2021 Virtual World Congress Guidebook
Editors
Ahmet Kaan Ketboga & Crystal Staebell & Frank Stengs

Design
Crystal Staebell & Jamie Ashton

Copyright
This guide has been composed with the greatest care. No rights can be derived from its content.

This booklet is a production of the International Association for Political Science Students (IAPSS).

Thomas van Aquinostraat 5
6525GD Nijmegen
Postbox 9108
6500HK Nijmegen

IAPSS is an association that is registered as a full legal personality under Dutch Civil Law at the Netherlands Chamber of Commerce, Directorate Central Gelderland, under deposit number 58982841.

De International Association for Political Science Students is een Nederlandse vereniging met volledige rechtsbevoegdheid, geregistreerd bij de Kamer van Koophandel Centraal Gelderland onder KvK-nummer 58982841.

RSIN: 853266049
# Table of Contents

**Words of Welcome**
- Letter to the President 3
- Letter of the World Congress Co-Heads 4
- About: The Organisers 5

**About: The World Congress**
- On the theme 6
- On the programme 7

**About IAPSS**
- Mission 8
- Three pillars

**Programme Overview** 9

**Opening, Closing Sessions, Guest Speakers** 11

**Student Panels** 16

**Social Programme** 28

**Information for Panelists** 29

**Abstracts** 33

PLEASE NOTE THAT ALL SESSIONS WILL TAKE PLACE IN CENTRAL EUROPEAN TIME (CET) !
Words of Welcome

Letter of the President:

Dear 2021 IAPSS World Congress Participants,

It is my pleasure to welcome you to the 2021 IAPSS World Congress. Thank you for sharing your research and academic perspectives with us and political science students around the world. This event, IAPSS’ flagship conference, is a great opportunity to meet students from other campuses and countries who share your research interests and who may want to collaborate on future research projects, learn about current trends in political science student scholarship, develop experience presenting at academic conferences, and share your research with the world. The 2021 World Congress Team has done an excellent job preparing an exciting itinerary of panels, guest speakers, social activities, and other interesting segments to make your experience at this conference a memorable one.

It is also important to note that this is no ordinary World Congress. Due to the COVID-19, this conference is being offered entirely online for the first time in IAPSS’ history. The implementation of this event thus signifies that student governments such as IAPSS have the potential to not only adapt to global challenges, but also develop innovative organizational capacities that can be replicated to augment events in future years. Your participation affirms the importance of student democracy and international cooperation, and furthermore shows the world that students working together can accomplish great things. Political science students in future years may look back to this World Congress to see how we were able to adapt, and they will see that we were able to persevere.

There is much to look forward to in the days ahead. Even after the World Congress, IAPSS offers many opportunities for research collaboration, student advocacy, learning, and professional development. I encourage you to remain involved and explore the IAPSS website or contact IAPSS team members to learn more about the wide range of benefits IAPSS offers.

Enjoy the World Congress and please let us know if there is anything you need. On behalf of IAPSS, we look forward to hearing your presentations!

Best,
Justin Patrick,
IAPSS President
Letter of the World Congress Co-heads:

Dear participants, speakers, and guests,
Dear friends and colleagues,

We are excited to be welcoming you to our first ever 2021 Virtual World Congress, a truly international experience where we are reaching out to students from all across the world. IAPSS has always prided itself on being an international community for students to come together for the sake of excellent academic dialogue, but with remote gatherings becoming the norm for some time, we’re finally to accommodate the geographic needs of our speakers and our attendees.

Transitioning to a remote platform has been a new experience for the IAPSS World Congress team, as our team of coordinators has been working tirelessly to figure out how we can bring the social interaction and opportunity for dialogue to a virtual platform. While we had to unfortunately cancel our conference last year, our decision to hold the conference on a remote platform signifies how important we believe it is for us as students of political science to continue our contributions to the discourse of our fields. In times like these, even with a pandemic ongoing, global changes are constantly occurring. Our identities are being questioned as globalization connects people economically, culturally, and socially; democratic movements and threats have re-emerged as major topics in the news; finally, the construction of power and who possesses it continues to shift in the digital age. It researchers and academics to identify these changes and explore them to help us understand our evolving world, and it starts with your work.

We’ve brought together speakers who are trail-blazers in their disciplines and students with a clear dedication to their study to interact and create opportunities for collaboration, inspiration, education, and interaction. We encourage our attendees to put the time and effort into reaching out to each other and listening to other scholars to understand what conversations are occurring in the field.

We thank our team of coordinators for volunteering to help realize this Congress, the main IAPSS branch for providing us the institutional support, the guest speakers who volunteered to share their passion, and the attendees who believe in the power of academic discussion.

Sincerely,

Ahmet Kaan Ketboga & Crystal Staebell
About: The Organisers

Ahmet Kaan Keboga  
Co-Head World Congress  
worldcongress@iapss.org

Anna Sargsyan  
Speaker Coordinator  
wcspeakers@iapss.org

Fiona Hurrey  
Speakers Coordinator  
wcspeakersassistant@iapss.org

Manuel Adriano  
Speakers Coordinator  
wc-speakers@iapss.org

Crystal Staebell  
Co-Head World Congress  
worldcongress@iapss.org

Frank Stengs  
Administration Coordinator  
wcadmincoordinator@iapss.org

Jamie Dimitra Ashton  
Promotion Coordinator  
wc-promotion@iapss.org

Moilanah Chirema  
Promotion Coordinator  
wc-promotionassistant@iapss.org

Minya Chan  
Sponsorship & Grants Coordinator  
wc-sponsorship@iapss.org

Taslima Tariq  
Sponsorship & Grants Coordinator  
wc-sponsorassistant@iapss.org

Sibabalwe Socikwa  
Panels Coordinator  
wc-panels@iapss.org
About: the World Congress

On the theme
Democracy, identity and power are cornerstones for understanding contemporary politics and international relations. After the end of the Cold War, democracy or more pointedly, liberal democracy has produced a domino effect, emerging and expanding across the globe at a fast rate, becoming the system of government states strive to achieve. However, not only democratic developments have been of interest in political science. Social movements, revolutions and strikes have returned to the focus of academic debates with current developments in Venezuela, Columbia, Hong Kong and other places in the world. The latest uprisings in Sudan and Algeria, and ongoing conflicts in Syria and Yemen furthermore call attention to shifting geopolitics, authoritarian survival and socio-ethnic divisions in societies.

Globalization and shifting geopolitics have heralded transformations in a myriad of subjects, including civil-military relations, international law and even domestic elections through for example discourses about the European Union. Likewise, in the wake of technological advancements, questions about the role of cyberspace in security, defense and day-to-day governance emerge, as well as human-made impacts on the climate, and the future use of natural resources. The wave of refugees that reached Europe in 2015 challenged many previous concepts and ideas of, amongst others, national, ethnic and religious identity. Economic and social gaps caused by globalization and the actions of the “established elites” have also fuelled populist discourses and right-wing movements. They challenge the traditional understanding of democracy, its practice and theory.

Against the backdrop of all these developments, a number of questions emerge: How can democracies survive in a complex and volatile environment? What role do changing geopolitics and civil-military relations play in conflict dynamics? How can new challenges brought by new technologies, climate change and cyberspace be dealt with and solved? To what extent has power shifted away from traditional sources of authority?

With this conference theme, IAPSS hopes to encourage students and junior scholars of political science and related disciplines to participate in this exciting academic discussion.
On the programme
The IAPSS World Congress 2021 aims to provide students of political science, international relations and related disciplines a platform to present their work and research within a variety of student panels, and to bring you together with experts from academia, politics, the media and civil society to discuss and examine topics and issues around the Congress theme “Democracy, Identity and Power” in depth.

Each day is divided into time slots. At each panel, three to four students and junior scholars will present their research and work in the form of short paper presentations, facilitated by a panel chair, a panel discussant and the audience present.
About IAPSS

Mission
The International Association for Political Science Students (IAPSS) is a worldwide representation of students of political science and related studies. IAPSS strives to deliver sustainable academic contributions to the education of its members, foster exchange among young social scientists across the globe, and promote social and scientific responsibility. We do this by offering a multitude of events, publications, professionalization and research networks.

With a total network of over 215,000 individuals from more than eighty countries, IAPSS seeks to promote political science as a discipline and be a global network for students. The Association – founded in 1998 in Leiden (the Netherlands) – is exclusively student-led, non-profit oriented and politically independent. The IAPSS Headquarters is located in Nijmegen (the Netherlands) – hosted and supported by Radboud University Nijmegen, IAPSS’ premium partner and itself a leading institution in the political science arena in Europe.

On the international level, IAPSS works closely together with the International Political Science Association (IPSA), the European Consortium for Political Science Research (ECPR), the Asia-Europe Foundation (ASEF) as well as other partner organizations.

Three pillars
Our portfolio and annual agenda provided with great dedication to our members is built up around three pillars. In each pillar, we conceptualize and realize activities, projects and services that contribute to the academic, personal and social development of our members. Worldwide. 365 days all year long.

1. IAPSS Events – Global Political Science Gatherings
2. IAPSS Academic – Journals, Publishing, Delegations & Research
3. Professionalisation and Career Development

IAPSS’ unique international network enables us to influence debates, initiatives and scientific developments internationally. More than 215,000 individuals follow IAPSS on social media and regular consultations take place with our international partners in the field of political science.
Programme overview

11.05 Tuesday
09:00 - 10:00 OPENING CEREMONY
10:00 - 11:30 KEYNOTE SPEAKER by Bryan S. Turner
12:00 - 13:30 STUDENT PANELS
14:30 - 16:00 STUDENT PANELS
16:30 - 18:00 MUSIC FOR UN SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT GOALS

12.05 Wednesday
8:30 - 10:00 STUDENT PANELS
10:30 - 12:00 STUDENT PANELS
12:15 - 13:45 STUDENT PANELS
14:30 - 16:00 GUEST SPEAKER with Ali Riza Taskale
16:15 - 17:45 STUDENT PANELS
18:00 - 19:30 GUEST SPEAKER with Cynthia Enloe

13.05 Thursday
8:30 - 10:00 STUDENT PANELS
10:30 - 12:00 GUEST SPEAKER with Chris Isike
13:00 - 14:30 STUDENT PANELS
15:00 - 16:30 GUEST SPEAKER with Waltraud Schelkle
17:00 - 18:30 STUDENT PANELS
14.05 Friday

8:30 - 10:00 STUDENT PANELS

10:15 - 11:45 STUDENT PANELS

12:30 - 14:00 SPECIAL SESSION by *Politikon* Editorial Team

14:30 - 16:00 GUEST SPEAKER with Patrick Thaddeus Jackson

16:30 - 18:00 CLOSING SESSION

PLEASE NOTE THAT ALL SESSIONS WILL TAKE PLACE IN CENTRAL EUROPEAN TIME (CET)!
Opening, Closing Sessions, Guest Speakers

OPENING SESSION
Tuesday, May 11 8:30 - 10:00 (CET)
Ahmet Kaan Ketboga - Co-Head of IAPSS World Congress; Crystal Staebell - Co-Head of IAPSS World Congress; Justin Patrick - President of IAPSS

KEYNOTE SPEAKER
Tuesday, May 11 10:00 - 11:30 (CET)
Prof. Bryan S. Turner “Political Catastrophe”

- “We can define a catastrophe as an overthrow of the social order in which there are no winners. Catastrophic events are under-researched in political sociology but there is a literature on the politics of failed states. We might say that the twentieth century was a catastrophic period – WWI, WWII, Spanish flu, Korea, Vietnam. Is our century a century of plagues?”

About Bryan S. Turner
Bryan S. Turner is Professor of Sociology at the Australian Catholic University (Sydney), Honorary Professor and Director of the Centre for Social Citizenship at Potsdam University, Germany, Emeritus Professor at the Graduate Center at the City University of New York and Fellow of the Edward Cadbury Centre for Religion in Public Life, University of Birmingham, England. He is the founding editor of the Journal of Classical Sociology. He was awarded a Doctor of Letters by Cambridge University in 2009 and received the Max Planck Award in social science in 2015. He recently edited the ‘Wiley Blackwell Encyclopedia of Social Theory’ (2018). Other publications include ‘The New Blackwell Companion to the Sociology of Religion’ (2010), ‘Religion and Modern Society’ (2011) and ‘The Religious and the Political’ (2013).

Wednesday, May 12 10:30 - 12:00 (CET)
Chris Isike: “Covid-19, Politics, Economy and Governance in Africa: Sign-posting the Crisis of Liberal Democracy”

- “The novel coronavirus pandemic – COVID-19 – which has adversely affected and altered human existence in previously unimaginable ways attests to the centrality of good health to human existence. In response to the pandemic, almost all African states adopted a uniform lockdown and curfew restriction regimes to contain the spread while preparing their hospital capacities for the inevitable peak of the virus. The uncritical adoption of these lockdowns without attention to the particular
democracy and development context of many African states was severely criticized, especially given the manner they were enforced and their impact on livelihoods. As a result, the legality of lockdown was challenged as antithetical to democratic principles raising questions about the meaning, essence, and type of democracy practiced in Africa. This lecture will examine the potency of the electoral variant of liberal democracy practiced in Africa through an analysis of its implications for politics, economy, and democratic governance in the continent.”

About Chris Isike
Christopher Isike, PhD is a Professor of African Politics and Development, Department Political Sciences, University of Pretoria, South Africa. An Africanist scholar by research standpoint, Prof Isike's teaching and research interests revolve around African soft power politics and development dynamics, the quality of women's political representation in Africa, women and peace-building in Africa, African immigration to South Africa, human security and human factor development in Africa. He consults for the UNFPA, UNICEF, UN Women and the KwaZulu-Natal provincial government on gender equality and women empowerment issues in the province. He is currently a Vice President of the International Political Science Association (IPSA) and member of reputable international bodies such as the Canadian Association of African Studies (CAAS), Resilience Peace, EPOS; Global conflict mediation and resolution network and Ontario International Development Agency (OIDA).

Wednesday, May 12 14:30 - 16:00 (CET)
Ali Riza Taskale: “Imagining the Future: The Dominant Neoliberal Imaginary and Speculative Fiction”

- “What is a neoliberal imaginary and how does it foreclose alternative future imaginaries? Can we imagine a speculative fiction worthy of challenging the neoliberal imaginary? The purpose of this presentation is twofold: first, it explores a better conceptualisation of what I call ‘the political imaginary of neoliberalism’, that is the images, presuppositions, cultural apparatuses, and other modes of control and representation through which neoliberalism has established and maintains a hegemonic position. It seeks to demonstrate that neoliberalism should not be understood only as an economic doctrine but as a comprehensive framework, a truly political imaginary, that shapes, structures but also restrains how we see and understand ourselves, the social reality we live in and what we imagine as possible. The political imaginary of neoliberalism delineates who can credibly intervene in public debates, whose knowledge is accepted as authoritative, what type of arguments are accepted, and hence, whose perspectives are included and excluded in politics. Second, through close analyses of novels and films, it explores how speculative fiction challenges the neoliberal imaginary at the level of culture, the terrain critical to creating and sustaining its hegemony. By employing techno-genealogical approach, critical literary analysis and symptomatology as
methods, the presentation makes a significant contribution to understanding of how the dominant neoliberal imaginary manages to set the terms of the debate and closes down alternative possibilities, and how speculative fiction as a means illustrates a promising cultural tendency in representing the contradictions of neoliberalism and the possibilities that lie hidden within the present.”

About Ali Riza Taskale
Ali Riza Taskale teaches social and political theory at Near East University, Nicosia. Prior to joining Near East University, he was an Assistant Professor in the Department of Political Science and Public Administration at Hacettepe University, Turkey. His research interests include social and political theory, critique of (neo)liberalism, cinema and social futures. His research has been published in journals such as Contemporary Political Theory, Theory, Culture & Society, Journal for Cultural Research and Third Text, along with a number of book chapters in edited volumes. His most recent book is Post-Politics in Context (2017).

Wednesday, May 12 18:00 - 19:30 (CET)
Cynthia Enloe: “Gender Politics Does Not Stop for Covid-19”

- “In these past 14 months of the global Covid-19 pandemic, we have all been talking about “infections, hospitalizations, deaths, essential workers, frontline workers, anti-maskers, unemployed, autocrats, the marginalized, scientists, policy-makers, and care-givers.” Every one of those are deeply gendered. The politics of their genderings intersect and are international. We all need to pay attention.”

About Cynthia Enloe
Cynthia Holden Enloe is a writer, theorist, and professor in the field of feminism. She is best known for her work on gender and militarism and for her contributions to the field of feminist international relations. She has also had major impact on the field of feminist political geography, in particular feminist geopolitics. At Clark University, Professor Enloe served as director of the Women’s Studies Program and as chair of the Political Science Department. She now is a research professor in the Department of International Development, Community, and Environment (IDCE), and is affiliated with both the Political Science Department and with Women’s and Gender Studies. Her books include Maneuvers: The International Politics of Militarizing Women’s Lives (2000), Globalization and Militarism: Feminists Make the Link (2016), and her newest book The Big Push: Exposing and Challenging Persistent Patriarchy (2017).

Thursday, May 13 10:30 - 12:15 (CET)
Waltraud Schelkle: “Can non-democratic Institutions Buy Time for Democracies?”

- “EU emergency politics in the time of Covid Successive crises in the European Union have led critics to identify a pervasive tendency to emergency politics, where
democratic deliberation gives way to policy decisions forced through by executive authority. By contrast, I argue that non-democratic institutions like the European Commission, central banks or medical approval agencies can provide time for democratic processes while containing the escalation of a crisis and the opportunism of market actors.”

About Waltraud Schelkle
Waltraud Schelkle is Professor in Political Economy at the European Institute and has been at the London School of Economics and Political Science. She is also an Adjunct Professor of economics at the Economics Department of the Free University of Berlin and has been a Research Fellow at the American Institute for Contemporary German Studies at Johns Hopkins University. Her research interests are the political economy of European integration and the role of financial markets in welfare states. Her most recent book is The political economy of monetary solidarity: understanding the experiment of the euro (2017).

Friday, May 14 12:30 - 14:00 (CET)
Politikon “IAPSS Politikon: A Junior Academic Journal for the 21st Century”

● “This interactive session will provide an introduction to the journal’s philosophy and principles, including standards of peer review, interdisciplinarity and research transparency, and will provide insights into the opportunities associated with the journal with particular emphasis on manuscript submissions. Participants are encouraged to ask questions and share their previous experiences with publishing in academic journals during this session, with newcomers to academic publishing particularly encouraged to join the conversation. The session will be facilitated by the IAPSS Politikon editorial team.”

About Politikon
Politikon: The IAPSS Journal of Political Science is IAPSS’ flagship journal published since 2001. Embracing the model of a junior academic journal as an academic publication avenue, it is not restricted to students or scholars at particular career stages to contribute as well as to review and edit submitted manuscripts, but it is especially welcoming towards junior or aspiring researchers, and remains committed to providing substantive feedback to each contribution that it receives. Supporting a spirit of learning from the peer assessments as well as the editing and revision process, it aims to reduce hierarchies in academia while placing emphasis on academic quality and rigour in its content. To this end, the journal has launched several initiatives, such as the Best Article Award or the Best Reviewer Prize, and has embraced the model of open-access publishing via an ‘open journal’ platform.
Patrick Thaddeus Jackson: “Responsible Scholarship: Lessons from the Philosophy and Sociology of Science”

- “The scholarly vocation is a strange one, as Max Weber pointed out a century ago: scholars pour their lives into crafting and sustaining knowledge-claims that will almost invariably be superseded by future scholarly work. The question is, then, why would anyone opt for this life, given the sheer weight of the pressing problems in the world? While Weber's celebrated contrast between the vocation for scholarship and the vocation for politics provides a helpful place to begin reflection, there is additional clarity to be gained from thinking about the methodological diversity of the social sciences, and about the relationship between the academy and the public.”

About Patrick Thaddeus Jackson
Patrick Thaddeus Jackson is Professor of International Studies in the School of International Service, at American University. He previously taught at Columbia University and New York University. He received his Ph.D. in Political Science from Columbia University in 2001. In 2003-4, he served as President of the International Studies Association-Northeast; in 2012-2013, he did so again. He was formerly Editor-in-Chief of the Journal of International Relations and Development, and is currently Series Editor of the University of Michigan Press’ book series Configurations: Critical Studies of World Politics. He was named the 2012 U.S. Professor of the Year for the District of Columbia by the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching. Jackson’s research interests include culture and agency, international relations theory (particularly the intersection of realism and constructivism), scientific methodology, the role of rhetoric in public life, civilizations in world politics, the sociology of academic knowledge, popular culture and IR, and the formation of subjectivity both in the classroom and in the broader social sphere.

CLOSING SESSION
Friday, May 14 16:30 - 18:00 (CET)
Ahmet Kaan Ketboga - Co-Head of IAPSS World Congress, Crystal Staebell - Co-Head of IAPSS World Congress, Justin Patrick - President of IAPSS
Student Panels

11.05 Tuesday
Session I.I.I
Tuesday 12:00 - 13:30 (CET)

- **CYBERSPACE SOVEREIGNTY: CONFLICT AND CONSENSUS BETWEEN THE SOCIETY AND THE SELF**
  - BURCU GÜLER (HACETTEPE UNIVERSITY)
- **CYBERSPACE AND ITS IMPACTS ON THE CURRENT POLITICAL GAME – A BRAZILIAN EXAMPLE**
  - ALINE VASCONCELOS ATHAYDE (UNIVERSITY OF AMAZON)
- **FACEBOOK AS ‘WESTOXIFIED BIOPOWER’ - A CRITICAL UNDERSTANDING OF FACEBOOK’S DISRUPTIVE POWER OF EVERYDAY LIFE IN EGYPT**
  - ANJA JEANETTE ENGEN (SOAS, UNIVERSITY OF LONDON)

Session I.I.II
Tuesday 12:00 - 13:30 (CET)

- **ADOPTING AN IDENTITY OUTSIDE THE ‘CONSTITUENT PEOPLES’ IN AN ETHNICALLY DIVIDED DEMOCRACY – NON-ALIGNED CITIZENS IN BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA**
  - PATRIZIA JOHN (PHILIPPS UNIVERSITY MARBURG)
- **THE IMPACT OF GROUP IDENTITY ON ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT: THE CASE OF RELIGIOUS PLURALITY IN LEBANON**
  - DANA SALMAN (UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE)
- **POWER CONFLICTS IN THE BLACK SEA AFTER COLD WAR AND NEW BALANCES**
  - TURKAN JAFARZADA (UMEÅ UNIVERSITY)

Session I.I.III
Tuesday 12:00 - 13:30 (CET)

- **IMPACTS OF STOCK MARKET DEVELOPMENT ON ECONOMIC GROWTH: AN EMPIRICAL ANALYSIS OF VIETNAM**
  - HOANG ANH PHAM (INTERNATIONAL CHRISTIAN UNIVERSITY, TOKYO)
- **INVESTMENT CLIMATE AND BUSINESS PERFORMANCE – A CASE OF PAKISTAN**
  - MUHAMMAD ASIF KHAN (INTERNATIONAL CHRISTIAN UNIVERSITY, TOKYO)
- **CHINESE ECONOMIC NATIONALISM IN HONG KONG**
  - VINCENT FEI MO (CENTRAL EUROPEAN UNIVERSITY)
- **AN INSTITUTIONAL APPROACH TO ANALYZING THE IMPLEMENTATION OF ECOLOGICAL**
  - NORMAN MANDIA RIÑO (INTERNATIONAL CHRISTIAN UNIVERSITY)

Session I.I.IV
Tuesday 12:00 - 13:30 (CET)

- **HOW THE FAR RIGHT AND THE MAN-SPHERE SPREAD THEIR AGENDA: THE CASE OF GAMING COMMUNITIES.**
  - PABLO ESTEBAN ROMERO MEDINA (UNIVERSIDAD DE GRANADA)
- **THE EUROPEAN UNION’S COUNTER-TERRORISM STRATEGY: A DYNAMIC ASSESSMENT**
  - SHREYA SINHA (JAWAHARLAL NEHRU UNIVERSITY, NEW DELHI)
- **READ THIS, OR YOU’LL BE DEAD** SORRY: WHY SECRET SERVICES AND CRIMINAL ORGANISATIONS MAKE AMBIGUOUS THREATS
  - Anna Pauls (University of Oslo)

Session I.II.I
Tuesday 14:30 - 16:00 (CET)
- **THE ATTEMPT OF ELIMINATING INTERNATIONAL PRESSURE BY ENHANCING THE WOMEN STATUS IN SAUDI ARABIA**
  - Sumeyra Yakar (IGDIR University)
- **LEGITIMISATION/DELEGITIMISATION OF DEMOCRACY THROUGH APPLYING DIFFERENT ISLAMIC**
  - Emine Enise Yakar (Recep Tayyip Erdogan University)
- **THE ENEMY OF MY ENEMY IS MY FRIEND: EXPLORING THE UNLIKELY ALLIANCE BETWEEN THE PEOPLE’S REPUBLIC OF CHINA AND THE ISLAMIC REPUBLIC OF PAKISTAN**
  - Ali Siddiqi (American University)

Session I.II.II
Tuesday 14:30 - 16:00 (CET)
- **IRAN: TOWARD REVOLUTION, POPULISM, OR FASCISM?**
  - Mohammad Rahbari (Allameh Tabatabaei University)
- **LEVELS OF POPULISM OF POLITICAL PARTIES IN LIBERAL AND ILLIBERAL DEMOCRACIES**
  - Silvia Carolina Ruiz Rodríguez (University of Vienna)
- **CHINA’S BELT AND ROAD INITIATIVE (BRI): THE POLITICAL CHALLENGE FOR CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE (CEE) COUNTRIES**
  - Thananan Kantee (University of Wroclaw)

Session I.II.III
Tuesday 14:30 - 16:00 (CET)
- **LIBERTÉ, ÉGALITÉ, SORORITÉ? THE MEANING OF FEMINISM IN FRANCE’S FEMINIST FOREIGN POLICY**
  - Amelia Zajączkowska (University of Groningen)
- **THE NEW WAVE OF ARAB SPRING. ANY ROOM FOR SECULARIZATION?**
  - Mohamed Saad Mohamed (Charles University)
- **FEMALE POLITICAL REPRESENTATION IN JAPAN**
  - Stefanie Schwarte (LMU Munich)

Session I.II.IV
Tuesday 14:30 - 16:00 (CET)
- **IRAN-SAUDI ARABIA OFFENSIVE REALISM IN THE YEMEN CIVIL WAR**
  - Nzube Chukwuma (Central China Normal University, Wuhan, China)
- **AMBAZONIA CRISIS: THE QUESTION OF STATEHOOD. A CASE STUDY THROUGH THE PRISM OF SUBALTERN REALISM AND NATIONALISM IN CONFLICT.**
  - Anum Khan (Department of African Studies, University of Delhi)
- ‘ATTENTION! (THIS) STATE BORDER (DOES NOT EXIST)’: INTERPRETING POLITICAL PRACTICES AT AN UNRECOGNISED BORDER
12.05 Wednesday
Session II.I
Wednesday 8:30 - 10:00 (CET)

- THE IMPACT OF THE COVID-19 PANDEMIC ON THE 2°C TARGET SET TO MITIGATE THE SCOPE AND IMPACT OF HUMAN-INDUCED CLIMATE CHANGE
  - SARAH DIEHL (ANDRASSY UNIVERSITY BUDAPEST)
- HOW CURRENT URBAN, CITY-CENTRIC PLANNING IS CAUSING A COLLECTIVE IDENTITY CRISIS
  - SHAGUN AGARWAL (INDEPENDENT SCHOLAR)
- CAN SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT BECOME A TOOL FOR SOLVING THE EUROPEAN UNION’S IDENTITY CRISIS?
  - OLEKSANDRA KOVALEVSKA (METROPOLITAN UNIVERSITY PRAGUE)
- TURKEY’S RIGHT-WING DISCOURSE: IS SECULAR IDENTITY LOST?
  - SAFA DİNÇER (BURSA ULUDAĞ UNIVERSITY)

Session II.I.II
Wednesday 8:30 - 10:00 (CET)

- ENLIGHTENED BELGIAN MIGRATION POLITICS? AN ANALYSIS OF NATIONALISTIC OBJECTIONS TO THE GLOBAL COMPACT FOR SAFE, ORDERLY AND REGULAR MIGRATION
  - JOREN BAILLIERE (KU LEUVEN)
- THE POLITICS OF SECURITIZATION: EUROCENTRIC ANSWERS TO MIGRATION AND CLIMATE CHANGE
  - AURA CRISTINA GUERRERO OLAYA (UNIVERSITY OF SUSSEX; UNIVERSITY OF THE BASQUE COUNTRY)
- THE ASCENDENCY OF FINANCE: AN ANALYSIS OF THE LEGITIMIZATION STRATEGIES FOR THE EXPANSION OF FINANCE IN THE EUROPEAN COMMISSION’S DISCOURSE ON THE TRANSATLANTIC TRADE AND INVESTMENT PARTNERSHIP (TTIP)
  - ESRA SIMSEK (VU UNIVERSITY AMSTERDAM)

Session II.I.III
Wednesday 8:30 - 10:00 (CET)

- SELF-UNDERSTANDING AND SYMBOLIC VIOLENCE: DISAMBIGUATING ARENDT’S NOTION OF POWER
  - TOBIA ROSSI (INDEPENDENT SCHOLAR - RECENTLY GRADUATED WITH REMA AT KU LEUVEN)
- POWER OF CITIZENS VERSUS SOVEREIGNTY OF THE STATE: A REFLECTION ON THE PRESENT-DAY GLOBALISATION
  - MELEK EYİGÜNLU (ISTANBUL TECHNICAL UNIVERSITY)
- DE-CENTRING AND/OR DECOLONIZING THE NORMATIVE POWER EUROPE AGENDA?
  - IOANA PANTILIMON (NATIONAL UNIVERSITY OF POLITICAL STUDIES AND PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION)

Session II.I.IV
Wednesday 8:30 - 10:00 (CET)
- Social Inequality in the World of Democracy
  - Zinaida Rozhkova (The Institute of Philosophy, Russian Academy of Sciences)

