugurated in 2013 when Cathy McGowan won the seat of Indi from the Liberal Party. There was also a coordinated attempt to organise like-minded independent candidates in 2019. However, I would like to trace this movement's origin back to the Australian Democrats. Had the Democrats survived, these candidates might have found their political home. If this "teal" independents movement proves to be more successful than the Democrats, then the differences between two need to be examined. Perhaps, their deliberate rejection of party structure could be the key. On the other hand, not having any party structure could, in long term, become impediment for their long-term survival.

Helen Sullivan
Australian National University

Collaboration and Public Policy. Agency in the Pursuit of Public Purpose

Collaboration is a ubiquitous yet contested feature of contemporary governance. Despite ongoing debates, collaboration remains prevalent across a broad sweep of public policy. Disruptions to national and global governance and administration may destabilise existing collaborative arrangements, but collaboration will remain an integral part of public policy. This paper summarises a book project that aims to offer a more convincing account of the persistent appeal of collaboration and to provide a more complete framework for analysing collaboration, one that positions agency at the centre.

It does this by focusing on three distinct, but inter-related areas of enquiry:

1. Identifying and substantiating the domains of collaboration, and affording equal and contemporaneous attention to each
2. Interrogating the experiences of human actors in collaboration, exploring the potential and limits of human agency, including issues of identity and performance in collaboration
3. Focusing on common elements of public policy systems that inform collaborative possibilities and demonstrating their influence singly and in combination.

The framework contains four collaborative domains. These distinct, but interconnected domains identify and describe core aspects of collaboration in public policy contexts. The political domain is concerned with what collaboration is for, the material domain focuses on what collaboration does, the cultural domain considers what collaboration means, and the spatial domain explores what shape collaboration takes. This separation enables clear and contextualised questioning of collaboration and public policy. Actors move about these domains, their agency reflected in their capacity to act within each.

Seven public policy elements are included in the framework: ideas, rules, ethics, expertise, emotions, objects, and practices. Each element is essential to public policy collaboration. Actors interact with these elements, contingent on their agency.

The paper elaborates the framework with empirical examples across time and space. It also suggests possible futures for collaboration and the role of human actors.

Brad Taylor
*University of Southern
Queensland*

Algorithms, Automated Decision-making, and Freedom: An Analytic Approach

Algorithms to support or automate human choices raise deep questions about human freedom. This conceptual paper draws on work in analytic philosophy, in particular the axiomatic-deductive literature on the measurement of freedom, to construct an analytic foundation on which to evaluate the implications of algorithms and automated decision-making on human freedom. We then take a Principal-Agent approach to suggest that algorithms can be expected to enhance freedom if and only if human principals are able to exercise appropriate monitoring and control of the algorithmic agents acting on their behalf. However, the complexity of many useful algorithms combined with the limits of human cognition forces us to rethink our notions of effective monitoring. Mechanisms which successfully govern human-human agency relationships cannot be straightforwardly imported to human-machine relationships.

Lola Toppin-Casserly
*Victoria University of
Wellington*

Board Ethical Leadership

We develop a model of ethical leadership specific for the boardroom setting, that accommodates the group dynamic challenges particular to boards using organisational politics as an explanatory lens. The research focuses on public-interest boards, yet findings apply across sectors. The research finds the importance of context and the chair as critical variables in determining board ethical leadership. The paper outlines a scale to measure board ethical leadership, for further testing and validation. The paper proposes that political behaviours in the form of organisational politics are used extensively in contemporary governance structures, including boards, leading to ineffective decision-making; and to ensure effective decision-making particularly in public governance, adherence to the board ethical leadership scale is critical.

Belinda Townsend
*Australian National
University*

How Do NGOs Regulate Harmful Commodity Industries? A framework of NGO engagement in the commercial determinants of health

Harmful commodity industries, including tobacco, alcohol, and highly processed food industries have contributed to the escalating noncommunicable disease crisis globally through their policies and practices that make their products readily available, accessible and highly desirable for human consumption. Beyond these industries, other commercial actors' practices are responsible for increasing levels of avoidable ill health and social and health inequity. While there is accumulating evidence on the strategies and tactics used by commercial actors to attempt to evade regulation, there is less focus on the different forms of engagement used by non-government organisations who are increasingly playing a regulatory and governance role. This paper addresses this gap through a review of the empirical literature, constructing an analytical framework of NGO engagement in the commercial determinants of health.

