

IPSA Virtual Colloquium

# Disruption, Crisis, Opportunity: Whither Democratic Governance?

14 - 15 December 2020

Colloquium Organised by

**RC14 Politics and Ethnicity & RC28  
Comparative Federalism and  
Multilevel Governance**

Jointly with the RC13 Democratization in Comparative  
Perspective, RC08 Legislative Specialists, RC30 Comparative  
Public Policy



**QUEEN'S  
UNIVERSITY  
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### ORGANISING AND PROGRAMME COMMITTEE:

Timofey Agarin, Queen's University, Belfast, UK

Soeren Keil, Canterbury Christ Church University, UK

### SUPPORTING COMMITTEE

Frances Neilson, Queens University, Belfast, UK

Sam Manning, Queens University, Belfast, UK

Sydney Holt, Queens University, Belfast, UK

Tom Sharkey, Canterbury Christ Church University, UK

## Welcome Notes

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### WELCOME TO THE VIRTUAL COLLOQUIUM

It is great that you are able to join us for the 2020 Extraordinary Joint IPSA Colloquium “Disruption, Crisis, Opportunity: Whither Democratic Governance?” an event organised by the IPSAs RC14 Politics and Ethnicity and RC28 Comparative Federalism and Multilevel Governance, jointly with RC13 Democratization in Comparative Perspective, RC08 Legislative Specialists, RC30 Comparative Public Policy

The RCs 14 and 28 have been cooperating since 2015 on multiple joint bi-annual events, including in Edinburgh in 2015, Nicosia in 2017, and in Sarajevo 2019. At the beginning of 2020, we have loosely agreed to run another joint event in the summer of 2021, as per our usual bi-annual planning, yet we have not anticipated that most of annual meetings and conferences would pause for the year, across the globe. Since, many global and regional conferences have been deferred to 2021, including the World Congress of IPSA, our umbrella association, others took place online. From the start of the pandemic, we were particularly concerned that starving the early career researchers of public engagement with their research and one another would have a detrimental impact on their academic progression, career development and the state of the conversation in our sub-fields of study, both RCs decided to move our cooperation into 2020 and into the virtual space.

Over the past nine months, the world has certainly experienced one of the major political, economic, social and cultural crisis: While many of us can easily identify the disruption to the “way of life BC (before corona)” as a critical juncture to policy, political and institutional developments globally, this colloquium sought to invite examination of the role local, national, regional, and international responses have been shaped by, and are currently shaping expectations of governance outputs.

Unsurprisingly, the challenges of tackling the healthcare emergence reflect the combined impact of decades of social changes globally. These will also have ripple effect across sectors of politics and society that twelve months ago have appeared shielded from unexpected events (flexibility in labour markets), comparatively well-resources (healthcare systems in the Global North), were taken for granted (ascent to results of democratic elections in the US). Even the mixed response to pandemic across the EU and the use of healthcare emergency provisions to shift levers of power from the elected parliaments into the executive underlines the potential difficulties of consensual decision-making even in established liberal democracies, not to speak of the cash-stripped countries in the Global South, or regions coping with ethnic and territorial challenges.

How has this healthcare emergency affected the governance mechanisms, institutions and political elites? Has there been a substantial impact on the role of trust that citizens have in their elites? Are we witnessing an authoritarian revival in the wake of the current pandemic, as some have predicted, quoting Hungary, Brazil, and Israel as examples? To what extent has the current crisis, and previous crises, exposed state weakness in parts of the world, and how have regional and international organisations reacted?

We are delighted that more than 100 scholars responded to our call for papers on these topics. Over the two days of the conference, participants from more than 35 countries and from a variety of disciplines will be joining us online. It is our hope that participants new to the format of IPSA RCs colloquiums will find the discussion encouraging and will join us again in the distant 2022, hopefully for a face to face interaction, or even at the next IPSA World Congress, in Lisbon in July 2021.

We look forward to the intellectual exchange over the next few days, albeit online from the comfort of our homes. We would like to thank IPSA for providing the framework for this wonderful opportunity, our online organising team in the School of History, Anthropology, Politics and Philosophy, Queens University Belfast for making this run smoothly, and all of you for your contribution to this event.

Timofey Agarin (RC14) & Soeren Keil (RC 28)

## Hosts

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### WELCOME FROM THE HOST

It gives me great pleasure to welcome you to this Virtual IPSA Conference on Disruption, Crisis, Opportunity: Whither Democratic Governance. We are delighted to be able to 'host' the event and hope that in the not too distant future we will have the opportunity to welcome you in person to Queen's University Belfast. The School of History, Anthropology, Philosophy and Politics is a large community of scholars providing interdisciplinary insights in to understanding politics. Our location in Northern Ireland, serving as a bridge between the UK and the Republic of Ireland, added to our deep experience of managing political change in fragile contexts, along with our many international ties, gives us a nuanced, and perhaps unique perspective, based on our everyday experiences to reflect on our research. I wish you productive discussions and success with what should prove to be a fascinating conference on a vital theme in our present context.

Prof. Dr. Alister Miskimmon, *Head of School*

*History, Anthropology, Philosophy & Politics, Queen's University Belfast*

### QUEEN'S UNIVERSITY

The department of Politics and International Relations, a constituent part of the School of History, Anthropology, Philosophy and Politics, at Queen's University Belfast is by far the largest institutional centre for the study of political science on the island of Ireland and amongst the larger in the UK. With over 30 full time members of academic staff, the department is active in international research networks and teaching across the breadth of the discipline. Politics and International Relations is organised along four core areas of expertise: International Relations; Governance and Public Policy; Nationalism and Ethnic Conflict; Political Theory; and Irish and Northern Irish politics. The department also hosts four centres that act as conduits of research collaboration: Centre for Gender in Politics; Centre for the Study of Ethnic Conflict; Centre for Sustainability, Equality and Climate Action; and The Democracy Unit. In addition, the department collaborates closely with the Faculty's Senator George J. Mitchell Institute for Global Peace, Security and Justice. Our location in Northern Ireland's capital city Belfast situates us in a place with a rich and colourful political history at the intersection of complex questions about sovereignty and identity and is an exhilarating place to study politics and collaborate on research.

### IPSA RC14 POLITICS AND ETHNICITY

Recognised as research committee in 1976, Research Committee 14 focuses on the politics of ethnicity construed broadly, both in terms of methodology and orientation, ranging from historical and deeply descriptive to more theoretical and empirically rigorous approaches. The work of our members touches upon such related themes as nationalism and nation-building; the formation and mobilisation of collective identities; cultural pluralism; irredentism; separatism; and the search for autonomy. It also covers questions of race, religion, language, immigration and citizenship, concerns that are reflected in the titles of committee colloquia which deal with specific topics but may include both country-specific case studies as well as comparative analyses.

### IPSA RC28 COMPARATIVE FEDERALISM AND MULTILEVEL GOVERNANCE

RC28 facilitates the pursuit of political science research and scholarship on federalism and multilevel governance from a global comparative perspective. This includes the conceptual, theoretical, and empirical analysis of the origins, operations, and consequences of federal and quasi-federal structures of government, from both a positive and a normative approach. Topics of particular interest to RC28 include constitutional and institutional arrangements; political behaviour, policy-making, and intergovernmental and fiscal relations; and territorially-based cultural, ethnic, linguistic, and religious diversity. RC28's scope spans federal and confederal systems as well as unitary states where a regional tier of government plays an important role.

### Monday: Day 1

Brussels Times	Panel A	Panel B	Panel C
<b>8:30</b>	You can join us at the Coffee Breakout room for informal hellos. This room will be open throughout the event, from 08:30 until 20:00		
<b>9:00-10:45 Panel 1</b>	<a href="#"><u>Roundtable: Getting published</u></a>	<a href="#"><u>COVID-19 National and Local Perspectives</u></a>	<a href="#"><u>The Crisis and Future of Democracy</u></a>
<b>10:45-11:00</b>	Break		
<b>11:00-12:45 Panel 2</b>	<a href="#"><u>COVID, Crisis and International and National Governance</u></a>	<a href="#"><u>Representation in Europe's Divided Nations</u></a>	<a href="#"><u>Book panel Decentralization, Regional Diversity, and Conflict. The Case of Ukraine</u></a>
<b>12:45-13:00</b>	Break		
<b>13:00-14:45 Panel 3</b>	<a href="#"><u>COVID and Federalism</u></a>	<a href="#"><u>COVID-19 and the Future of Democracy</u></a>	<a href="#"><u>Book panel Trust-Transparency Nexus and Multi-level governance in the UK, France and Germany</u></a>
<b>14:45-16:00</b>	Lunch Break		
<b>16:00-17:45 Panel 4</b>	<a href="#"><u>Power-Sharing and Territorial Autonomy</u></a>	<a href="#"><u>Constitutionalism and Federalism in Times of Crisis</u></a>	<a href="#"><u>Book panel Lithuania in the Global Context: National Security and Defence Policy Dilemmas</u></a>
<b>18:00-20:00</b>	<a href="#"><u>Keynote discussion:</u></a> The Impact of COVID-19 on Democracy, Inclusion and Minority Rights - A Conversation with Eva Maria Belser and Joseph Marko		

## Tuesday: Day 2

Brussels Times	Panel A	Panel B	Panel C
<b>8:30</b>	You can join us at the Coffee Breakout room for informal hellos. This room will be open throughout the event, from 08:30 until 20:00		
<b>9:00-10:45 Panel 5</b>	<a href="#"><u>Peace-Building and Institutional Design in Post-Conflict Societies</u></a>	<a href="#"><u>Refugees</u></a>	<a href="#"><u>Political Leadership During Covid</u></a>
<b>10:45-11:00</b>	Break		
<b>11:00-12:45 Panel 6</b>	<a href="#"><u>Populism and Authoritarianism in times of Crisis</u></a>	<a href="#"><u>Political Parties and Crises</u></a>	<a href="#"><u>Roundtable Accessing Research Funding</u></a>
<b>12:45-13:00</b>	Break		
<b>13:00-14:45 Panel 7</b>	<a href="#"><u>Culture of Local Governance in Times of Crisis</u></a>	<a href="#"><u>Global Power Politics and Regional Dynamics</u></a>	<a href="#"><u>Roundtable The Meaning and Implications of European Roma governance</u></a>
<b>14:45-16:00</b>	Lunch Break		
<b>16:00-17:45 Panel 8</b>	<a href="#"><u>Peacebuilding in times of Crisis</u></a>	<a href="#"><u>Book panel Countering insurgencies and violent extremism in South and South East Asia</u></a>	<a href="#"><u>Book panel Power-Sharing in Europe - Past Practice, Present Cases and Future Directions</u></a>

### Day One

#### Monday 14<sup>th</sup> December

Panel 1A: Monday, 9:00-10:45

This roundtable brings together leading journal and book series editors, who will provide tips and tricks for aspiring authors. In particular, the roundtable participants will focus on the importance of clarity, originality and formal criteria when submitting a paper or a proposal, in order to ensure that these make it to peer-review stage. We will then evaluate how the peer-review process work, and what the different outcomes of the review process mean. Looking at it from the perspective of editors who are also academics, we will discuss what journals and book publishers are looking for, and how aspiring authors can maximise their chances of acceptance. The roundtable will give plenty of space for participants to ask questions and share their experience with the panel.