- Apolitical Generation? Reasons for Youth Detachment from Politics in Lithuania and OECD Countries
  - Aušrinė Diržinskaitė (Vilnius University, Instituto of Political Science and International Relations)

- Can You Hear Me Now? Amending Partisan Communication for Representative Democracy
  - Catherine Wright (Central European University)

Session II.I.1
Wednesday 10:30 - 12:00 (CET)
- The Game Changer of the ASEAN Charter’s Democracy: Realization of the “Collective Act” Policy as a Strategy for Handling the Myanmar Coup
  - Hree Dharma Santith Putri Samudra (University of Padjadjaran)

- The End of Adaptive Authoritarianism in Belarus?
  - Stephen Hall (University of Cambridge)

- Democratic Backsliding in Southeast Asia: Implications for Religious Minorities in Myanmar and the Philippines
  - Riza Franchesca Regala Vincent & Carlo L. Legara (Ateneo De Manila University)

Session II.II.1
Wednesday 10:30 - 12:00 (CET)
- Truth-Seeking and the Post-Communist Democratization of Romania
  - Norma-Nathalie Nitescu (West University of Timisoara)

- The Failure of the ‘Responsibility to Protect’ in Syria: The Political, Legal and Moral Aspects behind the Lack of (Effective) Action.
  - Lara Maria Guedes Gonçalves Costa (Jagiellonian University in Krakow)

- Democratic Recession, Authoritarian Populism and Religious Majoritarianism: The Genesis of Indian Kafkaesque Kakistocracy in a Dialectical Encounter between Homogenized Hindutva and Neo-Liberalism
  - Abhigyan Guha (Jadavpur University)

Session II.II.1
Wednesday 10:30 - 12:00 (CET)
- Iranian Social Movements and a New Democratic Discourse: A Possibility for Eventful Democratization
  - Eda Canimana (SOAS, University of London)

- Perks and Flaws of Democracy: Understanding the Liberal Majoritarian Model in Guinea-Bissau
  - Claudia Favarato (University of Lisbon)

- Shapeshifting Hybrid Regimes: An Analysis of Hybrid Regimes during the Cold War
Session II.II.IV
Wednesday 10:30 - 12:00 (CET)

- MICRO-TARGETING AND DOG-WHISTLES: THREATS TO DEMOCRACY?
  - Giles Howdle (University of Edinburgh)
- ANALYZING THE BIGGEST REASON BEHIND THE RISE OF POPULISM
  - Duc Co Nguyen (Tokyo International University)
- POPULISM AND JUDICIAL INDEPENDENCE - THE IMPACT OF POPulist REGIMES ON THE INDEPENDENCE OF THE JUDICIARY: A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF LATIN AMERICA AND EASTERN EUROPE
  - María Paula Jijón (IE University)

Session II.III.I
Wednesday 12:15 - 13:45 (CET)

- TACKLING DECLINING CANDIDACY AT LOCAL ELECTIONS – THE CASE OF JAPAN
  - Anne-Sophie L. König (LMU Munich)
- THE ROLE OF ORGANIZATIONALLY INSTITUTIONALIZATION ON ELECTORAL SUSTAINABILITY:A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF THE SPANISH FAR RIGHT: FUERZA NUEVA AND VOX
  - Pablo Ortiz Barquero (Pablo de Olavide University (Seville, Spain))
- A STUDY OF ELECTRONIC GOVERNMENT PROCUREMENT (E-GP) SYSTEM IN NEPAL: ASSESSING THE IMPACT ON GOOD GOVERNANCE
  - Bibek Ghimire (International Christian University (ICU), Tokyo, Japan)

Session II.III.II
Wednesday 12:15 - 13:45 (CET)

- CONFLICTS IN “GOVERNANCE THEORY”: A CRITIQUE FROM THE PERSPECTIVE OF MARXIST POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY
  - Yang Li (School of Marxism, Peking University, Department of Sociology, University of Cambridge)
- ANALYZE OF INTERNATIONAL POLICY USING RATIONAL CHOICE THEORY
  - Oleksii Tkachenko (International Association for Political Science Students in Ukraine)
- DIGITALLY NETWORKED SOCIAL MOVEMENTS IN AUTHORITARIAN REGIMES: A CASE STUDY OF KAZAKHSTAN.
  - Assem Kalkamanoa (University of Szeged, Hungary)

Session II.III.III
Wednesday 12:15 - 13:45 (CET)

- ITALIAN BLACK LIVES MATTER: CONTEMPORARY MOVEMENTS AND GLOBAL SENSIBILITIES IN ITALY
  - Antonio Umberto Mosetti (University of Cambridge)
- TRACING THE GROWTH AND EVOLUTION OF ‘FLASH-MOB ACTIVISM’
  - Pallavi Pradhan (Centre for Political Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi)
• **RESOURCES AND RAPE: PATTERNS OF WARTIME RAPE IN ACTIVIST INSURGENCIES**
  ○ AMELIE FREIBERG (TRINITY COLLEGE DUBLIN)

**Session II.III.IV**
Wednesday 12:15 - 13:45 (CET)

• **MISSING COOPERATION IN THE EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN: GREEK-TURKISH SECURITIZATIONS AND THEIR IMPACT ON REGIONAL COLLABORATION**
  ○ LUCA DOLL (UNIVERSITY OF COPENHAGEN)

• **COOPERATION OVER CONFLICT A CASE STUDY: MANAGEMENT OF THE NILE RIVER BETWEEN EGYPT AND ETHIOPIA & IMPLICATIONS OF THE GERD (GRAND ETHIOPIAN RENAISSANCE DAM)**
  ○ MINH NGUYEN (BACHELOR’S PROGRAM IN GLOBAL ISSUES (BPGI) - UNIVERSITY OF TSUKUBA - JAPAN)

• **TAIWAN AS A “LAND UNDER HEAVEN”: IMPERIAL CHINA TERRITORIALITY AND SOVEREIGNTY OVER THE “ONE CHINA POLICY” TODAY**
  ○ MARILIA HELOISA FRAGA ARANTES (CENTRAL EUROPEAN UNIVERSITY)

**Session II.IV.I**
Wednesday 16:15 - 17:45 (CET)

• **WHICH KIND OF INTERNAL SELF-DETERMINATION FOR INDIGENOUS GROUPS AND NATIONAL MINORITIES?**
  ○ XAVIER BOILEAU (UNIVERSITÉ DE MONTRÉAL)

• **THE IMPACT OF POLICY ON DIGITAL LIVELIHOODS: A POTENTIAL RECOVERY FOR REFUGEE CHALLENGES**
  ○ CANSU OZMERT (UNIVERSITÉ DE LAUSANNE)

• **SECURITY OF LOGISTICS SUPPLY CHAINS: TRANSFORMATIONS IN THE GLOBAL MILITARIZATION OF THE UNITED STATES AND THE NEW GEOPOLITICS OF SECURITY IN THE 21ST CENTURY**
  ○ IRWING RICO BECERRA (UNIVERSIDAD NACIONAL AUTÓNOMA DE MÉXICO)

**Session II.IV.II**
Wednesday 16:15 - 17:45 (CET)

• **BIOPOLITICS OF HUMANITARIANISM: REPRESENTATIONS OF SYRIAN REFUGEE WOMEN IN THE CONTEXT OF TURKEY**
  ○ DEMET SIR (LONDON SCHOOL OF ECONOMICS AND POLITICAL SCIENCE)

• **TOWARDS UNDERSTANDING ANTONIO GRAMSCI’S MODERN PRINCE: A MACHIAVELLIAN TURN**
  ○ GABRIEL VERGARA (CORNELL UNIVERSITY)

• **COGNITIVE BIASES AND DELIBERATION. AN EPISTEMIC ARGUMENT FOR DEMOCRACY**
  ○ HÉCTOR MONDRAGÓN GONZÁLEZ (CENTRO DE INVERSION Y DOCENCIA ECONOMICAS)

**Session II.IV.III**
Wednesday 16:15 - 17:45 (CET)

• **HANNAH ARENDT’S CONCEPT OF AUTHORITY TO RESCUE THE DIGNITY OF POLITICS**
- MATHEUS MARTINS FERREIRA (UNIVERSITY O BRASILIA (UNIVERSIDADE DE BRASÍLIA))
- THE EFFECT OF SOCIO-POLITICAL ACTIVISM FOLLOWING POLICE BRUTALITY ON VOTER TURNOUT
  ○ EMMA SEMAAN, BRENNA OLSON, NADIA MALIK (AMERICAN UNIVERSITY)
- COOPERATION, RELATIONAL EQUALITY, AND THE SCOPE OF EGALITARIAN JUSTICE
  ○ HUGO COSSETTE-LEFEBVRE (MCGILL UNIVERSITY)

Session II.IV.IV
Wednesday 16:15 - 17:45 (CET)
- CIVIC EDUCATION THROUGH EDUCATION INSTITUTIONS AND THE FUTURE OF THE DEMOCRACY
  ○ GIZEM KAYAHAN DAL (ISTANBUL TECHNICAL UNIVERSITY)
- METATHEORY ON THE STUDY OF STUDENT GOVERNMENT
  ○ JUSTIN PATRICK (UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO)
- THE COLLAPSING UNIVERSITY
  ○ VAIA PAPANIKOLAOU (UNIVERSITY OF THESSALY)
- FORMATION OF PUBLIC OPINION THROUGH MASS MEDIA: SOCIAL NETWORKS AND BLOGS
  ○ ANASTASIA KALAKUTSKAYA (THE INSTITUTE OF PHILOSOPHY, RUSSIAN ACADEMY OF SCIENCES)

13.05 Thursday
Session III.I.I
Thursday 8:30 - 10:00 (CET)
- THE PROSPECTS OF PRO-DEMOCRATIC REGIONALISM IN AFRICA: A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF ECOWAS AND SADC AS DEMOCRATIC NORM ENFORCERS
  ○ REON VAN DER MERWE (UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN)
- "IT´S NOT ABOUT 30 PESOS, IT´S ABOUT 30 YEARS!": TIME FOR REDISTRIBUTION IN CHILEAN POLITICS
  ○ ZEYNEP BOZKURT (BOĞAZİCI UNIVERSITY)
- CONTINENTAL CONNECTIONS: THE TRANS-AFRICAN HIGHWAY NETWORK REVISITED
  ○ VICTORIA BERGSTRÖM (UNIVERSITY OF GRONINGEN)

Session III.I.II
Thursday 8:30 - 10:00 (CET)
- WHAT ARE THE DRIVERS OF CONSTITUTIONAL CHANGE IN TURKEY?
  ○ OZGE KORKMAZ SAHBAZ (ANKARA HACI BAYRAM VELI UNIVERSITY)
- THE PROPORTIONALITY PRINCIPLE: A COMPARISON BETWEEN LIQUID DEMOCRACY AND REPRESENTATIVE DEMOCRACY
  ○ MATTEO MICHELINI (UNIVERSITY OF AMSTERDAM)
- THE 'WOKE' WAY OR THE HIGHWAY: DEMOCRACY IN THE AGE OF 'WOKISM' AND 'CANCEL CULTURE'
  ○ NGUH FON (EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN UNIVERSITY)

Session III.I.III
Thursday 8:30 - 10:00 (CET)

- **THE IMPACT OF COVID-19 PANDEMIC ON THE INNOVATIVENESS OF LITHUANIAN PUBLIC SECTOR**
  - PATRICIJA KALKYTĖ (VILNIUS UNIVERSITY)

- **FAMILY FEUD, OR REALPOLITIK? OPPOSITION PARTIES, BREAKUPS AND REALIGNMENTS IN CONTEMPORARY JAPAN**
  - FERNANDO URSINE BRAGA SILVA (HOKKAIDO UNIVERSITY)

- **POLITICAL CHANGES IN UKRAINE 2020: IN INSTITUTES WE TRUST.**
  - ARTEM OLIINYK (TARAS SHEVCHENKO NATIONAL UNIVERSITY OF KYIV)

Session III.I.IV
Thursday 8:30 - 10:00 (CET)

- **THE INCOMPATIBILITY OF RELATIVISM AND EPISTOCRACY**
  - DONOVAN VAN DER HAAK (TILBURG UNIVERSITY)

- **DELIBERATIVE CONSTITUTIONALISM AND POPULAR SOVEREIGNTY**
  - DEVEN BURKS (UNIVERSITY OF LUXEMBOURG)

- **VERFASSUNGSVERBUND AND CONSTITUTIONAL IDENTITY: FROM CONVERGENCE TO INCONGRUENCE AND BACK AGAIN**
  - ALEXANDRU-GEORGE MOȘ (BABEȘ-BOLYAI UNIVERSITY)

Session III.I.I
Thursday 13:00 - 14:30 (CET)

- **BETWEEN IDENTITY AND CONTESTATION: LIBERAL POLITICAL JUDGMENT ON GLOBAL FREEDOM OF MOVEMENT**
  - THORBEN KNOBLOCH (RUHR-UNIVERSITY BOCHUM)

- **IDENTITY DISCOURSE WITHIN A GEOPOLITICAL CRISIS: THE CASE OF LITHUANIA**
  - JUSTINAS LINGEVICIUS (VILNIUS UNIVERSITY)

- **THE MIGRANT’S TWO BODIES: WANDERINGS, HYBERBOLIC THREATS AND SYMBOLIC ERASEMENTS IN THE NAME OF DEMOCRACY**
  - JAVIER TOSCANO (APRA FOUNDATION, BERLIN)

Session III.I.II
Thursday 13:00 - 14:30 (CET)

- **THE CHALLENGES TO THE REGIONAL SECURITY OF RUSSIA: CULTURAL-IDENTITY CONFLICTS IN THE POST-SOVIET SPACE.**
  - GUADALUPE MICHELLE BALDERAS ESCUTIA (FACULTAD DE CIENCIAS POLÍTICAS Y SOCIALES, UNAM)

- **THE SELF AND THE OTHER – HUNGARIAN IDENTITY AND THE REFUGEE CRISIS**
  - KRISTIAN FÖLDES (CHARLES UNIVERSITY IN PRAGUE)

- **PARTISAN IDEOLOGICAL IDENTITIES AT GRASSROOTS, MID-LEVEL ELITES AND MPS. EXPLAINING PORTUGUESE MEMBER-PARTY (IN)CONGRUENCE.**
  - HUGO FERRINHO LOPES (UNIVERSITY OF LISBON)

Session III.I.III
Thursday 13:00 - 14:30 (CET)

  - ASTHA CHADHA (RITSUMEIKAN ASIA PACIFIC UNIVERSITY)
• POLITICS OF DIVERSITY AND INCLUSION IN SOUTH ASIA: A CASE STUDY OF THE ACCOMMODATION ETHNICITY IN PROMOTING ETHNIC MINORITY RIGHTS IN NEPAL
  ○ NETRA BAHDUR KARKI (INTERNATIONAL CHRISTIAN UNIVERSITY, TOKYO, JAPAN)
• SINO-JAPANESE SECURITY AT A PRECIPICE: THE SECURITY BALANCE OF EAST-ASIA
  ○ ESTHER BRITO (IESE BUSINESS SCHOOL)

Session III.II.IV
Thursday 13:00 - 14:30 (CET)
• CIVIL SOCIETY ACTIVISM AND MEMORY POLITICS IN UKRAINE AND ESTONIA: CONSTRUCTING FRAMEWORK FOR LEGITIMATE MEMORIALIZATION
  ○ TETIANA NAGIRNIAK (UNIVERSITY OF EASTERN FINLAND)
• CIVIL SOCIETY AND ITS MYTHS DURING THE 90S IN POST-COMMUNIST ROMANIA
  ○ ANDREI DALALAU (BABES-BOLYAI UNIVERSITY OF CLUJ-NAPOCA, ROMANIA)
• POST-SOVIET CIVIL SOCIETY IN TRANSITION: LEFTIST SOCIAL MOVEMENTS IN LITHUANIA
  ○ LAURA DAUKSAITE (CENTRAL EUROPEAN UNIVERSITY)

Session III.III.I
Thursday 16:15 - 17:45 (CET)
• TOWARDS UNDERSTANDING ANTONIO GRAMSCI’S INTELLECTUALS: CLASS ORIGIN, THE CONTENT OF INTELLECTUAL WORK, AND SOCIAL FUNCTION
  ○ GABRIEL VERGARA (CORNELL UNIVERSITY)
• RE-CONCEPTUALIZING FREE SPEECH AS A SOLUTION TO IDEOLOGICAL POLARIZATION IN THE AMERICAN POLITICAL
  ○ EMMA SEMAAN (AMERICAN UNIVERSITY)
• SHOULD POPULISTS STAND OUT? ASSESSING THE ANALYTICAL ADVANTAGES OF POPULISM FOR DEMOCRATIC BACKSLIDING STUDIES
  ○ ANA LAURA FERRARI (UNIVERSITY OF SAO PAULO)
• “LEGITIMATE AUTHORITY, REASONABLE CONSENT, AND REVOLUTION”
  ○ EZEKIEL VERGARA (DARTMOUTH COLLEGE)

Session III.III.II
Thursday 16:15 - 17:45 (CET)
• THE HEXAGONAL CAST, POST-IMPERIAL NATIONALITIES AND THE RISE OF ILLIBERAL DEMOCRACIES: A HUNGARIAN CASE STUDY
  ○ C. ALEXANDER OLTEANU (QUEEN’S UNIVERSITY, CANADA)
• HOW THE EU INFLUENCED THE FIGHT AGAINST CORRUPTION IN THE FORMER COMMUNIST BLOC: THE BACKFIRING OF DEMOCRACY PROMOTION
  ○ SABINA PAVLOVSKA-HILAIEL (HASTINGS COLLEGE)
• THE USE OF TWITTER BY BRAZILIAN FEDERAL PROSECUTION SERVICE
  ○ RAFAEL RODRIGUES VIEGAS, LUCAS XAVIER (FUNDAÇÃO GETULIO VARGAS (FGV), BRAZIL)
• BRAZILIAN PARTICIPATORY INSTITUTIONS IN TIMES OF CRISIS: A STUDY ON THE PARTICIPATORY HEALTH COUNCIL OF SÃO PAULO.
  ○ ANDRÉ GALINDO DA COSTA (UNIVERSITY OF SÃO PAULO)
Session III.III.III
Thursday 16:15 - 17:45 (CET)

  - ANGIE GABRIELA FORERO AMÉZQUITA & MARÍA FERNANDA GALLEGO ORTIZ (UNIVERSIDAD DE LA SABANA)
- THE ROLE OF RELIGION IN LEGITIMATION AND CO-OPTATION IN SYRIA
  - ANNALIESE GOULD (CARLETON COLLEGE)
- EUROPEAN MUSLIM ANTI-SEMITISM AND EUROPEAN UNION’S RELATIONS WITH ISRAEL
  - DANIEL GHEORGHE (NATIONAL UNIVERSITY OF POLITICAL STUDIES AND PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION, BUCHAREST, ROMANIA)

Session III.III.IV
Thursday 16:15 - 17:45 (CET)

- FOOTBALL SUPPORTERISM AS POLITICAL CONTENTION: CASE OF ULTRAS GROUPS IN MOROCCO
  - MOHAMED BOUALAM (HASSAN 1ST UNIVERSITY)
- EVOLUTIONARY POLITICAL COMPLEXITY
  - ANASTASIA GOLOFAST (INSTITUTE OF PHILOSOPHY, RUSSIAN ACADEMY OF SCIENCES)
- BEYOND EMERGENCY MEASURES: NORMATIVE POLITICS AFTER A SUCCESSFUL SECURITIZATION*
  - NICK COHEN (COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY)

14.05 Friday
Session IV.I
Friday 8:30 - 10:00 (CET)

- THE VOICE OF DISSENT IN DEMOCRACY WITH REFERENCE TO THE RECENT CITIZENSHIP AMENDMENT ACT, 2019 WITH SPECIAL EMPHASIS ON THE STATE OF ASSAM, INDIA
  - MANASHI PARASHAR (ROYAL GLOBAL UNIVERSITY)
- INVALID VOTING AND PARTISAN OFFER IN LESS-DEMOCRATIC MEXICAN STATES ¿EXIT OR VOICE?
  - MARIETHA PÉREZ-ARELLANO (CENTER FOR ECONOMIC RESEARCH AND TEACHING)
- REIMAGINING PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN FINANCE
  - CYDNEY FUNK (WESTMINSTER COLLEGE, MISSOURI)

Session IV.II
Friday 8:30 - 10:00 (CET)

- OF NECROPOLITICS AND THE VIOLENCE OF BORDERS IN THE TIME OF COVID-19
  - SAMANTHA LOPEZ (UNIVERSITY OF HAWAI‘I AT MANOA)
- PHILANTHROPY AND POLITICAL CORRUPTION: AN ANALYSIS OF THE CONNECTION
  - MATTHIEU DEBIEF (UNIVERSITY OF GENEVA)
● CORRUPTION, CRONYISM, AND FOREIGN DEBT: A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF INDONESIA AND THE PHILIPPINES’ DEMOCRATIC TRANSITION AND ITS STRUGGLE TO CONSOLIDATE
  ○ PATRICIA REINARES (INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR POLITICAL SCIENCE STUDENTS - OCEANIA)

Session IV.I.III
Friday 8:30 - 10:00 (CET)
● PARADIGM SHIFTS IN ASYLUM POLICIES: GERMANY AND ITALY IN COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVE
  ○ MAGDALENA WAHL (EBERHARD KARLS UNIVERSITÄT TÜBINGEN)
● SO FAR, YET SO CLOSE: ITALIAN PARTIES’ IMMIGRATION DISCOURSES DURING THE GENTILONI AND THE FIRST CONTE GOVERNMENTS
  ○ ERIC REPETTO (SANT’ANNA SCHOOL OF ADVANCED STUDIES)
● A CLASSIFICATION OF ANTIFA TWITTER ACCOUNTS BASED ON SOCIAL NETWORK MAPPING AND LINGUISTIC ANALYSIS
  ○ EOIN LENIHAN

Session IV.I.IV
Friday 8:30 - 10:00 (CET)
● DONALD TRUMP’S POPULISM POLITICAL STYLE AS THE CAUSE OF THE UNREST IN THE 2020 UNITED STATES PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION
  ○ YOHANES SANTOSO (UNIVERSITAS AIRLANGGA, INDONESIA)
● PANDEMIC POPULISM IN THE UNITED STATES AND THE IMPLICATIONS FOR DEMOCRACY
  ○ JULIE ADIWAL (INDEPENDENT SCHOLAR)
● NEW WORLD ORDER
  ○ IVAN BOIARCHUK (TARAS SHEVCHENKO NATIONAL UNIVERSITY OF KYIV)

Session IV.I.I
Friday 10:15 - 11:45 (CET)
● ASSESSING NEPAL AS A CENTER OF GEOPOLITICAL COMPETITION BETWEEN INDIA AND CHINA
  ○ PURVA GOLE (CHRIST UNIVERSITY)
● THE LEGITIMATION OF MUSLIM IDENTITY POLITICS IN INDIA: A STUDY OF THE POST-COLONIAL MUSLIM POLITICAL DISCOURSES
  ○ MUHMMED SIHABUDHEEN K (JAWAHARLAL NEHRU UNIVERSITY, NEW DELHI)
● NEW ZEALAND: A COMPARATIVE HISTORICAL ANALYSIS OF THE ELECTORAL SHIFT FROM FIRST-PAST-THE-POST TO MIXED MEMBER PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION
  ○ PALLAVI PRADHAN (JAWAHARLAL NEHRU UNIVERSITY, NEW DELHI)

Session IV.I.II
Friday 10:15 - 11:45 (CET)
● SHIFTING MOBILITIES IN WEST AFRICA: INTRODUCING ‘IRREGULAR’ MIGRATION POLICIES IN MAURITANIA
  ○ SEBASTIAN CARLOTTI (UNIVERSITY OF PISA)
• IDENTITY POLITICS, CONFLICT, AND NATIONAL INTEGRATION IN NIGERIA: THE YOUTHS’ PERSPECTIVE
  ○ TOPE AKINYETUN (ADENIRAN OGUNSANYA COLLEGE OF EDUCATION)
• PROMOTING DEMOCRACY IN WESTERN AND SOUTHERN AFRICA: AN ANALYSIS OF ECOWAS’ 2001 SUPPLEMENTARY PROTOCOL ON DEMOCRACY AND GOOD GOVERNANCE AND SADC’S 2015 GUIDELINES AND PRINCIPLES OF ELECTIONS
  ○ MAUREEN LIFONGO (UNIVERSITY OF JOHANNESBURG)

Session IV.III
Friday 10:15 - 11:45 (CET)
• COUNTERINSURGENCY AND THE LIBERAL PEACE IN AFGHANISTAN: CULTURAL WARFARE AS THE UTILITY OF FORCE IN DEMOCRATIC STATE-BUILDING
  ○ DIANA-ALEXANDRA COMAN (UNIVERSITY OF AMSTERDAM)
• PEACEKEEPING AFTER RESPONSIBILITY TO PROTECT: A NEW SHIFT TO CIVILIAN PROTECTION
  ○ ANASTASIA PROKHOROVA (CENTRAL EUROPEAN UNIVERSITY)
• THE CRISIS OF IDENTITY IN THE WORLD LARGEST DEMOCRACY
  ○ HARJEET SINGH (UNIVERSITY OF DELHI)

Session IV.IV
Friday 10:15 - 11:45 (CET)
• FEMINIST OR FEMINIZED? FEMALE PRO-DEMOCRATIC PROTEST MOVEMENT IN BELARUS AND ITS EFFECT ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF FEMINISM
  ○ TATIANA KRIVOBOKOVA (UNIVERSITY OF PADOVA)
• IS IT OKAY TO BE GAY? A MULTI-LEVEL STUDY OF THE INFLUENCE OF THE MEDIA AND INTERNET ON ATTITUDES TOWARDS HOMOSEXUALITY
  ○ SHREEYA PILLAI (UNIVERSITY OF GOTHENBURG)
• IT’S ALL ABOUT THE ATTITUDE! POLITICAL ATTITUDES AS ANTECEDENTS OF ACTIVISM IN LIBERAL AND ILLIBERAL DEMOCRACIES
  ○ ANNE SOPHIE PUERS (TRIER UNIVERSITY)
Social programme

Music for Sustainable Goals

A 110 minute musical variety show including performers from all over the world.

About
Several years ago, “Music for SDGs” Project was launched with the following objective: Under the slogan of “No one will be left behind!” aiming to provide opportunities for the general public to deepen understanding of SDGs in an easier and enjoyable way through music events integrating entertainment and education. Music for SDGs is run by Mack Okubo (project director), Kippei (singer songwriter/music producer) and Flower Harmony (music unit and event producer) with support of Social-Japan, an incorporated association for a purpose of supporting social action programs and in collaboration with GloCha/IAAI as global partners.
Information for Panelists

TIME STRUCTURE OF PANELS
Each paper presentation will consist of a presentation by the paper presenter, the discussant’s feedback, and a Q&A session with the audience.

Panels featuring **three panelists** will be structured (as per paper presenter) as follows:

- 12 minutes presentation; 3 minutes discussion by the discussant; 15 minutes Q&A with the audience.

Panels featuring **four panelists** will be structured (as per paper presenter) as follows:

- 10 minutes presentation; 2.5 minutes discussion by the discussant; 10 minutes Q&A with the audience.

All panels are limited to 90 minutes each. Please check the number of paper presenters in your panel and adapt your presentation according to the scheme above. All paper presenters, discussants, and chairs are requested to be online at least 15 minutes before the panel’s opening.

Presenting a paper with one or more co-authors? Bear in mind the time structure above is per paper presented, not per presenter.

***If you experience any issues during the presentation (technical issues, chair doesn’t show, etc.), there will be moderators jumping around rooms to ensure that everything is running smoothly, but you can email worldcongress@iapss.org or contact our IAPSS HELP via WhatsApp at +49 1575 6781279 ***

HOW TO BE A GOOD PANELIST

Keep to time. You will be allocated between 10 and 12 minutes of time (according to the total number of paper presenters in your panel), and if you go over the limit, this time will be taken from the time of your co-panelists. **If you run out of time, you will be cut off mid-presentation.**

Structure your presentation so that the audience has the time to ask you questions afterwards.

Prepare your speech beforehand. You do not need to read directly from the paper, but hint-cards are always useful.
If you write down your speech, make sure you have leeway time-wise. Speakers reading directly from the paper very often underestimate the time they will need for presentation.

If you are presenting, please keep your camera on during the duration of the panel.

During the conference, you will have the option to use a presentation to support your research, whether it be a powerpoint or a digital poster that will display your findings and methodology. Screen sharing will be possible via Zoom when the moderator grants you rights to share your screen, but ensure in advance that your presentation will function properly, and have your screen ready to present by the time that the panel starts.

Be precise and concise. You are presenting your research results, not making a political speech. Keep in mind that your audience is smart.

Read the papers of your colleagues. It is polite to prepare at least one question for each of your co-panelists and give them proper feedback. Your work does not end with finishing your paper, as the key to a successful academic panel is discussion and feedback among the participants.

We will not provide recordings of the panels, but participants are allowed to record the sessions so long as they receive consent from all panelists beforehand. To ask for consent, you may either 1. email all participants beforehand asking if you may take a recording or 2. ask everyone before the panel officially starts if you may take a recording of the session. We do encourage you to take screenshots to share on social media.

HOW TO BE A GOOD PANEL CHAIR
You must read the papers in your panel carefully and prepare questions.

Start your panel exactly on time whenever possible.

No need to introduce yourself or anyone else at length. At most, say people’s names and institutional affiliations. Let them introduce their papers themselves.

Let the panelists speak in the order listed on the programme unless they request otherwise – for technical reasons, for example.

Keep each panelist to the time allotted. This is the most important part of the role of the panel chair. Divide the entire session evenly between all panelists. If one person goes over the time limit, they are cutting directly into the time of the other panelists, and that must be avoided. Give people a subtle warning when they are close to time by typing out ‘5 minutes/2 minutes/1 minute’ in the chat box. Once
they are out of time, give them notice. If they do not stop, you will need to be bold and ask them out loud to wrap up.

Take questions from the audience immediately after individual presentations. The Q&A should comprise at least one third of the time allocated to one panelist. If there are lots of questions, try to avoid asking any yourself, but do try to think of some just in case the audience goes silent too soon.

