3rd Australian Political Theory and Philosophy Conference 2019

Ann Harding Conference Centre
Building 24, University of Canberra
15th & 16th February 2019

Faculty of Business, Government and Law
ABOUT IGPA

The Institute for Governance and Policy Analysis at the University of Canberra was established in January 2014 to harness the research strengths of the ANZSOG Institute for Governance (ANZSIG) and the National Centre for Social and Economic Modelling (NATSEM). Organised around four world-class research centres (the Centre for Deliberative Democracy and Global Governance; Centre for Change Governance; the National Centre for Social and Economic Modelling; and the 50/50 by 2030 Foundation), the Institute conducts interdisciplinary research in governance and policy analysis to deepen theory, advance knowledge and improve practice, in a way that is of significance to scholars and practitioners in Australia and internationally.

IGPA has created exciting opportunities for the development of cutting edge, mixed methods research in governance and public policy analysis through combining knowledge in institutional design with expertise in qualitative and quantitative methods, evaluation, micro-simulation and policy modelling. IGPA has one of the largest critical mass of governance and public policy scholars in Australia and an eminent adjunct faculty which includes 14 award-winning members of the Commonwealth Senior Executive Service and the world of political communication. IGPA’s culture is scholarly, inclusive, respectful, diverse, developmental and collegial.

THE AUSTRALIAN POLITICAL THEORY AND PHILOSOPHY ASSOCIATION

The Australian Political Theory and Philosophy association is an informal network of Australian and international political theorists and philosophers that meets annually to discuss research, contemporary events, ideas and issues in political theory, political philosophy, continental philosophy and philosophy more generally. Our focus is upon creating a community of like-minded scholars who support and encourage the development and growth of the study of political theory and philosophy in Australia.
The Institute for Governance and Policy Analysis (IGPA) at the University of Canberra is delighted to be hosting the third annual Australian Political Theory and Philosophy Conference. I would like to take this opportunity of welcoming you to this exciting event.

IGPA was established in 2014 with the aim of creating and sustaining an international class research institution for the study and practice of governance and public policy. The Institute has a strong social mission committed to the production of leading-edge research and research driven education programs with genuine public value and, by implication, policy impact. Over the past five years we have created exciting opportunities for the development of cutting-edge research in political science and public policy analysis through adopting an inter-disciplinary approach and combining expertise in qualitative and quantitative methods. IGPA is strongly committed to using our research to improve public policy and practice. We believe that "evidence + inclusive practice + advocacy + engagement = participatory governance solutions that work".

The activities of IGPA and the University’s School of Government and Policy have led to the University of Canberra being ranked number one in Australia and number 22 in the world for research in public policy and administration. In Political Science the QS World University Rankings for 2018 for politics and International studies placed UC in the top 151-200 group, a great recognition of the achievements of our academics. Based on Google Scholar citation scores, we are also able to boast that we have 3 academics among our staff in the top 20 Political Scientists in the world — John Dryzek, Gerry Stoker and David Marsh.

Joining us at the Conference we are also lucky to have two outstanding keynote speakers – Distinguished Professor Aileen Moreton Robinson, a Goenpul woman of the Quandamooka people (Moreton Bay) who is currently Professor of Indigenous Research in the Indigenous Research and Engagement Unit at the Queensland University of Technology; and Associate Professor David McKnight who is an Honorary Associate Professor at the University of New South Wales and who is well known for his commentaries on the media, politics and history.

From the abstracts, there is a diverse range of papers being presented. These highlight topical issues in political theory, political philosophy or continental philosophy with either contemporary or historical perspectives. These are likely to spark enthusiast debate. You will also be able to enjoy discussing key issues in the ‘Politics of the Anthropocene’ with a very enlightened panel as well as participate in a ‘meet-the-author’ session with Dr Riccardo Baldissone (University of Westminster).