Roundtable:

#### **Getting published**

Moderator: Johanna Schnabel, *FU Berlin*

Participants:

Soeren Keil, *Co-Editor Palgrave Book Series on Federalism and Internal Conflict*

Timofey Agarin, *Routledge Book Series Studies in Nationalism and Ethnicity* & Co-Editor

*Nationalism and Ethnic Politics*

Christina Zuber, *Co-Editor Regional and Federal Studies*

Darryl Jarvis, *Co-Editor: Policy and Society*

Includes a video message from Allison McCulloch, *Editor of Nationalism and Ethnic Politics*

Panel 1B: Monday, 9:00-10:45

#### COVID-19 National and Local Perspectives

Chair: Ryo Nakai, *University of Kitakyushu*

Discussant: Maryna Rabinovych, *Kyiv School of Economics (KSE)*

#### **COVID-19 as a Disruption Factor in the Global Metropolis: Consequences (Cases Berlin and Saint Petersburg)**

Revekka Vulfovich *North-west Institute of Management of RANEPA*

#### **Security as a Right: Ukrainian Identity Transformation In Discourse On Euro-Atlantic Integration**

Iryna Zhyrun, *National Research University Higher School of Economics Moscow*

#### **Securitization-Humanitarianism Dilemma in the Mediterranean: Search and Rescue NGOs as a 'Pull Factor' in Italy?**

Selcen ONER *Bahcesehir University* & Mattia Cirino *LUISS University*

#### **The 2020 Trendy Parliamentary Election: The effects of youth political participation under the COVID-19 in Mongolia**

Biligtsaikhan Uuganbayar *Tsinghua University*

Panel 1C: Monday, 9:00-10:45

#### The Crisis and Future of Democracy

Chair: Alexandra Späth, *Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung, Brussels*

Discussant: Ada-Charlotte Regelmann, *Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung, Brussels*

#### **Authoritarian Neoliberalism, COVID-19, and the Future of Democracy**

Alfredo Saad-Filho, *King's College London*; Marco Boffo, *Independent Researcher*

#### **Real Democracy in a time of Corona-Crisis Capitalism**

Mònica Clua-Losada, *University of Texas*; David J. Bailey, *University of Birmingham*; Saori Shibata, *Leiden University*

#### **Defending Democracy Requires Deeper Democracy**

Teppo Eskelinen, *University of Jyväskylä*

#### **Rewriting the Social Contract for the Post-Crisis Conjuncture: The Moral Imperative of a Just, Equal and Inclusive Society**

Adam Standring, *Örebro University*; Matthew Donoghue, *University College Dublin*



Panel 2A: Monday, 11:00-12:45

COVID, Crisis and International and National Governance

Chair: Soeren Keil, *Canterbury Christ Church University*

Discussant: Biligtsaikhan Uuganbayar *Tsinghua University*

**Covid Cries and Waning Federalism of India**

Ajay Kumar Singh, *Centre for Federal Studies, Jamia Hamdard, New Delhi, India*

**COVID-19 impact on the empowerment of subnational autonomy in Brazil**

Gilberto Marcos Antonio Rodrigues, *Federal University of ABC*

**One-hour parliament session in Malaysia: The rise of an authoritarian government?**

TheanBee Soon, *Universiti Tunku Abdul Rahman*

**The Impact of COVID-19 on International Institutions and Global Governance**

Mark Meirowitz, *State University of N.Y. Maritime College*

Panel 2B: Monday, 11:00-12:45

Representation in Europe's Divided Nations

Chair: Arianna Piacentini, *EURAC*

Discussant: Sergiusz Bober, *ECMI*

**Representation and Mobilization of Cross-Border Nations: The Party Politics of Ethnic Kinship**

Timofey Agarin *Queen's University Belfast* & Patrick Utz *University of Edinburgh*

**Ethnic Minority Parties in European Border Regions: Competition and Change**

Guido Panzano, *Université Libre de Bruxelles*

**Ethnic Kinship in Kosovo and Northern Ireland**

Michael Potter, *Queen's University Belfast*

**Securitizing Borders: Dynamics of Inclusion and Exclusion in South Tyrol**

Andrea Carlà, *Eurac Research - Institute for Minority Rights*

Panel 2C: Monday, 11:00-12:45

Book panel

***Decentralization, Regional Diversity, and Conflict. The Case of Ukraine*** edited by Shelest, H., Rabinovych, M. Palgrave MacMillan 2020, 373p. ISBN 978-3-030-41764-2

<https://link.springer.com/book/10.1007/978-3-030-41765-9>

The book "Decentralization, Regional Diversity and Conflict in Ukraine" (ed. H. Shelest & M. Rabinovych, "Federalism and Internal Conflict" series, Palgrave MacMillan) highlights the interlinkages between regional diversity, conflict in and around Ukraine and the ongoing decentralization reform in Ukraine. The case of Ukraine is illustrative of the historical constitution of diversity in a state that never existed in its present territory before the 1990s, complex conflict constellations and the application of decentralization as a means of conflict resolution. Our particular interest lies in exploring the decentralization reform's effects on conflict resolution under the circumstances of the Russian Federation's support for the leaders of de-facto Luhansk and Donetsk People's Republics, and, Ukraine's future development, more broadly.

Chair: Maryna Rabinovych, *Kyiv School of Economics (KSE)*

Discussant: Tymofiy Brik, *Kyiv School of Economics (KSE)*

**Navigating Ethnopolitical Disputes: Ukrainian Constitutional Court in the Tug-of-War over Language**

Andrii Nekoliak, *University of Tartu*

**The Reintegration of Donbas through Reconstruction and Accountability. An International Law Perspective**

Tomasz Lachowski, *University of Lodz*

**Foreign Discourses on Ukraine's Decentralization** Nadiia Koval, *Foreign Policy Council "Ukrainian Prism"*

**The Interplay between the Decentralization, Democracy and Modernization in Ukraine**

Olga Oleinikova, *University of Technology Sydney*



Panel 3A: Monday, 13:00-15:45

COVID and Federalism

Chair: Chloe Doherty, *Canterbury Christ Church University*,

Discussant: Soeren Keil, *Canterbury Christ Church University*

**Regional Resilience Torn Between Centralization and Decentralization: What Covid-19 teaches us about Italian Regionalism**

Elisabeth Alber, *Eurac Research*

**Federalism and the Covid-19 crisis: Canada, Australia and the United States in Comparative Perspective.**

André Lecours, *University of Ottawa*, Daniel Béland *McGill University*, Alan Fenna *Curtin University*, Tracy Beck Fenwick *Australian National University*, Mireille Paquet *Concordia University*, Philip Rocco *Marquette University*, Alex Waddan *University of Leicester*

**Pandemic Federalism and the Management of the COVID-19 Crisis. Centralisation, Decentralisation, and Coordination**

Yvonne Hegele, *Zürcher Hochschule für Angewandte Wissenschaften*; Johanna Schnabel, *FU Berlin*

**Regional Elections under Pandemic Conditions: The case of Bihar, India 2020**

Balveer Arora, *Centre for Multilevel Federalism*, Stuti Saxena, *IMS Unison University Dehradun*

Panel 3B: Monday, 13:00-15:45

COVID-19 and the Future of Democracy

Chair: Ilana Kaufmann

Discussant: Licia Cianetti *Royal Holloway, University of London*

**Discursive Politics of the COVID-19 Pandemic in the United States and Russia: Making Gendered Imageries and Narratives Tangible in Securitization**

Anna Kuteleva, *National Research University Higher School of Economics* & Sarah Clifford *University of Copenhagen*

**Impact of COVID-19 on the State of Democracy in the Czech Republic, Italy and Poland**

Adam Szymanski & Lukasz Zamecki, *University of Warsaw*

**The Impact of COVID-19 on Central Asia: Regional Developments and Geopolitical Implications**

Farrukh Khakimov,

*University of World Economy and Diplomacy*  
**Does Lockdown Matter for Democracy? Determinants of Political Support in Poland and Hungary**

Marta Żerkowska-Balas, *SWPS University of Social Sciences and Humanities*; & Robert Sata, *CEU*

Panel 3C: Monday, 13:00-15:45

Book panel

**Trust-Transparency Nexus and Multi-level governance in the UK, France and Germany (Policy Press, 2021)**

Chair: Dominic Heinz, *Geschwister Scholl Institute of Political Science*

Discussant: Sonja Zmerli, *Sciences Po Grenoble*

Participants:

Alistair Cole, *Hong Kong Baptist University*, Eric M. Uslaner, *University of Maryland*

Panel 4A: Monday, 16:00-17:45

Power-Sharing and Territorial Autonomy

Chair: Soeren Keil, *Canterbury Christ Church University*

Discussant: Arjan Schakel, *University of Bergen*

**Revisiting the Relationship between Power-Sharing and Territorial Autonomy**

Soeren Keil, *Canterbury Christ Church University* Allison McCulloch, *Brandon University, Canada*

**Can ethnofederalism be 'tamed' by power sharing? The case of India**

Katharine Adeney, *University of Nottingham*

**Refining Consociationalism's Core Principles**

Felix Matthieu, *Pompeu Fabra University, Barcelona*

**Territorial Autonomy, Constitutional Change and Political Legitimacy in Northern Ireland**

Joanne McEvoy, *University of Aberdeen*

Panel 4B: Monday, 16:00-17:45

Constitutionalism and Federalism in Times of Crisis

Chair: Dominic Heinz, *Geschwister Scholl Institute of Political Science*

Discussant: Qingming Huang; Hye Ryeon Jang  
*University of Florida*

**The Constitutionalism of Emergency: How Multinationalism Shapes Asymmetrical Constitutional Solutions?**

Maja Sahadzic,  
*University of Antwerp*

**Canada's Underlying Constitutional Principles in Times of Crisis: An Experimental Method**

Dave Guenette, *McGill University*

**Impact of Yukos Trials on Rule of Law in Russia**

Alexandra Yao, *University of Toronto*

**Does Decentralization lead to State Capture in New Democracies? - Evidence from the Western Balkans**

John Hulsey, *James Madison University*

Soeren Keil, *Canterbury Christ Church University*

Keynote discussion: Monday, 18:00-20:00

***The Impact of COVID-19 on Democracy, Inclusion and Minority Rights* - A Conversation with Eva Maria Belser and Joseph Marko**

Eva Maria Belser is Professor for Constitutional Law at the *University of Fribourg* in Switzerland and a member of the Swiss government's expert commission on dealing with the corona-crisis.

Joseph Marko is Professor for Constitutional and Administrative Law and Political Science at the *University of Graz*, Austria and Head of the Institute for Minority Rights at Eurac Research in Bolzano, Italy.

Panel 4C: Monday, 16:00-17:45

Book panel

***Lithuania in the Global Context: National Security and Defence Policy Dilemmas* (2020)**

edited by Česnakas G., Statkus N. Vilnius,  
*General Jonas Žemaitis Military Academy of Lithuania*, 366 p. ISBN 978-609-8277-03-6

<http://lka.lt/en/research/publications/international-relations.html>

The collective monograph "Lithuania in the global context: national security and defence policy dilemmas" contains 20 thematic chapters, written by scholars and practitioners, experts of national security and defence policy. In the book presentation at the IPSA conference authors of four chapters will highlight their major findings and three discussants will share their insights.

Chair: Irminda Matonyte, *General Jonas Žemaitis Military Academy of Lithuania*

Discussant: Emilija Pundziute-Gallois, *Centre de Recherches Internationales, Sciences Po*

Participants: Viljar Veebel, *Baltic Defence College, Tartu, Estonia*, Kiryl Kascian, *Max Planck Institute for Social Anthropology, Halle, Germany*,

Gerda Jakštaitė; Giedrius Česnakas; Ieva Gajauskaitė, Vytautas Isoda; Irminda Matonyte  
*General Jonas Žemaitis Military Academy of Lithuania, Vilnius*

## Day Two

**Tuesday 15<sup>th</sup> December**

Panel 5A: Tuesday, 9:00-10:45

### Peace-Building and Institutional Design in Post-Conflict Societies

Chair: Joanne McEvoy, *University of Aberdeen*  
Discussant: Elizabeth Alber, *EURAC*

### **The Paradox of Consociationalism**

Soeren Keil, *Canterbury Christ Church University*;  
& Arjan Schakel, *University of Bergen, Norway*