Do not allow the audience to go off on a lengthy tangent; you may need to interrupt them to refocus the discussion.

Make sure the session finishes on time. People will want to take a break and stretch their legs before the next events, and if you want to continue discussing with someone about their research, you can always reach out to them via email.

Thank the presenters at the end of every presentation.

HOW TO BE A GOOD DISCUSSANT
As a discussant at IAPSS events, you serve two different needs:

Your first and most important responsibility is to help the audience understand the papers better. You must read the papers carefully, take time to understand their contributions, strengths and weaknesses, and what the audience needs to know about them.

Your second responsibility is to the authors. What are your reactions to the papers and why? What can the authors do to improve the paper? Learning how to read other papers with the critical eye of a good discussant will help you to learn how to write papers that appeal to the profession.

Review all papers through the following steps:

1. Briefly summarise the main messages, arguments, and the paper’s contributions to academia and the wider society.
2. Provide an assessment of the paper: does it make its case convincingly and is it academically rigorous?
3. Suggest constructive ways to improve the paper.
4. Highlight the relevance of the paper to academia and society.
5. Stimulate conversation among the audience by posing questions for discussion. During the discussion, you can also draw comparisons between two or more papers presented in your panel.
SOCIAL MEDIA

Use #iapss2021 in your social post you may make regarding the conference. We permit participants to take screenshots and share them on social media. To keep up to date on news from the conference, follow us on our social media.

Instagram: @iapssgram
LinkedIn: https://www.linkedin.com/company/international-association-for-political-science-students
Twitter: @iapss
Facebook: https://www.facebook.com/IAPSS
PLEASE NOTE THAT ALL SESSIONS WILL TAKE PLACE IN CENTRAL EUROPEAN TIME (CET)

### DAY I

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TITLE OF THE PANEL</th>
<th>DATE, TIME, VENUE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I.I.I</td>
<td>11.05.2021</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I.I.II</td>
<td>11.05.2021</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I.I.III</td>
<td>11.05.2021</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I.I.IV</td>
<td>11.05.2021</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I.I.I</td>
<td>11.05.2021</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I.I.II</td>
<td>11.05.2021</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I.I.III</td>
<td>11.05.2021</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I.I.IV</td>
<td>11.05.2021</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### DAY II

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TITLE OF THE PANEL</th>
<th>DATE, TIME, VENUE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>II.I.I</td>
<td>12.05.2021</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II.I.II</td>
<td>12.05.2021</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II.I.III</td>
<td>12.05.2021</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II.I.IV</td>
<td>12.05.2021</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II.I.I</td>
<td>12.05.2021</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II.I.II</td>
<td>12.05.2021</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II.I.III</td>
<td>12.05.2021</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II.I.IV</td>
<td>12.05.2021</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II.I.I</td>
<td>12.05.2021</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II.I.II</td>
<td>12.05.2021</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II.I.III</td>
<td>12.05.2021</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II.I.IV</td>
<td>12.05.2021</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II.I.I</td>
<td>12.05.2021</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II.I.II</td>
<td>12.05.2021</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II.I.III</td>
<td>12.05.2021</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II.I.IV</td>
<td>12.05.2021</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### DAY III

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TITLE OF THE PANEL</th>
<th>DATE, TIME, VENUE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>III.I.I</td>
<td>13.05.2021</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III.I.II</td>
<td>13.05.2021</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III.I.III</td>
<td>13.05.2021</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III.I.IV</td>
<td>13.05.2021</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III.I.I</td>
<td>13.05.2021</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III.I.II</td>
<td>13.05.2021</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III.I.III</td>
<td>13.05.2021</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III.I.IV</td>
<td>13.05.2021</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III.I.I</td>
<td>13.05.2021</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III.I.II</td>
<td>13.05.2021</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III.I.III</td>
<td>13.05.2021</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III.I.IV</td>
<td>13.05.2021</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### DAY IV

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TITLE OF THE PANEL</th>
<th>DATE, TIME, VENUE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>IV.I.I</td>
<td>14.05.2021</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV.I.II</td>
<td>14.05.2021</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV.I.III</td>
<td>14.05.2021</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV.I.IV</td>
<td>14.05.2021</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV.I.I</td>
<td>14.05.2021</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV.I.II</td>
<td>14.05.2021</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV.I.III</td>
<td>14.05.2021</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV.I.IV</td>
<td>14.05.2021</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TITLE OF THE PANEL</th>
<th>DATE, TIME, VENUE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>IV.I.I</td>
<td>14.05.2021</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV.I.II</td>
<td>14.05.2021</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV.I.III</td>
<td>14.05.2021</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV.I.IV</td>
<td>14.05.2021</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
This study aims to discuss the virtual society and self-states through the concept of cyber sovereignty. Cyberspace is thought of in a virtual context that encompasses individuals, institutions and communication, however cyberspace is referred as a physical environment created by connecting physical systems and networks, all within the sovereign boundaries of nation-states and governed by rules and norms set in software and communication protocols. The structure of cyberspace needs physical sources within state boundaries within the public context, and this physical need points to the extent of governments' sovereignty over cyberspace. But the virtual space extends beyond the nation-state boundaries and because of the structure itself, the traditional principles of sovereignty cannot be applied to it. In this context, governance -in the virtual space- characterized by the weakening of the nation-state accentuation of the local and global dimensions of human interaction. The action of weakening the nation-state and its sovereignty separate the identity of human and the meaning of society from their physical locations. This division and repositioning enable people to build their own chosen identities while also allowing them to choose whether or not to be a part of a global virtual entity beyond being a member of a given society. In another context identity fluidity is a process where public determination and state sovereignty cannot interfere with new possibilities where different identities and layers come together and merge within; the virtual is a space that accomplishes opening a different extension to being one-self and being with others.

The present paper has as main objectives to study and to understand the impacts that the cyberspace has brought to the current politics, using the Brazilian politics as an initial study object. It is undeniable that the internet's participation has growing in the politics' development, not only in Brazil, but in the whole International System. More and more political candidates have been launched and widely disseminated through the internet, and the politicians have been used this instrument to promote themselves and attack their enemies. Inside the Brazilian’s political scenario, the last presidential elections was a great example from how the cyberspace can be used in favor of politics. The "political bots" emerged, spreading over political issues with real users of social media and increasing dissemination of fakenews, favoring, at the time, with these false news only one candidate, even leading him to the election. This is just one of the examples of how cyberspace has been used within politics, and this article is still willing to talk about other challenges brought by this space, such as fast organizations of popular political manifestations, propagation of political content and even bringing to the discussion the role of cyberspace in the security, defense and daily governance of States.

Possessing massive corporate power as being among the wealthiest corporations in the world, Facebook’s global mission is to ‘build community’ and ‘bring the world closer together’. This ‘humanitarian agenda’ of inclusiveness and democratic values by connecting the disconnected to cyberspace has indeed contributed to a momentum of human agency, for example, through the so-called ‘Facebook Revolution’ in Egypt in 2011, largely studied by how Facebook was a mobilising tool that empowered the Egyptian people in the protests against Mubarak’s regime. Despite this, there is a growing debate raising the concern of how artificial intelligence (AI) technology inherent in Facebook’s applications is functioning as a means of mass surveillance due to the immense amounts of data collected from the users beyond their awareness. As a critique to Facebook’s framing of its expansionist desire in humanitaran terms, as well as a critique to the existing literature on Facebook’s role in Egypt focusing on Facebook as a tool of popular resistance during the ‘Facebook Revolution’, this paper argues that AI technology in Facebook’s applications is employed as a means of mass surveillance both economically and politically, firstly, because it shapes and controls the population’s economic habits for the sake of substantial profit, and secondly, because it shapes the political environment by controlling digital content. The analysis is guided by Michel Foucault’s concept of ‘biopower’ and Jalal Al-Ali Ahmad’s concept of ‘Westoxification’ to demonstrate the surveillance dimension of Facebook by how the tech-giant’s Western and ‘intoxicating’ influence on Egypt’s political economy exercises power over the population in microbial terms.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CYBERSPACE SOVEREIGNTY: CONFLICT AND CONSENSUS BETWEEN THE SOCIETY AND THE SELF</th>
<th>CYBERSPACE AND ITS IMPACTS ON THE CURRENT POLITICAL GAME – A BRAZILIAN EXAMPLE</th>
<th>FACEBOOK AS ‘WESTOXIFIED BIOPOWER’ – A CRITICAL UNDERSTANDING OF FACEBOOK’S DISRUPTIVE POWER OF EVERYDAY LIFE IN EGYPT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>This study aims to discuss the virtual society and self-states through the concept of cyber sovereignty. Cyberspace is thought of in a virtual context that encompasses individuals, institutions and communication, however cyberspace is referred as a physical environment created by connecting physical systems and networks, all within the sovereign boundaries of nation-states and governed by rules and norms set in software and communication protocols. The structure of cyberspace needs physical sources within state boundaries within the public context, and this physical need points to the extent of governments' sovereignty over cyberspace. But the virtual space extends beyond the nation-state boundaries and because of the structure itself, the traditional principles of sovereignty cannot be applied to it. In this context, governance -in the virtual space- characterized by the weakening of the nation-state accentuation of the local and global dimensions of human interaction. The action of weakening the nation-state and its sovereignty separate the identity of human and the meaning of society from their physical locations. This division and repositioning enable people to build their own chosen identities while also allowing them to choose whether or not to be a part of a global virtual entity beyond being a member of a given society. In another context identity fluidity is a process where public determination and state sovereignty cannot interfere with new possibilities where different identities and layers come together and merge within; the virtual is a space that accomplishes opening a different extension to being one-self and being with others.</td>
<td>The present paper has as main objectives to study and to understand the impacts that the cyberspace has brought to the current politics, using the Brazilian politics as an initial study object. It is undeniable that the internet's participation has growing in the politics' development, not only in Brazil, but in the whole International System. More and more political candidates have been launched and widely disseminated through the internet, and the politicians have been used this instrument to promote themselves and attack their enemies. Inside the Brazilian’s political scenario, the last presidential elections was a great example from how the cyberspace can be used in favor of politics. The &quot;political bots&quot; emerged, spreading over political issues with real users of social media and increasing dissemination of fakenews, favoring, at the time, with these false news only one candidate, even leading him to the election. This is just one of the examples of how cyberspace has been used within politics, and this article is still willing to talk about other challenges brought by this space, such as fast organizations of popular political manifestations, propagation of political content and even bringing to the discussion the role of cyberspace in the security, defense and daily governance of States.</td>
<td>Possessing massive corporate power as being among the wealthiest corporations in the world, Facebook’s global mission is to ‘build community’ and ‘bring the world closer together’. This ‘humanitarian agenda’ of inclusiveness and democratic values by connecting the disconnected to cyberspace has indeed contributed to a momentum of human agency, for example, through the so-called ‘Facebook Revolution’ in Egypt in 2011, largely studied by how Facebook was a mobilising tool that empowered the Egyptian people in the protests against Mubarak’s regime. Despite this, there is a growing debate raising the concern of how artificial intelligence (AI) technology inherent in Facebook’s applications is functioning as a means of mass surveillance due to the immense amounts of data collected from the users beyond their awareness. As a critique to Facebook’s framing of its expansionist desire in humanitaran terms, as well as a critique to the existing literature on Facebook’s role in Egypt focusing on Facebook as a tool of popular resistance during the ‘Facebook Revolution’, this paper argues that AI technology in Facebook’s applications is employed as a means of mass surveillance both economically and politically, firstly, because it shapes and controls the population’s economic habits for the sake of substantial profit, and secondly, because it shapes the political environment by controlling digital content. The analysis is guided by Michel Foucault’s concept of ‘biopower’ and Jalal Al-Ali Ahmad’s concept of ‘Westoxification’ to demonstrate the surveillance dimension of Facebook by how the tech-giant’s Western and ‘intoxicating’ influence on Egypt’s political economy exercises power over the population in microbial terms.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Keywords: cyberpace, sovereignty, virtual, identity, society</th>
<th>Keywords: Politics; Cyberpace; Brazilian politics</th>
<th>Keywords: Artificial Intelligence, microbial surveillance, social media, biopower, digitalization, technology, cyberspace and politics, human agency and resistance in the age of AI and surveillance</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>BURCU GÜLER</td>
<td>ALINE VASCONCELOS ATHAYDE</td>
<td>ANJA JEANETTE ENGEN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HACETTEPE UNIVERSITY, GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES, DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE AND PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION, POLITICAL SCIENCE PHD PROGRAM</td>
<td>UNIVERSIDADE DA AMAZÔNIA/ UNIVERSITY OF AMAZON</td>
<td>SCHOOL OF ORIENTAL AND AFRICAN STUDIES (SOAS), UNIVERSITY OF LONDON</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PATRIZIA</td>
<td>DANA</td>
<td>TURKAN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------</td>
<td>-----------------</td>
<td>---------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JOHN</td>
<td>SALMAN</td>
<td>JAFARZADA</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

ADOPTING AN IDENTITY OUTSIDE THE ‘CONSTITUENT PEOPLES’ IN AN ETHNICALLY DIVIDED DEMOCRACY – NON-ALIGNED CITIZENS IN BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA

THE IMPACT OF GROUP IDENTITY ON ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT: THE CASE OF RELIGIOUS PLURALITY IN LEBANON

POWER CONFLICTS IN THE BLACK SEA AFTER COLD WAR AND NEW BALANCES

After three and a half years of armed conflict, the Dayton Peace Agreement created a consociational democracy in Bosnia-Herzegovina (BiH) that privileges ‘constituent peoples’, while discriminating against people not belonging to these groups – the so-called ‘ostali’ (‘the rest’).

The group ‘ostali’ includes not only national minorities, but also individuals called ‘non-aligned citizens’. These citizens declare themselves as Bosnian-Herzegovinians affiliating themselves with their country of origin rather than with their ethnic / religious heritage.

Through qualitative interviews, the research examined why non-aligned citizens voluntarily gave up their inherent privileged status determined by their previous ethnic affiliations. Furthermore, the author examined how non-aligned citizens comprehend the system they are or were living in – and discussed potential changes necessary for an improvement of their own position in the society.

The results showed that the interviewees were internally motivated to face potential discriminations and restrictions to embrace a non-aligned identity. None of the participants considered BiH’s democracy model as a viable option – instead everyone called for adjustments to BiH’s constitution, which, however, none saw as feasible in the next decades. Nevertheless, the vast majority still considered participating in this political system a necessity to gain a glimpse of hope for changes towards a fully functioning democracy.

Here, the choice to focus on non-aligned citizens entailed not only elevating a group invisible in society, but which also strives to embody an identity trying to bridge the deep ethnic cleavages in the society.

Keywords: Bosnia and Herzegovina, consociational democracy, non-aligned citizens, identity, political participation

While heterogeneity is a part of nature, whether it has a positive or negative impact on the development of the economy is questionable. By looking at the impact of religious identity on the economic development of Lebanon, this paper investigates the influence of group identities on economic development. It comprises of four main sections. Firstly, the reasons behind the formation of group identities are explored. This is followed by a discussion on the importance of inclusion of identity in the study of economic behavior. In the second section, conflict between different group identities is discussed, giving rise to a debate on whether conflict due to difference is manufactured, inherent or both. Drawing from the previous two sections, the third section explores diversity management techniques and the impact of conflict on economic development. The final section addresses the question in a focused manner by linking the arguments presented in the previous sections to the case of religious plurality in Lebanon. Highlighting the role of different actors in the polarization of religious identity, this paper argues that the relationship between group identities, conflict and economic development should not be diminished to one of an intrinsic nature of division in heterogeneity. It contends that it is institutionally reinforced in the concentration of economic and political power.

Keywords: Religion; Politics; Economy; Power; Identity

This study was conducted to examine the geostrategic / geopolitical importance of the Black Sea after the Cold War period and the power conflicts that emerged in the new period.

The geostrategic definition of the Black Sea as a region, basin and sea, and theses for comparison before and after the Cold War are discussed in the light of current developments, considering the power theories of Spykman, Mackinder and Mahan. It is obvious that Turkey’s role, as being a country to have the longest coast in the Black Sea, has increased in the new geopolitical conditions after the Cold War and together with this role new power balances have emerged among NATO, the EU, the Russian Federation (RF) and Turkey. As a result of this struggle we will see the opportunities and the threats among the new power balances in terms of regional powers, especially, Turkey and Russia. The increasing energy need of the EU and the dependence brought by the fact that most of this energy is supplied from the Caspian and Black Sea basins are also discussed in this study. In the final analysis after evaluation of the new geopolitics on the Black Sea together with the current development of events in the Middle East and Eurasia it is obviously seen Russia and Turkey’s progress in the way of becoming a dominant actor in the region.

Keywords: Post-Cold War Period, Black Sea Basin, RF, NATO, the EU, Turkey

Keywords: 

patrizia.john@posteo.de
dkem2@cam.ac.uk
turkan.jr21@gmail.com

MASTER CANDIDATE IN “PEACE AND CONFLICT STUDIES” AT PHILIPPS UNIVERSITY MARBURG, MARBURG, GERMANY

UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE

UMEÅ UNIVERSITY, SWEDEN
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>IMPACTS OF STOCK MARKET DEVELOPMENT ON ECONOMIC GROWTH: AN EMPIRICAL ANALYSIS OF VIETNAM</th>
<th>INVESTMENT CLIMATE AND BUSINESS PERFORMANCE – A CASE OF PAKISTAN</th>
<th>CHINESE ECONOMIC NATIONALISM IN HONG KONG</th>
<th>AN INSTITUTIONAL APPROACH TO ANALYZING THE IMPLEMENTATION OF ECOLOGICAL SOLID WASTE MANAGEMENT POLICY: A CASE OF CABANATUAN CITY, PHILIPPINES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Presently, the Vietnamese stock market has an excellent opportunity to upgrade to a Secondary Emerging Market, with the goal to be approved by FTSE before 2025. After-upgrading, the stock market is expected to contribute significantly to economic growth in the future. Therefore, it is critical to conduct an updated study to answer the questions: How has the Vietnamese stock market development impacted economic growth since its establishment in 2000? How should the government encourage the Vietnamese stock market development to promote economic growth? There is a shortage of in-depth analysis and empirical evidence on the impacts of Vietnamese stock market development on economic growth. This study attempts to partly fill the research gap. The researchers employ the VAR and VECM to investigate the relationship between GDP and stock market development indicators (VN-index, Market capitalization rate, Volume Traded rate, Turnover rate), and macroeconomics (Monetary supply, Exchange rate, CPI). Our numerical experiments suggest that the causality runs in both directions between the Vietnamese stock market development and economic growth. In the long run, the Vietnamese stock market development has positively impacted economic growth. In the short run, the market liquidity and VN-index have negatively affected GDP. These impacts have been at a small level, appropriate for a developing economy and the young stock market in Vietnam. To increase the stock market’s contribution to the economy, the Vietnamese government needs to implement policies to improve product quality and market liquidity, exercise stricter regulations, meet international standards, and boost global integration.</td>
<td>Small enterprises or micro-size enterprises are believed to play significant roles in the macroeconomic growth and poverty alleviation in Pakistan. Proponents to empower the sector agree that these micro-enterprises are at a disadvantage in comparison with their larger counterparts. This study draws on a new private sector micro-enterprise level survey through questionnaire covering Agriculture and Tourism sectors in Pakistan to identify the severity of obstacles that favors informal status of these enterprises. The firm characteristics and the intensity of investment climate constraints have been analyzed under the available data. After controlling for all other factors, the investment climate indicators that proved highly severe varied with the number of employees in the informal enterprises. The age of the micro-firm significantly influences its future roadmap whether to stay informal or otherwise. Results of hypotheses tests verify that cumbersome license procedures, vague taxation systems, lack of dedicated policy and inadequate water security has significant effect upon the decision of the firms to stay informal. These findings are crucial because it can provide a clear hint to the policymakers in converging all the policies to levelized the playing field. Improving the investment climate by rationalizing all these policies and its effective implementation may provide sufficient incentive for these micro-firms to join the formal stream of businesses to ensure its dynamic growth sustainable development of Pakistan.</td>
<td>Currently, “One country two systems” is the political settlement in Hong Kong to maintain its “social and economic system, and also the lifestyle unchanged”, which is written in The Joint Declaration between China and the UK in 1984. After the handover, Hong Kong people does not have the same citizenship as the Chinese citizens in Mainland of China. There is a very interesting and frequently debated discussion on the identity of Hong Kong people. Moreover, it is also interesting to analyze the democratization and power dynamic in Hong Kong through this economic nationalism perspective. This paper will not focus on the cultural or historical background of the Hong Kong identity, rather the re-establishment of “Chinese” identity through economic performance. How does the Chinese central government promote the nationalism though economic performance in Hong Kong? Since the central government recognizes its sovereignty of Hong Kong, the next question is about the efficiency of nationalism promotion through economic activities. How does the Hong Kong public, especially those who do not believe the “one country two systems” and against the integration with the Mainland of China, perceive the Chinese economic nationalism performance and how do they react? The recent unrest in Hong Kong is a great example to discover these questions. This paper will have an introduction with a very brief introduction of economy history of Hong Kong. The Hong Kong stock market and banking sector, and the “Greater Bay” economic zone will be the case studies for the first research question. The second research question will have an empirical analysis on the on-going protests in Hong Kong. This paper will contribute to the discussion of this conference because it has a cross-discipline analyze and it highly relate to the themes: how can democracies survive in a complex environment? What are new innovations or new technologies involved in the Hong Kong demonstrations?</td>
<td>Under the Philippines’ Ecological Solid Waste Management Act, all barangays in cities and municipalities play a crucial role in the implementation of solid waste management policies within its territorial jurisdictions. Cabanatuan City is one of the cities in the Central Luzon Region which has implemented solid waste management plan and policies. However, many barangays which are the smallest administrative political unit in the country, remain non-compliant with the policies in such areas such as mandatory segregation wastes, establishment of materials recovery facilities, and the implementation of no littering rule and other related ordinances. There are studies which suggest various factors why a policy is poorly implemented. These may be due to organizational incapacity, inter-organizational relations, weak linkages for cooperation, and institutional arrangements. The study seeks to find out and explain why some barangays are more successful than others in implementing solid waste management policies. Specifically, this study aims to determine the relationship between the performance of barangays, measured in terms of solid waste management policy implementation and of institutional factors. The performance of barangays in this aspect is influenced by the interaction between the actors involved in the implementation process. By considering the interaction between actors at different levels of governance, polycentricity contributes to a more nuanced understanding of the variation in governance outcomes in the provision of public goods such as solid waste management services. Barangays that have developed institutions for repeated interaction enjoy better conditions for cooperating than those barangays where such institutions are not as well-developed.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Keywords: Vietnamese stock market; Economic growth; VAR; VECM</th>
<th>Keywords: Investment Climate, Micro-firms, Informal firms</th>
<th>Keywords: Hong Kong, Economic nationalism, Democratization, Political Economy, Identity</th>
<th>Keywords: governance, solid waste management, institutional arrangement, repeated interaction, polycentric governance</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

INTERNATIONAL CHRISTIAN UNIVERSITY (ICU), TOKYO, JAPAN
INTERNATIONAL CHRISTIAN UNIVERSITY, TOKYO, JAPAN
CENTRAL EUROPEAN UNIVERSITY
INTERNATIONAL CHRISTIAN UNIVERSITY
As the XXI century develops it’s starting to become clear that video games are conquering their positions not only as the mainstream cultural product but also as a powerful tool to present political ideas. Platforms like Youtube or Twitch have made possible the rise of new public figures with millions of fans around the world thanks to their ability to play video games and their charisma to entertain an audience. All of this generates a new elite who can influence their audience. They are not only important because they influence the way of how young people view the world and learn about different topics, but they are also responsible for creating new online communities who let anonymous people connect which others worldwide thanks to the Internet. Platforms like Youtube or Twitch have made possible the rise of public figures with millions of fans around the world thanks to their ability to play video games and their charisma to entertain an audience. All of this generates a new elite who can influence their audience, to express to them their ideas about the world and how it should work.

This last one phenomenon is the focus of our study who search to understand how political forces such as far right-wing can influence a whole new part of the population who normally doesn’t care about politics thanks to these news figures and spaces. This paper will focus in studying how political ideas are spread by Twitch and the role of streamers in spreading an ecosystem of far right-wing ideas. Terrorism has emerged as one of the most widely recognizable and visible threats to a nation’s security, especially after the 9/11 attacks on the United States. Being a multidimensional problem, this non-traditional security threat is dealt by many actors with different perceptions, which further makes securitisation at the international level complicated. Over the last two decades, European governments and the European Union have grown increasingly alarmed by the rise of terrorist attacks on the European soil. This has not only reinforced the awareness of the vulnerabilities that go hand-in-hand with the open democracies of the EU but also brought to the forefront the asymmetric counter-terrorism strategy development. The first part of this paper presents a comprehensive assessment of the changing security landscape of Europe in the post-Cold War period, indicating a shift of focus from external military security threats to rise of non-traditional security threats. It examines the diverse threat perceptions which the European soil is facing. The second part of the paper studies the rise of terrorism in Europe and takes stock of the evolution of EU’s response to international terrorism, the Union’s response to the 9/11 attacks and the subsequent development of the EU’s counter-terrorism strategy. This part examines the EU’s counter-terrorism policy architecture, the overall relevance, coherence, legitimacy, effectiveness and overlaps of the policies and their implementation in the Member States. It also analyses the multidimensional approach of the European Union’s counter-terrorism strategy as it situates terrorism in the nexus of development and security. The concluding third part of the paper provides a critical assessment of the strategy, extrapolating the findings of the paper into the future and argues that a multitude of political, legal, and cultural challenges still need to be overcome in order to make the EU counterterrorism policy overcome its implementation deficit and emerge as an effective counterterrorism device.

**Keywords:** Twitch, Far-right wing, Streamers, Gamers, masculinities

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PABLO ESTEBAN ROMERO MEDINA</th>
<th>SHREYA SINHA</th>
<th>ANNA PAULS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>HOW THE FAR RIGHT AND THE MAN-SPHERE SPREAD THEIR AGENDA: THE CASE OF GAMING COMMUNITIES.</strong></td>
<td><strong>THE EUROPEAN UNION’S COUNTER-TERROISM STRATEGY: A DYNAMIC ASSESSMENT</strong></td>
<td><strong>READ THIS, OR YOU’LL BE DEAD SORRY: WHY SECRET SERVICES AND CRIMINAL ORGANISATIONS MAKE AMBIGUOUS THREATS</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Session</td>
<td>Title</td>
<td>Abstract</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td>----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SUMEYRA</td>
<td>THE ATTEMPT OF ELIMINATING INTERNATIONAL PRESSURE BY ENHANCING THE WOMEN STATUS IN SAUDI ARABIA</td>
<td>The reform activities concerning women issues are introduced in order to eliminate the international pressure arising from the involvement of Saudi forces in Yemen conflict and the assassination of Jamal Khashoggi. Consideration about the ban on women driving and the chronological changes in this regulation can be linked with the Saudi involvement in Yemen conflict. In a similar vein, women were allowed to vote and participate in the national elections after the assassination of Jamal Khashoggi. The theoretical enhancement of the women’s status and increase in their social rights concerning work opportunities, divorce rights or requirement of male guardian are used to repulse the international critics. The reform initiatives have been conducted with the supports of religious scholars since Saudi Arabia applies Islamic law in its legal system. It might be assumed that with the reforms related to women issues, the Saudi authorities aimed to draw a positive picture of Saudi government and to shift the international attention from fatal errors concerning Yemen involvement and Khashoggi assassination to positive reforms in Saudi land. Since women’s issues were used as an escape point from international pressure, the reforms could not be effectively actualized in Saudi society. In this study, I intend to explain how the Saudi authorities (religious scholars and political authorities) used women’s issues in order to manipulate or cover their internationally defective portrait or fame. Applying textual analytical methodology and social perceptual analysis, the study aims to uncover the existent connection between the international pressure and the reform attempts relating to women issues in Saudi Arabia.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EMINE ENISE</td>
<td>LEGITIMISATION/DELEGITIMISATION OF DEMOCRACY THROUGH APPLYING DIFFERENT ISLAMIC</td>
<td>Muslim scholars are evaluated democracy from different perspectives. While some scholars acknowledge democracy as a legitimate government system, others qualify it as illegitimate system of government. Both sides apply different Islamic legal methodologies while justifying their legal opinion. Rather than specifically addressing the views of individual Muslim scholars, this paper will tackle fatwas issued by religious institutions, either national or international, state-dependent or state-independent. It specifically examines four religious institutions (the General Presidency of Scholarly Research and fatwā [Dār al-ḥifā'] in Saudi Arabia, the Presidency of Religious Affairs in Turkey and the Fiqh Council of North America [FCNA] in America) and their fatwas on democracy. The analyses of fatwas evidence that there is an implicit interaction between Islamic legal methodologies that are applied by the four religious institutions and the political contexts in which the three operate. For instance, the Dār al-ḥifā’ de-legitimizes democracy upon the basis of its human-made nature and declares it as an indication of disbelief while the Diyanet provides a religious legitimacy to democracy by applying to the concept of şūrā (consultation). It is possible to observe that the political systems in which the two institutions function implicitly direct the two towards applying divergent Islamic legal concept and methodologies. In common with the fatwas issued by the Dār al-ḥifā’ and the Diyanet, the fatwā regarding democracy issued by the FCNA bears upon the influence of their political and social contexts. In drawing upon the fatwās regarding democracy the paper specifically intends to demonstrate how the political context of the countries induced the four religious institutions to apply different legal methodologies.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ALI</td>
<td>THE ENEMY OF MY ENEMY IS MY FRIEND: EXPLORING THE UNLIKELY ALLIANCE BETWEEN THE PEOPLE’S REPUBLIC OF CHINA AND THE ISLAMIC REPUBLIC OF PAKISTAN</td>
<td>This paper will explore the complex relationship between the People’s Republic of China and the Islamic Republic of Pakistan. I will begin by addressing the double standard of how the Pakistani government criticized India’s governmental laws as Islamophobic yet turns a blind eye towards China’s policy of internment the Xinjiang populace, a majority of whom are Muslim. I will then explore the political history between the two countries and how they formed their alliance during the Cold War. I will also explore the economic and military ties between the two countries and strengthen their relationship. Additionally, this paper will explore the tensions between India and China and the reasons behind such a conflict in South Asia. This paper will also focus on the criticism of the Sino-Pakistani relationship as many Pakistani economists believe that Pakistan is gradually becoming more and more indebted and reliant on China with no potential for economic independence.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**IGDIR UNIVERSITY**  
**SUMEYRA**  
sumeyrayaka@hotmail.com

**YAKAR**  
RECEP TAYYIP ERDOGAN UNIVERSITY

**ENINE ENISE**  
emineneise.yakar@erdogan.edu.tr

**SIDDIQI**  
alisiddiq4u@gmail.com

**AMERICAN UNIVERSITY**
The series of events that have taken place in Iran in recent months has made it one of the most interesting social science research cases. The November protests, the biggest since the 1979 revolution, accompanied by events following the assassination of Soleimani, the Ukraine plane crash, and parliamentary election, have presented significant indications of socio-political changes in Iranian society.