The themes of the Conference are much at the heart of the activities of IGPA and the School of Government and Policy, I welcome all conference attendees. We look forward to seeing you over the coming days and very much hope that you enjoy participating in the conference as well as the debates and discussions that will continue to flow once it has come to an end.

Professor Laurie Brown – Director, Institute for Governance and Policy Analysis
As the conference convenor, I would like to welcome you to the third annual Australian Political Theory and Philosophy conference. We have a great conference program complemented by keynote presentations from Distinguished Professor Aileen Moreton-Robinson (QUT) and Associate Professor David McKnight (University of New South Wales, Sydney). There is also a panel on the politics of the Anthropocene and an author meets readers and audience event with Dr Riccardo Baldissone who is joining us from the University of Westminster, UK. I look forward to greeting those who have previously attended the annual conference in Melbourne and Sydney, and welcoming those who are attending for the first time. I hope you all enjoy the conference.

#APTP2019

ABOUT THE CONVENOR:

Mary Walsh is an Associate Professor in Politics and Political Theory in the School of Government and Policy at the University of Canberra. She is the Program Director of the Bachelor of Politics and International Relations degree and Founding Patron of the Politics, International Relations and National Security student association (PIRaNaS). Her most recent publications appear in Contemporary Political Theory, The Review of Politics, The Australian Journal of Political Science and Democratic Theory.
**Incommensurable Sovereignties: the resolve of Indigenous Sovereignties and the racialized logics of State Sovereignty**  
Distinguished Professor Aileen Moreton-Robinson (QUT)

The concept sovereignty has generated an abundant non-Indigenous literature within modernity. Some scholars argue that sovereignty is no longer a cornerstone of modern politics because technology and globalization have changed its form. In the 21st Century, cultural, environmental and economic influences transcend borders enabled by technology and communications; they do not require visas and passports. Cyber espionage challenges territorial integrity, exclusive possession and supreme authority the key attributes of state sovereignty in political and legal theory. Others argue we have reached the sovereign turn whereby concepts derived from the work of Carl Schmitt, Derrida, Walter Benjamin and Giorgio Agamben inform critical scholarship on questions of sovereignty (Jennings 2011). However, there is a blind spot in this literature with its focus on political and legal theories of sovereignty, which work to occlude the ontological foundations of the concept. States of exception, the right to kill, the paradoxical relation of friend and enemy between state and subject, the maintenance of bare life, or Foucault’s idea of to let live and to make live are constituted through a regime of power that has transcendent origins. As will be demonstrated, the secularization of sovereignty did not detract from its ontology – ways of being - as power emanating from a God, who in the mundane world of mortals is white and male. In this paper, I will illustrate how the disavowal of Indigenous sovereignty operates through the racial logics of State sovereignty's incommensurable ontology.

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**Does populism offer a new direction to the left?**  
Honorary Associate Professor David McKnight (UNSW)

While largely concerned with Australian politics, my book Populism Now! The case for progressive populism (2018) argues that the 2016 US presidential campaign, the 2017 British election and the 2016 Australian election mark something of a turning point for social-democratic and similar parties, post-Third Way. In those election campaigns, varying versions of what I call progressive populism were articulated with surprising success by Senator Bernie Sanders during the Democrats’ nomination process, by Labour’s Jeremy Corbyn in the 2017 election and by the leadership of the Australian Labor Party in the 2016 federal election.

The book also argues that the resulting US presidency of Donald Trump as well as the outcome of the UK’s Brexit referendum signal a shift in the position of conservative parties which, until that point, advocated forms of neoliberalism especially those which prefer for relatively open borders. While referring positively to the work of Chantal Mouffe, the book is written for a broad public readership rather than a scholarly audience. It devotes much of its time to analysing privatisation, deregulation and ‘small government’ and the failure of these policies to benefit the Australian public. It argues that the broad Left and the trade union movement in Australia should consider framing their opposition to neoliberal policies through the lens of progressive populism. In this way a populist left can minimise the contribution made by genuine economic grievances to the demonization of ethnic and religious minorities.
### VENUE AND CONFERENCE ROOM

The Conference is being held at:

**Ann Harding Conference Centre**
Building 24, University of Canberra, University Drive South Bruce, Act 2617.

Sessions will be held in the main conference room and the two seminar rooms.