### **Power Sharing and Patronage Ethnic Politics:**

### **The Political Economy of Ethnic Party**

### **Dominance in the Dayton Bosnia**

Satoshi Tanaka, *Osaka University*

### **Ethiopia: Stalled Transition?**

Assefa Fiseha, *Addis Ababa University*

### **The Impact of Power-Sharing on**

### **Autocratization under Conditions of**

### **Uncertainty**

Damir Kapidzic, *University of Sarajevo*

### **The Concept and Uses of “Hourglass**

### **Federalism”** Michael Breen, *University of*

*Melbourne*; Iain Payne, *Niti Foundation, Nepal*

Panel 5B: Tuesday, 9:00-10:45

### Refugees

Chair: Chloe Doherty, *Canterbury Christ Church University*

Discussant: Michael Potter

*Queen's University Belfast*

### **A sea of difference? Australian and Italian approaches to irregular maritime migration**

Gabriele Abbondanza, *University of Sydney*

### **Assam's Nowhere People: Contextualizing the**

### **National Register of Citizens in Assam within the discourse on Global Refugee Crisis.**

Debasreeta Deb,

*Independent Researcher*

### **Refugee Crisis and Intercultural Dialogue In The Formation Of New European Identity**

Necmiye Karakuş,

*Manisa Celal Bayar University*

### **NGOs, migrants and refugees in the age of pandemic: A reopening of public space for policy debates**

Daniela Irrera

*University of Catania*

Panel 5C: Tuesday, 9:00-10:45

### Political Leadership during Covid

Chair: Martin Kovats, *Independent researcher*

Discussant: Timofey Agarin, *Queen's University Belfast*

### **First Ladies, Authoritarian Rule & the Covid response in the Middle East & North Africa**

Nadine Kreitmeyr,

*University of Canterbury, New Zealand*

### **Whatever happened to parliamentary democracy in the UK?**

Meg Russell, *University College London*

### **Victimhood nationalism: how populists invoke past moments of crisis to justify current rule**

Peter Vermeersch; Jens Meijen, *KU Leuven*

### **A List Experiment of Anti-immigrant**

### **Sentiments among French National Front**

### **Supporters: Are Radical Right Party**

### **Supporters Xenophobes or Merely Honest**

### **Respondents?**

Ryo Nakai, *Kitakyushu University*

Panel 6A: Tuesday, 11:00-12:45

### Populism and Authoritarianism in times of Crisis

Chair: Adam Szymanski, *University of Warsaw*

Discussant: Soeren Keil, *Canterbury Christ Church University*

### **Growth of Right Wing Populism In West Bengal: Tracing The Factors**

Raunak Bhattacharjee,

*Presidency University*

### **The AKP's Anti-Westernist Populism in Turkey's Covid-19 Response**

Caglar Ezikoglu, *Cankiri Karatekin University*

### **Studying Politics in the Shadow of Populism**

Duygu Ersoy Jülide Karakoç

*Altınbaş Üniversitesi*

### **Trojan Horse and Fig Leaf: The Role of Populism in the Global Crisis of Democracy and the Postmodern Autocracies**

Benedek István,

*ELTE University & Hungarian Academy of Sciences*

### **Cross-Cutting Cleavages and Electoral Stability in India**

Neeraj Prasad, *O. P. Jindal Global University*

Panel 6B: Tuesday, 11:00-12:45

Political Parties and Crises

Chair: Rana Abo Amra,  
*Cairo University*

Discussant: John Hulse, *James Madison University*

**Fear of others? Processes of Securitization in Northern Ireland**

Andrea Carlà, *Eurac Research - Institute for Minority Rights*

**The Role and Challenges of Political Parties in Political Transition: The Case of Ethiopia**

Ayene Birhanu,  
*Kotebe Metropolitan University*

**Bringing the Shi'as Further in: Representation, Veto and Resistance in Confessional Lebanon**

Natália Calfat, *Universidade de São Paulo (USP, Brazil)*

**Legal appropriation of Power by the Populists: India's legal targeting of the Marginalised and the Minorities**

Mx Nikhil Sehra, *Jawaharlal Nehru University*

Panel 6C: Tuesday, 11:00-12:45

Roundtable:

**Accessing Research Funding**

Moderation: Elisabeth Alber, *EURAC*

Accessing research funding is becoming ever-more important in academia. While there is a growing number of income sources, such as government-supported funding bodies, charities and private companies, there is also an ever-increasing competition for resources. Bringing together multiple successful bid-winners, the panellists will share their stories of success (and failure) in accessing research funding, and will explain what they see as key variables for the success of their funding bids. We will talk about the proposal and the academic idea, the growing need to clearly identify impact of the research, as well as other criteria defined by different funding organisations. We will plenty of space and time for the audience to ask questions and engage in dialogue with the panellists.

Timofey Agarin, *Queen's University Belfast – ESRC & Joseph Rowntree Charitable Trust*  
Paolo Dardanelli, *University of Kent - Leverhulme Trust*

Sarah Lieberman, *Canterbury Christ Church University - ISRF*

Ada-Charlotte Regelmann, *Rosa Luxemburg Foundation, Brussels - Political foundations & NGOs*

Panel 7A: Tuesday, 13:00-15:45

Culture of Local Governance in Times of Crisis

Chair: Johanna Schnabel, *FU Berlin*

Discussant: Felix Mathieu, *Pompeu Fabra Barcelona*

**“Are my views dismissed?” - The participation of vocational school students**

Niina Meriläinen,  
*Demos Helsinki Research Institute*

**Recognition, Reassurance, and Reputation: How do Cultural Refor help Conclude Successful Peace Agreements?**

Giuditta Fontana,  
*University of Birmingham*

**Indigeneity and the meaning of Consent, Autonomy, Self-Determination, and Self-Government**

Hector Calleros,  
*University of Warsaw*

**What Does Crisis do to Institutions? City Governments' Diversity Inclusion Policies Confronting Nested Crises**

Licia Cianetti,  
*Royal Holloway, University of London*

Panel 7B: Tuesday, 13:00-15:45

Global Power Politics and Regional Dynamics

Chair: Nick Coleman, *Canterbury Christ Church University*

Discussant: Alexandra Yao, *University of Toronto*

**COVID 2020 Political Symptoms**

Maurice Satineau  
*ESECO*

**Ideological Convergence and China's Model in Central and Eastern Europe**

Qingming Huang; Hye Ryeon Jang, *University of Florida*

**Security as a Right: Ukrainian Identity Transformation in Discourse on Euro-Atlantic Integration**

Iryna Zhyrun

**Nigerian Foreign Policy And Space Technology**

Kehinde Abolarin,  
*Canterbury Christ Church University*

**Pathways of Regime Survival and Breakdown in Times of Crisis: A Multi-Method Analysis of 13 Arab Countries (2005-2016)**

Mahmoud Farag, *Berlin Graduate School of Social Sciences, Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin*

Panel 7C: Tuesday, 13:00-15:45

Roundtable

**The Meaning and Implications of European Roma governance**

Roma identity politics is a contemporary political phenomenon. It includes political parties and self-organised groups, civil society organisations, laws, policies and political institution across Europe. Roma is the subject of EU's only ethnic policy and in October 2020 the EC published a strategic framework for a further ten years of unique European Roma governance. The panel will explore different approaches to understanding the meaning and implications of the presentation of the Roma as a distinct European political community and policy object. The panel seeks to engage with wider ethnopolitics scholarship to facilitate the integration of the Roma political phenomenon into broader theoretical and research frameworks. Key themes to be examined include; institutional interests, the relationship between European and national politics and policy, agency and the role of social movements within policy processes.

Chair: Timofey Agarin, *Queens University Belfast*  
Discussant: Peter Vermeersch, *KU Leuven*

**Participants:**

Nidhi Trehan; Martin Rovid, *Central European University*

Rumyan Russinov, *Independent Researcher*,  
Martin Kovats, *Independent Researcher*

Panel 8A: Tuesday, 16:00-17:45

Peacebuilding in Times of Crisis

Chair: Maryna Rabinovych, *Kyiv School of Economics (KSE)*

Discussant: Maja Sahadzic, *University of Antwerp*

**Coming Together or Staying Apart: Implications of Pandemic Politics for Negotiations in Cyprus**

Samantha Twietmeyer, *Queen's University*

**Multidimensional Factors in Conflict Resolution: A Case Study of Northern Ireland And The 1998 Good Friday Agreement**

Chloe Doherty, *Canterbury Christ Church University*

**Complexities of Nostalgia and Distrust in the Ukraine crisis: Exploring the Potential of a New Monroe Doctrine for the Westphalian System**

Anuradha Sinha,  
*Jawaharlal Nehru University*

**The Tale of Two Crises: Domestic-Level Diversionary Ethnic War in Yemen**

Mahmoud Farag,  
*Berlin Graduate School of Social Sciences, Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin*

**Pathways to a Lasting Peace: Debating the potential for "liberal peace" in Syria**

Nick Coleman, *Canterbury Christ Church University*

Panel 8B: Tuesday, 16:00-17:45

Book panel

**Countering insurgencies and violent extremism in South and South East Asia**, edited by Shanthie D'Souza, Routledge London, 2019

<https://www.routledge.com/Countering-Insurgencies-and-Violent-Extremism-in-South-and-South-East-Asia/DSouza/p/book/9780367662493>

This volume of case studies examines the rise in violent extremism, terrorism and insurgency in South and South East Asia, and subsequent state responses.

The South and South East of Asia has experienced various forms of extremism and violence for years, with a growing demand for academic or policy-relevant work that will enhance understanding of the reasons behind this. The violent challenges in this area have taken a variety of forms and are often exacerbated by lack of governance, tie-ins to existing regional criminal networks, colonial legacies and a presence of international terrorist movements. Written by experts with field experience, this volume analyses the key element of successful response as the appropriate application of doctrine following nuanced assessment of threat. In practice, this often means counterinsurgency doctrine. The essays also analyse the need for irregular war practitioners to systematically examine the changing character of intrastate violent irregular challenges. The volume fills a gap in the understanding of patterns, drivers, organizations and ideologies of various insurgent and terrorist groups, and state responses. It also provides a set of recommendations for addressing the unfolding situation.

Chair: Shanthie Mariet D'Souza, *Founder & President, Mantraya; Visiting Faculty, Naval War College, Goa*

Discussant: Roger Kangas, *NDU, Washington, D.C.*

Participants:

Thomas A. Marks, *National Defence University, Washington D.C.*; Marvin Weinbaum, *Director of Afghanistan and Pakistan Studies, Middle East Institute, Washington D.C.*; Dawood Azami, *BBC, London*; Bibhu Prasad Routray, *Director, Mantraya, Goa*; Andrin Raj, *South East Asia*

*Regional Director, IACSP-Centre for Security Studies, Kuala Lumpur*

Panel 8C: Tuesday, 16:00-17:45

Book panel

**Power-Sharing in Europe - Past Practice, Present Cases and Future Directions**, edited by Soeren Keil & Allison McCulloch. Palgrave, 2020, ISBN: 978-3-030-53589-6

<https://www.palgrave.com/gp/book/9783030535896>

This panel will discuss the newly released book "Power-Sharing in Practice" by Keil and McCulloch (forthcoming, November 2020 with Palgrave).

Abstract:

This book evaluates the performance of consociational power-sharing arrangements in Europe by addressing two key questions: First, under what conditions do consociational arrangements come in and out of being? And second, how do consociational arrangements work in practice and how do they mediate potential deadlock between power-sharing partners? The volume assesses core aspects of power-sharing theory and practice through a collection of case studies drawn from across the European continent. Chapters cover those countries which were early adopters of consociationalism but which have since moved on to other institutional designs (the Netherlands, Austria), early adopters which continue to use consociational processes to manage their differences (Belgium, Switzerland, South Tyrol), and 'new wave' cases where consociationalism was adopted after violent internal conflict (Bosnia and Herzegovina, Kosovo, North Macedonia, Northern Ireland). The book also examines cases of unresolved conflict and consider to what extent consociationalism can help mediate their ongoing divisions (Cyprus, Spain).

Chair: Soeren Keil

*Canterbury Christ Church University, UK*

Participants:

Allison McCulloch, *Brandon University, Canada*  
Caroline Hartzell, *Gettysburg College, USA*  
Joanne McEvoy, *University of Aberdeen*  
Neo Loizides, *University of Kent*



### **COVID-19 as a disruption factor in the Global Metropolis: consequences (cases Berlin and Saint Petersburg)**

Revekka Vulfovich

*North-west Institute of Management of RANEPA*

COVID-19 affected the largest cities – the metropolises stronger than other territories. It relates to population high size and density, intensive economic, political, and social life. As production, culture, science, education, and touristic centres the cities lost a large part of their budget revenues. This led to financial and economic disruptions, many projects were cancelled. Businesses could not work, their personal was paid minimally or dismissed. Governments tried to support the unemployed and dying businesses, but the measures efficiency was low in Berlin and even lower in Saint Petersburg.

Restrictions on rights and freedoms (movement, habitual way of life) have caused acute social stress and disruption of the democratic political process.

Berlin and Saint Petersburg are chosen for comparison because of similarity (size, structure, and governance system). But the capital and the largest metropolis of Germany and the second largest Russian city called the “northern capital”, “the cultural capital” live and function under different political and social conditions: democracy and high developed social oriented economy in Germany and underdeveloped democracy and weak economy in Russia. This gives the possibility to make conclusions about the influence of democracy and level of economic development by the mitigation of disruptions caused by the virus.