Methods: A narrative review of scholarly literature. An integrated theoretical framework was developed to guide the review drawing on theories of governance and regulation. Scholarly databases (Web of Science, ProQuest, Scopus) were selected in consultation with two librarians at ANU library with expertise in narrative searches in social science and medical research. These databases were systematically searched for relevant literature and included articles were analysed using thematic synthesis drawing on the theoretical framework.

Results: the findings generate a framework of NGO engagement, including conditions that enable or constrain NGO tactics and strategies. These findings are then situated within the wider literature.

**Ybiskay González Torres
Eliezer Sánchez**
University of Newcastle

Precarious politics: Decolonial feminism's reparative reworking

In this presentation, I explore the role of storytelling in decolonial feminism and how this is a political practice and liberatory healing. I will critique the recent conceptualisation of precarity that tends to ignore the history of racialised and feminised bodies to acknowledge the Global South's history of precarity. I will also identify decolonial feminists' conception of storytelling by studying feminist decolonial texts from Gloria Anzaldúa, María Lugones and Sara C. Motta. This presentation aims to argue that the

decolonial feminists' discussions and experiences can be a starting point for connecting precarious work with the racialised and feminised bodies to refuse both universal pretensions of precarity and the divisions between emotional/experiential/ embodied and intellectual labour.

Public Health Narratives in Asylum Policy: The Impact of the Pandemic on Refugee Protection

Despite initial claims that COVID-19 was a social leveller, to which everyone was vulnerable, the pandemic has instead exposed significant societal fault lines and introduced a new set of bordering practices by states that have disproportionately affected refugees. These bordering practices have included harsh border closures across the globe, with health concerns often used as a justification for the exclusion and the marginalisation of those most in need of protection. Recent scholarship has examined how the Covid-19 pandemic has accelerated restrictive trends of containment and practices of externalisation, the strengthening of migration control measures and the exclusion of refugees from accessing international protection. It is generally agreed that the Covid-19 pandemic has enabled governments to seize the opportunity of the public health crisis to 'institutionalize the marginalization of refugees' and strengthen the emerging global deterrence policy paradigm (Crawley 2021).

This article seeks to build on these studies and to explore how governments have exploited health discourses and medical knowledge to enact new deterrence measures. We have seen greater moves towards securitisation, with references being made to war and the pandemic as the invisible enemy. The article argues that traditional security narratives that frame refugees as a threat to internal security and social cohesion have been reconstructed, with refugees now framed as 'potential vehicles of contagion' (Tazzioli and Stierl 2021). Within this discursive context, refugees have been framed as carriers of the virus and a threat to public health. The article contends that this has enabled governments to exercise greater biopolitical control over the asylum seeker and their access to asylum procedures. The article suggests that the reference to medical knowledge to justify these narratives has allowed governments to depoliticise these new controversial measures. The article draws on examples from Europe and Australia to illustrate this argument.

What is the Problem with Victoria's Decriminalisation of the Sex Industry?

Sex industry policy approaches remain contested and often controversial, with little agreement over what constitutes best practice. While there is a broad international shift towards a form asymmetric decriminalisation - often known as the Nordic or Equality Model - to address the sex industry, total decriminalisation has gained more traction in the Australian context. In the last two years, for instance, the Northern Territory and Victoria have both moved from legalised to decriminalised systems, with Queensland's legislative framework recently sent to the law reform commission for review. Prior to these changes, New South Wales and New Zealand were two of the only jurisdictions, globally, with totally decriminalised systems of prostitution / sex work in place. As Victoria already had in place one of the oldest systems of legalised and licensed brothel prostitution in the world, the move to decriminalisation - and how it came to be, as well as how it has been publicly represented - are of particular interest and raise a number of conundrums. On the surface level, for example, a shift from a legalised and regulated system of prostitution / sex work to total decriminalisation appears to be a form of neoliberal deregulation, yet total decriminalisation has been frequently represented as a positive change for workers' rights and conditions. Furthermore, despite world-leading work in areas of gender equality and violence against women in Victoria, public statements on total decriminalisation did not recognise the sex industry as a site of gendered violence.