### DELEGATE BADGES

Delegates are requested to wear their name badge at all times.

### PARKING ON CAMPUS

There are various car parks available for parking, please refer to the map for more information.

### REGISTRATION AND HELP DESK

The registration and help desk is located in the Foyer of the Ann Harding Conference Centre.

### INTERNET ACCESS

Wireless internet access will be available at the Ann Harding Conference Centre. Please see the conference noticeboard for access codes.

### ABSTRACTS

Abstracts have not been included in the conference program but they can be accessed through a shared Dropbox which can be located at www.dropbox.com/h

Login: APTP2019@canberra.edu.au

Password: APTP2019

### LOADING OF PRESENTATIONS

Speakers are asked to arrive 10 minutes prior to their session begins in order to load their presentations. Staff will be on hand to assist with in the case of any difficulties.

### CAFES AND SNACKS

- **UCU Refectory** – Located in Building 1 (Concourse Level) and includes Melt and NoMads Coffee
- **Coffee Grounds** – Located under Cooper Lodge Residencies
- **Retro Café** – Located in Building 22, next to the Ann Harding Conference Centre
- **Café Mizzuna** – Located in The Hub
- **The Well** – Located under Cooper Lodge Residencies

### SHOPPING CENTRE

- **Westfield Shopping Centre** – Belconnen, is a 20-minute walk or a 5-minute drive from the university.

  **Location:**
  Benjamin Way, Belconnen

  **Phone:** 6251 4333

### PUBLIC TRANSPORT

The University of Canberra is located in a central location, with the ACTION bus services located on College Street with express services to Belconnen Town Centre or Canberra CBD.

Bus services and prices can be found at [www.action.gov.au](http://www.action.gov.au)

### TAXIS

- **Cabxpress**
  02 6260 6011
- **Canberra Cabs**
  13 22 27
- **Elite Taxi Service**
  02 6236 3666

### MEDICAL ATTENTION

- **UC Medical Centre and Counselling Centre**
  – 6201 2351
- **Emergency Services**
  – 000
- **Accident and Emergency**
  – 6201 6111
- **After Hours GP Helpline**
  – 1800 022 222

### SOCIAL FUNCTIONS

- **Conference Dinner**
  Bella Vista Restaurant
  Friday 15th of February 2019
  7:00 pm
## 3rd Australian Political Theory and Philosophy Conference 2019