#### **Panel 1B**

### **Security As A Right: Ukrainian Identity Transformation in Discourse on Euro-Atlantic Integration**

Iryna Zhyrun,

*Higher School of Economics, Moscow*

In 2014 the Ukrainian crisis transformed the security environment in Europe and returned the question of Euro-Atlantic integration into Ukrainian political agenda. NATO membership has always been one of the divisive issues in national politics as it reflected a split of Ukrainian regional identities across geopolitical lines. Nevertheless, after losing control over Crimea and the Eastern regions, the issue of security has gained major importance for both domestic and foreign policies of the government. Even if the NATO membership is not to be accomplished in years to come, the notion of security has turned into a vital component of the Ukrainian national identity.

The research question of this paper is concerned with the ways how discursive articulations of security could evidence national identity change. Therefore, it compares the transformation of security, threat and danger in the Ukrainian elites' discourses in the context of Euro-Atlantic integration from 2008 to 2018.

Materials of analysis include both official and oppositional discourses in the form of statements, parliamentary debates, and interviews and by the political actors of Ukraine. This qualitative research is based on intertextual model of foreign policy discourse within discourse-analytical approach.

The issue of security in its traditional military sense is natural to arise in debate on Euro-Atlantic integration. Notwithstanding, it is the change in articulation of security in in discourse may be key to demonstrate the dynamic of national identity change. Therefore, the analysis of discursive security articulation has demonstrated a range of competing identity projects among the elites. While in 2007 the breach of security for Ukraine was a hypothetical situation, by 2018 security has become a right and Euro-Atlantic integration – the only way to achieve it.

#### **Panel 1B**

### **Securitization-Humanitarianism Dilemma in the Mediterranean: Search and Rescue NGOs as a ‘Pull Factor’ in Italy?**

Selcen ONER *Bahcesehir University* & Mattia Cirino *LUISS*

Search and Rescue (SAR) operations in Mediterranean Sea are increasingly securitized especially after the ‘migration crisis’, with stronger criminalization, and growing challenges regarding disembarkation. This article focuses on the case of Italy, which is one of the mostly affected countries from the flow of immigrants coming especially from Libya after the ‘migration crisis’. It evaluates the role of SAR NGOs, to discuss the rising securitization-humanitarianism dilemma in the Mediterranean, especially given the EU’s ‘solidarity crisis’ and the impacts of the increasing securitization of migration in the Mediterranean. In this article, ‘criminalization of NGOs’, constructed as a threat to ‘societal security’ is focused on. SAR NGOs may be perceived as a ‘pull factor’ or not in Italy are evaluated on the basis of in-depth interviews conducted in Italy

with the representatives of SAR NGOs operating in Italy and some politicians from various political parties from the Chamber of Deputies of Italy.

#### **Panel 1B**

##### **The 2020 Trendy Parliamentary Election: The effects of youth political participation under the COVID-19 in Mongolia**

Biligtsaikhan Uuganbayar

*Tsinghua University*

In 2020, the world is currently fighting to COVID-19, at the same time- young democratic states keep facing challenges. Mongolian 8th parliamentary election shows that not only good enthusiastic campaigns can affect young voters, but also the long- terms of quarantine and implementation lead the youngsters to realize the importance of governance. During the campaign, Mongolian non-governmental organizations and candidates promoted the trendy social media posts to wear traditional clothes on the election day. The campaign dramatically supported by young and new eligible voters throughout the country. In total, 73.6% of eligible voters voted, and the young voters-increase by 12% compared to the parliamentary election in 2016. The paper analyses how the contemporary world and social media posts and tweets can influence on young voters. Additionally, how continuously government response and implementation help youngsters to trust the government.

This research aims to consolidate election databases and personal surveys. Although all information is available online, the fact needs to analyse what indicators influence on young voters in the modern world. It will contribute to understanding the young generations to get involved in political participation for future initiatives.

#### **Panel 1B**

##### **Covid Cries and Waning Federalism of India**

Ajay Kumar Singh,

*Centre for Federal Studies, Jamia Hamdard, New Delhi, India*

During last six years, Indian federalism, which elsewhere I have described a phase of absolutist national federalism, marked by considerable shift of sovereignty from people to Indian state (indeed under the call of majoritarian nationalism), and from politics to PMO. This has decisively reduced the federal space of autonomy. Preceding Covid, scrapping of Art 370, citizenship amendments etc have only underlined the growing monopolization of powers by the federal government. Covid 19 has further added to the nationalisation of powers through executive orders and ordinances, encroaching (to soft a term to describe the process of extreme form of centralisation) upon the autonomous space of constituent units. Within the above theoretical mould, present paper will modestly attempt to deconstruct, by following qualitative content analysis methods, every day orders of the government of India on public health and other related issues of public policies such as labour, education, agriculture and others, economy and polity. In other words, mapping of centralisation will be attempted. By way of conclusion, federal theory of pandemic will be attempted. Paper will be mostly based on primary sources and data, which I have been collecting since March 2020. Under Covid Cries, pandemic competency of the central and state governments will be attempted. If possible popular peoples narratives will to be included in order to find a federal narrative of pandemic and public health.

#### **Panel 2A**

##### **COVID-19 impact on the empowerment of subnational autonomy in Brazil**

Gilberto Marcos Antonio Rodrigues,

*Federal University of ABC*

The key argument of the paper is COVID-19 pandemic has shackled and transformed multilevel governance dynamics in Brazil, due to the mismanagement of the pandemic by the federal government. State governors and mayors tried to create alternatives to prevent and combat the COVID-19 pandemic which have expanded their autonomy vis-a-vis the multilevel governance experience the country has had in sanitary and health fields. This dynamics has led to an empowerment of subnational autonomy, based on Supreme Court decisions over the months following the WHO's declaration of the global emergency. The main hypothesis of the paper is that this aforementioned subnational empowerment has favoured and guaranteed a political democratic environment as well as protected citizenship from various wrong decisions made by the federal government regarding the pandemic. Yet the question remains if this new

empowerment of subnational governments would also strengthen Brazil's democracy as a whole in the long run. The methodology of the paper will be based on analysis of Supreme Court decisions and public opinions perceptions on the role of governments (both federal and subnational) in the pandemic.

#### **Panel 2A**

##### **One-hour parliament session in Malaysia: The rise of an authoritarian government?**

TheanBee Soon,

*Universiti Tunku Abdul Rahman*

For the first time in history, Malaysia held a one-hour parliament session on 18 May 2020. According to Muhyiddin Yassin, the Malays Prime Minister who just came into power less than 3 months in a political turmoil, the decision was meant to reduce the risk of infection of the Covid-19. The opposition lawmakers especially the Chinese politicians, however, had a different point of view. Initially, Mahathir Muhammad, the former prime minister whom Muhyiddin replaced, had filed the motion of no confidence on Muhyiddin in the parliament. These opposition politicians speculated that Muhyiddin did not gain enough support from the lawmakers although the monarch had granted him the power to form a new government. While the one-hour parliamentary session might have extremely abnormal in Malaysia, the constitution granted the prime minister power to shorten the session when it was necessary. Still, Muhyiddin's decision unquestionably challenged the institution. This paper attempts to figure out if the Covid-19 pandemic would give rise to the authoritarian government in Malaysia and how it would affect the ethnic relations.

#### **Panel 2A**

##### **The Impact of COVID-19 on International Institutions and Global Governance**

Mark Meirowitz,

*State University of N.Y. Maritime College*

I will discuss and examine the impact of COVID-19 on international institutions and global governance. Of particular interest is the failure of international institutions such as the UN and WHO to respond effectively to the pandemic. Should these institutions be reshaped to address current challenges? What are the prospects for global solutions to the world's problems? Once the pandemic ends, will we return to business as usual or develop new approaches and paradigms to respond to international challenges?

#### **Panel 2A**

##### **Representation and Mobilization of Cross-Border Nations: The Party Politics of Ethnic Kinship**

Timofey Agarin, *Queen's University Belfast* &

Patrick Utz, *University of Edinburgh*

Ethnic identity constitutes a powerful force for political mobilisation. In numerous cases – like in the Ireland, the Transylvania, or Tyrol – these identities span across state borders. Political parties that canvass on ethnic identity, demanding secession, autonomy, or unification with a kin-state, are believed to be the fulcra of crisis of democratic representation in national states (Massetti 2009). Yet, not all minority and regional parties (MRPs) are challenging the national foundations of democratic politics, many – from Basque Country to Aland Islands – contest the centralised modes of political representation (Keating and Wilson 2014), others, like the DUP in N Ireland seek to counteract centrifugal dynamics (Evans and Tonge 2016). Today ethno-political mobilisation challenges not the principles of democracy, but that of democratic representation (Cetrà and Liñeira 2018). While scholars of MRPs are predominantly concerned with cases challenging the fabric of existing states and emerging from national minority regions (Massetti 2009), some parties simultaneously participate in the democratic processes of their state of residence, and emphasise their ethnic kinship with populations abroad to varying degrees. Parties like Sinn Féin (SF), Bloque Nacionalista Galego (BNG), and Südtiroler Volkspartei (SVP) represent minorities residing across the border of several European nation-states and play on an ethnic kin card, as well as on their ability to participate in domestic politics. We seek papers from scholars working on the MRPs who reference 'ethnic kinship' in their electoral mobilisation to address one of the pressing dilemmas of contemporary ethno-politics: ethnic mobilisation that seeks no secession or irredentism, but aims to impact domestic political processes.

#### **Panel 2B**

## **Ethnic Minority Parties in European Border Regions: Competition and Change**

Guido Panzano,

*Université Libre de Bruxelles*

The proposed paper shall analyse ethnic parties and party systems in four, ethnically divided, European border regions: Sinn Féin (SF), South Tyrolean People's Party (SVP), South Schleswig Voters' Association (SSW) and Electoral Action of Poles in Lithuania-Christian Families Alliance (LLRA). Examining party manifestos in regional (or state – where regional elections are not held) competitions, the research will scrutinise party positioning on old and new issues of sovereignty and self-determination. It shall thus consider the characteristics of these political actors, to map party system format and dynamics and explain their change in the contemporary period.

A first bunch of research questions shall be: being considered ethno-regionalist parties, do these actors still resemble the features of this party family? How do they integrate their focus on minority-related themes ('old'/mainstream considerations of sovereignty and self-determination, nation state of kin/residence) with other issues ('new' argumentations on migration, environment, other themes)? Adopting qualitative-quantitative content analysis, the paper shall include an original codification of electoral manifestos following the Regional Manifestos Project methodology, and present descriptive statistics. Moreover, the inquiry shall study the drivers behind these issues, considering electoral successes or failures, alliances or competitions, and interrelations of other dimensions, in a coherent framework. In brief, which are the most rewarding themes in the considered electoral competitions? Which contextual factors should be taken into consideration to explain the divergent trajectories of these parties (institutions, other parties' behaviours, Europarty affiliations, socioeconomic – rather than sociocultural – cleavages)?

Finally, ethnic parties are among the most influential means through which minorities express their interests and the ethnic cleavage is politically organized. The study of ethnic minority parties in border regions thence reveals useful insights on minority representation and participation, and how the evolution of these parties and party systems is dynamically interwoven with institutions, social characteristics and perceptions.

### **Panel 2B**

## **Ethnic Kinship in Kosovo and Northern Ireland**

Michael Potter,

*Queen's University Belfast*

This paper draws on research on minority representation and inclusion in post-conflict political institutions.

The paper takes the theme of minority ethnic inclusion and examines the dynamics of ethnicity, kinship, nationalism and the legacy of conflict in Northern Ireland and Kosovo. The contexts under analysis are very different, but share a post-conflict political context of selective ethnic power-sharing. Kosovo has mechanisms for the inclusion of (named) minority identities; Northern Ireland does not.

The main political parties in Northern Ireland, Unionist and Nationalist, are nominally irredentist, but Unionist parties in particular have invested in the politics of regional identity. In Kosovo, the majority ethnic Albanian parties have a dual stance: on the one hand, they are seen as irredentist in looking towards ethnic kin in Albania, but on the other, they act as a beacon of reverse irredentism, drawing in ethnic affiliation from Albanian minorities elsewhere in the region. Kosovo Serbs mostly look towards Serbia for political and ethnic affiliation. However, a particular feature of Kosovo's constitutional structure is the political mobilisation of minorities such as Roma, Ashkali, Egyptian, Gorani, Turk and Bosniak identities.

This paper compares and contrasts the dynamics of ethnic affiliation of political parties in these contexts.