In this paper, we utilise Carol Bacchi's 'What is the problem represented to be?' approach to better understand the policy logics that were invoked to support a shift to total decriminalisation in Victoria and to consider the power dynamics around what perspectives and which groups were marginalised in this process.

Theorising Settler Colonialism in a Non-White Settler Nation

Liberia was a settler-colonial regime. Yet, it hardly features in the discourse and literature on settler colonialism. Like other settler states in Africa and beyond, the absence of Liberia in settler-colonial studies relates to its postcolonial condition. But also the curious

background of the Americo-Liberian settlers and their positioning within a global slaveholding regime. Indeed, engagement with settler-colonial theory reveals a tilted landscape towards settler societies that emerged from British imperial designs (CANZUS states - Canada, Australia, New Zealand and the United States of America). This paper articulates Liberia's formation as a settler-colonial project despite the settlers' background and phenotypical appearance.

To understand Liberia as a unique form of settler colonialism, we need to let go of the theory's structural rigidity that maps whiteness onto settlers and blackness onto Indigenous groups. Such rigidity has the unintentional consequence of erasing black people as colonists. I employ some of the canons of critical race theory and deploy 'whiteness' as a knowledge system, a methodology that can be reproduced not just by white people. I argue that the Americo-Liberians were settlers because they embodied whiteness and emulated the anti-blackness prevalent in the slaveholding regime at the time. In this instance, the Americo-Liberians, like other settlers in the settler-colonial world, othered and racialised the African groups as 'inferior'. Thus, their 'settleness' emanated from the racialised relationship they developed towards the people and the lands they appropriated rather than their complexion or small numbers.

Beyond a theoretical reconsideration of Liberia as a settler-colonial project and the categorisation of Americo-Liberians as settlers, this paper makes an original contribution to settler-colonial studies in its deployment of whiteness as a methodology.

Joanna Vince

University of Tasmania

A Framework for Building Integrative Capacity in Ocean Governance

A critical gap in achieving successful integration in ocean governance is the lack of integrative capacity within governments and their institutions. Incremental methods currently used to achieve policy change to siloed, sectoral approaches are not enough. Institutional rearrangement and innovation in policy design is required to achieve integration and requires integrative capacity. Integrative capacity is the ability of government agencies to collaborate vertically and horizontally across sectors and jurisdictions and with stakeholders, First Nations groups and communities, while being supported by an appropriate organisational architecture, legislative arrangements and political will. Integrated policy approaches have been found to overcome policy overlaps, conflict, inefficiencies and inconsistencies in oceans governance, however, they are the most difficult to design, develop and implement. This paper introduces a framework to assist in developing integrative capacity. The key elements of this framework that contribute to effective integration include political leadership or commitment, and a well-designed policy process and programme. We argue this framework can help identify what changes are required within ocean governance arrangements to achieve integrative capacity.

Nick Vlahos

University of Canberra

Reading the Room: How Online and In-Person Deliberative Town Halls Encourage Listening, Expression and Connection

Contemporary democratic systems increasingly use structured online and face-to-face conversations for citizens and political representatives to discuss policy issues, and yet we still know little about how the combination of digital and in-person communicative interactions impacts participant experiences. Considering this, we examine how combined communicative interactions, generated by heterogeneous platform designs and tools, can achieve deliberative ideals. We build on the deliberative systems approach that recognizes that deliberative procedures can fulfill different functions. We are interested in how the design features of synchronous, structured, and formal, online and in-person deliberative town halls, impacts listening, expression and connection (both between resident participants, as well as residents and political representatives). We build on normative ideals set out in Ercan, Hendriks and Dryzek (2019), who argue that spaces that function to gather and amplify voice should be linked to spaces that place an emphasis on reflection and listening, followed by decision-making. This paper provides a deeper understanding of the normative and empirical implications that deliberative political communication can achieve by offering a comparison between different platforms in the context of real political communication concerning policy issues under Australian parliamentary debate. We describe the ability for deliberative platforms to establish opportunities for voice, listening and reflection by contrasting how these overlap with the

verbal, textual, visible, and anonymous functions of different modalities of deliberative communication. We base our findings on forty semi-structured interviews arising from participant experiences in three public forums that were administered by the Connecting to Parliament project. Our research suggests that how participants experience diverse communicative interactions, and their preferences for how they like to engage in public settings, is influenced by platform design characteristics.