**FRIDAY 15.01.2019**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TIME</th>
<th>SESSION</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>8:30</td>
<td>REGISTRATION</td>
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<tr>
<td>9.00am – 9.15am</td>
<td><strong>MAIN THEATRE</strong>&lt;br&gt; Welcome to Country&lt;br&gt;Aunty Roslyn Brown – Elder in Residence&lt;br&gt;Ngunnawal Indigenous Higher Education Centre</td>
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<tr>
<td>9.15am – 9.30am</td>
<td><strong>MAIN THEATRE</strong>&lt;br&gt;Welcome to the third annual Australian Political Theory and Philosophy conference.&lt;br&gt;Associate Professor Mary Walsh</td>
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<td>9.30am – 11.00am</td>
<td><strong>MAIN THEATRE</strong>&lt;br&gt;Session 1:&lt;br&gt;Chair: Associate Professor David Carter&lt;br&gt;What is liberal democracy? The few and the many&lt;br&gt;Benjamin Brice&lt;br&gt;Neoliberalism as Fantasy: A Lacanian analysis of the birth of neoliberalism&lt;br&gt;Harry Maher&lt;br&gt;What does political liberalism mean for markets?&lt;br&gt;Dr Miriam Bankovsky</td>
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<td><strong>SEMINAR ROOM 1</strong>&lt;br&gt;Session 2:&lt;br&gt;Chair: Dr Jean-Paul Gagnon&lt;br&gt;It’s the Government’s Fault Stupid: Why Political Philosophers Should Stop Talking About Personal Responsibility&lt;br&gt;Professor Keith Dowding&lt;br&gt;A Political Conception of Relational Equality&lt;br&gt;Devon Cass&lt;br&gt;Voting rights and Proportionality&lt;br&gt;Dr Piero Morao</td>
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<td><strong>SEMINAR ROOM 2</strong>&lt;br&gt;Session 3:&lt;br&gt;Chair: Associate Professor Mary Walsh&lt;br&gt;The time of war: Re-reading Simone Weil’s Iliad&lt;br&gt;Dr Helen Pringle&lt;br&gt;Carl Schmitt and the Concept of the Social&lt;br&gt;Tristan Bradshaw</td>
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<td>11.00am – 11.30am</td>
<td><strong>FOYER ANN HARDING CENTRE</strong>&lt;br&gt;MORNING TEA</td>
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| 11.30am – 1.00pm    | MAIN THEATRE                    | **KEYNOTE ADDRESS 1** – Distinguished Professor Aileen Moreton-Robinson (QUT)  
Chair: Professor Marian Simms  
*Incommensurable Sovereignties: the resolve of Indigenous Sovereignties and the racialized logics of State Sovereignty* |
| 1.00pm – 2.00pm     | FOYER ANN HARDING CENTRE        | **LUNCH**                                                                                                                                           |
| 2.00pm – 3.30pm     | MAIN THEATRE                    | The Politics of the Anthropocene Panel  
Professor John Dryzek, Dr Jonathan Pickering, Professor Anthony Burke, Dr Marit Hammond                                                          |
| 3.30pm – 4.00pm     | AFTERNOON TEA                   |                                                                                                                                                   |
| 4.00pm – 5.30pm     | MAIN THEATRE                    | **SESSION 1:**  
Chair: Associate Professor Mary Walsh  
*What is the political?*  
Professor Henrik Bang  
*Putting the ‘Political’ into Political Participation*  
Professor Dave Marsh  
**SEMINAR ROOM 1**  
**SESSION 2:**  
Chair: Dr John Hawkins  
*Religious Exemptions for Organisations*  
Dr Stephanie Collins  
*Is there a Politics of “Nihilism”? Spinoza’ Epicureanism and Creation*  
Dr Dimitris Vardoulakis  
*A Hohfeldian complication for the state’s right to exclude*  
Matthew Joseph  
**SEMINAR ROOM 2**  
**SESSION 3:**  
Chair: Neil MacDonald  
*Feasibility and the problem of normative encroachment*  
Associate Professor Nic Southwood  
*Normativity in Empirical Research using Poststructuralist Discourse Theory – the discourse analyst as a “political subject-in-outline”*  
Dr Mick Chisnall  
*On Political Normativity*  
Dr Ben Cross |
| 5.30pm-6.00pm       | SEMINAR ROOM 1                  | **AGM**                                                                                                                                            |
| 7.00pm              | BELLA VISTA RESTAURANT          | **CONFERENCE DINNER**                                                                    |
# 3rd Australian Political Theory and Philosophy Conference 2019