### **Panel 2B**

## **Securitizing Borders: Dynamics of Inclusion and Exclusion in South Tyrol**

Andrea Carlà,

*Eurac Research - Institute for Minority Rights*

Situated at the interplay between ethnic politics, migration, border studies and security studies, this contribution analyzes processes of securitization of borders in South Tyrol. An Italian province bordering Austria and Switzerland with German and Ladin-speaking population and a past of ethnic tensions, South Tyrol is considered a model for fostering peaceful interethnic relations thanks to a complex power-sharing system. However, the arrival of migrants from foreign countries and the more recent influx of asylum seekers have revitalized debates around the borders between South Tyrol/Italy and Austria and among South Tyrolean ethno-linguistic groups. The current COVID-19 pandemic has brought further complexity to the issue.

I use the concept of securitization, which refers to the process through which an issue is considered as an existential threat requiring exceptional measures, in order to understand why and how borders become exclusionary and restrictive, shaping dynamics of othering. With this framework, the paper explores how South Tyrolean borders have been subjected to securitizing and re-securitizing moves in discourses and practices. In this way I shed new light on the debate on the articulation of borders and interethnic relations in light of recent international migration, consolidating nationalist agendas and the current pandemic.

#### **Panel 2B**

### **Regional Resilience Torn Between Centralization and Decentralization: What Covid-19 teaches us about Italian Regionalism**

Elisabeth Alber,  
*Eurac Research*

As elsewhere, in 2020, Covid-19 is stress-testing the capacities of Italian territorial authorities. This study concentrates on Italy's second tier of government, its 20 regions, and it has a threefold aim: First, it investigates the adaptive capacity (i.e. resilience) of regions to manage and contain the spread of Covid-19. Second, it assesses how the relations between central and regional authorities play out in crisis management. Third, it sheds light on recent and new tensions between calls for further decentralization and for recentralization.

When the pandemic reached Italy, in early 2020, the country was facing transformations in its regional system that have been evolving from 2001, the year in which a constitutional reform significantly strengthened the powers of the regions vis-à-vis the centre. These transformations were put on hold due to the emergency that, in the first half of 2020, was managed by means of extreme centralization (leading to a tug of war between central and regional authorities). The asymmetric impact of Sars-Cov-2, however, demands a more differentiated and territorially nuanced approach. So does the existing territorial set-up of Italy, even if it is very deficient.

#### **Panel 3A**

### **Federalism and the Covid-19 crisis: Canada, Australia and the United States in Comparative Perspective.**

André Lecours, *University of Ottawa*, Daniel Béland *McGill University*, Alan Fenna *Curtin University*, Tracy Beck Fenwick *Australian National University*, Mireille Paquet *Concordia University*, Philip Rocco *Marquette University*, Alex Waddan *University of Leicester*

The Covid-19 crisis has mobilized all levels of governments. In federations, the crisis triggered a frenzy of inter-governmental relations with varying degrees and patterns of conflict. The intergovernmental relations of the pandemic in Canada, the US and Australia show cross-national divergence. In Canada, intergovernmental conflict has been virtually absent. In contrast, in the US, conflict between the federal and multiple state governments was frequent. In Australia, the experience has been mixed with cooperation occurring in the form of the "national cabinet" while some states have sometimes undermined national directives.

The paper is inspired by the 'most similar systems' design and will focus on the differences amongst these federations that may have contributed to the distinct outcomes on intergovernmental conflict: the structure of party systems across levels of government (virtually unintegrated in Canada but strongly integrated in Australia and the US); the system of government (contrary to the parliamentary systems of Canada and Australia, the presidentialism of the US involves a personalized style of politics that generates conflict with governors); the availability and the usage of legal mechanisms for central government intervention during a crisis (available but not used in Canada, weak but used in Australia, and absent in the US).

#### **Panel 3A**

### **Pandemic Federalism and the Management of the COVID-19 Crisis. Centralisation, Decentralisation, and Coordination**

Yvonne Hegele, *Zürcher Hochschule für Angewandte Wissenschaften*; Johanna Schnabel, *FU Berlin*

The advantages and disadvantages of federal systems in managing the COVID-19 pandemic created much debate. Federations differ considerably in the way they have been tackling the crisis, however. To shed light on how European federations (Austria, Germany, and Switzerland) managed COVID-19, this paper distinguishes two dimensions of federal decision-making: centralisation/decentralisation and unilateralism/coordination. Drawing on official government documents and press reports, it examines decisions on the introduction of containment measures and their subsequent easing. While Austria and Switzerland adopted a centralised approach, decentralised decision-making prevailed in Germany. On the

other hand, most decisions were coordinated between the governments at the federal and constituent unit level in Austria and Germany, in contrast to Switzerland, where unilateralism prevailed. This difference in approaches can partly be explained by the allocation of powers and responsibilities. However, political and economic factors have also influenced the choice of crisis management strategies.

### **Panel 3A**

#### **Regional Elections under Pandemic Conditions: The case of Bihar, India 2020**

Balveer Arora, *Centre for Multilevel Federalism*, Stuti Saxena, *IMS Unison University Dehradun*

Under the impact of the pandemic, Indian democracy is undergoing changes in the functioning of both democratic institutions and federalism. Elections to the second tier of its multilevel federal system are due in Bihar- a prominent state of eastern India. Whilst the Election Commission of India (ECI), which is primarily responsible for conducting elections in the country, is busy preparing the roadmap for the legislative assembly elections, it remains to be seen how it monitors and regulates political campaigning activities under pandemic conditions. This paper shall principally address the following three questions: How is the Moral Code of Conduct, which prescribes limits on campaign spending that have been accepted by all parties, enforced by the ECI under the present circumstances? Second: How is political campaigning conducted under these conditions, the means and methods employed as well as the special arrangements for voting? Third: How are political parties and alliances in the fray using the medical emergency as a campaign theme to woo voters, particularly since a large number of migrant workers returned jobless to the state when lockdowns were imposed across the country.

### **Panel 3A**

#### **Discursive Politics of the COVID-19 Pandemic in the United States and Russia: Making Gendered Imageries and Narratives Tangible in Securitization**

Anna Kuteleva, *National Research University Higher School of Economics &*  
Sarah Clifford, *University of Copenhagen*

This paper examines how the US President Donald Trump and Russia's President Vladimir Putin instrumentalize hierarchical gendered identities to enforce the securitization of COVID-19. Our analysis shows that both Trump and Putin draw heavily on projections of gendered power to maximize the effect of their securitization moves and mobilize diverse gendered narratives, imageries, and practices to construct the meaning of the threat. In sum, we contribute to the discussion of the COVID-19 pandemic by exploring gendered discursive practices that enable the move from ordinary politics to the domain of emergency and exception.

We show that Trump's and Putin's toxic masculinities nourish state-inspired nationalism and white supremacy. Gendered securitization discourses atomize individual citizens of the United States and Russia, impose on them subjugating features of a homogenous national "we," and create new exclusionary boundaries along the lines of race and ethnicity. On the international level, hegemonic masculinities produce tight hierarchical dichotomies that normalize and fuel the Cold War-style confrontation and prevent the international community from engaging in a constructive dialogue to respond collectively to the pandemic.

### **Panel 3B**

#### **Impact of COVID-19 on the State of Democracy in the Czech Republic, Italy and Poland**

Adam Szymanski; Lukasz Zamecki,  
*University of Warsaw*

Governments all over the world have introduced various instruments to limit the spread of COVID-19, including measures that temporarily restricted civil liberties. Some countries have used the moment of pandemic to strengthen the power of the rulers. They adopted instruments, which would be difficult to implement in other situations, e.g. expanded state surveillance or strengthened executive position in relation to local authorities.

The aim of the paper is to investigate the potential threats to liberal democracy in connection with the adopted anti-COVID-19 mechanisms, taking cases of the Czech Republic, Italy and Poland. Although their governments differ in terms of the situation in which they had to act and scope of measures they took, we can observe similarities in problems with respecting the democratic rules. The authors of the paper analyse regulations – paying a special attention to their uniqueness in comparison with the regulations before the time of COVID-19, restrictive characteristics, connection with pandemic and accordance with the European Convention on Human Rights as well as to the decision-making process and the role of different political



actors in this process. They present preliminary findings of the project “De-democratization at the times of Covid-19” carried out at University of Warsaw within the 4EU+ Alliance.

### **Panel 3B**

#### **The Impact of COVID-19 on Central Asia: Regional Developments and Geopolitical Implications**

Farrukh Khakimov,

*University of World Economy and Diplomacy*

The article discusses the current geopolitical situation and dynamics of regional development in Central Asia through the impact of global Covid-19 pandemic. The overview of recent trends in geopolitics of Central Asia has demonstrated the intensification of both global and regional actors, which consequently might shift balance of power not only at regional level, but also power relations of the international system in post-pandemic era.

### **Panel 3B**

#### **Does lockdown matter for democracy? Determinants of political support in Poland and Hungary**

Marta Żerkowska-Balas, *SWPS University of Social Sciences and Humanities &*

Robert Sata, *CEU*

The Covid-19 pandemic has challenged the foundations of everyday life, raising important questions of how lockdown regulations might affect public support for political actors. This paper investigates how the crisis might affect democratic governance in the two most criticized members of the EU – Poland and Hungary. Our goal is to assess whether crisis caused by the pandemic has contributed to withering of support for the incumbent governments that both have moved towards authoritarianism. We explore public attitudes towards government response to the pandemic to examine support among the general population but we also investigate political preferences to see how ideological preferences might have been affected by the crisis. Traditionally, political preferences are explained either by socio-economic factors, party identification or by more subjective determinants such as candidate or party performance or proposed policies. In 2020, the debate seems to go beyond traditional issues (economy, welfare, cultural issues) and focus on pandemic related problems and how these affected people's life. We inquire into whether people prioritize the worsening of the country's economic outlook, personal job losses, health consequences of contacting the virus or available public support for those in need. Understanding the factors behind support for pandemic regulations is key since public support for public policies is key for determining public behavior in democracies and it will directly affect public compliance with government directives that on turn are responsible for how the two countries are able to cope with the pandemic.

### **Panel 3B**

#### **Revisiting the Relationship between Power-Sharing and Territorial Autonomy**

Soeren Keil, *Canterbury Christ Church University &*

Allison McCulloch, *Brandon University, Canada*

Both consociationalism and federalism are important tools of conflict management and democratic governance in deeply divided societies. While not all federal systems are consociational, and not all consociations are federal, evidence from large-n studies suggests that peace agreements are more likely to last and lead to democratic transition if the two concepts are applied together. This is, as we will argue in this paper, because they both allow for addressing different elements in the relationship between different ethnic groups, and minority – majority relations. Yet not all ‘consociational federations’ / ‘federal consociations’ are creating equally, with the balance between the two modes of conflict management weighted differently across cases. This difference gives way to different political outcomes, sometimes leading to sustainable peace and democracy and other times to state capture and institutional dysfunctionality. When do consociation and federalism support and reinforce one another for positive ends and when do they pull in opposing directions and undermine political transitions? In this paper, we propose a typology for assessing political outcomes in ‘consociational federations’/‘federal consociations’, drawing from experiences in Iraq, Lebanon, Sri Lanka and Bosnia & Herzegovina. We propose that peace agreements should combine strong provisions for ethnic inclusion and self-governance, while at the same time providing enough flexibility for these arrangements to evolve over time and adjust to new challenges in the post-war period.

### **Panel 4A**

## **Can Ethnofederalism be ‘Tamed’ by Power-sharing? The case of India**

Katharine Adeney,

*University of Nottingham*

As Lijphart argued, federalism and consociationalism can be compatible. When the boundaries of a cultural group coincide with the internal borders of a federation, federalism can be a form of segmental autonomy. It can also facilitate representation in a legislature or executive, depending on the political structures adopted. This form of federalism has been described as ethnofederal but has a mixed reputation among scholars and statesmen. Many have argued that it promotes a sense of separatedness, and at worse, leads to secession. India is often cited as the exception to this rule, having successfully reorganised its internal political boundaries along linguistic lines in the 1950s. However, it has also experienced serious secessionist conflict. To what extent does the lack of consociational power sharing explain this conflict? Using data from the Ethnic Power Relations dataset, this paper seeks to answer the question.