Anselm Vogler
University of Hamburg

Two decades of National Security Strategies: Issue emergence, frame convergence and focus shift in 93 countries.

Around the world, national executive institutions publish White Papers, National Security Strategies and other, similar National Security Strategy Documents (NSSD). These NSSD present official governmental communications that define relevant phenomena, frame them as threat and guide policy attention. Numerous studies focused on single NSSD or small samples to evaluate nation's security policies. This paper reports results from a content analysis of ~350 NSSD published by 93 countries across all major world regions between 2000 and 2020. This by far largest publicly available dataset of NSSD tracks the trajectory of a number of different security-related frames over the last two decades.

The analysis traces the framing of adversaries in national security planning. It discusses the temporal dynamic of different threat frames and points out the countries that took up an issue first. Questions discussed are for example: Who warned of terrorism first? What marks did the financial crisis of 2008 leave on NSSD? From where did the notion of climate security emerge? Are only rich nations warning of irregular migration? Are warnings of weapons of mass destruction proliferation a standard repertoire of NSSD? When did western nations return from highlighting the need for anti-terror and out-of-area missions to emphasizing conventional defense against assertive major powers? How are new topics like cyber or space framed in NSSD?

The paper discusses these insights and finds variance but also a surprising coherence between the concerns of different states. A few early NSSD echo the security apparatus' lack of orientation in a seemingly peaceful post-Cold War world. Starting around 9/11, the perception of security issues became increasingly coherent. By now, states typically list a number of issues in their NSSD, emphasizing the complexity and urgency of various matters. This analysis offers a starting point for future discussions about international security governance and norm diffusion.

Jana von Stein
Australian National University

Zoë Robinson
Australian National University

Mirya Holman
Tulane University

"I Don't See Gender": An Analysis of American Perceptions of the Judiciary

Across the advanced democracies, women have long been excluded from key institutions of power, including legislatures, executive boards, and courts. In the US, change in the judicial context has been slow, but it has been underway - women now make up roughly 30% of court appointments overall.

Whether citizens' expectations of the judiciary have also shifted is another matter. How the judiciary should look, or whether people support a particular candidate, have been the key focus of most studies. We explore a related but different question: how do citizens perceive the people who sit on the bench?

Our motivation is part theoretical and part methodological. Theoretically, we want to understand the sources of bias that may drive peoples' views of the individuals who form institutions - not least of all because these prisms in turn shape how they think and feel about the institution (e.g., "the courts") as a whole. Methodologically, this question matters because if people perceive treatments differently, average treatment effects, while not biased, may not tell us much about how they affect particular populations or would impact on the entire population if everyone understood the treatment as intended. We report the results of a survey experiment on American respondents, in which we exposed respondents to images variously-composed courts. The findings are striking. Men are 15% more likely than women to describe courts with significant female presence as "mostly male" - even though assignment across respondent gender was random and equal. We also investigate whether these differing perceptions are attributable to men overstating courts' "maleness," women overstating courts' "womanness," or both. Our findings suggest that the first explanation is the most accurate: men consistently

overperceive courts with women as male, but women do not do the converse. We find little evidence that partisanship is driving these findings.

Ariadne Vromen
Australian National University

Australian and American unions' storytelling about essential workers during the pandemic

The use of compelling personal stories in digital campaigns is now a normalised strategic activity for advocacy groups. Personal stories (often user-generated and crowdsourced) take on enhanced roles in digital advocacy as they: build collective identity in geographically dispersed networks; broaden opportunities for participation as they do not require specific political experience or expertise; and capture the attention of supporters, the news media, and policy-makers through affective elements. Yet the success of storytelling campaigns often rests on the promotion of a positive cause for social change, and are harder for groups that seek to challenge and disrupt material conditions. The Covid-19 pandemic introduced unique circumstances for advocacy groups as mobilisation and promotion of political causes relied primarily on digital campaigning. At the same time, in both Australia and the USA, many workers faced significant challenges during the pandemic. This included the loss of work, work shifting from in-person to online or becoming hybrid, or the workplace itself becoming a space of heightened health and economic risk. Frontline or essential workers, ranging from health workers to those in retail and supply, often encountered increased levels of customer abuse as well as increased precarity. This paper looks at how unions were active during this time in promoting positive stories of frontline workers to advocate for broader industrial and political change. It investigates whether particular types of frontline worker stories were prioritised over others, and how this buttressed existing union campaigns on job security and persistent material inequality.