This paper is an attempt to understand these developments and answer the question of whether Iran is expecting another revolution. By examining the essential factors in the occurrence of revolutions, this paper argues that in the absence of these factors, the revolution in Iran is unlikely in the near future.

On the other hand, this study detects the crucial signs of populism in Iranian society. The polarization and contradiction between the elite and ordinary people have grown dramatically in recent months. It also analyses the state of political institutions and political leaders by scrutinizing the content of social networks. It shows that with the prevalence of “the politics of scandal” in social networks and the weakness of political institutions, including parties and elections in Iran, the possibility of concurrent populism and fascism in Iran is quite high. Military institutions, especially the IRGC, are increasingly seen by the public as the sole guardians of security against enemies and the only capable force to unite the polarized society and resolve domestic and international problems. These dynamics could be grounds for the appearance of fascism in Iran.

The core of populism lies in the consideration that the society is divided into two antagonistic groups: the people and the elite. Nonetheless, populism can also be seen as a characteristic of the message itself, which allows to perceive degrees of populism. Different factors can incentivize the rise of populism, such as the party system and populist leader. The quality of the democracy and the positioning of the parties might also be factors that influence the level of populism in political parties. The main goal is to determine if political parties are more populist in liberal or illiberal democracies and while being in or out-of-office. For this purpose, I have chosen to compare the different levels of populism in the electoral manifestos of in-office and out-of-office political parties in liberal and illiberal democracies. I selected as a case study the analysis of two electoral manifestos of the Venezuelan presidential elections of 2012, and of two electoral manifestos of the Spanish parliamentarian elections of 2016. The findings show that in-office political parties might be more populist in both liberal and illiberal democracies.

The concept of Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) has become an increasingly possible political strategy to strengthen the cooperation among relevant countries by the facilitation facing challenges together and sharing benefits mutually. As Central and Eastern European countries are located along the BRI in Western section, its emergence in international political discourse is changing the basic thinking and logic of traditional geopolitical competition. In geopolitical terms, the BRI’s shadow is expanded over regions of the world as a complementary support instrument to the international policies, while some CEE countries tend to imply the BRI as a part of China’s hidden geopolitical strategy when numerous doubts concerned with the initiative have risen.

This study is to introduce theoretical background of integration initiatives and to analyse the political environment and current strategies in selected countries of CEE in the framework of the BRI. The methodology adds the case studies showing significance of cooperation with China among the CEE countries. It is revealed that some CEEs may have the political intention to consolidate their ties with the BRI, while the others may be guided by a strategy of wait-and-see attitude, and growing an uncertainty among the system of international relations as a political challenge.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MOHAMMAD RAHBARI</th>
<th>SILVIA CAROLINA RUIZ RODRÍGUEZ</th>
<th>THANANAN KHANTEE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>IRAN: TOWARD REVOLUTION, POPULISM, OR FASCISM?</td>
<td>LEVELS OF POPULISM OF POLITICAL PARTIES IN LIBERAL AND ILLIBERAL DEMOCRACIES</td>
<td>CHINA’S BELT AND ROAD INITIATIVE (BRI): THE POLITICAL CHALLENGE FOR CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE (CEE) COUNTRIES</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Keywords: Iran, Social Networks, Populism, institutions
mh.rahbari90@gmail.com
LAW AND POLITICAL SCIENCE DEPARTMENT, ALLAMEH TABATABAEI UNIVERSITY, TEHRAN, IRAN

Keywords: Populism, liberal democracy, illiberal democracy, electoral manifestos, political parties.
silvacruz@gmail.com
UNIVERSITY OF VIENNA

Keywords: Belt and Road Initiative (BRI); Central and Eastern Europe (CEE); Geopolitics; 16+1
N/A
UNIVERSITY OF WROCLAW
In the recent years the discourse of gender equality has been steadily gaining ground in security and foreign policies. A number of states have taken a step further and announced the establishment of feminist foreign policies. However, neither of these agendas provides a definition of what exactly feminist foreign policy is meant to embody. This paper contributes to the recent scholarship by examining the meaning of feminism in France’s feminist foreign policy. Guided by Laclau and Mouffe’s discourse theory, the discursive analysis of recurring themes elaborated in the main document of France’s feminist foreign policy — “International Strategy on Gender Equality 2018-2022” — seeks to reveal its underlying meanings and objectives. Following an examination of the Strategy and its localisation within a wider range of discourses, this paper argues that despite the Strategy’s efforts to include a more inclusive and culture-sensitive approach, it falls into two potentially dangerous alliances. One being the overt focus on the universalist conceptualisation of women’s rights and empowerment, which at times dovetails with the notion of “othering” of women. The second concerns the neoliberal co-optation of feminism and its vision of empowerment highlighting economic growth and market values.

Keywords: feminist foreign policy, foreign policy, France, feminism.

amela.zajackowska@gmail.com

UNIVERSITY OF GRONINGEN

### The New Wave of Arab Spring. Any Room for Secularization?

For long period of time the Islamic opposition was the main challenge to the autocratic regimes in the Middle East. It built a large base of support and was used as resistance ideology. It provides many frustrated segments in the Middle Eastern societies with the collective identity. Alberto Melucci stressed that the collective identity is created by a collective action that strengthens the sense of belonging to a certain group. The failure of the secular regime to provide economic development left too many young people to the frustration and the Islamic political movement provided them with the collective identity, ideology, and an alternative. However, the new wave of the Arab spring in Sudan, Lebanon, Iraq has challenged the Islamism as a dominant resistance ideology. I assume that the failure of ruling Islamic parties in these countries to create successful and realistic policies will create a room for more secularization in the societies. Sharing political power with the Islamists was important to achieve this secularization. My paper will test this hypothesis in Iraq, Sudan, and Lebanon.

Keywords: Arab spring, secularization, Islamic movements, social movements, collective identity, democratization.

mamado.saad@gmail.com

CHARLES UNIVERSITY

### Female Political Representation in Japan

In the past couple of years Japan continuously scored low in terms of gender equality in international comparison. According to the Global Gender Gap Report 2020 published by the World Economic Forum, Japan placed 121 out of the 153 countries with impunity being highest in the categories ‘economic participation and opportunity’ and ‘political empowerment’. In 2013, former prime minister Shinzo Abe set the goal to increase women in leadership position to 30 percent by 2020 as part of his economic strategy called ‘Abenomics’. At the end of last year this goal has been disappointed by the new prime minister Yoshihide Suga without achieving the targeted figures in most categories.

While appointments of women in advisory councils and committees are relatively high by now (between 26 and 39 percent) and hiring in the bureaucracy was increased significantly, female representation in politics remains very low. Only 10.1 percent of seats in parliament were occupied by women in 2019. Even though the government’s official agenda has been to increase female representation in the economic and political sphere, most political parties have been reluctant to actively recruit more women, implement quotas and successfully support female candidates in elections through favorable party list placements. This paper will look at the various structural and cultural barriers that influence women’s political representation in Japan to illustrate why so few women are elected to office. By analyzing the career paths of female politicians, I will show which paths successfully led the women into politics.

Keywords: Japan, gender and politics, female representation, election campaign

s.schwarte@lmu.de

LMU MUNICH
The Yemen revolution started as the pro-democracy protests spread into Sanaa’s capital in 2011 from North Africa. Since then, there have been persistent airstrikes and collapsed infrastructures. Despite UNSC Resolutions of 2216 and 2451, eighty per cent of the Yemenis population requires urgent assistance. UNDP report of 2019 indicates that the Yemen civil war has driven 47 per cent of the Yemenis into poverty and 1.2 million in IDPs since the civil war began in 2014. Why is this happening, and how long? What is propelling these figures? This study demonstrates how Iranian-Saudi Arabian offensive realism has recreated and worsened the Yemen civil war. With a qualitative and explanatory research design, data were generated through secondary sources and analysed using the narrative analytical technique. Thus, we recommend a unilateral peace negotiation among the UNSC members and other regional powers with an inclusive political transition with the Houthi rebels and the Southern Yemen separatist group.

Keywords: Houthis; Iranian-Saudi Arabia; Offensive realism; UNSC Resolution; Yemen civil war

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NZUBE</th>
<th>ANUM</th>
<th>THUS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CHUKWUMA</td>
<td>KHAN</td>
<td>KORSTEN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IRAN-SAUDI ARABIA OFFENSIVE REALISM IN THE YEMEN CIVIL WAR</td>
<td>AMBAZONIA CRISIS: THE QUESTION OF STATEHOOD. A CASE STUDY THROUGH THE PRISM OF SUBALTERN REALISM AND NATIONALISM IN CONFLICT.</td>
<td>‘ATTENTION! (THIS) STATE BORDER (DOES NOT EXIST): INTERPRETING POLITICAL PRACTICES AT AN UNRECOGNISED BORDER</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Charles Tilly’s famous adage, “State made wars and war made states” has been true and again rippling into the 21st century narrative of the state making or state breaking. This Eurocentric approach which rendered great deal of expertise to understand sprouting of nation states over the century in Europe, somewhat impart an insight into the state creation and development in the African continent. Though wars of the 19th century and the Tilly’s aphorism doesn’t fit well with the African state formation, but to an extent it provides a leeway to understand that the 21st centuries civil wars in the developing world in an unconventional manner. Whereas war in Europe created successful nation states through coercion and capacity building, while in the connotation of Africa states have the tendency to expand and contract their borders, or create and collapse in the protracting civil wars.

The case under study is that of Ambazonia or the Amba Land, existing in the lay definition of an aspiring state. The paper aims to analyse the fault lines of Francophone and Anglophone Cameroon under the perspective rendered by Mohammad Ayob’s Subaltern Realism, that preconditions conflict in the state making in the developing world. In shambles of hidden disputes, there lies an incipient stage of conflict that emanates out of identities driven by linguistic nationalism and destined for states culminating in frames that are explained well by ‘Subaltern Realism’ instead of west oriented Realism.

Within a growing literature on borders, sovereignty, and de facto states in the post-socialist world (e.g. Broers 2013; Reeves 2014; Toal 2017), the impact of contested territories and borders on the ‘parent’ states of ethnonterritorial conflict zones has remained relatively unexplored (but see Kabachnik 2012; Subotic 2016; Ejzus 2018; Toal and Merabishvil 2019). This paper helps fill this gap by examining the ‘border(ing)’ practices of the Georgian-Ossetian conflict. The increasing spatial materialisation (often termed ‘borderisation’) of the boundary-line between unrecognised South Ossetia and the rest of Georgia, produces an array of practices which interlink policies, narratives, and understandings of security, conflict, and sovereignty. After providing a sketch of South Ossetian and Georgian dominant narrative practice related to the conflict, I use semi-structured interviews with members of Georgia’s political and policy-making elites to unpack the contestation within Georgian narrative practices, and identify a number of conflicting ideal-typical narratives of this process of ‘borderisation’. By relating my findings to the literature on practices and ontological security in International Relations, this paper has wider implications for the study of democracy and sovereignty in the post-socialist region. How do the narrative and spatial practices of a ‘not-so-frozen’ conflict affect domestic politics in a newly democratising state? I find that on both sides of the dividing line, these practices play a dual role. On the one hand, they are shaped by struggles in the field of domestic elite politics. On the other hand, they reproduce this very field. In doing so, the conflict itself, too, is reproduced and entrenched.

Keywords: borders; post-Soviet space; Georgia; political discourse; sovereignty

| CENTRAL CHINA NORMAL UNIVERSITY, WUHAN, CHINA | DEPARTMENT OF AFRICAN STUDIES, UNIVERSITY OF DELHI. | GEORGIAN FOUNDATION FOR STRATEGIC AND INTERNATIONAL STUDIES |
| spektonzubechuikwuma@gmail.com | anumkhan608@gmail.com | thjs.korsten@hotmail.nl |
In the future, the COVID-19 pandemic will without a doubt be regarded as one of the key single events of the 21st century due to its economic and social impacts. The most important challenge, however, is constituted by human-induced climate change, which has to be kept below 2°C to ensure hospitable living conditions. This paper deals with how the sudden decline in CO2-emissions due to the pandemic might affect climate change and mitigation efforts as stated in the Paris climate agreement. In order to do so, a quantitative approach is used to analyse what effect the sudden decline in emissions had on CO2-budgets available to attain the targets. Besides, the associated effects of the COVID-19 pandemic and their long-term implications were analysed. The most important finding is that the pandemic will most probably have an adverse impact on efforts to mitigate climate change.

In the European Union, recent crises such as Brexit, the rise of Euro scepticism, the Eurozone crisis and now COVID-19 epidemic have prompted a critical inquiry into the notion of collective identity in European context. This paper presents an overview of theoretical discussions on the concept of collective identity, as well as various narratives that circulate in Europe which compete for becoming a foundational marker for a postnational European society. It focuses on the newly emerged narrative of “Open Europe” through analysing selected pieces of public communication of the current European Commission using poststructural discourse theory of International Relations, and contemplates the narrative’s role in formation of collective European identity in the context of the Age of the Anthropocene.

In an attempt to do so, Turkish political actors’ discourse concerning secularism between the years of 1996 and 2021 is analysed by using Critical Discourse Analysis methodology, ultimately concluding that Kemalist logic in political discourse, even by the ideologically Kemalist party in Turkey, is abandoned. The discourse analysed is taken from various resources ranging from live discussions to Tweets.
### II.II

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>JOREN</th>
<th>AURA CRISTINA</th>
<th>ESRA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>BAILLIÈRE</td>
<td>GUERRERO OLAYA</td>
<td>SIMSEK</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### ENLIGHTENED BELGIAN MIGRATION POLITICS? AN ANALYSIS OF NATIONALISTIC OBJECTIONS TO THE GLOBAL COMPACT FOR SAFE, ORDERLY AND REGULAR MIGRATION

Unlike philosophers, politicians are not so keen to make distinctions between concepts that prima facie appear to refer to the same thing, but that upon investigation often turn out to differ in their meanings and in their logical and factual consequences. Perhaps more than in any other plurilateral European country, Belgian statecraft over the past decades has been marked by varying interpretations of democracy and of sovereignty. In 2018, the Flemish nationalistic N-VA (Nieuw-Vlaamse Alliantie) withdrew unexpectedly from the federal government over differences between their conception of ‘right’ of ‘civil society’ and of ‘state sovereignty’ and those encapsulated in the Global Compact for Safe, Orderly and Regular Migration, which the parties remaining in government committed to regardless. Although the move was relatively unexpected at the time, this paper builds an argument that concludes that the withdrawal could have been expected given conceptual differences between the ideational political ideology of the conservative ideologue and party leader of 16 years, Bart De Wever, on the one hand, and those encapsulated in the compact, on the other. Informed by political theory and through the methods of comparative politics (process tracing), the paper provides a philosophical analysis of the practice of ideational and nationalistic politics today.

Keywords: migration, nationalism, elitism, democracy, liberalism, right wing politics, comparative politics, political philosophy, Enlightenment philosophy, sovereignty, Global Compact for Safe, Orderly and Regular Migration, human rights

**joren.balliere@gmail.com**

#### THE POLITICS OF SECURITIZATION: EUROCENTRIC ANSWERS TO MIGRATION AND CLIMATE CHANGE

This paper pretends to explore the Eurocentric character of ongoing broadened security by considering two processes of securitization: the securitization of the environment and the securitization of migration. Here, three influential concepts of European thinking will be considered: security, scarcity and growth. Through the analysis of this experiences, it states that this broadened security does not challenge the traditional one. Indeed, it does not question the historical commercial and industrial interests of European State system which relies on the exploitation of the environment for economic, political and military power. All of which are factors for migration and acceleration of climate change. Thus, following the postcolonial critic, 1) imperial forms of global governance consolidate and 2) securitization falls into the trap of imposition of knowledge and most importantly, loss of responsibility for climate change and migration. Furthermore, it translates into logics of war, criminalisation of the ‘other’ and militarisation of ecology that undermines the inclusion of more sustainable and inclusive alternatives. As stated before, although this paper is engaged in a critical perspective of security, the viewpoints of Copenhagen School or other poststructuralist schools will be considered. Not as form of engagement, but as a ground to understand how European State formation is grounded in ‘security against scarcity’ discourse. Literature from philosophers as Foucault and Becks will be considered for grounding critic on the so-called ‘new global challenges’. Thus, the results expect to present some insights to the challenges that future climate refugees will face if no other solution is provided.

Keywords: liberal democracy, Securitization, Migration, Borders, Climate Change

**cristiguemero4567@gmail.com**

#### THE ASCENDENCY OF FINANCE: AN ANALYSIS OF THE LEGITIMIZATION STRATEGIES FOR THE EXPANSION OF FINANCE IN THE EUROPEAN COMMISSION’S DISCOURSE ON THE TRANSATLANTIC TRADE AND INVESTMENT PARTNERSHIP (TTIP)

This study explores the attempt to reproduce the ascendancy of finance in the European Commission’s discourse on TTIP. It does so by employing van Leeuwen’s (2007, 2008) textual method for analysing legitimization strategies in discourses. In a distinct way, this thesis makes a modest contribution to studies on financialization which are concerned with the ascendancy of finance. 172 pages of text were read to locate articulations on finance in the European Commission’s discourse on TTIP. Three discursive issues on finance have been identified herein: market access for EU-US investment flows, investment protection and the regulation of financial services. These issues are legitimated by authorization (authority of tradition and impersonal authority), moral evaluations (evaluative adjectives and abstractions) and instrumental rationalizations (e.g. goal, means and effect oriented purposes).

Keywords: TTIP, Free trade agreement, Discourse, Finance, Hegemony, textual analysis

**esra.simsek1@gmail.com**
In On Violence, Arendt defines power as the faculty of human beings to act in concert. Notably, she employs it to present power and physical violence as distinct phenomena. However convincing in this regard, in covering the spectrum of political movements and people’s struggles, Arendt’s definition - as I examine it in Part 1 - appears problematic in one respect. Inside the very moments of people ‘acting together’ there seem to be instances that can be defined as ‘symbolically’ violent: instigating acts of a people or various socio-cultural groups are eminent examples.

Here, I assess Arendt’s notion of power in light of this tension and argue that we can discharge it from the objection of presenting some sort of ‘symbolic violence’. To do so, I will resort to what I call the striving for self-understanding of agents in society. Far from being a contemplative way to action, this notion relies heavily on Boltanski’s concept of people’s striving to state what he calls the ‘whatness of what is’, in On Critique. As I argue in Part 2, building on Boltanski’s distinction between agreement, common sense and uncertainty of reality, self-understanding is essentially a critical action that challenges or reaffirms held truths. Contrary to ‘symbolic violence,’ by which people’s constant attempt to self-understanding might be hindered by society’s upheld truths, I understand ‘power’ as a moment involving a call for self-understanding, hence, a critical moment in which people only rely on the dialogical ability of the agents involved.

In this paper, I attempt to examine the strong role of citizens as individuals in today’s society despite the re-entrenchment of state sovereignty. Individuals control national and international systems through forms of interactions. My main thesis is that in the age of globalization, with multi-actors on a chessboard, actions of citizens belonging to particular national contexts cross state boundaries through political, economic, cultural, and social forms of integration, in which NGOs and multinational companies play decisive roles.

Conceptualization of interactions among actors, system, and structure is a theoretical debate. One particular position takes into consideration the double-sidedness of social interaction: social whole affects participants and participants affect social whole. Anthony Giddens’s ‘duality of structure’ is one such theory. Kojin Karatani’s capital state-nation conceptualization and industrial capital concept are most relevant for my argument. Individuals are empowered in today’s capitalism more than in any other stage.

Based on the above, I begin with a brief discussion on conceptions by emphasizing the role of action, system, structure. Then I discuss interdependent power relations between individuals and states. I give Giddens’ ‘duality of structure and action’ in connection with Karatani’s capital-nation-state framework to take a position the nature of power relations between states and citizens within new political and economic realities of today’s world. I will conclude in terms of implications for empirical research.

The aim of the present paper is to shed light on the explanatory and denunciatory potential of decoloniality in tackling one of the most popular conceptualizations of the international role of the European Union. In its original conceptualization NPE was defined as the EU’s ability to shape conceptions of “normal” on the international scene (Manners 2002, p. 239), through the internalization and promotion of five core values: centrality of peace, the idea of freedom, democracy, the rule of law and respect for human rights (Manners 2002, p. 243). Consequently, the idea was challenged both empirically and conceptually especially from realist and neo-realist perspectives. In 2013, Onar and Nicolaidis aimed to de-center the NPE study agenda and brought to the forefront a postcolonial critique. Their aim was to move to question the locus from which ideas emanate by engaging more directly with the “Other” (Onar and Nicolaidis 2013, p. 286). In my paper, I challenge the concept from two “fronts”: First, I look at the semi-peripheral NPE conceptualizations with a case on Romanian academic journals and I draw two conclusions: a) the scholars publishing in Romanian journals rarely engaged with it and b) even when they did, their contributions did not become a part of the “bigger debate”. Subsequently, I challenge the lack of engagement with the concept of “power” but compared to the neo-realist critiques I look at NPE in terms of coloniality of power. In this sense, I argue that in some cases the “normative difference of the EU” (cf. Manners 2002, p. 243) is rather a “value difference””. In this reading, I discuss the hierarchical racial, social and political order that attributes intrinsic value to certain social categories while depriving others of the same value (cf. Quijano 1992, p. 12).

### Keywords

- Power, Symbolic Violence, Social Struggles, Revolutions, Arendt, Botanski
- normative power europe, De-Centring, European Union, coloniality of power, decolonization
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ZINAIDA</th>
<th>AUŠRINE</th>
<th>CATHERINE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ROZHKOVA</td>
<td>DIRŽINSKAITE</td>
<td>WRIGHT</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Social Inequality in the World of Democracy**

The most acute challenge of the capitalist world in modern times is inequality, freedom in the possibility of accumulating unlimited economic resources. This freedom can create a situation in which the level of economic inequality is so high that it affects political equality and, consequently, the stable functioning of democracy. Half a century ago, the top of wealthy Americans (0.1% of the population) controlled 7% of the wealth in the world’s economy, now 20%. Overall, in the United States, Europe, and China, which account for two-thirds of the global economy, 10% of the population owns 70% of all assets. Almost all the “change” is deposited in the pockets of the middle class, which makes up 40% of the inhabitants of these countries. The rest - that is, every second - are content with crumbs: they have only 2% of the total wealth. And the further it goes, the faster this concentration of money and property in the hands of a small part of wealthy citizens. The main theses discussed in the report will be studies that address the threat of the negative impact of property stratification on democracy, which is carried by capitalism, for example, studies by T. Piketty, K. Crouch, D. Asimoglu and G. A. Robinson, and others.

Consolidated democracies have experienced a decline in citizens’ interest in political life, especially among young people. A small post-communist country Lithuania has indeed experienced this – in 2012 only 18% of young people voted in national elections and it had a record number of young people who were not interested in politics among the OECD countries. This paper analyses what causes different level of youth interest in politics among countries and what makes Lithuania an exception? Independent variables are summarized into three categories: socioeconomic/sociodemographic (income, wellbeing, education, race, gender), psychological (internal and external political efficacy) and socializing factors (discussions with family and friends, media, volunteering).

Individual level logistic regression analysis comparing data from 2012 and 2016 national post-parliamentary elections survey reveals that the most relevant determinant for Lithuanian youth interest in politics are education, trust in the parliament, usage of media and discussions with family and friends. However, data from year 2016 signals statistically greater youth interest in politics compared to the 2012, showing that elections and time also matter. Aggregate country level analysis shows correlations between the level of youth interest in politics and income per capita, trust in national government, discussions with friends and usage of media. Interestingly Lithuania, Czech Republic, Hungary, and Slovakia form a cluster in this analysis. Though altogether model has a high explanatory power it fails to predict almost one fifth of youth disinterest in politics in Lithuania. The “usual suspects” could not explain this phenomenon completely thus revealing a niche for further research.

Democratic authority relies heavily on the concept of representation. A key feature in virtue signaling, if a democracy cannot claim to represent its people it is not called a legitimate democracy. However, citizens often talk of feeling like they are not heard. Is there something wrong in democratic theory’s chain of representation? I identify partisan communication as an essential part of representation in democratic society as it goes to the heart of the normative issue of navigating a plurality of interests. However, current literature on partisan communication (White & Yip 2016, Herman 2017) delimits its scope to parties, and emphasizes the need for claims to be contestable and long-term. I suggest a more permeable conception, eschewing the danger of path dependent parties for the sake of themselves, is more amenable to representative practices. A diagnosis of the deficiencies of representation located in partisan communicative practices, also sheds light on the emergence of populism as a symptom. Although not a necessarily useful response to this crisis of representation, populism nevertheless reflects the core problem. Granting that the expectations of communication have changed dramatically with the dawn of the digital age, populism provides a representative program that cuts through intermediaries. In understanding the possible communication blocks in democracy, normative theorists are better positioned to understand potential avenues to be opened. An approach to partisan communication that privileges iteration, dynamism, and relationality, may not only strengthen representative claims, but also prevent a populist feeling of a “silent majority”.

**Keywords:** democracy; capitalism; inequality

**Keywords:** political interest, political engagement, young people, Lithuania, OECD

**Keywords:** representation, democratic communication, populism, social movements

**zinaidarozhкова@gmail.com**

**N/A**

**catwright8@gmail.com**

**THE INSTITUTE OF PHILOSOPHY, RUSSIAN ACADEMY OF SCIENCES**

**VILNIUS UNIVERSITY, INSTITUTO OF POLITICAL SCIENCE AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS**

**CENTRAL EUROPEAN UNIVERSITY**
### PLEASE NOTE THAT ALL SESSIONS WILL TAKE PLACE IN CENTRAL EUROPEAN TIME (CET)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NAME</th>
<th>TITLE</th>
<th>POLITICAL SCIENCE INSTRUMENTS AND THE ROLE OF THE STATE IN THE POLITICAL PROCESS</th>
<th>LEADER</th>
<th>CONTRIBUTIONS</th>
<th>CONTACT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>HREE DHARMA SANTHI PUTRI</td>
<td>THE GAME CHANGER OF THE ASEAN CHARTER’S DEMOCRACY: REALIZATION OF THE “COLLECTIVE ACT” POLICY AS A STRATEGY FOR HANDLING THE MYANMAR COUP</td>
<td></td>
<td>SAmudra</td>
<td></td>
<td><a href="mailto:putrisamudix@gmail.com">putrisamudix@gmail.com</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>STEPHEN HALL</td>
<td>THE END OF ADAPTIVE AUTOCRATICIANISM IN BELARUS?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><a href="mailto:sh2125@cam.ac.uk">sh2125@cam.ac.uk</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RIZA FRANCHESCA REGALA</td>
<td>DEMOCRATIC BACKSLIDING IN SOUTHEAST ASIA: IMPLICATIONS FOR RELIGIOUS MINORITIES IN MYANMAR AND THE PHILIPPINES</td>
<td></td>
<td>VINCENT CARLO L. LEGARA</td>
<td></td>
<td><a href="mailto:riza.regala@obf.ateneo.edu">riza.regala@obf.ateneo.edu</a></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

February 1, 2021 became a world-historic moment for the detention of the Myanmar government ranks by the military under the Union Solidarity and Development Party (USDP), while claiming the seizure of power through a coup. Thus, the de facto head of government declared a state of national emergency for one year. The detentions and suit were based on fraudulent acts committed in the late 2020 elections to win the National League for Democracy (NLD), even though the Myanmar’s general commission of election stated in real terms that these claims were untrue. This incident certainly shock the existing democratic order in Myanmar. The international community, such as the United Nations, has also responded quickly, accompanied by continued protests from Myanmar’s citizens. As Myanmar acknowledged itself to be the part of ASEAN member state, this article will discuss how ASEAN responds to this problem by giving its best efforts to maintain peace based on the ASEAN Charter’s democratic principles with any constraints and ends with the author’s recommendations for several member states in responding to this issue. The author bases this way of thinking on the situation and conditions that occur in Myanmar, which can exacerbate ASEAN’s position in the future, while several member states experience differences of opinion in dealing with this issue. Therefore, by using a qualitative study method with the use of liberalism theory, the author also discussed about how the principle of ASEAN non-intervention can possibly threaten the organization’s existence if it does not act decisively on this matter.

In countering Colour Revolutions the Belarusian regime developed preventive and adaptive authoritarianism, which provided an example for other post-Soviet autocracies. However, mass protests in 2017 and in 2020 question the preventive authoritarian mechanisms of the Belarusian regime. Having developed proficient political capacity in the 2000s against demonstrations, this failed to predict the 2017 and 202 protests. Why is this the case and is this because the regime has become less adaptive? Through an in-depth analysis of the situation since 2017 and interviews with specialists, we answer whether the Belarusian regime has stopped adapting and the causes for this?

As the protests in Belarus have been largely non-violent – on the part of the protesters – they provide understanding firstly of how autocracies react to this kind of protest. Secondly, it provides lessons for adaptation on the part of other activists in other autocracies. The Belarusian example provides explanation of political crises and what happens when an autocracy is unable to adapt to a crisis.