**Panel 4A**

## **Refining Consociationalism’s Core Principles**

Felix Matthieu,

*Pompeu Fabra University, Barcelona*

It is now conventional to recall the overall rationale that lies at the very heart of consociationalism by pointing out to four overarching normative principles: a grand coalition government, proportional representation, veto rights and segmental autonomy. In fact, it even appears as they have been “sacralized” within scholarly debates; that is, they are represented a closed circuit, a formula that needs no change. This communication proposes to de-sacralize them in refining consociationalism’s core principles by distinguishing between ends and means principles, and by looking into the broad relationship between power-sharing and territorial autonomy. In doing so, this communication also suggests adding a new “pillar” that could help (Western) consociational systems to be more sustainable over the long run: an “intercultural citizenship regime” inspired by Quebec’s own model of pluralism within the Canadian federation. In particular, this communication opens with a discussion over the core principles that appear to be driving what could be referred to as “the consociational spirit”. Second, the discussion moves to a short presentation of Quebec’s brand of interculturalism and reflects on how this could inform the nature of a new consociationalism principle (as a means, not an end).

**Panel 4A**

## **Territorial Autonomy, Constitutional Change and Political Legitimacy in Northern Ireland**

Joanne McEvoy,

*University of Aberdeen*

Territorial autonomy has been long upheld as a useful conflict resolution mechanism by managing conflict between the state and communal groups. By providing a measure of self-determination to a territorially-concentrated group, it can help provide protection for communal identity and interests. This paper explores the limitations of territorial autonomy in promoting accommodative politics and how the arrangements are subject to constitutional transformation over time. Focusing on the case of Northern Ireland, from the creation of the polity in 1920, to the Good Friday Agreement of 1998 and contemporary Brexit politics, the paper explores the dynamics of constitutional change at key junctures. It argues that power-sharing can help enhance the legitimacy of badly designed territorial autonomy, fostering cooperation and political stability. Yet power-sharing arrangements in the context of territorial autonomy remain susceptible to further processes of constitutional change, forced by internal communal divisions and external shocks. The paper contends that the process of territorial autonomy creation and subsequent revision are politically as important as the form such arrangements take. The ‘workability’ and legitimacy of such arrangements can be contingent on communal buy-in and participation by the contending groups.

**Panel 4A**

## **The Constitutionalism of Emergency: How Multinationalism Shapes Asymmetrical Constitutional Solutions?**

Maja Sahadzic,  
*University of Antwerp*

It has previously been observed that the majority of states define some form of constitutional emergency regime. Two remarks can be made in this respect. Firstly, scholars researching constitutional emergency provisions have long debated the traditional types of crises, such as armed conflict, insurgency, economic crisis and terrorism, neglecting other contemporary potentials for exceptional circumstances. Secondly, one of the main obstacles linked to constitutional emergency regimes is that an emergency itself points to the limits of constitutionalism. This is mainly apparent in mechanisms designed to respond to the effect of emergencies, such as emergency powers, while other potentially versatile mechanisms identified by other fields of research have been overlooked.

This paper explores the difficulties with multinationalism that lead to crises and conflicts; and the variation in effects and responses between traditional types of crises and the crises caused by multinationalism. To overcome impediments associated with the traditional concept, the paper emphasizes the role of constitutional asymmetries in addressing extraordinary circumstances. This is further assessed by examining the effects of multinationalism on constitutional systems.

### **Panel 4B**

## **Canada's Underlying Constitutional Principles in Times of Crisis: An Experimental Method**

Dave Guenette,  
*McGill University*

The COVID-19 pandemic has provoked a major crisis all around the World. In such times of crisis, it is likely that some legal norms and ideals normally guiding the functioning of a society will be bypassed to meet some more pressing imperatives. Amongst other things, this is what K.C. Wheare illustrated in his seminal book *Federal Government*. Based on the hypothetico-deductive logic of an “experimental method”, our proposal submission offers to “measure” the impact the pandemic on Canadian governance at the peak of the crisis. Concretely, we test the following hypothesis: in times of crisis, the exceptional modalities according to which governance is reorganized for a given period of time will undermine the key principles that are supposed to animate a democratic and liberal political system. Using the Reference re Secession of Quebec as an analytical lens, we show that governance in Canada, at the time of the COVID-19 crisis, had differentiated impacts on its underlying constitutional principles. Indeed, the principles of democracy and the protection of minorities seem to have been more negatively impacted by the COVID-19 pandemic than those of federalism and constitutionalism.

### **Panel 4B**

## **Impact of Yukos Trials on Rule of Law in Russia**

Alexandra Yao,  
*University of Toronto*

In 2003 Yukos, the largest private oil company in Russia at the time, was in the middle of merger talks with ChevronTexaco and ExxonMobil, an unprecedented deal which would have created the largest oil company in the world. The other shoe dropped when later that year, Yukos CEO Mikhail Khodorkovsky was arrested on charges of tax fraud. Yukos was sold for parts in court-mandated auctions and through a series of manoeuvres, eventually acquired by state oil company Rosneft. Since Yukos was auctioned off at staggeringly low prices, Yukos shareholders suffered a tremendous loss of capital and have since appealed to the international courts. For nearly two decades, the shareholders and the Russian government have continued to overturn and reinstate compensation rulings of over a \$50 billion payout in international courts. As of June 2020, legal disputes have escalated to the Hague Supreme Court and the US District Court in DC.

This project is especially important in light of Putin's recent constitutional reforms in 2020 that include the official legal precedence of domestic constitutional law over international rulings. New developments in response to the Yukos trials, such as these constitutional reforms, reflect the strengthening of state sovereignty despite globalization processes and the further erosion of rule of law in Russia. These developments pose severe threats to the effectiveness of international law.

My research question is: what are the implications of the extended Yukos court battles on Russian ruling compliance and rule of law in Russia? I am not revisiting the Khodorkovsky criminal matters, but focussing on the use of courts outside of Russia (including and especially international courts) by the victims of the

Yukos affair and the Russian government's persistent efforts to resist and delegitimize the actions of non-Russian courts.

#### **Panel 4B**

### **Does Decentralization lead to State Capture in New Democracies? - Evidence from the Western Balkans**

John Hulsey, *James Madison University*

Soeren Keil, *Canterbury Christ Church University*

In the wake of the break-up of Socialist Yugoslavia, different post-Yugoslav states introduced a variety of decentralization mechanisms. This paper aims to look at cases where we find higher degrees of decentralisation (Bosnia, Kosovo) vs. cases where there is little or no decentralisation (Serbia, Montenegro), Macedonia, which has a degree of local autonomy that has increased since the Ohrid Framework Agreement of 2001 demonstrates that decentralization can lead to state capture in specific situation. We argue that decentralization encourages state capture when two conditions are met, first, at a regional and local level if there are enough posts and there is enough political influence to be gained (see Bosnian cantons/entities), and second, if decentralization is connected with power-sharing at central level, because it encourages both a divisive form a state capture locally and a "shared state capture" amongst ruling elites at the centre (see Bosnia, Kosovo). Yet, evidence from countries with low degrees of decentralization such as Montenegro and Serbia suggests that decentralization is not the only (and possibly not even the main) factor enabling political elites to capture the state. Instead, other structural issues such as salience in the party system, problems with the rule of law and manipulation of key democratic rules such as electoral laws are also of key importance. We argue that while decentralization might not be the main reason for state capture, it nevertheless influences the degree of state capture and also limits opportunities to free the state from political elites who have captured main institutions at regional and national level.

While change was possible in Macedonia in 2017, this is unlikely to play out in a similar fashion in Bosnia and Kosovo, where changing electoral results have not contributed to a fundamental shift in the drive for elites to capture key state institutions. Decentralization has therefore substantially contributed to more enshrined and deeper forms of state capture, beyond the central level, including also entity, cantonal and municipal institutions.

#### **Panel 4B**

### **The Paradox of Consociationalism**

Soeren Keil, *Canterbury Christ Church University* &

Arjan Schakel, *University of Bergen, Norway*

Arend Lijphart's initial research into consociational democracy in 1969 has opened the door for ongoing research about institutional design in deeply divided societies. Lijphart's focus on grand coalitions, proportional representation, veto rights for minorities and autonomy provisions continues to provide important impulses in the redesign of contemporary liberal democracies (such as Belgium or Northern Ireland) and also as a panacea to war-torn divided countries (such as Bosnia, Kosovo and Iraq). While Lijphart's initial framework has been further developed by authors such as Brendan O'Leary and John McGarry, his main assumptions from the 1969 article in *World Politics* still stand.

This paper will pick up on Lijphart's main assumptions and assess an inherent paradox in consociational designs. We argue that the mixture of proportional representation with low thresholds – and the need for elite cooperation through grand coalitions, opens the door for party fragmentation within the different segments within a consociational regime. Evidence from diverse countries (including Belgium, Northern Ireland, Bosnia, Macedonia, Kosovo, Switzerland and Iraq) suggests that Lijphart's promotion of segmental representation is unlikely to lead to one strong party for each segment, but instead, electoral rules and access to power will favour party system fragmentation within each of the different segments. While this might initially not be a bad thing – as it increases options for coalition building and cooperation – it can ultimately result in instability and decrease the willingness of different parties to work together, not least parties representing the same segment within society. We quantitatively investigate the relationship between consociational institutional design and party system fragmentation for elections held in 23 countries since 1950 and we illustrate the causal mechanisms by drawing upon qualitative evidence from two consociational states, i.e. Bosnia and Belgium. We will demonstrate how this paradox of consociationalism might be one of the key reasons explaining why coalition building is difficult and consociational regimes continue to suffer from a certain degree of instability.

#### **Panel 5A**

## **Power Sharing and Patronage Ethnic Politics: The Political Economy of Ethnic Party Dominance in the Dayton Bosnia**

Satoshi Tanaka,  
*Osaka University*

The effectiveness of power sharing as a solution to ethnic conflict has long been a target of scholarly debate. However, regardless of its supporters and critics, existing studies focus solely on the identity-based politician–citizen linkage within ethnic groups. In contrast, in this paper, I present a patronage theory to examine the effect of power sharing on the material-based linkage between politician and citizen, and I argue that power sharing consolidates ethnic party dominance in post-settlement politics by solidifying the patronage system of governance. For the empirical analysis, I examine the case of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Using both qualitative and quantitative analyses, I discuss the Dayton Constitution, which lays down a typical power sharing arrangement between three ethnic groups, thereby providing ethnic parties with numerous job opportunities in the public sector and ensuring that these parties remain dominant by distributing these job opportunities as patronage.

**Panel 5A**

## **Ethiopia: Stalled Transition?**

Assefa Fiseha,  
*Addis Ababa University*

The article explains the state of political transition in Ethiopia since Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed came to power in 2018. While Ethiopians and the international community hoped for Ethiopia's transition to democracy under Abiy, the article argues that the transition is stalled and the process is hijacked by centrist authoritarian elite that is recycling the imperial narrative. Ethiopia's transition to democracy can only succeed through an inclusive dialogue that provide political settlement, renunciation of violence and endorsement of democracy as the only means to come to power and address deep cleavages through inclusive power sharing arrangement along the consociational approach.

**Panel 5A**

## **The Impact of Power-Sharing on Autocratization under Conditions of Uncertainty**

Damir Kapidzic, *University of Sarajevo*

Autocratization is most often thought to occurs at the national level and recently in conjunction with illiberal responses to the COVID-19 pandemic. In countries with institutionalized power-sharing capturing the national level may not be possible or may not give the greatest benefits. In such cases control of subnational or local institutions can yield greater rewards. This paper will compare the use of illiberal politics in response to the pandemic in countries where power-sharing makes the capture of the national level less relevant. It aims to identify actors and factors, such as ethnic or regional political parties, territorial autonomy, and subnational institutional arrangements, that impact autocratization, or the lack thereof, under conditions of uncertainty. From an empirical point of view, the paper will comparatively analyse COVID-19 measures that can be classified as illiberal politics in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Lebanon, and Malaysia. Bosnia and Herzegovina displays strong agency at both the group and subnational levels, Malaysia has elements of subnational autonomy, while Lebanon has institutionalized power-sharing among groups. The contribution of this paper is to explore the impact of different types of power-sharing on autocratization when faced with similar challenges.