Minh Phuong Vu
Australian National University

Explaining Vietnamese Policy Variations in the Face of China's Assertiveness in the South China Sea: A Study of Crises and Their Lessons

China's newfound assertiveness in the South China Sea since the 2010s poses a critical security challenge to Vietnam. This paper will highlight the role of ideas in constituting Vietnam's foreign policy in the South China Sea, focusing on the lessons from crises in the form of maritime incidents involving China, namely the 2011 cable cutting incident, the 2014 placement of the Haiyang Shiyou-981 oil rig, and the 2019 Vanguard Bank stand-off. Dominant paradigmatic traditions spanning from neorealism, neoliberalism, and constructivism tend to paint an unproblematic picture about the immediate emergence of a self-correcting order in the aftermath of crises. Such perspectives overlook the ways in which lessons of crises can be interpreted in ways that lead to instability. From this vantage point, this paper will argue further that throughout the period from 2010 to 2019, the Vietnamese leadership have at times over-learned the lessons of crises, fuelling both overconfidence and over-cautiousness in policy decision-makings, while at other times under-learned them, creating contradictions and inconsistencies in policies.

William Wallace
University of Newcastle

Bob Katter's Populist Initiatives: Tilting at Windmills or Misplaced Power Seeking?

Over the past decade Bob Katter and his eponymous Katter's Australian Party (KAP) have established a niche position within the Australian political landscape - one member of the House of Representatives and three members of the Queensland parliament. Katter aimed to attract specific groups of 'rustied off' voters to KAP's policy agenda, and in so doing develop a broader base of support amongst rural and regional voters. However, success in gaining electoral representation is one thing, success in translating that into realising policy objectives is another. This paper compares KAP's stated policy objectives and the legislative program it has pursued in the federal parliament. A thematic content analysis provides the basis for determining the degree of fit between KAP's policy objectives and the legislative agenda KAP has pursued within the federal parliament. The paper argues that while there is a substantial degree of consistency between KAP's policy objectives and its legislative initiatives, Katter has not been able to translate those initiatives into actual legislative outcomes. The paper also considers what this might tell us about Katter's (and KAP's) particular form of populism.

William Wallace
Jim Jose
University of Newcastle

Explicating the Conception of Political Obligation Embedded in Martin Heidegger's Early Treatises

The foundational political concepts embedded in Martin Heidegger's treatises, in particular that of political obligation, have largely been neglected. This paper will elucidate the conception of political obligation embedded in Heidegger's pre-Kehre works. It will be argued that Heidegger's magnum opus *Being and Time* and his address as Rector of Freiburg contain a latent associative account of political obligation. The ontological framework disclosed in *Being and Time* and the more concrete policy prescriptions of the Rectoral Address reveal a communitarian ethos which animates the early Heideggerian canon and grounds his account of political obligation. For Heidegger, *Dasein* must be connected to a particular community's ontological heritage in order to delimit its ontical possibilities in concrete situations. It will be argued that this relationship, between ontological heritage and ontical possibilities, is what defines political obligation for Heidegger.

Sarah Warner
University of Queensland

Exploring political agency in Australia: What is it and who has it?

Traditional ways of understanding politics and political agency increasingly provide limited insights into contemporary political behaviour. This paper looks at emerging sites of political agency: both in terms of where it is found and who holds it. In order to do this, it considers the question 'what is political?' and looks at different interpretations of the term to consider how and where new political activity may be occurring. The paper uses an interpretive lens to consider the types of activity, self-understanding of the activity and the contexts within which they occur. It draws on the findings of a series of interviews with policy users in education policy to assess the extent to which political activity is occurring in this space.