Democratic backsliding has gained momentum globally over the past few years, with an established prominence in the United States, India, and Brazil. Issues including the weakening of democratic institutions and values, curtailing the right to freedom of speech, and attacking the electoral system are among some of the recent trends that give these areas a common socio-political profile. Yet such incidents have also come to make their prevalence known in Southeast Asia. Recent developments following the military coup in Myanmar have posed a serious challenge to the country’s efforts to maintain a lasting and stable democracy. Meanwhile, the persistence of extra-judicial killings in context of the Philippine government’s drug war coupled with the administration’s adamant disregard for the Rule of Law continues to raise international concern over Southeast Asia’s oldest democracy. Understanding what this means for religious minorities presents an intersectional dimension to perspectives on security, migration, and human rights. On one hand, such backsliding amplifies minorities’ experiences of discrimination, xenophobia, and violence. On the other hand, the rise of ethnic cleavages in discourse surrounding identity politics further weakens democratic culture. In many ways, these issues feed off each other. This paper examines democratic backsliding in the region, specifically within the contexts of Myanmar and the Philippines, and its implications for religious minorities in the two countries.

Keywords: ASEAN, ASEAN Charter, democracy threat, liberalism theory, Myanmar coup

Keywords: Belarus; Authoritarianism; Protest; Stagnation; Democratisation

Keywords: Democratic backsliding, Southeast Asia, democracy, religious minorities, Myanmar, Philippines, drug war, intersectionality, state forces, human rights

putrisamudix@gmail.com

sh2125@cam.ac.uk

riza.regala@obf.ateneo.edu

DEPARTMENT OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS, UNIVERSITY OF PADJADJARAN

UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE

ATENEO DE MANILA UNIVERSITY
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NORMA-NATHALIE NITESCU</th>
<th>LARA MARIA GUEDES GONÇALVES COSTA</th>
<th>ABHIGYAN GUHA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

The paper will aim at analyzing the truth-seeking process in communist and post-communist Romania and the impact it had on the country’s democratization after the fall of communism. The aim of the analysis will be to contribute to the debates on the variables that are influencing the democratization processes after the fall of a totalitarian or authoritarian regime. The main argument of the paper will be that truth-seeking should be considered an important contributor to the societal and political trust-building needed for a successful democratization process. Conducting a normative conceptual analysis, truth-seeking will be argued to have a heuristic value, particularly for the analysis of the Romanian society and its post-communist trajectory. The transformative role of truth-seeking will and its contribution to an enhanced popular support for democratic values will be part of the proposed study. The paper will analyse how in Romania the incomplete and delayed truth-seeking process, lead to the preservation of some of the authoritarian traits which generated a lower political engagement towards building democracy; to a certain civic passivity, and to more tolerance towards undemocratic practices. The paper will also aim to contribute to the understanding of the more recent political and societal developments leading to a democratic back sliding in some of the CEE countries.

An alternative to humanitarian intervention, the so-called ‘Responsibility to Protect’ (R2P) arose as a promise to be an ally to the principles of self-determination and sovereignty — which are related to the identity of a country. This global political commitment, however, has been criticized regarding its (non) implementation by various actors in the context of country-specific situations, such as in Syria. One of the most intriguing facets of the Syrian conflict is the lack of (efficient) intervention by the United Nations Security Council (UNSC), and the negligence in respect of the three pillars of the R2P. It is intriguing how the Syrian civil war — part of the 2011 Arab Spring protests as a struggle for democracy — became the stage of an international dispute for national interests of external governments, power and control. Before a chaotic scenario, it is important to understand the legal, political and moral aspects that made Syria become one of the most dangerous and precarious countries in the world. Hence, this scientific article aims to discuss the reasons behind the failure of the R2P in Syria. The behaviour of the involved actors such as the US, Russia and the UNSC as whole will be analyzed as well the structure of the international system, addressing the concepts of democracy, identity and power. As for the approach, this is necessarily qualitative, based on research exploratory, with the consultation of theories, doctrines, renowned opinions, and online research that address the subject in order to support the analysis.

The pyrrhic rise of Authoritarian Populism as an expansive diffused cultural and agro-ecological phenomenon, coupled with the paradoxical unity between triumphant preponderance of Hindu organic Nationalism and Neo-liberal Developmentalism has signalled the debilitation of India’s Democratic ethos, wherein the ubiquitous implantation of the Sangh-Parivar-led Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) has embarked on a massive transformative project in germinating the seeds of a monolithic bloc. The decisive adoption of ideologies of Centrist circumference in favour of building a Majoritarian edifice—from scrupulous minority insignia to encouraging differential legal treatment, from advocating aggressive Militaristic Nationalism imbued with religious fervour to mocking the language of moderation as weak pacifism, the BJP regime has conflated the political party with the state apparatus and the nation, in one strong Continuum, whereby Polarized Pluralism, arrogation of power and the language of Securitization has enfeebled the foundational ideals of the Indian Constitution. As global concerns over the stability of Democracy and its hegemonic Western framework is plagued with profound legitimacy crisis, accompanied by the reinvigoration of Autarkic nostalgia, Nationalism and ascendancy of Illiberal Populism and Ultranationalism, India’s deteroration of Horizontal and Vertical Accountability as Democratic indicators has monopolized the political imagination by the Ontological domination of the nation-state. The objective of this paper is to analyse the cyclical changes, make a comprehensive normative assessment of the myriad factors behind Democratic downturn and Competitive Authoritarianism’s upsurge in India between 2014 and 2020 and offer a holistic insight into speculative policy alternatives as a prophylactic against erosion of Cooperative Federalism.

**Keywords:** truth-seeking, democratization, communism, post-communism

**Keywords:** Responsibility to Protect. Syrian War. Intervention. UNSC.

**Keywords:** Democratic Breakdown; Authoritarian Populism; Hindutva; Polarized Pluralism; Triumphant Majoritarianism.

norma_nitescu@yahoo.com

lara_mana_guedes@yahoo.com.br

binbin.guha3@gmail.com

WEST UNIVERSITY OF TIMISOARA, ROMANIA

JAGIELLONIAN UNIVERSITY IN KRAKOW

JADAVPUR UNIVERSITY
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>EDA CANIMANA</th>
<th>CLAUDIA FAVARATO</th>
<th>SARAH AHMED</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>IRANIAN SOCIAL MOVEMENTS AND A NEW DEMOCRATIC DISCOURSE: A POSSIBILITY FOR EVENTFUL DEMOCRATIZATION</td>
<td>PERKS AND FLAWS OF DEMOCRACY: UNDERSTANDING THE LIBERAL MAJORITARIAN MODEL IN GUINEA-BISSAU</td>
<td>SHAPESHIFTING HYBRID REGIMES: AN ANALYSIS OF HYBRID REGIMES DURING THE COLD WAR</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Is there a prognosis for eventful democratization in Iran? Mass protests against the theocratic totalitarian regime in Iran have been on worldwide focus for years. However, all but few academic works focus on the democratic possibilities posed by the demands and political discourses of grassroots-based movements in Iran. These political discourses focus on the mass demands of social justice, economic equality and political freedom. In this paper, I will argue that grassroots-based social movements in Iran constitute a peculiar discourse of substantive democracy. Secondly, I will argue that this discourse of democracy constitutes a confrontation against the dominant discourse of democracy in Western liberal political constituencies, which seem to be relatively more oriented towards formal democracy. Finally, I will elaborate on the trajectories of shifting geopolitics of democratization worldwide. In order to measure this argument, I propose to conduct online observation of blogs written by the participants of the protests in Iran. In light of the observation data, I propose to elaborate on the existing literature on eventful democratization and on substantive democracy. Following this, I aim at making social scientifically informed predictions of whether the political practices and discourses among the grassroots protesters and the oppositional segments of the Iranian public in light of their own notions of democracy. Benefitting from the insights of scholars who previously studied the dynamics of regime change in the Middle East, this paper aims at contributing to the literature on the dynamics of democratization in the Middle East by focusing on the possibilities of eventful democratization in Iran.

This paper aims to address the endogenous understanding of liberal, majoritarian democracy in Guinea-Bissau, in light of the recurrent political instability tarring the country. Critiques moved against liberal democracy as the model of democratic governance are extensive. Disciplines as comparative political theory and African political theory, which nonetheless make up the theoretical bedrocks for this paper, thoroughly make up the theoretical bedrocks for this paper, thoroughly on the partiality, rather than universality, of the liberal canons. In addition to this, African political theory and philosophy discuss the feasibility and appropriateness of adversarial politics in organist context, where compromise and consensus are generally preferred. As these critiques, both theoretical and empirical, fall in line with the process of Aficanisation of power, as labelled by Professor Patrick Chabal, they are symptomatic of endogenous political thought and understanding of democracy beyond the liberal canons. This paper intends to add to the comparative and African political theory literature by providing an insight on Bissau-Guinean understanding of liberal, majoritarian democracy. The study departs from data gathered through semi-structured interviews (fieldwork conducted during 2019 and 2020), analysed through interpretative epistemological lenses. Rather than being an assessment of democratic performance, this contribution aims to expose endogenous understanding of democratic government, endowed with legitimacy and accountability, guarantee of stability and well-being. As the analysis will discuss in depth, liberal majoritarian democracy is poorly regarded or considered the one source of political turmoil, factionalism, prebendalism, (mis)appropriation of power and even state criminalisation. The endogenous polity, instead, is deemed stable, legitimated and an effective power toward the citizens.

Hybrid regimes started gaining scholarly attention in the late-1980s and early-1990s. Researchers became drawn to these “new” regimes, which were hybrid “grey zones” borrowing characteristics from both democracy and authoritarianism. From Huntington’s three waves of democratization, there was a rise in the number of hybrid regimes, skyrocketing after the 1980s. However, these waves of democratization largely veered towards hybridity rather than democracy, which corresponds with both the data collected and the history reviewed in this article. Moreover, the surge in hybrid regimes in the 1980s-1990s corresponds with the changes to the post-Cold War world, when the US and the EU expanded democracy promotion abroad with an emphasis on valuing notions like “liberty” and “human rights.” Those efforts signified yet another change in politics whereby full-blown authoritarian regimes, which had been backed by the international community, began turning on a new shape, shifting into hybrid regimes to match the new environments. By taking Huntington’s teleological assumptions of liberal democracy into account, I conclude that these waves along with the emergence of democracy promotion led to the surge and stabilization of hybrid regimes.

**Keywords:** Eventful Democratization, Democracy, Internet-Mediated Research, Contentious Politics, the Middle East, Iranian Politics, Social Movements

**Keywords:** Majoritarian democracy, liberal democracy, Guinea-Bissau, Aficanisation of power, comparative political theory

**Keywords:** hybrid regimes, authoritarianism, Cold War, democracy, democracy promotion, democratization, transitional regimes.

eda.canimana@gmail.com

N/A

sarah.ahmed@fsv.cuni.cz

SOAS, UNIVERSITY OF LONDON

UNIVERSITY OF LISBON

CHARLES UNIVERSITY
There is rising concern about micro-targeted political advertisements and so-called ‘dog whistles’ - political speech that communicates different things to different groups of people. Existing criticism of these two practices has been focused on problematic content - that the advertisement or dog-whistle is, for example, misleading or racist. I offer a unified and content-neutral account of why these practices are problematic: they are anti-democratic in a specific way. My argument proceeds from the deliberative conception of democracy associated with, among others, John Rawls and James Fishkin, according to which only a vote which follows from an adequate deliberative process confers democratic legitimacy on its results. Micro-targeted political advertisements restrict access to vote-influencing information. Dog-whistles likewise deny the deliberative body as a whole access to relevant information. I argue that this balkanisation of information undermines democratic deliberation and that micro-targeting and dogwhistling are therefore anti-democratic practices. Finally, I offer a brief sketch of some possible legal and political remedies.

In November 2016, Donald Trump won against Hillary Clinton and became the president of the United States. In Brazil and the Philippines, both populist candidates Jair Bolsonaro and Rodrigo Duarte gained tremendous support from citizens and won the national elections. The rise of populism has been viewed as an expected outcome by scholars due to the increasing percentage of disaffected and discouraged that citizens hold against their government. This has a positive correlation with how influential the populist parties are to the citizens. The higher the rate, the more likely populist parties could win the vote. However, in their 2017 election, although having one of the highest dissatisfaction rates in Europe combine with economic crisis and scandal in politics. French voters still vote for Emmanuel Macron, who favors a more centrist and neo-liberal regime instead of Marie Le Pen, head of the National Front party represents the populist side of the country. Looking into the result, I discover that under a specific economic condition, citizens will start to shift their vote toward populism and this was not met in France. The condition is the inequality gap between the upper class and the average citizens: The higher the gap between the two classes, the more likely voters will support the populist regime since populism promises a lot of economic and social reformation. Therefore, my hypothesis focuses on the economic problem that leads to the distrust between citizens and national government: “High inequality gap makes citizens distrust for populism”.

While populism is perceived as a threat to liberal democracies, scholars so far predominantly focused on its impact on the overall quality of democracy. However, the populist's emphasis on the sovereignty of the people makes independent institutions such as the judiciary branch imposing checks and balances on governments particularly vulnerable. This paper, therefore, aims at exploring the relationship between populism and judicial independence in Eastern Europe and Latin America in light of the regions’ similar democratization processes. The main goal of this paper is to answer the questions: Do populist governments undermine courts? And if so, under what conditions? Considering the chameleonic nature of populism, this paper will further the idealist approach to the phenomenon which uses a minimal definition that allows accounting for regional, developmental, and political differences between the cases studied. By identifying populist leaders with speech data from the Global Populism Database, this paper will specifically examine the conditions that allow these actors to influence the independence of the judiciary through Qualitative Comparative Analysis (“QCA”). While QCA demonstrates the presence of institutional reform in every case of judicial decay, further regression analysis will be used to test causality between these conditions and weakened courts. As the independence of courts is a cornerstone of democracies and the rule of law, this field of research should be furthered empirically, particularly in light of the past decade’s overall democratic decay and rise of populist parties worldwide.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>II.II.IV</th>
<th>GILES</th>
<th>DUC CO</th>
<th>MARÍA PAULA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

Keywords: Deliberative Democracy, Mandate, Legitimacy, Filter bubbles, Echo chambers, Deliberation, Dog-whistles, Pragmatics, Scrutiny, Micro-targeting, Facebook, Publicity.

Keywords: Populism, election, democratic backsliding

Keywords: populism, judicial independence, checks and balances, democratic decay, abusive constitutionalism, institutional reform

s1653953@sms.ed.ac.uk

N/A

maria.p.jijon@gmail.com

UNIVERSITY OF EDINBURGH

TOKYO INTERNATIONAL UNIVERSITY

IE UNIVERSITY
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ANNE-SOPHIE L. KÖNG</th>
<th>PABLO ORTIZ BARQUERO</th>
<th>BIBEK GHIMIRE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>TACKLING DECLINING CANDIDACY AT LOCAL ELECTIONS – THE CASE OF JAPAN</strong></td>
<td><strong>THE ROLE OF ORGANIZATIONALLY INSTITUTIONALIZATION ON ELECTORAL SUSTAINABILITY. A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF THE SPANISH FAR RIGHT: FUERZA NUEVA AND VOX</strong></td>
<td><strong>A STUDY OF ELECTRONIC GOVERNMENT PROCUREMENT (E-GP) SYSTEM IN NEPAL: ASSESSING THE IMPACT ON GOOD GOVERNANCE</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In my PhD project, I am looking at how democracy is affected by demographic change on the case of Japan. Japan is one of the fastest ageing societies because of low fertility, high life expectancy and strict state sanctioned immigration. Additionally, national mobility has led to a depopulation and faster ageing of the rural areas while metropolitan centers like Tokyo, Osaka and Nagoya grow rapidly. In Japan, the older generation is more politicized, whereas the younger generation is labeled as politically apathetic. Thus, these demographic trends have enormous impact on the democratic system and political participation.

For several years now, this impact has been evident in local elections. Rural municipalities especially face the challenge of finding suitable candidates to run for mayor or municipal assembly member. This was the case in 2019 in the nationwide local elections in Yamagata prefecture. According to a survey by the national newspaper Asahi Shimbun, 15 out of 35 municipalities in the prefecture did not have enough candidates. Three of these municipalities had to end the election without voting. Commonly, the low renumeration coupled with a legal ban of side businesses are cited as hindrances for candidacy. When comparing cities with towns and villages large discrepancies in renumeration surface. Besides, citizens often feel detached from their municipal assemblies, thus do not consider entering politics themselves.

This paper analyzes local initiatives to counteract the decline of election candidacy. It then examines the response and attempts at the national level to disseminate these initiatives to other municipalities.

Far right parties have been extensively examined since their significant breakthrough in the European political arena in the late 80s. The hegemonic research agenda is mainly focused on the so-called ‘demand-side’ explanations, while other factors regarding the ‘supply-side’ dimension has not been seriously considered. In this sense, we highlight the importance of considering the impact of the organizationally institutionalization on the electoral sustainability of far right parties. When parties develop consistent organization structures and establish homogeneously around all the national territory, more likely is that voters give them credibility and conceive them as eligible options (and vice versa).

The aim of this article is to study two Spanish far right parties -Fuerza Nueva and VOX- which while were able to win parliamentary representation at the national level, they have had diametrically different trajectories. Using different data sources and a comparative case study design we show that organizational institutionalization process plays a key role in order to explain both the cases characterized by breakthrough without sustainability and by breakthrough with sustainability, respectively. Overall, our findings support the idea of developing a party-centric approach which considers the features of far right parties themselves more systematically in order to explain their performance.

Public Financial Management demands a sound procurement system for the socio-economic development of a nation. Procurement has become a prominent area to reform from multiple dimensions as a prerequisite of good governance. A constructive relationship between the electronic government procurement (e-GP) system and good governance leads to a prosperous and just nation. Although Nepal undergone various reform initiatives in public financial management, the questions of corruption, transparency and accountability in government spending still exist. This study assesses the impact of the e-GP system on each pillar of good governance. It examines the weaknesses by analyzing the opinions of stakeholders. Several studies have been done on the relationship between the e-GP system and good governance. Previous researches have primarily shown the positive impact of e-GP on pillars of governance independently. The paper uses a survey questionnaire to collect data from the stakeholders of the e-GP system based on governance dimensions. The two-way multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA) test will be conducted to determine if the research questions and the underlying hypotheses stated were supported or not, as well as to see the significance of the interactions between dimensions. This research expects the positive impact of e-GP on all dimensions and examines the implemented system’s shortcomings for reforms. The stakeholders including government are expected to be advantageous from the empirical outcome of the study.

| Keywords: Representation, Elections and Voting Behavior | Keywords: far right, Spain; organizationa institutionalization; case study. | Keywords: Government Procurement, Good Governance, e-GP, Corruption, Transparency, Accountability |
| an.koeng@lmu.de | N/A | N/A |
| LMU MUNICH | PABLO DE OLAVIDE UNIVERSITY (SEVILLE, SPAIN) | INTERNATIONAL CHRISTIAN UNIVERSITY (ICU), TOKYO, JAPAN |
Governance theory has three major contradictions: the claims of democracy, the role of the state in governance and the future form of governance. The paper contends that democracy is ambiguously defined, that the state is promoted both as a form of decentralized decision-making body as well as centralizing institution and that its future character as an ideal type is unclear. Some scholars have analyzed the likelihood of ‘governance failure’ (Jessop), and construct a theory of meta-governance, a representative theory analyzing governance as a philosophy. However, the theory of meta-governance does not solve the inherent conflicts within governance theory. These conflicts are not technical problems of specific governance behavioral choices, but internal ambiguities and contradictions which are explored in the paper. Different approaches in western philosophy are examined. The issue of civil rights and civil society is currently discussed in the context of contemporary liberalism. The paper adopts an analytical framework of “individual-state-society”. It focuses on Marx’s discourse on the individual and the state. The goal of Marx’s political economy study is to construct a holistic description of the individual-state-society relationship which formed a holistic description of the governance system. Based on a critique of capitalism, the paper argues that Marx has constructed a type of governance theory rather than a narrow theory which only depicts interactions between politics and economics.

Methodology: comparative analyze of different theories for analyze international policy and regional power dynamics in the generalized form, content analyze of adherents’ positions of these theories

The goal of research is demonstration of rational choice theory like base for theory that is more empirically based and so more effective for analyze of international policy. Geopolitics is the most significant theory now to analyze international policy and regional power dynamics in the generalized, systematic form. But geopolitics is based on abstractive, insufficiently proven positions that are contested by many political scientists. So it is important to demonstrate some alternative for geopolitics in that direction. It should be alternative which is more empirically based and so more effective for using to analyze of international policy. And there are some theories which correlate with such characteristics. These are theories based on theory of rational choice and game theory connected with it. These are theories firstly based on researches of Downs A., Flood M. and Olson M. It is necessary to mark primarily theory of political realism and conclusions from researches of Morgenthau H., Waltz K. and Kissinger H. in the sphere of theories for analyze of international policy in the generalized form based on theory of rational choice. And it is actual to describe systematically logic of these theories and their main components to demonstrate them like more accessible and more obvious theoretical toolkit for effective analyze international policy in the generalized form than geopolitics.

Oppression of alternative political standpoints and the absence of real opposition are outstanding features of authoritarian regimes. That is why social media with its opportunities for freedom of speech and freedom of association became an important pathway to voice concerns and claims. Within the last decade political mobilization and participation in such regimes have largely moved from real life into social networks. Public communication usually limited by the governmental control became available to the public. However, censorship of the internet and social networks causes many doubts in their optimistic role towards freer civil society. My research objective is to analyze the online public sphere and its effect on the contentious politics in Kazakhstan. The analysis of the textual data of Facebook posts of the Democratic Choice of Kazakhstan movement’s leader demonstrated that the rhetoric of the opposition is informational, first, and protest calling, second. Also, SMM software allows for in-depth analysis of the Youtube statistics of the main political channels. The analysis reveals what aspects of political alternative information are of most interest to the public.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>YANG</th>
<th>OLEKSIII</th>
<th>ASSEM</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>LI</td>
<td>TKACHENKO</td>
<td>KALKAMANOVA</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| CONFLICTS IN “GOVERNANCE THEORY”: A CRITIQUE FROM THE PERSPECTIVE OF MARXIST POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY | ANALYZE OF INTERNATIONAL POLICY USING RATIONAL CHOICE THEORY | DIGITALLY NETWORKED SOCIAL MOVEMENTS IN AUTHORITARIAN REGIMES: A CASE STUDY OF KAZAKHSTAN. |

Keywords: Governance; Governance Theory; Political Philosophy; State; Civil Society

Keywords: international policy, rational choice theory, game theory, geopolitics.

Keywords: social media, authoritarianism, public communication, contentious politics.

yi744@cam.ac.uk

suhar1937@gmail.com

a.kalkaman@gmail.com

SCHOOL OF MARXISM, PEKING UNIVERSITY; DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY, UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE

INTERNATIONAL ASSOSIATION FOR POLITICAL SCIENCE STUDENTS IN UKRAINE

UNIVERSITY OF SZEGED, HUNGARY
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ANTONIO UMBERTO</th>
<th>PALLAVI</th>
<th>AMELIE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>MOSETTI</td>
<td>PRADHAN</td>
<td>FREIBERG</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**ITALIAN BLACK LIVES MATTER: CONTEMPORARY MOVEMENTS AND GLOBAL SENSIBILITIES IN ITALY.**

Contemporary Italian social movements - largely of youth - have been able to understand and re-elaborate in their own terms the Black Lives Matter protests that took place in the US following the killing of George Floyd on 25th May 2020. Contrarily to the "shallow" ideologies of populism spreading all over Europe, these movements are analysed in their special ability to positively respond to the complex mechanisms and pressures of globalisation. These movements have been able to deconstruct Italian colonial history - a topic almost completely disregarded by the national mainstream discourses over the past 80 years - and bring it to the general attention. In parallel, they have brought up the terrible condition of contemporary informal workers in the South of the country - mainly African migrants. The traumatic overseas events have functioned as catalysts for greater organisation and philosophical coherence of underlying networks that have grown over the last couple decades, together with the impact that second-generation migrants have had on the public opinion. Most importantly, this discourse advanced through a dialogical historical sensibility, through a deep understanding of others' histories and a re-construction of Italy's own history through those insights.

---

**TRACING THE GROWTH AND EVOLUTION OF "FLASH-MOB ACTIVISM"**

Art has been used as a prominent medium of expression of protest and activism in social movements. With the increasing use of information and communication technology, new forms of political activism have emerged. One such art form is flash mob. Flash mobs first appeared in 2003 as a form of participatory performance art, with groups of people using internet and social media to gather and perform a well-planned collective act at a specified location. Coordination, element of surprise and spontaneity are the core components of the art form. Gradually, activists have begun to harness the political potential of flash mobs for challenging status quo. The paper seeks to trace the beginning of flash mob as an art form and its gradual evolution into a powerful tactic for political activism. It aims to understand the nature and characteristics of political flash mobs vis-à-vis the impact generated through organizing spontaneous mass action. The paper focuses on four case studies of major flash mobs organized worldwide, namely Flamencoc flash mob (2011), Sydney flash mob for Syria (2012), Heathrow airport flash mob (2015) and Hong Kong flash mob (2019). An attempt is made to investigate the revolutionary potential of flash mobs through analyzing various online videos and articles available.

---

**RESOURCES AND RAPE: PATTERNS OF WARTIME RAPE IN ACTIVIST INSURGENCIES**

One of the most horrendous outcomes of civil wars is wartime rape. The variation in the intensity of wartime rape is the main puzzle in this research. This dissertation is focused on activist insurgencies and builds on the combatant socialization theory. It will investigate how social cohesion in activist insurgencies influences wartime rape. The argument concerns differential resource endowments explaining the variation of sexual violence in activist insurgencies. This paper will use new data and examine the pattern of wartime rape with a new approach. The results of the analysis indicate that activist insurgencies' means of socialisation depend on available resources. The socialisation of fighters can be achieved through the combatant socialisation process or through political education.

---

**Keywords:** Black Lives Matter, Citizenship, Civil Rights, Italian Colonialism, Migration - Protest, Race relations, Social Movements

**Keywords:** Flash mob, Political Activism, Performance art, Social movement, Protest

**Keywords:** Sexual Violence, Socialisation, Civil War, Insurgencies, Violence Against Civilians

antonio.u.mosetti@gmail.com  

pallavipstar@gmail.com  

freibera@tcd.ie

UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE  

CENTRE FOR POLITICAL STUDIES, JAWAHARLAL NEHRU UNIVERSITY, NEW DELHI  

TRINITY COLLEGE DUBLIN
### I.III.IV

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Keywords</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>LUCA DOLL</td>
<td>MISSING COOPERATION IN THE EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN: GREEK-TURKISH SECURITIZATIONS AND THEIR IMPACT ON REGIONAL COLLABORATION</td>
<td>Securitization Theory, Constructivism, Regional Cooperation, Eastern Mediterranean</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MINH NGUYEN</td>
<td>COOPERATION OVER CONFLICT A CASE STUDY: MANAGEMENT OF THE NILE RIVER BETWEEN EGYPT AND ETHIOPIA &amp; IMPLICATIONS OF THE GERD (GRAND ETHIOPIAN RENAISSANCE DAM)</td>
<td>Nile River; GERD; development; geopolitics of water; regional stability</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MARIJA HELIOSA FRAGA ARANTES</td>
<td>TAIWAN AS A “LAND UNDER HEAVEN”: IMPERIAL CHINA TERRITORIALITY AND SOVEREIGNTY OVER THE “ONE CHINA POLICY” TODAY.</td>
<td>Sovereignty, Territoriality, China, Taiwan.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the past years, the situation in the Eastern Mediterranean has attracted significant attention within academia and various policy networks. Recent developments such as resource discoveries, migratory movements as well as an increase in militarized activities in the area have created incentives to an overarching framework of security collaboration. However, cooperation in mentioned sectors remains absent. These developments have led to a change of power balances and to the reconfiguration of existing coalitions in the region. The trends are marked by an increasing isolation of Turkey by states such as Israel, Greece and Egypt who attempt to counter Turkish aspirations for regional hegemony. This paper investigates why a lack of cooperation in the Eastern Mediterranean persists. In answering this question, it looks into how Securitization Theory and Regional Security Complex Theory can provide a theoretical lens to better understand recent developments. Building on the latter theory, seeing the Eastern Mediterranean as a regional security complex leads to the contention that if two (or more) units of this system securitize each other’s activities within said complex, this will lead to negative ramifications on regional cooperation. The chosen case is the reciprocal securitization of Turkey and Greece in 2020. Finally, the case study reveals blind spots in Regional Security Complex Theory and rejects a number of other constructivist accounts as to why overarching regional cooperation fails.

The GERD (Grand Ethiopia Renaissance Dam) was launched in 2011 by Ethiopia amidst total objections from Sudan & Egypt. Controversies over the implications of the GERD impeded any official agreements between countries, highlighting the dispute over Ethiopia’s development needs, versus Egypt’s concerns over water scarcity and climate change.

This research aims to identify the underlying relationships between Egypt and Ethiopia regarding control over water resources of the Nile River, amidst the controversial construction of the GERD by Ethiopia from 2011. The first part will analyze the trans-border impacts of the Nile River on both countries development and their water policies. The second part will evaluate the complex implications of the newly-built GERD to regional stability in the future. The last part will explore some possible technical and political solutions available to Egypt and Ethiopia.

The prevailing Western views of sovereignty, rooted in the Westphalian state, may be limited to understand complex geopolitical issues, as the status of Taiwan both regarding China and the International System. An intriguing part of this topic lies in the dichotomic approach of Mainland China to Taiwan. Firstly, flexibility over Taiwan’s autonomy and economic affairs; and Secondly, the exercise of political pressure over Taiwan’s foreign and political affairs. As I aim to expose here, Chinese own construction of sovereignty is rooted in the Chinese empire, what may require an approach that encompasses China’s imperial past and the construction of its territoriality. The purpose of this research is to investigate how territorial constructions of Taiwan in China’s imperial past affect the One China policy (OCP) today. I argue that the basis of OCP can be found in the Chinese historical view of ‘Tianxia territoriality’, where a centralized authority rules over a network of territories organized by the Tianxia tributary. This is because Tianxia, which after the 19th century was juxtaposed to modern sovereignty, is based on values of the merge of domestic and international, hierarchy and non-equality – in sum, “all under heaven”. This research proceeds in three sections: Key developments on the topic; territoriality and sovereignty in the Tianxia system; and Taiwan in Imperial territoriality and the One China Policy.