**Panel 5A**

## **The Concept and Uses of “Hourglass Federalism”**

Michael Breen, *University of Melbourne &*  
Iain Payne, *Niti Foundation, Nepal*

Recent international federal debates and reforms have witnessed a shift to emphasising the local level in federal systems. In particular, “hourglass federalism” has become an increasingly used descriptor or objective among scholars and democratic reformers. Hourglass federalism as a concept was introduced by Courchene (2004, 2006) in his writings on Canadian Federalism. More recently, it has been identified by Forum of Federations as one of the three key trends emanating from the resurgence of the federal idea over the past twenty years (Chattopadhyay, 2019). Yet there has been very little written about the idea or concept itself and it remains somewhat nebulous. This paper aims to develop the concept of hourglass federalism by drawing from the nine cases to which the hourglass moniker has been applied plus additional cases that exhibit some or all of the hourglass features. In addition, we allow the stated purpose(s) of

hourglass federalism to guide theorisation. We identify five key dimensions: direct funding relationship between centre and local government; division of powers between local and other levels of government; direct relationship between local government and the people; intergovernmental arrangements and dispute resolution mechanisms that contain both local/centre institutions; and a dedicated local administrative structure.

#### **Panel 5A**

##### **A sea of difference? Australian and Italian approaches to irregular maritime migration**

Gabriele Abbondanza,

*University of Sydney*

Ten years after the beginning of Europe's maritime migration crisis, and almost twenty years after the establishment of Australia's controversial Pacific Solution, irregular maritime migration still represents one of the most debated political issues. Australia and Italy are two countries that exemplify the complexity of such debate, as they have adopted either diametrically opposed or remarkably similar policies over time. Both are wealthy, developed democracies embedded in regional contexts characterised by often opposite characteristics, however the reasons for such similarities and differences in terms of their migration policies have not been comprehensively examined yet. This research argues that a variety of national and international factors have shaped different policy choices for otherwise comparable situations, predominantly influenced by four main elements: domestic pressures, degree of regional bonding, supranational architecture, and self-identification (or lack thereof) with the image of 'good international citizen'. These findings corroborate previous scholarship on the correlation between progressive governments and a higher tendency to adhere to UN norms, and vice versa, while shedding light on the endogenous and exogenous mechanisms that have shaped diverging maritime migration policies in Australia and Italy, thus addressing the lack of an in-depth comparison between the two countries.

#### **Panel 5B**

##### **Assam's Nowhere People: Contextualizing the National Register of Citizens in Assam within the discourse on Global Refugee Crisis**

Debasreeta Deb,

*Independent Researcher*

The Indian State's citizenship project in Assam based on the production of a stringent archival documentary evidence, the National Register of Citizens (NRC), was published on August 31, 2019, declaring 1.9 million people, who have been unable to provide this information, potentially stateless, thereby sending waves of uproar and anxiety across the state as it has jeopardized the citizenship of those excluded into a state of uncertainty. With no clarity on the future of those declared foreigners in this exercise, many have already been relegated to spaces such as the detention camps devoid of even their fundamental human rights. Against this backdrop, this paper shall explain the NRC exercise in Assam and based on the collection of field data, bring out the stories of distress, despair and tragedy of the people in Assam who now belong 'nowhere' and have been pushed to a sub-human level which, Giorgio Agamben notes, is the 'bare life', in the detention centres of Assam. The paper shall discuss how at a time when the world's attention is focused on finding solutions to the Global Refugee Crisis, the bureaucratic exercise of 'manufacturing foreigners' in a democratic nation like India is likely to create a massive refugee crisis of its own making by creating an army of stateless people, the repercussions of which will be felt across the globe. The questions that are further explored are how the state and federal levels of government are grappling with this citizenship issue and its implications on the nation's democratic status as well as the global and regional consequences of this recent development in India.

#### **Panel 5B**

##### **Refugee Crisis and Intercultural Dialogue in the Formation Of New European Identity**

Necmiye Karakuş,

*Manisa Celal Bayar University*

European identity is a phenomenon which has been tried to be created over common European values. This identity formation is in the process of construction which does not happen at once. Although many minority groups and diasporas in Europe are a part of society that cannot provide cohesion for this identity formation, the European Union has many projects and programs to integrate these groups. Intercultural dialogue which aims to create connections and common ground between different cultures, communities, and people by promoting mutual understanding and interaction are one of them. In a society which is composed of many different cultures intercultural dialogue may not be easy. Especially after the so-called



refugee crisis that started since 2011 has brought a completely different atmosphere to the European society. Refugees who want a more comfortable life in European countries caused the rise of nationalism and Islamophobia in Europe. The society has become more complex after this crisis which has created a problem for the European common identity. This article is divided into two parts. In the first part conceptual analysis of European identity and refugee crisis will be made. In the second part discussion will be on the impact of intercultural dialogue.

#### **Panel 5B**

#### **NGOs, migrants and refugees in the age of pandemic: A reopening of public space for policy debates**

Daniela Irrera

*University of Catania*

The paper discusses the increasing roles of non-governmental organisations (NGOs) in assisting refugees and migrants in coping with the effects of the COVID-19 outbreak, following the poor state capabilities and in response to the militarisation of border and asylum policies. By analysing the major consequences imposed by the pandemic on the EU migration policies and states' approaches, it is argued that civil society organisations have complemented governmental responses, by mitigating their inconsistency and inhuman feature. Other than providing assistance to vulnerable people, NGOs are experimenting new public spaces, opened by the pandemic, to promote policy debates and reforms. The paper is divided in three parts. Firstly, an overview of the main COVID effects on humanitarian crises and the condition of migrants and refugees is provided. Secondly, old and new roles of NGOs in coping with such effects are deepened. The continuation of non-governmental search and rescue (SAR) operations in the Central Mediterranean is particularly investigated as a controversial challenge. Thirdly, the ways NGOs are influencing public spaces for rethinking migration and refugees' policies and practices are considered. The paper is conducted within the H2020 PROTECT project on The right to international protection: a pendulum between globalization and nativization.

#### **Panel 5B**

#### **First Ladies, Authoritarian Rule & the Covid response in the Middle East & North Africa**

Nadine Kreitmeyr,

*University of Canterbury, New Zealand*

This paper analyzes the political roles and policy-making of authoritarian first ladies during the Covid pandemic of 2020 in the Middle East and North Africa (MENA). In so doing, it aims to contribute to a better understanding of first lady politics and (de-)legitimation under authoritarianism which is a largely under-researched field.

Contrary to the very active role of first ladies in the MENA region in many policy areas in the past decade, first ladies have been rather quiet during the current pandemic. This is even more surprising given that female leadership worldwide has been highly praised during the current pandemic. This paper inquires into this puzzle through a case study of Queen Rania of Jordan. It presents the findings of the analysis of the activities, speeches and other public appearances of Queen Rania between March and September 2020 and contextualizes those in the political action taking by her husband and her son, i.e. the King and the Crown Prince.

#### **Panel 5C**

#### **Whatever happened to parliamentary democracy in the UK?**

Meg Russell,

*University College London*

More than any other, the UK is a parliamentary democracy. Not only does the executive depend on parliamentary confidence, but the tradition of 'parliamentary sovereignty' makes the legislature the highest constitutional authority. Yet parliament's role in UK politics has become increasingly contested since the 2016 'Brexit' referendum – which pitted parliamentary against popular sovereignty. Key moments included two Supreme Court cases, where judges defended parliament's central role, including against an attempted 'prorogation' (closure) by ministers, and various instances of angry executive rhetoric which directly challenged parliament, claiming that it was subverting the 'will of the people'. Latterly, while Brexit has been delivered, Boris Johnson's government has questioned the authority of the civil service and key constitutional regulators, as well as parliament and the courts. Over Covid-19, the government has increasingly been accused of sidelining parliament, which has inflamed significant tensions with its own backbenchers. This paper will explore the key steps in the UK's trajectory since 2016, within a context of

international evidence about patterns of populist slides towards authoritarianism. It will discuss whether the UK can be seen as an example of this phenomenon, why these developments occurred, and what prospects exist for them to be reversed.

#### **Panel 5C**

#### **Victimhood Nationalism: How Populists Invoke Past Moments of Crisis to Justify Current Rule**

Peter Vermeersch & Jens Meijen,

*KU Leuven*

This paper examines how populists in power invoke historical moments of crisis to draw up the fault lines of national belonging. It first outlines the concept of 'victimhood nationalism', which is a discursive strategy used by nationalist actors in which they use (real or imagined) historical injustices to justify current political strategies and frame the national 'we' as a victimized group that requires protection while critical voices are labelled outsiders or even perpetrators of injustice. Then, the paper provides empirical examples of such victimhood nationalism. The first example comes from the Polish case, where the public gatherings in commemoration of the Warsaw uprising were framed in terms of historical injustice, morality, and nationhood, in which the Polish national 'we' is presented as immaculate and historically innocent. The second example is situated in Hungary, and specifically in Viktor Orbán's approach to history and historical research, as he aims to present the people of Hungary as a historical victim of both communism and Nazism, which warrants strong contemporary action, even if this means infringing on the basic rights of minority groups in Hungary - who, in turn, are presented as accomplices to the injustice experienced by Hungarians in the past.

#### **Panel 5C**

#### **A List Experiment of Anti-immigrant Sentiments among French National Front Supporters: Are Radical Right Party Supporters Xenophobes or Merely Honest Respondents?**

Ryo Nakai,

*Kitakyushu University*

Various types of anti-immigrant sentiments could be taken as the primary independent variable explaining support for radical right parties. Survey respondents, however, sometimes tend to conceal their true attitudes towards socially sensitive issues. Using a list experiment (item count technique), I attempted to reveal respondents' honest attitudes towards immigrants based on party support in France. It was found that National Front supporters are not necessarily anti-immigrant xenophobes. A comparison with existing traditional surveys indicated that respondents with higher socioeconomic status tend to hide their honest support for the radical right in face-to-face surveys, while they are likely to reveal their true attitudes in experimental surveys. This result suggests a nuanced relationship between people's anti-immigrant sentiments and support for radical right parties, considering social desirability bias.

#### **Panel 5C**

#### **Growth of Right Wing Populism In West Bengal: Tracing The Factors**

Raunak Bhattacharjee,

*Presidency University*

The goal of this paper is to trace the growth of Right wing populism in West Bengal, which has hitherto remained aloof from the politics, particularly of religious fundamentalism for a prolonged period and had spent a significant period under a Leftist regime. The sudden change in the discourse is thoroughly analysed, replete with a set of factors that are responsible for this particular change in discourse.

#### **Panel 6A**

#### **The AKP's Anti-Westernist Populism in Turkey's Covid-19 Response**

Cağlar Ezikoglu,

*Cankiri Karatekin University*

"In recent days, behind the street events in some western countries, along with racism, there are injustices brought to light by the pandemic, Even the most prosperous countries have difficulty in providing masks to their citizens and cannot provide minimum health services." These sentences were declared by AKP's leader, Recep Tayyip Erdoğan at the 12th International Conference on Islamic Economics and Finance in Istanbul in June 2020. This speech, is only one example of how anti-Westernism in the fight against the pandemic has turned into a political tool in Turkey.

Erdoğan, other AKP's members and the government-supported media in Turkey was also identifying the entire Western worlds' Covid-19 responses as Italy's or Spain's failures. In a subtle Anti-Westernist populist drive, these AKP's politicians and media institutions painted an imaginary picture of a collapsing Western world which is an important opportunity to polish the AKP propaganda. On the one hand AKP is continuing the consolidation of the Islamist-nationalist masses in domestic politics with this Anti-Westernist propaganda. On the other hand, the support of Turkish immigrants in Western countries to the AKP has also ensured. This study aims to explore how the AKP's Anti-Westernism has turned into a political strategy in Turkey's combating the Covid-19 pandemic.

#### **Panel 6A**

#### **Studying Politics in the Shadow of Populism**

Duygu Ersoy Jülide Karakoç

*Altınbaş Üniversitesi*

Last two decades of Turkish political life were characterized by several crises. The major actor within these crises, the Justice and Development Party (JDP), ruling throughout this period, has changed its discourse in accordance with its responses to these crises. During this period, an authoritarian turn has become the most important phenomenon having significant repercussions not only for the opposition groups but also for the scholars who are trying to address the issues in Turkish politics. Since the scope and boundaries of the "political" is revised in accordance with the changing discourses of the JDP, the extent of what can be discussed by the political scientists has been narrowed down to a great extent. This paper aims to examine the challenges the discipline of political science experiences after this authoritarian turn depending on in-depth interviews conducted with political scientists. It argues that due to the authoritarian populist policies of the JDP criminalizing certain topics, there arises a tendency among scholars to engage in self-censorship by removing these topics from their research agendas.