Grant Walton
Australian National University

Can Civic Nationalism Reduce Corruption? Transnational and translocal insights from Solomon Islands

Some scholars and practitioners argue that the key to addressing corruption in poor countries lies in citizens eschewing patronage ties and embracing civic nationalism. This view has led some to suggest that a corruption-busting nationalist sentiment can be encouraged by exposing elites from poor countries to the liberal values of relatively well-governed rich ones. However, thus far few scholars have attempted to understand the complex ways that different types of mobility shape perceptions about nationalism and corruption. This presentation examines the role mobilities play in shaping attitudes towards nationalism and corruption amongst stakeholders connected to anti-corruption reforms in the Pacific Island nation of Solomon Islands. It demonstrates that highly mobile elites framed corruption and nationalism through two distinct concepts: transnationalism (conceiving the world as comprising territorially divided states) and translocalism (which focuses on local connections developed through [im]mobilities). Transnational framings, shaped by international travel and international indices, stressed the importance of promoting civic nationalism to fight corruption. Translocal framings, reinforced by everyday experiences, were more sceptical of both anti-corruption and nation- and state-building efforts. Findings provide insights into why anti-corruption reforms in post-colonial contexts are so challenging, and the potential for reimagining the relationship between nationalism and anti-corruption.

Finley Watson
La Trobe University

The Australian Christian Lobby and Paleoconservatism

The Australian Christian Lobby (ACL) has become a major presence in Australian politics since its formation in 1995, playing a key role in debates over social issues. Although the ACL is commonly viewed as part of the 'religious right', in recent years, there have been signs of a shift in the organisation's ideology. This paper will examine the ideological evolution of the ACL, focusing on the policy positions it has advocated and the discourse it has used. It will argue that the ACL increasingly has the hallmarks of a Paleoconservative organisation as it has shifted to advocating for far-right ethnocentric and anti-globalist policy positions that are linked to a belief in Western supremacy.

Lee White
*Australian National
University*

Assessing Regulatory Disparities Shaping Electricity Insecurity in Remote Australia

Energy insecurity remains a pressing issue even in countries with reliable electricity infrastructure, as some groups still face an inability to meet basic energy needs simultaneous with meeting other basic needs. Disconnection from electricity removes household access to electricity entirely, and can compromise people's ability to stay warm, to store food and preserve vital medicines, and many other essential activities. Many jurisdictions are recognising the severity of disconnection impacts on wellbeing by introducing policies and regulations to limit the circumstances in which households can be disconnected from electricity. We examine disconnection protections nationwide across Australia, with particular focus on how these protections differ for geographically remote communities, including Indigenous communities. The evolution of the electricity market in Australia over time has led to differences in protections across States and Territories, and as in many other countries the protections and legislation differ markedly for customers on prepayment metering - a form of metering disproportionately prevalent in remote and regional Indigenous communities.

We identify, review, and code documentation describing electricity governance across Australia, including legislation, utility contracts, and related publicly available documents such as government websites. This original data set details disconnection protections by settlement, including how protections differ by rate type and residential group. We then use logistic regression to assess whether communities that are remote and/or have high proportions of Indigenous residents are more likely to have weaker protections from disconnection, with particular focus on protections available for life support customers. We expect to find that remote communities and communities with high proportions of Indigenous residents face weaker protections from disconnection, across a range of factors including less clarity in regulatory environment, protections not applying to some metering types thus excluding many residents, and less access to information on the extent of protections and who these apply to.

Blair Williams
*Australian National
University*

From Daggy Dads to State Daddies: Theorising the masculinities of Australian male political leaders in the COVID-19 era

Australian politics has overwhelmingly been a boy's club in which manhood and masculinity are seen to be integral to political legitimacy. A good political leader must, above all, be able to protect the people from harm while ensuring economic security or they will be perceived as weak and ineffective. However, conceptions of political masculine identity differ based on party lines. This paper theorises two overarching political masculinities that have emerged in recent years: the traditional Daggy Dads, adopted by Liberal leaders such as Prime Minister Scott Morrison and New South Wales Premier Dominic Perrottet; and the nurturing State Daddies, a label that affectionately and humorously arose on social media during the 2020 and 2021 COVID-19 lockdowns as embodied by Opposition Leader Anthony Albanese and several Labor state premiers. I argue that State Daddies successfully mobilise their more caring performance of masculinity against the Daggy Dads, increasingly faltering protective masculinity, highlighting their weaknesses when it comes to 'feminised' issues. I also consider the implications for women in politics, for whom such a strategy would risk objectification and attacks on their credibility and legitimacy.