Keywords: Securitization Theory, Constructivism, Regional Cooperation, Eastern Mediterranean

Keywords: Nile River; GERD; development; geopolitics of water; regional stability

Keywords: Sovereignty, Territoriality, China, Taiwan.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>II.I</th>
<th>XAVIER</th>
<th>CANSU</th>
<th>IRWINING</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>BOILEAU</td>
<td>OZMERT</td>
<td>RICO BECERRA</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**WHICH KIND OF INTERNAL SELF-DETERMINATION FOR INDIGENOUS GROUPS AND NATIONAL MINORITIES?**

Theorists such as Iris Marion Young, Yan Allard-Tremblay, Glen S. Coulthard and James Tully have criticized liberal multiculturalism for defending an overly narrow conception of internal self-determination. The latter is reduced to a Westphalian and imperial conception of political authority and self-determination. Instead, they propose a new conception of political authority, called pluralism, which would be more responsive to the demands of marginalized groups, including indigenous groups and national minorities. In doing so, they hope to break with the imperial character of existing states and multicultural policy. However, it is questionable whether this new strategy is succeeding in doing so. Do pluralistic conceptions of political authority really provide a more appropriate concept of self-determination for indigenous groups and national minorities? We would like to argue that these conceptions weaken the position of these minority groups on at least one issue: linguistic justice. We will show the limits of a conception of internal self-determination similar to the one developed by Young or Allard-Tremblay in situations of linguistic conflict. Our objective will be to demonstrate that such a critical conception, while challenging the institutions in place, does not offer a clear institutional alternative in terms of language rights.

Over the past few years, the Syrian war has brought refugees back into the spotlight of public attention. While this attention has been mainly focused on recent refugee movements, especially towards Europe, protracted refugee situations seem to fall into oblivion. However, the majority of refugees find themselves stuck in refugee camps with important sustainability and financial issues for generations. With limited or no access to work and training opportunities, their livelihood is often jeopardized in most of the host-countries. Emerging initiatives on digital livelihoods try to bring solutions to these issues by creating or facilitating access to new markets. Yet, the existing literature tends to forget about refugees’ place in the digital revolution or reduce the use of new technologies in this field to humanitarian objectives only. Based on data collected from semi-structured interviews and document analysis, I aim to explore how such issues do not just link humanitarism to technology, but also to market creation and regulation. Drawing on a strand of scholarship in economic sociology, the paper provides an analytical framework of the role of digitalization in the construction of market economies in refugee camps. It argues that socio-technical arrangements ensuring refugee livelihoods rest on the humanitarian actors’ interest in the digital as well as on host-government’s restrictive regulations regarding refugees’ right to work. It probes this argument by examining the legal and policy aspects of the market construction process at the Zaatar refugee camp and charting the evolution of digital livelihoods in the global humanitarian agenda as well as in the Jordanian context. The analysis shows how digital initiatives navigate policy blind spots on digital labor to open pathways for digital livelihoods for refugees. My findings suggest that such initiatives are, however, at pain to gain a solid foothold in camps as they keep a status of challengers of the humanitarism ecosystem and thus struggle to survive in absence of stronger institutional bases.

The first two decades of the 21st century have witnessed major transformations in the security and militarization schemes of the U.S., associated with the so-called “revolution in military affairs” that began during the Bush administration and which, despite the tensions and contradictions through further administrations, has maintained a globalizing trend. These changes respond to the fact that contemporary threats to world security are more diffuse than ever before, so the response must contemplate new risks and equally diffuse enemies settled in the social field. Within this, the field of commercial logistics has become highly relevant to the U.S. global security agenda since the circulation of capital through space systems has generated a greater concentration of military efforts in maintaining the strategic flows necessary for its operation. For this reason, the main transformations in this field refer to both tactical-strategic elements such as the new approaches to security in socio-digital networks, cyberspace, behavioral sciences, and basic social relations; as well as geopolitical-territorial elements such as the new mobile military deployments in strategic territories, the command of the global commons and the expansion of border security towards global logistics supply chains around the world.

This paper will analyze these transformations, proposing that their implementation is not only modifying the traditional fields of military action and national security of the State, but is leading to the production of a new geopolitics of security on a global scale, derived from a revolution in global logistics, which becomes fundamental for the understanding of our world.

**Keywords:** self-determination, language rights, multiculturalism, authority.

**Keywords:** digitalization, refugees, market

**Keywords:** Security, logistics, militarization, geopolitics, power

xavierboileau@protonmail.com
cansu.ozmert@unil.ch
irwing.rico@policas.unam.mx

**UNIVERSITÉ DE MONTRÉAL**

**UNIVERSITÉ DE LAUSANNE**

**UNIVERSIDAD NACIONAL AUTÓNOMA DE MÉXICO (UNAM)**
This study interrogates the representation of Syrian Refugee women in the humanitarian discourse of the needs assessment specifically sexual and reproductive health to promote the well-being of the population. I specifically focus on how dominant discourse in humanitarianism constructs gendered and racialized image of refugee women through the interchangeable use of difference/universality, selfhood/otherness, and objects/subjects. To do so, this study conducts critical discourse analysis of the reports produced by the Turkish government on the assessment of the sexual and reproductive health of Syrian Refugee women. Thus, I consider such reports as a discursive move that provides creating and reproducing systems of social meaning as well as works for certain ideologies. Through employing post-colonial feminist theoretical framework, I will show that this oppositional construction indicates a biopolitical governing space where Syrian refugee women disappear between object-formation and subject-constitution in order for the humanitarian institution to maintain its coherence and legitimacy. This, I argue, indicates epistemic violence and discursive colonization in humanitarian context of Turkey.

Keywords: Biopolitics, humanitarianism, gender, race, representation, postcolonialism.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DEMET</th>
<th>GABRIEL</th>
<th>HÉCTOR</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SIR</td>
<td>TOWARDS UNDERSTANDING ANTONIO GRAMSCI’S MODERN PRINCE: A MACHIAVELLIAN TURN</td>
<td>COGNITIVE Biases and deliberation. An epistemic argument for democracy</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

How can revolutionary political leaders and political parties sustain revolutionary alliances between different groups that are similarly situated vis-à-vis a given power structure? Here, I probe Antonio Gramsci’s Modern Prince—or the communist party—to address the maintenance of political alliances in a revolutionary situation. Given the fact that Gramsci was heavily influenced by the political thought of Niccolò Machiavelli, I turn to contemporary scholarship on Machiavelli to argue that Gramsci’s Modern Prince must garner consent through inclusive and deliberative practices that allow for compromise and that the Modern Prince’s use of coercion ought to be understood as communicative, conveying its support for class struggle and its opposition to groups that threaten class struggle. For too long, Gramsci scholars have interpreted the Modern Prince solely as a codeword for the communist party. However, the fact of the matter is that understanding the vital role that the Modern Prince plays in maintaining political alliances will help Marxists better understand how to maintain the unity among different groups that are similarly situated for radical struggle. Due to the abstractness of both consent and coercion in my analysis, I examine Fidel Castro, as an illustrative case. Through an analysis of his speech, “Words to Intellectuals,” I show how Fidel Castro was able to simultaneously garner consent through deliberative practices and to exercise coercion communicatively to maintain a revolutionary coalition.

Keywords: Antonio Gramsci, political alliances, consent/coercion, Fidel Castro, Niccolò Machiavelli, Modern Prince

Populism and polarization have democracy at stake. While for some authors democracy doesn’t lead to optimum outcomes (Brennan, 2016) for others it is still the best option (Landemore, 2020). The discussion I address in this paper is rooted in epistemic arguments. The aim is to provide a non-summativist epistemic justification of democracy. In the first section I will revise the epistemic theories that support—or not—democracy. I will draw on its origins and afterwards I will focus on the debate Landemore-Brennan. I argue that this debate has a summarivist approach which I call into question. With a summarivist approach people believe that p if at least some individuals believe that p. For a non-summarivist approach, this condition is not necessary, thus the outcome may not reflect individual beliefs. This perspective allows me to undertake the analysis of an issue that has been neglected in political theory: the role of cognitive biases in collective decisions. The core of this paper is that deliberation is necessary to reduce these epistemic risks. While being an epistemic cost (Gendler, 2011), deliberation reduces democratic inefficiencies. I describe a cost curve model of this relationship in order to illustrate an epistemic justification of democracy. Finally, I propose that for this deliberation to effectively deal with cognitive biases, some epistemic principles are necessary. Without them, deliberation perpetuates epistemic injustice and is inefficient in terms of democratic costs.

Keywords: Cognitive biases; collective epistemology; deliberative democracy; epistemic democracy; political epistemology.

N/A

Keywords: Biopolitics, humanitarianism, gender, race, representation, postcolonialism.

N/A

hector.mondragon@alumnos.cide.edu

LONDON SCHOOL OF ECONOMICS AND POLITICAL SCIENCE

CORNELL UNIVERSITY

CENTRO DE INVESTIGACIÓN Y DOCENCIA ECONOMICAS
This paper focuses on Hannah Arendt’s concept of authority. In order to do that, I will proceed by revising her arguments on the political theory of authority. The present work highlights how she developed her understanding of authority from the political experiences of the classical world, especially that of ancient Rome, and its impact on the American and French revolutions of the XVIII century. Furthermore, the article puts forward the argument that Arendt’s idea of authority is both revolutionary, asserting the existence of a public space where politics can take place, and conservative, inasmuch as it limits the scope of human political action. To conclude, I want to highlight how the concept of authority is an attempt to rescue the dignity of politics.

Collective civic action has been a facet of human society that predates written record, and in established democracies such as the United States it is a foundational aspect of political life. Civil rights protests led by the Black community have been vital in ushering America into a truly representative democracy, despite the violent opposition that frequently meets them. In the following paper, we aim to show whether or not violent events lead to changes in voter turnout that affect local political leadership by examining the results of the local elections that most immediately follow the violent incidents of racial injustice. This study defines police brutality as the use of excessive force by a police officer, and focuses on three victims of such brutality— Michael Brown, Trayvon Martin, and Eric Garner. For each case study, we compare publicized activism that resulted from police brutality, quantified via Google Trend data regarding the awareness and media attention it garnered. Between each treatment and control city, we measure the change in voter turnout since the last comparable election; voter data from demographically comparable cities is used in order to control for external factors with the potentiality to affect voter behavior. Our findings indicate that in these cases, there was no statistically significant difference in voter turnout before and after the events of police brutality. However, we also conclude that activism does impact down-ballot measures, which demonstrates the importance of activism in the aftermath of injustice.

Relational egalitarians contend that equality should not be first and foremost concerned with patterns of distribution, but about how agents relate to one another. The authors who subscribe to this general theoretical family post that equality requires that all individuals regard and treat each other as equals. The question of scope is thus central for relational egalitarians: that is, if the focus is on social relations, it necessarily raises the question of what relationships ought to be equalized. Typically, they focus on relations uniting fellow citizens. An influential argument in the literature supporting this focus comes from the idea that the social relations which should be subjected to principles of egalitarian justice are the relations within individual states because they are characterised by special kinds of cooperative relations. This argument from cooperation is forcefully defended by Samuel Freeman and Andrea Sangiovanni. Freeman contends that intra-national relations are particularly important because they embody a valuable type of collective political autonomy and Sangiovanni argues that though there are transnational relations of cooperation, they are not currently significant enough to warrant the application of egalitarian principles of justice. However, I argue that both arguments are unconvincing and that a proper understanding of transnational cooperation warrants the application of transnational egalitarian principles of justice. I use the case of the Rana Plaza building collapse to illustrate and support this argument.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MATHEUS MARTINS FERREIRA</th>
<th>EMMA SEMAAAN and BRENNA OLSON and</th>
<th>HUGO COSSETTE-LEFEBVRE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>HANNAH ARENDT’S CONCEPT OF AUTHORITY TO RESCUE THE DIGNITY OF POLITICS</td>
<td>THE EFFECT OF SOCIO-POLITICAL ACTIVISM FOLLOWING POLICE BRUTALITY ON VOTER TURNOUT</td>
<td>COOPERATION, RELATIONAL EQUALITY, AND THE SCOPE OF Egalitarian JUSTICE</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Keywords:** Authority; Political Action; Public Space; Politics; Hannah Arendt

**Keywords:** police brutality, protests, elections, voting

**Keywords:** Relational egalitarianism, civil disobedience, civility.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>N/A</th>
<th><a href="mailto:es9969a@american.edu">es9969a@american.edu</a>, <a href="mailto:bo8299a@american.edu">bo8299a@american.edu</a>, <a href="mailto:nm2380a@american.edu">nm2380a@american.edu</a></th>
<th><a href="mailto:hugo.cossette-lefebvre@mcgill.ca">hugo.cossette-lefebvre@mcgill.ca</a></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>UNIVERSITY O BRASILIA (UNIVERSIDADE DE BRASILIA)</td>
<td>AMERICAN UNIVERSITY</td>
<td>MCGILL UNIVERSITY</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
This study focuses on the concepts of civic education and democracy by mainly bringing effective civic education, through educational institutions, as a must for the survival of the constitutional democracy. In claiming so, this study tries to discuss four main arguments first, from the republican perspective, civic education is a must to give the notion of the common good to the citizens. Second, from the liberal perspective, it is a must to give the notion of living together. Third, related with both liberal and national perspectives, it is a must to give the notion of the societal role to the citizens. And fourth, educational institutions are the main channels for delivering civic education to the citizens in a democracy. To discuss all this, this study first focuses on what it means to be a citizen in a democracy, from both republican and liberal perspectives; then focuses on the political community’s definition and on citizen’s relation with the political community. Then, the description of civic education and role of educational institutions in civic education is analysed.

Student government is a topic often neglected in political science, leaving little support for millions of students around the world who each year engage in a variety of elections from local to global levels of student representation. This paper outlines key theoretical concepts and approaches to consider when researching this emerging topic. In particular, it makes the case for a dialectical approach to student government theory that takes into account student government’s existence within overarching educational, political, and societal institutions and the power relations therein. It also starts discussions on considering student identity within student government contexts, student government political economy, and offers more practical recommendations for researching student government in aspects of political science like the politics of development, comparative politics, and international relations.

The democratic foundation of the university is neither obvious nor given. Although its contribution to the general democratic society has been studied, the establishment and interaction of its internal institutions, have not. Issues of autonomy, accountability and legal independence are raised. Postmodernism concepts introduce further complexity. Traditional ideas of the university are subverted by uncertainty, whereas authoritative knowledge claims no longer exist.

A model framework for measuring dimensions of democracy within a university was constructed in our previous work. Certain indicators internationally established for the measurement of democracy were transferred to the field of the university. An attempt to highlight the interrelations between democracy indicators and democratic characteristics of the university was made, raising for the first time to our knowledge - the research question of this work: To what extend could these characteristics be found before the whole university collapsed?

A set of interviews with a group of European academics were conducted on this matter. Furthermore, as a case study, the influence of agents and forces acting externally to the university were studied through a thorough bibliographical survey for the European Central University, during its presence in Hungary. The findings show that increased state control undermines institutional autonomy. Similarly, imposing unnecessary restrictions and obstacles, without consulting independent accreditation bodies and associations. Finally, protecting democracy and academic freedom, civil and international rights, maintaining a rule of law and supporting an open society are of paramount importance, otherwise the operation of the university collapses, as it was demonstrated on our model framework.

Keywords: Civic Education, liberal model of citizenship, republican model of citizenship, social contract, educational institutions.

Keywords: student government, student movements, student unions, politics of education.

Keywords: Democratic University, civil society, governance crisis.

Keywords: public opinion, social networks, blogs.
### III.I

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>REON</th>
<th>ZEYNEP</th>
<th>VICTORIA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>VAN DER MERWE</td>
<td>BOZKURT</td>
<td>BERGSTROM</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### The Prospects of Pro-Democratic Regionalism in Africa: A Comparative Study of ECOWAS and SADC as Democratic Norm Enforcers

The African Union (AU) and its Regional Economic Communities (RECs) have expressed their commitment to strengthening democratic values and institutions in Africa for nearly two decades. Yet, many countries on the continent still struggle to consolidate democratic systems of governance, often resulting in coups, unconstitutional transfers of power, and infringements on the rights and freedoms of citizens. This paper assesses the effectiveness of regional approaches to entrenching democratic norms and institutions through a comparative lens, by comparing the respective norm enforcement practices of the Southern African Development Community (SADC) and the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS). A comparative historical analysis is used to identify key similarities and differences in how each REC has responded to democratic norm infringements by their member states. This paper specifically compares trends in SADC responses to norm infringement in Zimbabwe, Eswatini, and Madagascar, with ECOWAS responses in Ivory Coast, the Gambia, and Mali. It argues that while both RECs have attempted to position themselves as democratic norm enforcers in principle, the evidence shows that ECOWAS has been more successful in this regard. This paper concludes that the factors shaping the effectiveness of regional approaches to democratic norm enforcement in Africa are, the presence/absence of appropriate regional legal provisions, the willingness of regional hegemons to lead enforcement and the level of support for supranationalism in a given region. Regional governance organisations in Africa must account for these factors if they wish to achieve a mutually reinforcing relationship between African regionalism and democratisation.

### "It’s Not About 30 Pesos, It’s About 30 Years!": Time for Redistribution in Chilean Politics

How did the grassroots movements in Chile came to shape? Ever since the demonstrations against increased subway fares fueled the fire of a longstanding dissent in a nationwide level against Augusto Pinochet’s ghost in the government, the world started to encounter a new change in the political power positions in Chile. The dynamics of grassroots civil disobedience in Chile have been rarely analyzed in the academic environment for years. The study of the rearticulation of the protesters as a new hegemonic political front in the Chilian public sphere, as well as their struggle for recognition leading to a means of redistributive change in governmental policies against economic inequality will prove to be fruitful and necessary for the political theory literature. In this research paper I aim to analyze the trajectory of the current nationwide protests in Chile through a conceptual framework consisted of recognition and redistribution in the public sphere, which are originally articulated by Honneth and Fraser’s seminal debates (2003), Laclau and Mouffe’s analysis on hegemonic social contingencies (1985) and Young’s concept of politics of difference (1990). My main argument is that the struggle for recognition vis-a-vis government is interconnected with the struggle for redistribution. Additionally I argue that the struggle for recognition, which is prescribed by Young for justice, turned into a hegemonic struggle through the articulations of different identities (like indigenous communities) into one symbol means of representation. In light of this, this paper will aim at contributing to the political theory literature by considering the impact and significance of the most recent protests in Chile.

### Continental Connections: The Trans-African Highway Network Revisited

Western European control of Africa during the late 19th century restricted the development of independent trade among African countries. Progress in trade expansion for post-colonial Africa has been plodding over the past century. It is noted that similar trading and political discourses have not changed to a great degree in post-colonial Africa despite efforts from organizations such as the African Union, African Development Bank, and United Nations Economic Commission for Africa. Further connections were introduced through the Trans-African Highway Network, a long working idea dating back to colonial times. This proposed trade and transportation concept is much more complicated than transcontinental highway systems of singular nations such as Canada, the United States, or Brazil. Although transcontinental road projects are being developed, the lack of centralized sponsorship for this resource-intensive undertaking has impeded progress given Africa’s complex geopolitical issues among its 55 countries. Geopolitical issues include the well-established understanding of widespread economic uncertainty, disease, political instability, autocratic regimes, and conflicts. External influences, including foreign powers seeking to exploit Africa’s natural resources are a severe concern. This study assesses the Trans-African Highway Network from its initial consideration to the present. Although some studies have addressed the development of a pan-African transportation network’s potential effects on health and the environment, the overall concept remains under-examined.

### Keywords

- Comparative Politics: African Regionalism; Democratization; Norm enforcement
- Chile, grassroots social movements, power, economic inequality, recognition, redistribution, hegemony
- Geopolitics, pan-Africanism, Borders, Instability, Networks, Africa, Exploitation, Neo-colonialism

### Contact Information

- carelaron17@gmail.com
- treeofphosphor@gmail.com
- N/A

### Affiliations

- UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN
- BOĞAZİÇİ UNIVERSITY
- DEPARTMENT OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS AND INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION, UNIVERSITY OF GRONINGEN (RIJKSUNIVERSITEIT GRONINGEN), GRONINGEN, THE NETHERLANDS
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>OZGE</th>
<th>MATTEO</th>
<th>NGUH</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>KORKMAZ SAHBAZ</td>
<td>MICHELINI</td>
<td>FON</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### WHAT ARE THE DRIVERS OF CONSTITUTIONAL CHANGE IN TURKEY?

This paper explores the reasons of constitutional reform in Turkey. This paper argues that the strong Presidency in 1982 constitution and 2007 amendments paved the way for the presidential reform in Turkey and the internal fragmentation and weakening power of the military opened a window for the institutional change. The strong personalization around Erdogan provided a resource for the last constitutional reform and the failed coup attempt on the 15 July 2016 triggered the regime change. The study was conducted by employing the method of process tracing and the theory of windows of opportunity as well as different approach of path-dependence. This paper contributes to the literature by endeavoring for the exploration of reasons for the institutional change in the historical and political context.

### THE PROPORTIONALITY PRINCIPLE: A COMPARISON BETWEEN LIQUID DEMOCRACY AND REPRESENTATIVE DEMOCRACY

The proportionality principle states that power in any decision-making process should be proportional to individual stakes. Such a principle is often proposed in contrast with the equality principle, which would assign equal power to every voter. Delegative forms of democracy have the advantage of allowing an initial equal distribution of power to become unequal (and potentially proportional) through delegation. In this paper, we study the possibility for two different political systems that involve delegation, namely representative democracy and liquid democracy, to create a final proportional distribution of power. In order to carry out such a comparison, we provide a formal framework for these two political systems and a formal characterization of voters’ behavior. In such a framework, the delegation process is investigated, and two versions of the proportionality principle are proposed: a strict and a weak one. The strict version requires a system always to produce a proportional distribution. The weak version requires a system only to be expected to produce a proportional distribution. We prove that the strict version can be satisfied by representative democracy for more stakes' profiles, but neither representative nor liquid can grant it for all of them. Besides, we prove that the weak version of the principle is satisfied by liquid democracy in any stakes' profile, whereas this is not the case for representative democracy.

Freedom of speech is one of the core values and vital signs of a healthy democracy. However, the adverb of ‘Wokism’ and the resurgence of ‘Cancel Culture’ seems to pose a threat to freedom of expression, or views and sentiments that goes at odds with the reigning orthodoxy in civic space. Prima facie, ‘Wokism’ or the concept of being ‘woke’ and ‘Cancel Culture’ appears benign and even virtuous; something no moral crusader or social justice enthusiast may want to be left out on. Though etymologically embedded in African American culture, the word “Woke” only made its dictionary entry in 2017 with the Oxford Dictionary defining it as being “alert to injustice in society, especially racism”. Being woke has since then been transformed into a movement for social justice which utilizes ‘Cancel culture’ as a way of holding persons or entities accountable for perceived, alleged or apparent manifestations of social injustices. Though the aforementioned phenomena may conceptually and fundamentally harbour what appears a noble objective, the devil as they say is in the details. Their implementation so far has left many to wonder if these concepts have not become an impediment to freedom of speech, diversity of thought and plurality of opinion. This paper probes into the controversy surrounding ‘Wokism’ and ‘Cancel culture’, and contends for the need to strike a fair balance between the pursuit of social justice and the preservation of free speech.

### Keywords
- Constitutional Changes, Regime Changes, Regime Transitions, Turkey.
- Democracy, Wokism, Cancel culture, Social justice, Freedom of speech.

ozge.sahbaz@hbv.edu.tr

ANKARA HACI BAYRAM VELE UNIVERSITY

N/A

UNIVERSITY OF AMSTERDAM

nguhnwei@gmail.com

EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN UNIVERSITY, FAMAGUSTA, NORTH CYPRUS
### III.1.11

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PATRICIJA KALKYTĖ</th>
<th>FERNANDO URSINE BRAGA SILVA</th>
<th>ARTEM OLINYK</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>THE IMPACT OF COVID-19 PANDEMIC ON THE INNOVATIVENESS OF LITHUANIAN PUBLIC SECTOR</td>
<td>FAMILY FEUD, OR REALPOLITIK? OPPOSITION PARTIES, BREAKUPS AND REALIGNMENTS IN CONTEMPORARY JAPAN</td>
<td>POLITICAL CHANGES IN UKRAINE 2020: IN INSTITUTES WE TRUST.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

OECD shows that countries which possess more digital public services are able to deal more efficiently with COVID-19 crisis. There were not many aspirations to research innovations in Lithuanian public administration, but the previous researches points to the bureaucratic approach towards innovative projects and a problem of insufficient capacities in the public sector. However, the COVID-19 pandemic crisis has become not only a challenge, but also an opportunity for change in the public governance. This research seeks to determine whether and how the COVID-19 pandemic crisis accelerated the development and implementation of innovations, increasing the resilience of Lithuanian public administration. By combining the existing theories of public administration, innovation diffusion in public administration and crisis management and invoking qualitative analysis with process tracing method, there is conducted 15 expert interviews with public sector professionals who had the innovative projects during the COVID-19 crisis in the fields of public health or the economic response. The results indicate that crisis regime is able to accelerate the innovativeness of public sector, especially when the highest uncertainty exists. Furthermore, the paper discusses different significance of decision-making method, interinstitutional and cooperation with stakeholders, role of political leadership and innovation agents, the fact of easier access to funding during the COVID-19 crisis to the 4 types of digital innovations implementation processes (product/service, process, position and paradigm) in public sector.

In this paper, I analyze the reasons that led Democratic Party of Japan (DPJ), Japan’s former second biggest political party, to split in 2017. First, I examine the origins of the party as an umbrella for various ideologically diverse groups that were against the conservative Liberal Democratic Party (LDP), party which has been leading the country throughout most of its post-war history. Then, I discuss the origins of the DPJ’s internal factionalism, and the oftentimes damaging role it played in the party decision making process throughout the years. Furthermore, I use the DPJ split shortly before the 2017 General Election as a case study so as to assess the practical implications of splits and realignments in the most relevant opposition-related political fact in Japan since the DPJ was ousted from government in 2012. With the case study, it is understood that under normal political conditions, the split would not have happened. However, the creation of the Party of Hope – a split from the LDP –, and the salience of constitutional issues were exogenous factors particular to that election led to the DPJ’s breakup. In this breakup, the center-left membership formed the Constitutional Democratic Party (CDP) and the center-right and conservative membership joined the Party of Hope. After the latter’s defeat in the 2017 election, it changed its name to Democratic Party for the People (DPP), and at the time of writing talks about a merger between both parties, aiming to create an opposition united front started.

The study draws attention to the existence of the dualistic fact that was recorded at the apogee of the electoral cycle in 2019: the rejection of politicians and the simultaneous trust in the institutions of power, elections, law system, the army etc. The previous tendency of non-conformism, various kinds of rejection and protest qualitatively transforms into a consistent replacement of the personnel of the authorities, while at the same time demonstrating mutual respect for powerful hierarchy on both sides. Fixation in the basic law of unambiguous value and vector orientations limits to a maximum the subjective personal role of cadres in the hypothetical geopolitical maneuvering of the state and goes into the plane of “service” to the principles prescribed by the people.

Particular attention is paid to the temporal category of legalization of the social movement to a political party, its long-term credibility credit and a powerful social base for legitimizing actions, as well as the social accumulation resource. Emphasis is placed on the importance of the gesture for the world: distrust of the authorities has resulted in democratic elections, which have highlighted the reality of the movement’s readiness for multi-level inversion, as well as the avoidance of the duality of the authorities’ legal and legitimate.

The year 2019 clearly and unequivocally showed that the long-term process of transformation from post-Soviet Ukraine to the state of subjective statehood can be traced for example of established and stable political and social institutes what culturally and values join the state to the generalized type of Western democracy.

**Keywords:** public sector, innovations, leadership, collaboration, innovation agents, agility, resilience, uncertainty  
**Keywords:** Japan, Electoral reform, Political realignment  
**Keywords:** institutes, political changes, elections, democracy

kalkytepat@gmail.com  
f_ursine@eis.hokudai.ac.jp  
artempetrivs16@ukr.net

VILNIUS UNIVERSITY, INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS AND POLITICAL SCIENCE  
HOKKAIDO UNIVERSITY  
TARAS SHEVCHENKO NATIONAL UNIVERSITY OF KYIV
In his book “Against Democracy”, Brennan (2011) argues that epistocracy would be less unjust compared to democracy as he believes that restricting suffrage would result in less decisions being made incompetently by incompetent, morally unreasonable people. Aiming to define what makes a competent and morally reasonable person, Brennan describes the concept of moral reasonability as: “a variable, to be filled in by the truth, whatever that is” (Brennan, 2011, p. 705). I will argue that, if (moral) relativism is true, democracy is more likely to make decisions competently by competent people than epistocracy, thereby better satisfying Brennan’s own principle. Firstly, if relativism is true, competence and moral reasonability are formed according to the values of the majority in a society in a particular time. Secondly, as we take relativism to be true, a decision that stimulates what is positively valued or aims to prevent what is negatively valued will therewith act accordingly to notions associated with competence and (moral) reasonability. Consequently, the better a polity is able to represent the values of its current society, the more competent and morally reasonable decisions it would make. Whilst epistocracy establishes its policies through a select ‘competent’ group, democracy aims to represent the value of its population. A direct democracy will therefore better represent the values of its society and make competent and morally reasonable decisions according to relativism.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DONOVAN</th>
<th>DEVEN</th>
<th>ALEXANDRU-GEORGE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>VAN DER HAAK</td>
<td>IBURKS</td>
<td>MOŞ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**THE INCOMPATIBILITY OF RELATIVISM AND EPISTOCRACY**

**DELIBERATIVE CONSTITUTIONALISM AND POPULAR SOVEREIGNTY**

**VERFASSUNGSVERBUND AND CONSTITUTIONAL IDENTITY: FROM CONVERGENCE TO INCONGRUENCE AND BACK AGAIN**

Despite recent focus on deliberative constitutionalism, deliberative democratic theory has stayed clear of the concept of popular sovereignty. Though ingrained in the history of constitutional thought, popular sovereignty may leave deliberative democrats fearful that it provides rhetorical cover for elite-driven constitutional reform. I partially rehabilitate this concept by focusing on how the tension between its two components – constituent power and constituted power – might be harnessed to model different kinds of deliberative constitutional ecologies. Inspired by Loughlin and Walker (2007), I explore four such ecologies and their characteristic institutional mechanisms: deliberative containment; deliberative co-articulation; deliberative potential; deliberative instant. Although deliberative constitutionalists may be drawn to deliberative co-articulation since it promotes deliberative forms of both constituent and constituted power, I conclude that there is no general answer to which ecology is required by deliberative democracy’s central normative principles and that much depends on fit with theorists’ broader commitments.