#### **Panel 6A**

#### **Trojan Horse and Fig Leaf: The Role of Populism in the Global Crisis of Democracy and the Postmodern Autocracies**

Benedek István,

*ELTE University & Hungarian Academy of Sciences*

It is my contention that populism could be an appropriate framework and binding force between global crisis of democracy and spread of postmodern autocracies. In order to substantiate this claim, with the method of literature review, I have examined first the characteristics of these phenomena and then I have focused the nature of the relationship between them, in particular with regard to the complex system of stability of new types of autocracies, in which, I think, populism playing a key role.

Populism, understood in an autocratic interpretation of democracy, could be particularly dangerous and a Trojan horse for democracy. Because its idea of a single, homogeneous and authentic people that can be authentically represented only by populists, and this representative claim is a moralized form of antipluralism. In addition, populism is also an important feature of postmodern autocracies, especially of electoral authoritarianism. By means of populism, it is possible for these regimes to hide and even legitimise the autocratic trends and exercise of power behind their formally multi-party elections and democratic façade, and creation an uneven playing field for political contestation.

As a radical, traditional autocracy-like turn would be too expensive, postmodern autocrats need manipulated multi-party elections and other plebiscite techniques that could serve as quasi-democratic legitimation, and the populism that could transform political contestation to a life-and-death struggle and provides other important cognitive functions. Therefore, populist autocracy, as a paradigmatic type of postmodern autocracies, will remain with us for a long time, giving more and more tasks to researchers.

#### **Panel 6A**

#### **Cross-Cutting Cleavages and Electoral Stability in India**

Neeraj Prasad,

*O. P. Jindal Global University*

How do social and economic divisions impact electoral volatility? What is the impact of electoral volatility on democratic accountability? While, extant theory predicts higher electoral stability in ethnically divided societies, empirically we often observe the opposite. Existing arguments explaining high volatility in multi-ethnic contexts focus either on the role of social cleavages, headcounts, and configuration of social group; or on the interaction between social cleavages and political institutions. This paper combines the two approaches. It demonstrates that cross-cuttingness, meaning the extent to which social cleavages reinforce

economic divisions, influences electoral volatility in two ways. First, high cross-cuttingness boosts electoral volatility by making vote-choice less rigid, less dependent on the identity of incumbents and voters, and more sensitive to economic performance of incumbents. Second, it has an indirect effect mediated through party-switching. The paper shows that when cross-cuttingness is high, party-candidate linkages are weak, and party-switching between consecutive elections is more likely. Ultimately, this boosts electoral volatility. To test our arguments, we use data on elections to state legislatures in India for the time period 2000 to 2005. We estimate cross-cuttingness at the district-level using data on consumption, identity, and occupation from the National Sample Surveys.

#### **Panel 6A**

#### **Fear of others? Processes of Securitization in Northern Ireland**

Andrea Carlà,

*Eurac Research - Institute for Minority Rights*

Situated at the junction between the field of ethnic politics, security studies and migration, this paper analyses processes of securitization in Northern Ireland. The country is characterized by its violent past, consociational power-sharing institutions, experience with periods of political instability, and the recent arrival of several thousand people from other EU and non-EU countries. As a case study, Northern Ireland epitomizes the problems of divided societies and the challenges posed by the presence of competing nationalisms in multinational and ever more diversifying countries. This paper applies the concept of securitization to analyse the extent to which past conflicts and tensions have been overcome, uncovering who or what and under what terms is perceived as a threat, affecting majorities/minorities relations.

To conduct the analysis, I adopt the Copenhagen School understanding of securitization as a speech act. I use a qualitative methodology, examining securitizing discourses that emerged in the party programs of the main political forces that won seats in the Northern Ireland Assembly in 2017 and in previous elections since 1998. I look at the evolution and transformation of such securitizing discourses since the Good Friday Agreement of 1998 to today, bringing to light the different security narratives that characterize Northern Ireland concerning the divisions and relationship among its communities and the broader issue of diversity.

#### **Panel 6B**

#### **The Role and Challenges of Political Parties in Political Transition: The Case of Ethiopia**

Ayenew Birhanu,

*Kotebe Metropolitan University*

The political parties of any country are expected to remain committed to political and economic improvement of their countries. As one of the main intermediaries between the state and citizens, one would therefore expect political parties to have a key role to achieve a democratic and peaceful transition. This article focuses on the contribution, actual or potential, of political parties to political transitions. The objective of this study is to examine the role and challenges political parties in ongoing reform efforts in Ethiopia. The paper reports mainly on the findings of semi-structured interviews with local and national politicians carried out during the course 2020 as well as analysis of political parties' programs. This study indicates that political parties are the main agents of political representation, and play a crucial role in articulating and aggregating citizens' demands in democracies. However, findings reveal that the nature of transition and the prevailing character of political parties in the Ethiopia have inhibited that role. The analysis shows that mainly the unpredictability of post-reform trends, a weak political culture and inefficiency of political parties prompted political instability which in turn hampered the anticipated political transition in Ethiopia

#### **Panel 6B**

#### **Bringing the Shi'as Further in: Representation, Veto and Resistance in Confessional Lebanon**

Natália Calfat,

*Universidade de São Paulo (USP, Brazil)*

The power-sharing state-of-the-art on Lebanon mostly focuses on its institutional deficiencies and how it engenders state weakness. Little international literature has been published on either the widening of the grand coalition after the 2008 Doha Agreement (when Hezbollah, representing the Shi'a duo, obtained veto power), or on its actual behaviour in a national unity cabinet thenceforward. The first purpose of this paper is to unravel how the narrative pairing resistance and representation was constructed, demanding more equitable political representation and autonomous decision-making power for the Shi'a. For that, I propose a historical-qualitative analysis of 31 Hezbollah statements from 2006-2008 allied with a review of the key moments of institutional crisis. The second part of this paper investigates the opposition's behaviour in the

cabinet from 2008-2018. By tracking and analysing key moments of executive blockages and ministers' resignations, I investigate the nature of the veto, to what extent, and under what conditions it occurred. The findings suggest that the purposeful vetoes by the blocking opposition were thematic, demanded inter-sectarian alliances, and were limited to highly strategic issues. Moreover, informal genres of veto were equally applied as an instrument of representation and identity leverage by the various religious communities in the cabinet.

#### **Panel 6B**

#### **Legal appropriation of Power by the Populists: India's legal targeting of the Marginalised and the Minorities**

Nikhil Sehra,

*Jawaharlal Nehru University*

The historical hierarchies of caste and race globally maintain the hegemony over structures of political, social and economic power. The Indian hierarchical structure of caste has preserved these powers among the upper caste elites. India currently is governed by Hindu-Nationalists, a firm believer of the caste system. The appropriation of resources towards the dominant upper castes have kept the marginalised lower castes at the bottom. Along with the marginalisation of the lower castes, the Hind-Nationalists have continuously targeted religious minorities. Legal legislations have accompanied the populist tendencies of this regime against such marginalised populace. The dilution of laws meant for protection of marginalised communities, Citizenship Amendment Act: specifically targeting certain religious minorities, draconian use of Unlawful Activities (Prevention) Act specifically targeting these communities are a few instances. The paper argues that populist regimes have used legal legislations to appropriate their power, as seen in states such as Hungary and Poland. It seeks to analyse, (1) India's Populist Power in context of legal legislations and, (2) the entangled narratives of such punitive legal actions by the populist regimes of the world.

#### **Panel 6B**

#### **Coming Together or Staying Apart: Implications of Pandemic Politics for Negotiations in Cyprus**

Samantha Twietmeyer,

*Queen's University*

In the wake of COVID-19, questions around the long-term impact of pandemic politics and implications of this "state of exception" have arisen globally. This dilemma is evaluated in the divided island of Cyprus, where the closure of checkpoints through the UN-monitored Green Line sparked new tension around the future unity or ultimate division of the island. This paper addresses two hypotheses regarding the impact of crisis on the negotiations in Cyprus: one where bi-lateral talks to coordinate north-south responses promote bi-communal cooperation, highlighting the opportunities of "disaster diplomacy;" and one where the newly implemented barriers on the island cement nationalist and separatist narratives, further separating the people of Cyprus and creating a new normal of division. Using an extensive content analysis of elite statements and media coverage throughout the spring and summer of 2020, and framing these events in state of exception theory, the paper demonstrates that a resistance to bi-communal cooperation which defined the pre-pandemic politics of Cyprus directly challenges both of these hypotheses of change. The paper's conclusions draw important insights both for a general understanding of factors which affect the long-term impact of pandemic politics, and for cautiously navigating future negotiations in Cyprus.

#### **Panel 7A**

#### **Multidimensional Factors in Conflict Resolution: A Case Study of Northern Ireland And The 1998 Good Friday Agreement**

Chloe Doherty, *Canterbury Christ Church University*

Conflicts continue to plague international societies, destroying political structures and economic stability. Such enduring devastation calls for understanding in both the reasons for these conflicts' occurrences and potential resolutions. This paper utilises Northern Ireland's 1998 Good Friday Agreement as a case study to compare international conflicts' factors and resolutions to those of Northern Ireland's Troubles and eventual successful negotiation of the GFA.

This research first utilises theories and definitions from peace scholars like Nina Caspersen and Johann Galtung to establish a basic comprehension of peace while drawing on teachings from Susan Woodward and Hugh Miall to identify factors of successful and failed conflict resolutions.

Next, an historical review of Ireland and Northern Ireland, examines the specific political, religious and socioeconomic factors that led to Northern Ireland's Troubles. The paper's concluding analysis identifies the GFA's key influences of diplomacy, treaties, political structure, economic improvement, and most

importantly, actors as the primary reasons for the peace treaty being Northern Ireland's first peace agreement that effectively halted decades of violence. While acknowledging that the GFA has not brought a complete cessation of conflict to Northern Ireland, this research provides a foundation for which a discussion regarding effective conflict resolution can emerge.

#### **Panel 7A**

#### **Complexities of Nostalgia and Distrust in the Ukraine crisis: Exploring the Potential of a New Monroe Doctrine for the Westphalian System**

Anuradha Sinha,  
*Jawaharlal Nehru University*

The Ukraine crisis has brought forth the challenge that the post- post Cold War world order is facing wherein the Westphalian principles of territoriality and sovereignty have been attacked. The crisis reflects that the current perception of security is dependent not just on the perception of threat but is attached to the nostalgic memory of the aggressor. This paper attempts to explore the complexities of the Montreux Convention, the Kharkiv Pact and the Budapest Memorandum which represents the complexities of the distrust that nations share. It poses the question: Is there a potential of the formulation or revival of a doctrine restricting the pursuit of interests in another country's sphere of influence? Russia vehemently protests and fights the NATO expansion and EU integration in the region and has been furthering interests in the former Soviet republics. Is it important to also explore the ethnicity of the Crimean population and the concept of 'compatriots'. The Monroe Doctrine, formulated in order to safeguard the European and American fears of the other's interference and interests in their respective spheres of influence in 1823: Will a new attempt be surprising?

#### **Panel 7A**

#### **The Tale of Two Crises: Domestic-Level Diversionary Ethnic War in Yemen**

Mahmoud Farag,  
*Berlin Graduate School of Social Sciences, Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin*

The ongoing conflict in Yemen has been declared by the United Nations as the world's worst current humanitarian crisis. Scholarly accounts have attributed the Houthi conflict to the fragile nature of the Yemeni state (Winter 2010; Clausen 2019) or to the rivalry between Saudi Arabia and Yemen, known as the new Middle East cold war (Gause 2014; Salisbury 2015). Using the domestic-level diversionary war theory (Tir and Jasinski 2008), the paper offers a fresh reading of the Houthi conflict. The paper thus examines the following questions: To what extent did the Yemeni regime initiate the Houthi conflict in 2004 as a domestic-level diversionary war and to what degree did this war contribute to the subsequent fall of the Yemeni regime in 2011? The paper argues that the Yemeni regime initiated the war to cover-up its growing legitimacy crisis and to weaken the cross-ideological cooperation between Islamist and secularist opposition groups in Yemen. The war however had two consequences. First, it further weakened the regime and led to its fall after facing the 2011 uprising crisis. Second, it exacerbated the Houthis' grievances, leading to the resumption of conflict in 2014. The paper uncovers the interactions between structures and agency and how miscalculations by political actors lead to their own demise.

#### **Panel 7A**