Fengshi Wu
*University of New South
Wales*

Paris Agreement Revisionists?: Comparing BRIC Countries' NDC Implementation

The paper examines and compares the key policy norms and institutional arrangements of Nationally Determined Contributions (NDC) in the four largest BRICS countries (i.e., Brazil, Russia, India and China, hereinafter BRIC). In the processes leading to the Paris Agreement, each of the BRIC countries presented their shared and unique discontent. For example, they (particularly Brazil, India and China) share views on the phasing out of the Common But Differentiated Responsibilities (CBDR). However, it is not clear whether such discontent by the BRIC group has led to any policy coordination in post-Paris Agreement NDC implementation, or shared norms in domestic climate policy-making and institution-building, as they differ significantly in various policies related to energy transition and land-related climate effects (e.g., sustainable forestry). To understand

whether the BRIC group are the "revisionists" in global climate politics together, this research first attempts to map out the foundational principles and norms in national-level NDC policy-making (e.g., evidence-based policy-making, preventive measurements, climate justice) and the central coordinating agencies in the four countries; and, then tease out the similarities, differences, and coordinated actions. The paper contests the revisionist argument about the BRIC countries based on international system level projections. Instead, it utilizes both comparative and historical institutionalist methods to provide fresh empirical knowledge on the topic and aims at potential conceptual innovations related to normative changes in global (environmental) governance.

Geyi Xie

University of Adelaide

Joanne Wallis

University of Adelaide

How Does China Understand its Role and Interests in the Pacific Islands?

China's interests have been evolving in the Pacific Islands over the last decade. This has generated a 'China threat' discourse in the Australian media, commentary, and (some) academic literature. Drawing on analyses of China's economic cooperation, foreign aid, growing diplomatic footprint, and military engagement, the China threat discourse tends to assume that China is increasing its role in the region to facilitate an eventual military presence. This is based on an assumption that China has a strategic interest in, at a minimum, applying pressure to Australia, New Zealand, France, and the US, which are the powers that have traditionally had the most significant strategic interests in the region, or more seriously, militarily threatening them or their sea lanes of communication. But there have been few detailed analyses of what the Chinese government and influential voices within China have said - and are saying - about the Pacific Islands. In this paper we address this gap by asking: how does China understand its role and interests in the Pacific Islands? To answer this question, we use discourse analysis techniques to analyse the dominant frames used to characterise China's role and interests in the Pacific Islands in Chinese official discourse (public statements and policies adopted by the government in the form of official communications, e.g., government documents, speeches, and statements), media, and commentary over the last decade (2012-2022). By situating our analytical frames in historical and cultural context, we find that Chinese political elites attempt to construct the idea that China is anti-colonialist and anti-imperialist in their language when communicating with Pacific Island leaders. We also find that, while China increasingly perceives itself as a great power, Beijing's discourse about the Pacific Islands strives to cement its position as a 'responsible power'.

Sophie Yates

University of New South

Wales

Helen Dickinson

University of New South

Wales

Service Coordination and Market Stewardship: Gaps in NDIS support for people with disability in the criminal justice system

People with disability, especially cognitive or intellectual disability, are overrepresented in Australia's prisons. Disability support is vital to help people with disability avoid being reincarcerated and further criminalised. Advocacy and oversight agencies have identified significant gaps in the provision of National Disability Insurance Scheme (NDIS) services for people who are (or have been) in prison, but there has been little academic research on this topic. This paper presents findings from semi-structured interviews with practitioners working at the intersection of the disability and justice systems, including representatives of government and non-government organisations. Focusing on service coordination and market stewardship issues, we investigate the provision of NDIS and other disability services for those in prison, and NDIS access for this cohort after they have been released.