Keywords: Epistocracy, analytical political philosophy, democracy, relativism

Keywords: Constitutionalism; deliberative democracy; popular sovereignty; constituent power; legitimacy

Keywords: Constitutional Identity, Constitutional Pluralism, Rule of Law, Abusive Constitutionalism, European Union Law, Contentious Politics

**donovanvanderhaak@hotmail.com**

**deven.burks@uni.lu**

**alexandru.moss27@gmail.com**

TILBURG UNIVERSITY

UNIVERSITY OF LUXEMBOURG

BABEŞ-BOLYAI UNIVERSITY, FACULTY OF LAW
A common argument for a state’s right to exclude would-be immigrants consists in the claim that political communities should be able to preserve their particular cultural identity, as brought forward by e.g. Michael Walzer or David Miller. Others argue that it is collective self-determination which grounds such a right, like for example Christopher Heath Wellman or Sarah Song. I will argue that these arguments are strongest when thought of in terms of political identities, i.e. how particular political communities realize “the political”. In a second step, I will show how these political identities manifest themselves in a specific form of political judgment grounded within the historical political practice of these communities. This allows for a fruitful reconsideration of how contemporary liberal democracies should deal with the question of global freedom of movement. According to this framework, the political identity of liberal democracies is realized via a liberal form of political judgment, which itself represents a history of contestations of the boundaries of the demos based on concepts like the equal moral worth of persons and individual autonomy. This way, the normative demands from proponents of global freedom of movement, like Joseph Carens, can be integrated into arguments for a state’s right to exclude, resulting in a more dynamic and politicized understanding of the issues at stake. One aspect of this perspective consists in the need of justifying restrictive immigration policies with regard to the political projects of liberal democracies as historical endeavors open to contestations of their demois.

**Keywords:** immigration, global freedom of movement, political normativity, justice, liberalism, political judgment

---

The annexation of the Crimean Peninsula in 2014 dramatically changed routine practices and perceptions about Lithuania’s foreign policy agenda. The threat to small state’s security marked a new era of active searching for self-definition and policy direction. The presentation aims to analyse the dominant tendencies of Lithuania’s identity in foreign and security policy after 2014. Lithuania is selected precisely because of its vocal reaction and concerns after the annexation of Crimea. This article analyses speeches, comments and statements made within contemporary political discourse by key political leaders in Lithuania’s foreign and security policy. It argues that – in light of potential military threat – political leaders advocate for increased self-responsibility and readiness to act as the relations with their respective partners remain both crucial and complicated.

**Keywords:** Discourse Analysis, Identity, Lithuania, NATO, Russia, Security

---

The migrant has become one of the most controversial figures of the 21st century. At once the embodiment of vulnerability from a human right’s point of view and the trespasser of distinct legal orders from the perspective of extreme nationalists, the migrant is set at the conflux of key political antagonisms that are defining the outreach and limits of contemporary Western democracies. While this has been widely discussed in the specialized literature, what has been left behind is the double form of existence that this wages upon migrants themselves. This article discusses, from a politico-philosophical perspective, both the representational and the existential burdens laid upon vulnerable individuals who traverse different territories, many times despite their will. The discussion acknowledges the recent contributions made by Agamben (1996), Balibar (2000), Badiou (2009) and Thomas Niall (2015) on the issue. Nevertheless, it draws on Walter Benjamin to construct an allegorical reading of the migrant that locates them, on the one hand, as critical wanderers, travelers and refugees, while developing, on the other hand, the argument that precarious migrants have also become experiential experts in transnational issues and transborder knowledges. For this aim, the article transposes Kantorowicz’s well-known distinction from a medieval political theology unto a contemporary setting, to shed light on the ways Western democracies, their institutions and their citizens deal with these individuals, imposing on them a symbolic reductionism and neglecting their possible transcultural and epistemological contributions.

**Keywords:** critical migration, borders and conflict, right-wing extremism, transborder knowledges.

---

**Thorben Knobloch**
**KNOBLOCH**

**Justinas Lingevicius**
**LINGEVICIUS**

**Javier Toscano**
**TOSCANO**

**Title:** Between Identity and Contestation: Liberal Political Judgment on Global Freedom of Movement**

**Title:** Identity Discourse within a Geopolitical Crisis: the Case of Lithuania**

**Title:** The Migrant’s Two Bodies: Wanderings, Hyperbolic Threats and Symbolic Erasements in the Name of Democracy**

---

**Enabled Yes**

**RUHR-UNIVERSITY BOCHUM**

**VILNIUS UNIVERSITY**

**APRA FOUNDATION, BERLIN**

---

**thorben.knobloch@rub.de**

**justinas.lingevicius@tspmi.stud.vu.lt**

**tosgue@yahoo.com**

---

**PLEASE NOTE THAT ALL SESSIONS WILL TAKE PLACE IN CENTRAL EUROPEAN TIME (CET)**

---

**GLOBAL FREEDOM OF MOVEMENT**

**THORBEN KNOBLOCH**

**JUSTINAS LINGEVICIUS**

**JAVIER TOSCANO**

---

**THORBEN KNOBLOCH**

**JUSTINAS LINGEVICIUS**

**JAVIER TOSCANO**
### THE CHALLENGES TO THE REGIONAL SECURITY OF RUSSIA: CULTURAL-IDENTITY CONFLICTS IN THE POST-SOVIET SPACE.

This paper will review the importance of the post-Soviet space as a key to understand Russian geopolitical aspirations at a regional and international level since the beginning of the 21st century, and that despite Russian efforts to join regional organizations that provide economic, military, political and energetic support; the cultural relations that are the result of the historical past in the region are still vital and have been instrumentalized by both the West and Russia to gain space in Eurasia through the expansion of the European Union, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, and the expansion of American hegemony — examples such as Ukraine, Georgia, the Baltic countries and Central Asia show Western interference in the Russian strategic zone —; recognizing that in the nineties and in the twenty-first century, the world changed, its organization and interests in which society takes a fundamental place for its legitimation and reproduction.

Keywords: Russia, post-Soviet space, security, society, culture, identity, geopolitics.

---

### THE SELF AND THE OTHER – HUNGARIAN IDENTITY AND THE REFUGEE CRISIS

In times of ontological insecurity, identities face pressures of reformulation and doubts over their legitimacy. The following paper addresses the complex issue of Hungarian identity construction processes. The research is based on a discursive study of three annual addresses (2015-2017) of the Hungarian prime minister Viktor Orbán. By utilizing the intellectual heritage of symbolic interactionism and linking it to the current post-structuralist research, I aim to prove the interconnection of foreign policy on the discursive constructions of concepts as Self and Other. Studying the prime minister’s annual addresses to the nation, I identify the basic elements of both concepts. Following the assumptions of David Campbell (1998), I aim to describe those threats to the identity that legitimizes its existence. Besides the ambition to portray the Hungarian Self, the paper serves as a response to the current mainstream liberal intergovernmental approach that considers identity an epiphenomenal realm having a trivial influence on foreign policies of states.

Keywords: the refugee crisis, Hungary, symbolic interactionism, discourse, identity

---

### PARTISANIDEOLOGICAL IDENTITIES AT GRASSROOTS, MID-LEVEL ELITES AND MPS. EXPLAINING PORTUGUESE MEMBER-PARTY (IN)CONGRUENCE.

The growing interest in party members is a symptom of the salience of these agents and their role in representative democracies. The ‘crisis of the membership’ lead researchers to try to understand the profile of those who still participate through political parties. However, although this widespread investigation is crucial to examine many details of political representation, the international debate on party members found lack of acceptance in Portugal. Studies on party membership are scarce and rely mostly on parties’ formal and institutional dimensions. The Portuguese case is relevant for several reasons. The electoral system, the bipolar competition of the multiparty system and the existence of different party typologies provide the conditions for testing May’s Law. Therefore, seeking to contribute to fill this gap and explain the causes of ideological heterogeneity between members and parties after the economic crisis, we rely on newly data about party affiliates, delegates and MPs. We measure the extent in which organizations contain members who distance themselves from the party, who they are, what they think and what distinguish them. Findings largely support our expectations, having important implications for future research on the consequences of the financial bailout, polarization and factionalism in longitudinal and comparative perspective. There are significant differences in the proportions of ideological mismatch according to party types. Incongruence also varies between membership hierarchies, being more the norm than the exception, and it is explained by instrumental motivations, satisfaction with internal democracy, members emancipation and previously defected votes.

Keywords: political parties, party membership, ideological incongruence, Portugal.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>ASTHA CHADHA</strong></th>
<th><strong>NETRA BAHADUR KARKI</strong></th>
<th><strong>ESTHER BRITO</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

The Indo-Pacific has become a center point of the security friction between the US and China, where both have sought to advance their strategic, economic and political influence through investments, alliances and partnerships. The US, which sees a threat from the rise of China as a potential superpower, has advanced its relations with other democracies, Japan- which has been its long-term ally but not a very strong maritime power, and India- a regional power that aims to be a net security provided in the Indian Ocean. Together, though the three nations have elevated their efforts to contain China, they lack a coherent strategy to counter China’s pragmatic and meticulous pivot to South China Sea, Bay of Bengal, East China Sea and Indian Ocean, owing to fissures in their domestic politics, economic interdependence with Beijing and policy lacuna to deal with each other’s security challenges. That raises a question of the relevance of India-Japan, US-Japan and India-US maritime partnerships in dealing with the security challenges, in their larger aim of promoting democratization of maritime sphere in the free, open and rule-based Indo-Pacific. The paper examines the joint initiatives by the US, Japan and India towards promotion of maritime cooperation and democratization of seas and oceans in the Indian Ocean. Using a neo-classical realist framework of analysis involving state’s domestic politics, philosophy/strategic demeanor, and material capabilities, the study seeks to evaluate the above three partnerships in context of these nations' evaluation and norms of the Indo-Pacific peace and prosperity as means (to achieve greater maritime influence) as well as an end.

The purpose of this study is to examine ethnic identity in the three-tiered federalism and explores the ethnic minority right in post-2015 Nepal. As a multicultural, multilingual and multi-ethnic state with its diverse caste and ethnic groups, the federal structure also seems multicultural, multilingual, and linguistic. This has given rise to various challenges to accommodate ethnic identity and protect minority rights in Nepal. Therefore, the study has analyzed the political party’s role, inclusion and non-discrimination, and representation by using primary and secondary data to accommodate ethnic identity in Nepal’s federalism and ensure the protection of the ethnic minority group. In Nepal, identity politics has emerged after 1990 that caused ethnic issues to have gained the political agenda. As a result, the first Constituent Assembly and some other political parties have proposed ethnicity-based federal models. Later, the second Constituent Assembly ignored the ethnicity-based federalism model. However, Nepal has adopted reserved seats and quotas and a mixed electoral system to elect or select the legislatures for minorities, including women, and reserved seats or quotas for certain minority groups for public employment. Some groups- especially Madhesis and indigenous peoples- are disagreeing with Nepal’s seven provinces and 753 local unit territorial map. Therefore, the study concludes that multicultural policies (multiculturalism) matter to ethnicity’s accommodation in promoting ethnic minority rights in Nepal.

This paper aims to examine the future of Sino-Japanese relations in the context of East Asia geopolitics, and evaluate how the regression of the US from global leadership and the increased potential for clashes between Japan and China will shape 21st century security dilemmas. With the Asia-Pacific region remaining the world’s most dynamic center of economic activity, and a now undoubtable political behemoth, the diplomatic relations of its leading powers, Japan and China, now stand to either favor or precipice global security. In fact, the pattern of these countries interaction has come to set the structure and pace of Asia-Pacific regional cooperation. As bilateral relations between both powers remain increasingly tense despite economic interaction, and with the regression of US commitment to its allies, potential periods of aggression become dangerous. This antagonism has manifested in increasingly nationalist ideals within both nations, and prompting the escalation of political disagreements into periodic crisis situations. In the aftermath of the COVID-19 pandemic, and Japan’s increased calls for stronger military commitments, this paper will examine the potential breaking points of the East Asian security balance.

**Keywords:** India; Indo-Pacific; FOIP; Democratization of maritime space  
**Keywords:** Ethnicity Accommodation, Ethnic Minority Groups, Multiculturalism, Identity Politics, South Asia, Nepal  
**Keywords:** Geopolitics, Japan, China, Security, East Asia

asta2602@gmail.com  
g216704w@icu.ac.jp  
brito.aziz.esther@gmail.com

RITSUMEIKAN ASIA PACIFIC UNIVERSITY  
INTERNATIONAL CHRISTIAN UNIVERSITY, TOKYO, JAPAN  
IESE BUSINESS SCHOOL
This article is devoted to exploration of civil society activism in the realm of memory politics in Ukraine in comparison with Estonia. The study aimed at exploration to what extent civil society activists at local level has been involved in shaping memory politics and in particular in creating of physical landscape of memorials in order to explore whether memory politics compatible with local civil society. This research focused at finding some solution for balancing memory between political regulation and representative memorialization by compelling citizens to become engaged. The study will be based on case studies of local civic initiatives and civil society actors in memory politics and their ability to influence mainstream institutions of memory, and interaction with state actors in constructing a framework for legitimate memorialization. In-depth interviews with civil society and state actors will be conducted and nationwide polling on public perception of memory politics and possibility to participate in its construction (particularly within decommunization reform) will be analysed for this purpose. Moreover, the analysis will also examine relevant legislation in the sphere of memory politics.

Keywords: memory politics, civil society activism, representative memorialization, Ukraine, Estonia

tetianna@uef.fi

UNIVERSITY OF EASTERN FINLAND

---

After the collapse of the socialist system, ex-communist countries faced the necessity of thoughtful social reconstruction. In this context, the Romanian civil society struggled to find social consensus, still being a subject of debate. Through this research we tried to find out if there was any relation between the political myths existing in the society and the political options of the voters, but also how the voting options have adapted according to the changing political myths. The main argument of this paper is that, during the 90s, the mentality of the Romanian society was anchored in the social coordinates of the communist regime, rooted in the total absence of any ‘autonomous islands of power’. Civil society was in an uncertain position: it had high expectations in terms of reforms, but no democratic culture. Another argument is that society had developed alternative ways of avoiding the economic shortcomings during the ‘80s. People manifested a passive resistance towards the regime. My question was if this passive resistance is the core of the latest civic commitment or not.

Methodologically, we analysed five common myths encountered in the political transition, based on three election cycles and changes in political leadership: 1990 - 1996, 1996 - 2000 and 2001-2004. We opted for a qualitative analysis, focused on political discourse, oral history and the psychology of elections. The results suggest that, during the 90s, democracy had to be built on a majority of individuals suspicious towards the new political forces, which shaped the idea of democracy.

Keywords: regime change, civil society, post-communism, political myths

andrei.dalalau@yahoo.com

BABES-BOLYAI UNIVERSITY OF CLUJ-NAPOCA, ROMANIA

---

The existing discourse on leftist movements in post-Soviet countries characterizes them as weak and isolated. This research analyzes the case of Lithuania, which has had parliamentary left parties since the democratic transition. Despite this, a new leftist movement recently began to emerge. Therefore, I answer the question, why has the political opportunity emerged for new leftist political groups despite the presence of the “old” left in the Lithuanian government? I analyze the case on several levels. The macro-level analysis is based on the European Value Study (EVS) 3rd pre-release of 2017 data, while for meso/micro-level analysis I conducted 8 interviews with the members of the new leftist movement. The research reveals that a precarious society was formed by the losers of democratic transition and globalization. The opportunity for the leftist movement to arise was due to disappointment in society, formed by a long-lasting inefficiency of political parties and their inability to deal with precarious conditions in the country. The new leftist movement was formed recently because of the frustration for the first post-Soviet generation, rising from the discrepancy between dominating class-based capitalist politics and identity-related issues, which stimulated the search for alternative explanations of the socio-economic structure. Moreover, because of the nature of this generation, the new leftist movement is dual – an anti-austerity-care movement, fighting not only for the improvement of the precarious conditions they are facing but also taking care of the most vulnerable ones and thus creating a more inclusive and equal democracy.

Keywords: post-soviet civil society; democratic transition; first post-soviet generation; anti-austerity movements; care movements.

Dauksite_Laura@alumni.ceu.edu

CENTRAL EUROPEAN UNIVERSITY

---

***III.IV***

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TETIANA</th>
<th>ANDREI</th>
<th>LAURA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NAGIRNIAK</td>
<td>DALALAU</td>
<td>DAUKSIAITE</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

CIVIL SOCIETY ACTIVISM AND MEMORY POLITICS IN UKRAINE AND ESTONIA: CONSTRUCTING FRAMEWORK FOR LEGITIMATE MEMORIALIZATION

CIVIL SOCIETY AND ITS MYTHS DURING THE 90S IN POST-COMMUNIST ROMANIA.

POST-SOVET CIVIL SOCIETY IN TRANSITION: LEFTIST SOCIAL MOVEMENTS IN LITHUANIA
### Towards Understanding Antonio Gramsci's Intellectuals: Class Origin, the Content of Intellectual Work, and Social Function

How can revolutionary political leaders gain different groups that are similarly situated—such as the proletariat and the peasantry—for revolution or political action? To better understand the political mobilization of these groups, it is valuable to turn to Antonio Gramsci’s study of “intellectuals.” According to Gramsci, organic intellectuals play a vital role in political mobilization by seizing the masses’ consciousness. Conversely, following Gramsci, traditional intellectuals do not play a vital role in revolutionary political mobilization; indeed, traditional intellectuals work to maintain the bourgeoisie’s status quo, mobilizing the masses in a non-revolutionary manner. In this paper, I highlight three categories that differentiate traditional intellectuals and organic intellectuals in political mobilization: class origin, the content of intellectual work, and social function. At times, these three categories pull in different directions, complicating the distinction between traditional intellectuals and organic intellectuals. Notably, I argue that economic factors are somehow relevant to an individual’s intellectual status but not determinate of an individual’s intellectual status. Therefore, the content of intellectual work and social function interact with economic factors, in the abstract, remain unclear.

Because of this, I turn to Fidel Castro, as a case study. Despite relevant economic factors, through my analysis, I will argue that Castro was an “organic intellectual,” as he advanced the Cuban Revolution’s goals and elevated the consciousness of the Cuban proletariat and the Cuban peasantry. Through this application, I will show that Fidel Castro mobilized a diverse revolutionary coalition in Cuba, making him an organic intellectual.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>GABRIEL</th>
<th>EMMRAS</th>
<th>ANA LAURIA</th>
<th>EZEKIEL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>VERGARA</td>
<td>SEMAAN</td>
<td>FERRARI</td>
<td>VERGARA</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Re-conceptualizing Free Speech as a Solution to Ideological Polarization in the American Polity

- **Gabriel**

There are few topics more relevant in American politics today than that of polarization. By providing an interdisciplinary evaluation of political polarization in the United States through the lenses of political psychology, political theory, and political science, I hope to explain how the interactions of individual and group identity shape the formation of political association and ideological identification in American politics. I also seek to contribute recommendations as to what steps must be taken to ensure democracy prevails against the increasingly volatile politics of extremism.

### Should Populists Stand Out? Assessing the Analytical Advantages of Populism for Democratic Backsliding Studies

- **Emmras**

Studies on democratic backsliding often call attention to populism and analyze populist cases. However, as the meaning of this concept is up to endless disputes, its mobilization can produce more complexity than gains to research. This paper investigates whether populism brings analytical advantages to the study of democratic backsliding. First, I argue that the most productive way scholars can employ this concept is to identify political actors’ ideological preferences. To this goal, I stress that the lack of commitment to democracy on the part of the elite matters for autocratization, and I defend that we can theoretically establish populism as an autocratic ideology. Second, I conduct a case study between a populist and a non-populist case of democratic backsliding to explore whether populism entails a particular institutional pattern to these episodes. I describe the backsliding in Hungary (2010-2015), under the populist prime minister Viktor Orbán, and in Bulgaria (2016-2019), under the non-populist prime minister Boyko Borisov. Conclude that populism does not occasion the use of any particular strategy or tool in these processes. Thus, populism can generate analytical advantages by functioning as an at-temperate to recognizing undemocratic political actors. Still, it does not help to discriminate the institutional blueprints’ heads of government follow to erode democracy.

### "Legitimate Authority, Reasonable Consent, and Revolution"

- **Ana Lauria**

According to canonical writings in the ethics of warfare, a legitimate authority is required for a conflict to be justified. In recent years, though, many ethicists of warfare have argued the legitimate authority requirement should be jettisoned. As a result, a paucity of scholarship has been produced regarding legitimate authority. However, in spite of this scholarship, it remains a question as to (1) whether a legitimate authority is required in political revolutions and (2) what would characterize a legitimate authority in revolutions. In this paper, I attempt to answer both of these questions. I push back against jettisoning the legitimate authority requirement and instead argue that a legitimate authority is only needed in offensive, not defensive, conflicts. Once this is established, I argue that consent serves as the basis of legitimate authority in revolution, refusing other potential characteristics. Ultimately, I argue that by retaining a consent-based legitimate authority, one respects the autonomy of individuals and does not lap into paternalism. With consent as the basis of legitimate authority, I then examine how consent functions in the revolutionary context, including, but not limited to, how much consent a required to sanction a legitimate authority and what type of consent is needed to sanction a legitimate authority. I posit that in order to address these concerns, one ought to appeal to the Rawlsian notion of “reasonableness,” which provides revolutionaries with flexibility but preserves the intuitive value of consent. Finally, I address the problem of multiple legitimate authorities in revolution and how such a problem can be resolved ethically.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>N/A</th>
<th>A. Ferrara</th>
<th>A. Ferra</th>
<th>E. K.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N/A</td>
<td><a href="mailto:aeferr@american.edu">aeferr@american.edu</a></td>
<td><a href="mailto:aarafferre@gmail.com">aarafferre@gmail.com</a></td>
<td><a href="mailto:Ezekiel121@dartmouth.edu">Ezekiel121@dartmouth.edu</a></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Keywords:** Antonio Gramsci, intellectuals, political mobilization, Fidel Castro

**Keywords:** needrom of speech, polarization, justice, political theory, American democracy

**Keywords:** democratic backsliding, democratic decline, autocratization, populism

**Keywords:** legitimate authority, revolution, consent, reasonableness, offensive/defense conflict

**Institution:** Cornell University

**Institution:** American University, Washington, DC, USA

**Institution:** Universidade de São Paulo

**Institution:** Dartmouth College
This paper explores the historical roots and theoretical foundations of the principles of nationality and autonomy in the European context, from the 1815 Congress of Vienna to today, by zeroing in on evolving conceptualizations of Hungarian national identity from an “imperial” to a “post-imperial” and finally to a “post-European” nation. It reviews and updates various authors’ conceptual frameworks informing their analyses of Europe’s historical national minorities since 1989 and shows how these frameworks gradually expanded over the past three decades by means of an “externalization process” whereby new relevant actors, arenas of action, influential allies, and activism resources were gradually incorporated into an evolving European relational socio-political ecosystem. This study proceeds to explore how the primarily state-centric paradigm structured by Sovereignty’s foundational “inside/Outside” metaphor was originally instrumentalized to construct and essentialize competing and conflicting views of “national identity” within and across state borders, but morphed over time into a complex “Hexagonal Cast” of actors interacting strategically across the various geopolitical levels of analysis of an emerging post-Westphalian European multilevel governance network. This paper then deploys the “Hexagonal Cast” perspective to both explain the evolution of the principles of territorial and non-territorial autonomy in the post-Communist era comprised between 1989 and 1998 and to discuss their application in the EU pre-accession decade of 1998-2010, with particular reference to Hungary, Slovakia, and Romania. Finally, it concludes by examining these principles’ current dynamics in Central and Eastern Europe in the post –2010 “ Hybrid Era” by focusing on the ongoing strategic juridico-political interactions between Brussels, Budapest, Bratislava, and Bucharest.

Thirty years after the EU identified lack of accountability and transparency as the most pressing issues in the post-communist bloc, the levels of corruption in these countries often remain comparable to the ones from the early 1990s. More puzzling is that the significant variation across countries in the type of corruption that each of these countries experience. This paper asks why countries in the former Eastern Bloc have developed different types of corruption, what are these types, and what factors explain such variation? It builds on a recently developed notion of diagonal or societal accountability (vertical and horizontal) by directing the attention to the involvement of non-state actors in accountability efforts.

The paper argument is twofold: First, it argues that both bottom-up pressure from domestic civil society and top-down pressure from international institutions are necessary for the creation of domestic ownership of norms and ideas which is a requirement for the successful implementation of anti-corruption policies. Second, the paper claims that such pressures could be fully understood only in the context of interactions between domestic non-state actors and the EU that create a new process of mutual socialization. The study employs a mixed method approach consisting of interviews, document analysis, and social network analysis and focuses on Bulgaria, Georgia, and Montenegro as case studies.

In this article we perform a yet unpublished analysis of the content and network built by the Brazilian Federal Prosecution Service (MPF) on Twitter. This public institution is part of the system of justice and holds a monopoly on public criminal action in the federal sphere. Recently, it became better known for coordinating the Car Wash anti-corruption operation, whose unfolding heavily affected the rule of law and democracy in Brazil. As we shall demonstrate, MPF has recorded intense activity on Twitter since opening its account in 2009, but especially in the Car Wash course. In order to know how much content was spread and the types of interactions that took place, we analyzed all of its tweets and retweets. By using the Twitter API, we were able to analyse all text related to the fight against corruption simultaneously. Also, we used Gephi to map its social network in order to identify the predominant ideological profile with which they held interactions. Among the main results, we found that most of the engagement is with greater intensity of MPF’s Twitter coincide with major political events that culminated in the recent Brazilian crisis, heavily aggravated by Covid-19 pandemic: 2014 elections, Dilma Rousseff’s impeachment in 2016 and the 2018 elections. In tune with such findings, the social network built around this period was revealed to be consistent with political parties and organized civil society groups aligned with right ideologies, precisely those who opposed the federal government until 2016 and who supported the election of Jair Bolsonaro in 2018.

Keywords: Hexagonal Cast, National Minority, National Identity, Nation-State, Sovereignty, Autonomy, Multi-level governance, Brussels, European Union, Hungary, Slovakia, Romania.

Keywords: Prosecution Service; Twitter; Cyberspace; Politics; Democracy; Car Wash.

Keywords: Accountability, Brazilian political institutions, Democracy, Participatory institutions, Public policy councils.

[Brazil has] participatory institutions that serve as interfaces between the State and society, such as the participatory councils. These participatory entities have become part of the Brazilian public administrative structures, which led to new management models based on accountability. In 2014, the Decreve Nº 8,243 standing for the National Social Participation Policy and National Social Participation System was published. The election of President Jair Bolsonaro in 2018 was followed by a process of reducing political participation; in this context, Decreve Nº 8,243 had been revoked. Our research aims to discover how the activities of participatory institutions has been taking place in the midst of actions that reduce political participation in Brazil. The purpose of this article is to investigate impacts of the current scenario in the Municipal Health Council of São Paulo’s activities. The analysis is based on an exploratory research that presents the historical development of São Paulo’s local councils. It also describes the Municipal Health Council of São Paulo. Several semi-structured interviews were made to explore the perception of council representatives about these recent changes. The result of the research points to an increase in difficulties accompanied by the desire of council representatives to maintain spaces for political participation.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NAME</th>
<th>INSTITUTION</th>
<th>EMAIL</th>
<th>DOCTORAL STUDENT</th>
<th>DEGREE</th>
<th>PAPER STATEMENT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>C. ALEXANDER</td>
<td>QUEEN’S UNIVERSITY, CANADA</td>
<td><a href="mailto:co35@queensu.ca">co35@queensu.ca</a></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SABINA</td>
<td>HASTINGS COLLEGE</td>
<td><a href="mailto:shilaiel@hastings.edu">shilaiel@hastings.edu</a></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RAFAEL RODRIGUES</td>
<td>MASTERS IN INTERNATIONAL LAW</td>
<td><a href="mailto:viagas.r@gmail.com">viagas.r@gmail.com</a>, <a href="mailto:buzanmann@gmail.com">buzanmann@gmail.com</a></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ANDRE</td>
<td>UNIVERSITY OF SAO PAULO</td>
<td><a href="mailto:andre.regalindo@gestaopublica.etc.br">andre.regalindo@gestaopublica.etc.br</a></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Keywords:** Hexagonal Cast, National Minority, National Identity, Nation-State, Sovereignty, Autonomy, Multi-level governance, Brussels, European Union, Hungary, Slovakia, Romania.
Policy makers often assume, mistakenly, that once a policy is formulated it will be implemented as proposed, and its results will be as expected Thomas B. Smith says this is not the case for policies implemented in developing countries. He designs an acute methodology that allows the analysis of the implementation of policy in a way that creates a cycle of perfection with the identification of tensions and the proposal of transactions. In this case study the objective is to analyze the implementation phase of the Integral Route of Services to the Homeless within the Homelessness policy in Bogota, Colombia for the period 2016-2019, from the perspective of Thomas B. Smith Model of Implementation (MIS). The study proposes a flowchart to apply the MIS in this specific policy, and as a result, a series of patterns were identified, and recommendations to the policymaker were formulated.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MARÍA FERNANDA GALLEGUO ORTIZ and ANGIE GABRIELA FORERO AMÉZQUITA</th>
<th>ANNA LIÉSE GOUOLD</th>
<th>DANIEL GHEORGHE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

While many states and regimes rely on legitimation and co-option in order to provide stability, neutralize threats, and maintain domestic and international support, much of the existing literature tends to provide little concrete distinction between religious legitimacy and other forms of legitimacy. This paper argues that religion should be analyzed as distinct from political or cultural ideology given its broader set of norms and expectations, and offers Syria as an example of effective religious legitimacy and co-option. While the regime officially remains secular, excluding religion from public arenas, the Ba’ath Party has made great efforts to tie Alawites to Islam, establish allies in private Islamic institutions, control religious education programs, and maintain a monopoly on intellectual Islamic discourse. Understanding how the regime continues to maintain power and support, despite their position as a minority population with a tenuous connection to Islam, entails a deeper examination of the role that Islam plays in their strategy and how the effects of religious standards and worldviews differ from those imposed by secular ideologies.