**SATURDAY 16.01.2019**

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<tr>
<th>TIME</th>
<th>SESSION</th>
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<td>9.30am – 11.00am</td>
<td><strong>MAIN THEATRE</strong>&lt;br&gt;SESSION 1:&lt;br&gt;Chair: Associate Professor Walsh&lt;br&gt;<em>Cisgendered Misogyny Online: Keeping (Not Just) Women Down in the 21st Century</em>&lt;br&gt;Dr Louise Richardson-Self&lt;br&gt;“Offensiphobia” is a red herring: on the problem of censorship and academic freedom&lt;br&gt;Dr Ben Cross and Dr Louise Richardson-Self&lt;br&gt;Understanding the evolution of ideology: Making sense of the current tumultuous ideological realignment in Australian politics&lt;br&gt;Dr Lindy Edwards&lt;br&gt;<strong>SEMINAR ROOM 1</strong>&lt;br&gt;<strong>SESSION 2:</strong>&lt;br&gt;Chair: Dr Jonathan Pickering&lt;br&gt;Evaluation of Means and Prescription Without Ends: Varieties of Nonideal Theory&lt;br&gt;Dr Simon Cotton&lt;br&gt;Education, Equality and the Levelling Down Objection&lt;br&gt;Kirsty Macfarlane&lt;br&gt;What is (pure) competition? Contending for resources, attention, power or survival&lt;br&gt;Professor Patrick Dunleavy&lt;br&gt;<strong>SEMINAR ROOM 2</strong>&lt;br&gt;SESSION 3:&lt;br&gt;Chair: Dr Nick Barry&lt;br&gt;Youth Voting in Obligate Democracies&lt;br&gt;Hal Conyngham&lt;br&gt;What is cultural appropriation?&lt;br&gt;Dr Peter Balint&lt;br&gt;Crowder’s Value Pluralism: Individual Autonomy and the Capacity to Choose&lt;br&gt;Dr Matthew Jones</td>
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<td>11.00am – 11.30am</td>
<td>FOYER ANN HARDING CENTRE</td>
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| 11.30am – 1.00pm | **MAIN THEATRE**<br>**KEYNOTE ADDRESS 2** – Associate Professor David McKnight<br>Chair: Associate Professor Mary Walsh<br>Does populism offer a new direction to the left?
<table>
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<tr>
<th>Time</th>
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<th>Event</th>
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<tr>
<td>1.00pm – 2.00pm</td>
<td>FOYER ANN HARDING CENTRE</td>
<td>LUNCH</td>
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<td>2.00pm – 3.30pm</td>
<td>MAIN THEATRE</td>
<td>Author meets readers and audience – Dr Riccardo Baldissone</td>
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<td><em>Farewell to Freedom: A Western Genealogy of Liberty (2018)</em></td>
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<td></td>
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<td>(with Dr Jean Paul Gagnon and Associate Professor Mary Walsh)</td>
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<td>3.30pm – 4.00pm</td>
<td>AFTERNOON TEA</td>
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<td>4.00pm – 5.30pm</td>
<td>MAIN THEATRE</td>
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<td>Chair: Neil MacDonald</td>
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<td><em>Freedom from Democracy: Progressive Populism and the Rise of Global Corporate Power</em> Associate Professor Mary Walsh</td>
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<td><em>The Problem of the Corporation in Normative Democratic Theory</em></td>
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<td>Dr Jensen Sass</td>
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<td><em>Pluralism, Populism, and Political Meritocracy</em></td>
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<td>Dr Nick Barry</td>
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<td>SEMINAR ROOM 1</td>
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<td>Chair: Dr Mick Chisnall</td>
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<td><em>The Problems of ‘Freedom as Independence’</em></td>
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<td>Lars J. K. Moen</td>
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<td><em>Absolutism and Counsel in Thomas Hobbes’ Thought</em></td>
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<td>Thomas Alexander Corbin</td>
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<td>SEMINAR ROOM 2</td>
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<td>Chair: Dr Riccardo Baldissone</td>
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<td><em>Should Democracy Indices be Complemented by Measures of Democracy Outside the National Level? Evidence from a Spatial Analysis of Democracy Points to Yes.</em> Dr Jean-Paul Gagnon</td>
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<td><em>Accounting for technologies of governance: delimiting political spaces through the ‘apolitical’ and ‘objective’.</em> Associate Professor David Carter and Dr Rebecca Warren</td>
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<td><em>The affective power of noise on the border</em></td>
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<td>Dr Umut Ozguc</td>
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<td>5.30pm</td>
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