The post Lebanon War era, having in the background the Netanyahu’s government, represents a significant moment in the evolution of the relations between the European Union and Israel. Adjacent, the Labin Treaty and the creation of the European External Action Service led to a more articulated European Foreign Policy regarding Israel and the Israel-Palestine conflict. As the conflict in Syria evolved, leading to a crisis of refugees, an environment of panic was created in Europe in relation to the new coming, mostly Muslim, refugees and immigrants. As the European Antisemitism takes different shapes, one of them, beside the residual one coming from the far-right, is represented by the Muslim Antisemitism. Antisemitic attacks like the one at the Jewish Museum in Brussels in 2014 or the one at Hypercacher in Paris in 2015 indicate strong antisemitic feelings, often having as a cause different decisions within Israeli politics. In the context, this article aims at identifying the narrative(s) behind the antisemitic attitudes within the Muslim community in Europe in relation to Israel and to the Israel-Palestine conflict.

**Keywords:** policy implementation, Smith Model of Implementation, homelessness policy, public policy cycle, tension, transaction.

**Keywords:** Religion and politics, ideology, Islam and politics, citizen-state relations, Syria, legitimation, co-option.

**Keywords:** Antisemitism, European Union, Israeli, immigrants.

mafegallego25@gmail.com
gould@carleton.edu
daniel.gheorghe@politeco.ro

UNIVERSIDAD DE LA SABANA
CARLETON COLLEGE
NATIONAL UNIVERSITY OF POLITICAL STUDIES AND PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION, BUCHAREST, ROMANIA
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MOHAMMED</th>
<th>ANASTASIA</th>
<th>NICK</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>BOUJALAM</td>
<td>GOLOFAST</td>
<td>COHEN</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**FOOTBALL SUPPORTERISM AS POLITICAL CONTENTION: CASE OF ULTRAS GROUPS IN MOROCCO**

Over the past few years, football stadiums are increasingly becoming a space of engagement and expression political. It is a space that is in principle dedicated to entertainment, the fans have transformed it into a place of political protest action. In 2017, a chant the fans of the Raja Club de Casablanca (RCA) realized by the Ultras Eagles 06 has resonated. The words of the chant are part of a lexical field related to the "humiliation" and the contestation of the situation social, economic, and political. Political leaders are directly targeted by these chants. Progressively, it has become a symbol of contestation against oppression and social injustice and has acquired a huge international reputation by becoming the chant of social movement activists in Algeria, Tunisia, and other countries. Our principal aim in this paper is to answer the following question: which political themes are the target of the chants of ultras groups in Morocco?

Using an analysis of the speech the chants realized by the ultras groups, we will try to dissect the articulations between politics, sports and the instrumentalization of the latter as a channel for politics through case studies of ultras belonging to different geographical areas of the Moroccan territory (South, Centre and North).

**ECONOMICAL POLITICAL COMPLEXITY**

The world is currently facing “wicked problems” that demand interdisciplinary cooperation among specialists with different profiles. The most recent examples of these issues are the pandemic, financial crises and natural catastrophes. Such problems create demand for integrative research methodologies that enable interdisciplinary and transdisciplinary scholarly communication.

Research problem. Wicked problems are the function of political life complexity. Throughout history there has been rise in societies’ political complexity leading to a huge variety of political forms. Even though states have been considered the most widespread form of political space-time organization, the world is witnessing the reappearance of decentralized political forms, such as transborder regions, also known as Euroregions, and supranational organizations, such as the European Union. This clash between the long-term nationalism trend and the newest double vector of subnationalization along with supranationalization constitute a research problem. Research question. How do political organization forms evolve?

Results. Non-state forms that have been considered rudimentary tend to reappear as relevant in the course of political evolution. This happens because political forms of the past that have not been put into action are saved as pre-made answers to future challenges. There are three archetypes of political form that reproduce themselves in the course of history: hierarchy, heterarchy and dispersion. Among these, only heterarchy and dispersion are pre-adaptive political forms, whereas dispersion is antifragile (Taleb) in the digital era.

**BEYOND EMERGENCY MEASURES: NORMATIVE POLITICS AFTER A SUCCESSFUL SECURITIZATION**

Critical security studies scholars have successfully challenged the ontological roots of realist and liberal traditions, demonstrating the viability and necessity of securitization theory when understanding national and international security concerns. Scholars have demonstrated that the invocation of ‘security’ is a speech act, in which an issue is securitized through its labeling as ‘secure’ or ‘insecure’. Nevertheless, debates remain on how, exactly, the securitization process occurs. Through a critical reading of the literature, I unify the Copenhagen School and Paris School to present a coherent theory of the securitization process, returning J.L. Austin’s speech act theory to the fore. I then question the end point of existing theory, which suggests that, after successful mitigatory actions are taken against a so-labeled security threat, politics returns to the status quo ante. Rejecting this notion, I argue through two case studies, namely the Global War on Terror and the War on Drugs, that a securitization fundamentally changes the normative platform of politics – emergency measures become the ‘new normal’. This theoretical extension opens new areas for research, with applications for political theorists as well as policy practitioners working within the broad field of security studies.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Collective action, Morocco, protests movements, sport and politics, ultras</th>
<th>Keywords: authority delegation, institutional entrepreneurship, path dependence, political complexity, political subject.</th>
<th>Keywords: securitization; desecuritization; Copenhagen School; Paris School; Global War on Terror; War on Drugs; speech act theory; embeddedness</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>n/c</td>
<td><a href="mailto:nastya1555@gmail.com">nastya1555@gmail.com</a></td>
<td><a href="mailto:n.cohen@columbia.edu">n.cohen@columbia.edu</a></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**HASSAN 1ST UNIVERSITY**

**INSTITUTE OF PHILOSOPHY, RUSSIAN ACADEMY OF SCIENCES**

**COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY**
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>IV.II</th>
<th>MANASHI</th>
<th>MARIETHA</th>
<th>CYDNEY</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>PARASHAR</td>
<td>PÉREZ-ARELLANO</td>
<td>FUNK</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>THE VOICE OF DISSENT IN DEMOCRACY WITH REFERENCE TO THE RECENT CITIZENSHIP AMENDMENT ACT, 2019 WITH SPECIAL EMPHASIS ON THE STATE OF ASSAM, INDIA</td>
<td>INVALID VOTING AND PARTISAN OFFER IN LESS-DEMOCRATIC MEXICAN STATES ¿EXIT OR VOICE?</td>
<td>REIMAGINING PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN FINANCE</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Dissent is integral in sustaining a democracy. Dissent takes the shape of agitations spearheaded by civil society displaying popular discontent against any particular policy or against suppression of the government agencies in the wake of democracy. The Assam Agitation, also popularly known as the Anti-foreigner’s Agitation between 1979 and 1985 was one such instance where the people were demanding betterment of their economic conditions and were trying to protect their language, culture and identity in the face of the dominant, aggressive and ever increasing number of foreign encroachers in their land.

In addition to the past, the State of Assam witnessed uproar regarding the amendment of The Citizenship Act, 1955 (57 of 1955) in 2019, which was enacted to provide for the acquisition and departure of Indian citizenship. Dissent has been exhibited against the amended Act of 2019 as it has been alleged to threaten the linguistic, cultural and political identity of the Assamese people, subsequently increasing the fear and insecurity regarding their marginalisation, encroachment of resources and disruption in the ecology of the State due to change in its demographics. This paper deals with the repercussions when a democratically elected government in India imposes an Act on its people (herein particularly the people of the State of Assam) which is considered as arbitrary, unconstitutional and is insensitive towards their linguistic, ethnic and identity concerns which was evident from the time of Assam Agitation of the 1980’s as well as the recent demonstrations in 2019 in Assam.

With the democratic transition in Mexico, scholars have attempted to account for the mechanisms by which party options change and influence competitiveness and electoral results, either to change the party in government or to maintain it. However, since scholars have considered it a mistake, little has been studied about null ballots. Nevertheless, what has been said about this voting choice focuses on institutional, socioeconomic, and political factors for its research. With an understanding of invalid votes as a protest form against party options, this paper aims to analyze the effect that the expansion of the partisan offer, conditioned by the democratic context, has on the variation of invalid votes at the subnational level. Using fixed effects regression models, I study election results for governors in 25 Mexican states in the years between 2010 and 2018. The main argument is that facing undemocratic contexts, voters activate a voice mechanism, in Hirschman’s terms (1970), protesting via the null ballot as the political offer does not seem competitive. Thus, even if the partisan offer increases, if the vote occurs in a state where there is not full enjoyment of rights and democratic competition, the best way to exercise vertical accountability will be by invalidating the ballot.

Campaign financing in the United States is circumventing the nation’s Democratic deals. This paper offers a conception of what “democracy” means as it is currently understood by the nation. It further outlines campaign financing laws, with particular attention given to presidential elections. Current laws work in favor of the wealthy as presidential candidates. There is a certain level of wealth that must be reached or money that must be raised before a person may be a competitive presidential candidate. This is not conducive to democracy as understood and desired by the American public. This paper uses John Rawls’ political theory to provide a framework for re-evaluating American campaign finance laws. The equal liberty principle is used to justify leveling the playing field for presidential candidates. The difference principle suggests that financial inequalities must benefit all of society, particularly the least advantaged. Current campaign finance laws end up helping candidates that do not follow these principles and often violate them. I ultimately argue that current financing trends allow wealthy presidential candidates to thwart voter’s choice.

Keywords: Assam Agitation, ethnicity, Anti Foreigner’s Agitation, Citizenship Amendment Act, geopolitics, Assamese identity

Keywords: invalid vote, partisan offer, democracy, subnational elections.

Keywords: democratic norms, campaign financing, presidential election, Rawls

mp.workholics@gmail.com

marietha.perez@alumnos.cide.edu

Cfunk.22@westminster-mo.edu

ROYAL GLOBAL UNIVERSITY

CENTER FOR ECONOMIC RESEARCH AND TEACHING (CIDÉ)

WESTMINSTER COLLEGE, MISSOURI
In an attempt to curb the rapidly increasing COVID-19 cases in the Philippines, President Rodrigo Roa Duterte imposed a nationwide lockdown - a move that effectively restricted movement between provinces and islands as highly militarized and policed borders were instituted. Bodies, goods, and death itself became subjects of surveillance as the state distinguished between the ‘essentials’ and ‘non-essentials’. This paper does not intend to argue the necessity of the imposition of internal borders in the face of the nonhuman threat. Rather, it intends to uncover the various forms of oppression and violence exacerbated and produced within and by these borders. Drawing from the concept of ‘necropolitics’ - the arrogation of the sovereign right to decide who must live and who must die - as stipulated in the work of Achille Mbembe, it examines the phenomenon of border crossing and the ensuing cases of human rights violations, internal displacement, and economic insecurity against the backdrop of the authoritarian regime of the Duterte administration.

In this paper, I sketch a first picture about how we could understand philanthropy under the prism of political corruption. In democracies based on principles of liberty and equality scholars are studying what should be the role of such private action outside all kinds of public accountability which can partially or totally shape part of public sectors. However, if almost every author gives reasons for why philanthropy could be a risk to democracy, barely anything has been said about a possible link between this practice and political corruption. There are traditionally two different ways to understand political corruption: Firstly, we have a teleological conception called «institutionalist corruption» anchored in a republican idea of the public order. In this case political corruption is understood as any institutions deviating from its purpose. Secondly, we have a deontological explanation named «Relational corruption» leading to a liberal idea of the public order. Here political corruption occurs when an office holder uses her power for reasons that cannot be publicly justified. If we follow the first conception, I show that philanthropy cannot be accepted in a democratic state because it is too likely to lead to deviate the institutions from their purpose. In the other hand, I show that a relational point of view not only admits the existence of philanthropy in a liberal state, but it also gives us some tools to frame a better place for this practice by showing how corruption could occur.

Keywords: necropolitics, borders, Philippines, populism, Rodrigo Duterte

Keywords: Philanthropy; Corruption; Republicanism; Liberalism; Institutions

Keywords: Democratization, Democratic Consolidation, Policy Regimes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SAMANTHA LOPEZ</th>
<th>MATTHIEU DEBIEF</th>
<th>PATRICIA REINARES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

Indonesia and the Philippines both struggled with past dictators – Suharto in Indonesia and Marcos in the Philippines. Under the two regimes both countries underwent the same problems such as corruption, economic dependency in foreign debt, and the absence of political freedom. The Philippines went through a transition from an authoritarian regime to democracy more than three decades back, while Indonesia, more than two decades ago. Both Indonesia and the Philippines have gone through the same process of democratization just more than a decade apart. Today, these countries have yet to reach democratic consolidation. The study, therefore, was guided by questions: (1) What are the factors that affect the process of democratic consolidation in Indonesia and the Philippines?; and (2) How could Indonesia and the Philippines attain democratic consolidation? This study analyzed and compared the democratic transition from an authoritarian regime of Indonesia and the Philippines, and explained what these countries have gone through and is currently going through in the process of attaining democratic consolidation. Moreover, it utilized comparative research methods, wherein similarities and differences between both countries regarding democratization are examined. The study provides an account of the state of Indonesia and Philippines’ political economy, political institutions and policy regimes, and how these factors affect Indonesia and Philippine democracy.
### IV.III

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MAGDALENA</th>
<th>ERIC</th>
<th>EOIN</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>WAHL</td>
<td>REPETTO</td>
<td>LENIHAN</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### PARADIGM SHIFTS IN ASYLUM POLICIES: GERMANY AND ITALY IN COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVE

The recently increasing numbers of asylum seekers and refugees arriving at the borders of the old continent have acquired a high degree of relevance in the societal and political processes of all European member states. The European Barometer survey (among others) shows that during periods in which numbers of asylum applicants and refugees in a country grow, the weight public and media debates attribute to asylum and immigration policies and the way these are debated changes. But is this true only for the public sphere? This paper shows that the politicization of immigration and asylum issues does not pertain solely to the public realm, but also crops up in the political realm – via parties’ agendas and politics. By conducting a framing analysis of over 60 parliamentary debates in Germany and Italy between 1990 and 2018 it investigates the impact issue politicization has on shifts to the paradigms underlying both countries’ asylum policies. It, thereby, reveals the ideas, the bigger picture painted by policy makers that set the goals for German and Italian asylum policy making in the face of prevailing challenges. Finally, the paper argues that it is the development of these ideas over time and the paradigmatic policy shifts occurring in times of politicization that reveal corner points of contestation European nation states are facing – or perceiving to be facing! - through (forced) immigration.

#### SO FAR, YET SO CLOSE: ITALIAN PARTIES’ IMMIGRATION DISCOURSES DURING THE GENTILONI AND THE FIRST CONTE GOVERNMENTS

The paper compares the immigration discourses of three Italian parties (League, Five-Star Movement and Democratic Party) under the Gentiloni and first Conte governments (2016-2019). Its aim is to add to current migration literature an in-depth comparison between the discourses and forms of Othering adopted by the radical right and those produced by other parties. Indeed, while right-wing actors and discourses are often analysed separately in single case-studies, other parties are generally included only in large-scale quantitative comparisons, thus being dichotomically portrayed as either progressives or as imitators of the radical right's xenophobic approach. Six periods coinciding with important events and the adoption of relevant policies were identified; in correspondence with these periods, the author retrieved all immigration-related Facebook posts from the pages of both the parties and their leaders. The posts were first coded according to the migration-specific frames and the Othering approaches they presented, as well as which actors were Othered. Secondly, one or more basic discourses (according to Hansen’s formulation, 2006) for each party were formalised on the basis of both an extensive qualitative analysis and the presence and frequency of the above-mentioned categories. The results show that the discourses favoured by the centre-left Democratic Party and the populist Five-Star Movement elude xenophobic forms of Othering of migrants, targeting other subjects instead. However, while such results can be misunderstood in literature as instances of pragmatic or even humanitarian discourses, the qualitative analysis shows how these actors’ approaches actually “specialise” the migrant, thus legitimising stricter measures and lending credibility to the right-wing League’s discourse.

#### A CLASSIFICATION OF ANTIFA TWITTER ACCOUNTS BASED ON SOCIAL NETWORK MAPPING AND LINGUISTIC ANALYSIS

Where machine learning and other quantitative methods have been used for classification purposes in helping researchers manually identify extremist Twitter accounts, they have chiefly been used to classify far-right and ISIS/Jihadi accounts. There are no large-scale quantitative studies of far-left (specifically Antifa) accounts. Since the election of Donald Trump as the 45th President of the USA there has been a rise in public acts of violence, vandalism, deplatforming and harassment of political speakers by Antifa. Twitter plays an important role in helping Antifa to organise, radicalise individuals, harass other users and share propaganda. This paper provides a classification of Antifa accounts based on social network mapping and textual clues. We found that approximately 1.1% (644) of Antifa sympathetic accounts can be classified as Cognitive Extremists. Violent Extremists accounted for 0.5% (213) of all Antifa sympathetic accounts. However, members of that group had an average following of 5,370 followers compared to an average of 3,804 for Cognitive Extremists and 707 for all Twitter users, indicating widespread support for extreme and violent action from all three categories of Antifa accounts. This paper identifies those Antifa accounts responsible for inciting violence and radicalising individuals online.

**Keywords:** Immigration and Asylum Policy, Paradigm shift, Germany, Italy

**Keywords:** Immigration, party politics, Othering, specialisation, basic discourses

**Keywords:** Antifa, Classification, Social Network Mapping, Linguistic Analysis

---

**Magdalena.wahl@t-online.de**

**ericrepetto@gmail.com**

**eoin.lenihan@gmail.com**

**EBERHARD KARLS UNIVERSITÄT TÜBINGEN**

**SANT’ANNA SCHOOL OF ADVANCED STUDIES**

**INDEPENDENT CONSULTANT - DR.PHIL COMPLETED AT UNIVERSITÄT AUGSBURG IN OCTOBER 2018.**
### The Unrest Following the 2020 United States Presidential Election

The unrest following the 2020 United States presidential election is an unusual phenomenon. In fact, the world has witnessed a surprising phenomenon in the electoral process as a fundamental part of liberal democracy in United States. Donald Trump’s lies and false claims about election fraud have spurred Trump’s supporters’ movement against Joe Biden’s victory and led to protests and unrests in the Capitol Hill. This paper aims to further discuss the causes of the chaotic 2020 US presidential election. By using the concept of political style, the author argues that the cause of the chaotic 2020 US presidential election is Trump’s populism as a political style that has flourished in the United States. During his four years in office, Trump has strengthened his nationalist-populist legitimacy and support, making populism flourish in contemporary US politics. In 2020, Trump as a populist leader used the media to influence the audience - the American people who support Trump - and convince that there is a crisis in the form of election fraud.

**Keywords:** Donald Trump, Populism, Political Style, US Election, Unrest

---

### The 2020 Presidential Election in the United States

The 2020 Presidential Election in the United States has been nothing short of historic. The unprecedented context included a global pandemic, a severe economic crisis, and an incumbent President willing to break every possible political norm to stay in power. This paper examines the impact of COVID-19 on extreme partisan polarization and populist leadership by examining numerous opinion polls, media coverage and voter turnout from March 2020 to December 2020. The American case demonstrates three significant political outcomes. First, the Pandemic exposed the Trump Administration’s incompetence and reinforced the need for qualified governance. It also bare the cost of political apathy among the majority and helped reinvigorate the opposition. The paper also discusses possible long-term implications, including the permanence of extreme political polarization in the United States, that continues to be countered by the resilience of democratic institutions weathering the storm against democracy. On a global scale, the Pandemic demonstrated the incompetence of populist leadership as it did in the United States. Populist leaders in the United Kingdom, India, Brazil and Mexico struggled to contain COVID-19 and minimize suffering compared to their counterparts in South Korea, Australia, New Zealand and Canada. Their distrust of science, refusal to follow experts’ advice and general lack of transparency significantly hurt the initial response to the Pandemic. Overall this paper aims to contextualize recent trends debilitating democratic states, such as polarization, disinformation, populism and identity politics against the disruption of a global pandemic.

**Keywords:** United States, Populism, COVID-19, Polarization, Democratic Resilience

---

### Two Factors Change the Rules of the Game

Two factors change the rules of the game: Donald Trump’s departure from the world geopolitical stage and the formation of China as a second superpower. It is time for Europe to decide how to position itself in this new geography of power.

- US exit from the world stage; “Great nations do not fight endless wars”, - Trump said in his February speech to the nation. And this is connected not so much with Donald Trump as with the vision of the American people: over the past decades, Washington has been too active on the world stage, declares the entire political spectrum, before emphasizing the involvement of many (at the end of killed and wounded) soldiers and billions of dollars in expenses.

- China as a second superpower? The region has been experiencing a geostrategic earthquake and has been going on for four decades: the unrestrained growth of China from a country developing to World War II and the only serious competitor to the United States. Under the presidency of Xi Jinping, the PRC took a distinctly nationalistic course. Chinese identity does not leave room for a second power in the region: order a country with a history of 5 thousand years not only calls itself the Middle Kingdom, but also considers it the center of the world. Americans for China are just upstarts and unwanted guests.

- Middle East. The events in the Middle East are primarily determined by two factors: clashes between the states of the region, and religious conflicts arise, and a shift in the spheres of influence of two global players - Russia and the USA.

- What Europe should do? It is time for Europe to decide how to position itself in this new geography of power.

**Keywords:** geopolitics, geostrategic, superpower

---

### Social Media

- **yohanes.willam.santoso-2020@fisip.unair.ac.id**
- **adwal.julie@gmail.com**
- **boiarchuk@protonmail.com**
### IV.II

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PURVA</th>
<th>MUHMMED</th>
<th>PALLAVI</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>GOLE</td>
<td>SIHABDHEEN K</td>
<td>PRADHAN</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Since Tibet’s annexation by China, Nepal has become quite significant as it lies as a buffer state between two regional powers - China and India. Nepal has become a center of geopolitical competition as India and China continue to counter each other’s influence in the region. India because of its cultural affinities especially with the population of the Terai region in Nepal, has a strong influence, however China has also been able to establish a dominant influence by taking advantage of the political instability and economic dependency of Nepal. Thus, both of them strive to retain Nepal under its sphere of influence by establishing strong ideological, cultural, political, and economic connections. The main focus of this paper is to analyse and determine if Nepal benefits or loses more being the center of such a geopolitical contention between two regional powers, that is China and India. Firstly this research paper establishes the geopolitical importance of Nepal and delves into the question of why Nepal is strategically important for both of the regional powers. Secondly, it investigates the Chinese and Indian influences on Nepal and therefore it strives to determine whether the geopolitical tension between the two regional powers is of any benefit for Nepal.

The study traces the process of legitimation of Indian Muslim politics and its mechanism of the narrative building in the post-colonial secular nation state. It is done by tracing the political discourses of Indian Union Muslim League and its discursive articulations. Indian Union Muslim League (IUML) was formed after the India-Pakistan partition, as an Indian version of the All India Muslim League (AIML), a political party that is very instrumental in the modern history of South Asia. Being a party openly based on religion in a secular state where the left and liberal political discourses have delegitimized such a party, especially in the context of the alleged role of its parental party AIML in the partition, Muslim League provokes a researcher to engage with it. Presently IUML is a Powerful stakeholder in the politics of Kerala; a South Indian state and it wins its pockets regularly irrespective of the coalition of parties it includes wins or fails. The objective of the study is to trace the process of legitimation and the discursive articulation of IUML in Kerala by engaging with contesting discourses that produce its illegitimacy in different periods. The paper traces how the party negotiated its identity to be a powerful and successful Muslim democratic experiment comparing to the other parts of India.

New Zealand is a democratic country which supports the idea of conducting free and fair elections. The First-Past-the-Post electoral system was adopted in 1853 and continued till 1996. During this period, the political sphere was dominated by the two prominent political parties, i.e. Labour Party and National Party, thereby excluding the other minor parties in the process. Despite getting fair share of votes, the minor parties failed to secure significant number of seats. Taking into account the demand for more representative parliament, the people voted in favour of the Mixed Member Proportional in the 1992 referendum. Thus, New Zealand officially adopted German-style MMP in 1996. The aim of the paper is to delve deeper into the history of electoral reforms in New Zealand in order to understand the factors responsible for the reforms. The paper seeks to draw a comparison between the 1990 and 1996 General Elections in order to examine the nature of ‘minor party’ representation in the Parliament and how the shift to MMP has impacted the same. The comparative historical approach is employed in order to draw comparison between the representation of minor parties in elections under FPTP and MMP. Thus, an investigation into the discourse of political history vis-à-vis statistical analysis of quantitative data on political representation becomes significant in order to understand whether minor parties are adequately represented in Parliament.

**Keywords:** Geopolitical competition, regional powers, ideological, economic, political influences, cultural identity  
**Keywords:** India, Muslim, South Asia and Identity Politics  
**Keywords:** Electoral Reforms, New Zealand, FPTP, MMP, Elections

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><a href="mailto:purvagole1510@gmail.com">purvagole1510@gmail.com</a></th>
<th><a href="mailto:mdshabudeenhk@gmail.com">mdshabudeenhk@gmail.com</a></th>
<th><a href="mailto:pallavipdn@gmail.com">pallavipdn@gmail.com</a></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CHRIST UNIVERSITY</td>
<td>JAWAHARLAL NEHRU UNIVERSITY, NEW DELHI</td>
<td>JAWAHARLAL NEHRU UNIVERSITY, NEW DELHI</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### MIGRATION POLICIES IN MAURITANIA

The introduction of ‘irregular’ migration in West African countries represented a major conceptual policy shift for societies that were historically characterised by intra-regional free movement. However, this transformation went along with severe allegations of racialised profiling of ‘illegal’ migrants which emerged in many West African societies, going as far as inflaming pre-existing ethnic conflicts. Nicholas De Genova’s concept of the ‘border spectacle’ describes how the presumed ‘illegality’ of migrants is made spectacularly visible through media and politics in Europe, thus producing a criminalised and racialised portrayal of migrants. Nonetheless, this work argues that today’s illegalisation of migrants has been extended beyond Europe’s boundaries towards countries of migration origin, providing a much less spectacularised image of migrants. This paper will focus upon the process of introducing ‘irregular’ migration policies in Mauritania. First, it will be illustrated how the countries’ social and ethnic composition is reflected in its internal and regional power relations. Thus, the content and problems of transferring the figure of a racialised ‘illegal’ migrant into the West African region will be highlighted. Finally, this paper will discuss how and why Mauritania reacted in a peculiar way to the concept of ‘illegal’ movement with regard to its neighbours. Practice showed that when illegalisation was achieved through racial profiling, it was particularly successful in countries with a history of ethnic conflict. On the contrary, this analysis suggests that the presence of established patterns of regional movement made it neither desirable to introduce illegal migration policy, nor to adopt its racialised portrayal.

**Keywords:** Migration; West Africa; Migration policy; Irregular migration; Border spectacle.

---

### PROMOTING DEMOCRACY IN WESTERN AND SOUTHERN AFRICA: AN ANALYSIS OF ECOWAS’ 2001 SUPPLEMENTARY PROTOCOL ON DEMOCRACY AND GOOD GOVERNANCE AND SADC’S 2015 GUIDELINES AND PRINCIPLES OF ELECTIONS

Regional Organisations (ROs) have progressively played an important role in promoting democracy in Africa. The Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) and the Southern African Development Community (SADC) for instance, have established legal, institutional and normative structures in order to pursue this purpose as well as develop practices and policies for their implementation. ECOWAS, through its 2001 Supplementary Protocol on Democracy and Good Governance, seeks to foster and consolidate constitutional rule of administration by committing to promote “zero tolerance for power obtained or maintained by unconstitutional means”. In turn, SADC’s 2015 Principles and Guidelines Governing Democratic Elections “foster transparency and credibility of elections and democratic governance, as well as ensure the acceptance of election results by contesting parties”. As such, the main focus of this paper is to analyse the mechanisms used by ECOWAS and SADC and to evaluate their contribution in promoting democracy in their respective regions.

**Keywords:** ECOWAS, Protocol, SADC, Elections, Democracy

---

### IDENTITY POLITICS, CONFLICT, AND NATIONAL INTEGRATION IN NIGERIA: THE ‘YOUTHS’ PERSPECTIVE

Nigeria is a classic example of a multiracial, multilingual, multi-religious, and multicultural society. Ordinarily, having multiple identities should not be anathema to national integration – except for when these identities become the basis for politics, as in the case of Nigeria. Experience since independence shows that the various identity groups in Nigeria have a penchant for identity politics; the result of which has been group conflicts and a weak national cohesion. As a country with a youth bulge, it is therefore pertinent to find out the opinion of the youths about this political anomaly. It is as a result of this, that this study adopts a Survey approach and relies on both primary and secondary sources of data to identify the perspectives of the youth on identity politics, conflict, and national integration. This study adopted the Convenience Sampling method and sampled 1105 youth participants selected from Naijaland (the second most visited indigenous website by Nigerian youths). The data was analyzed using Spearman Correlation Coefficient and the result indicates that there is a significant positive correlation between identity politics and group conflict in Nigeria (rs, (2207) = .731, p < .001); and that there is a significant positive association between identity politics and national integration in Nigeria (rs, (2207) = .847, p < .001). It is therefore recommended – among other things – that the Federal Government of Nigeria should create an Identity Mobilization Commission and a National Integration Commission to promote the narratives of oneness, particularly among the youths.

**Keywords:** Crises, Identity, National Integration, Politics, Youth

---

### IV. VII. II

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SÉBASTIAN CARLOTTI</th>
<th>TOPE AKINYETUN</th>
<th>MAUREEN LIFONGO</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>UNIVERSITY OF PISA (ITALY)</td>
<td>ADENIRAN OGUINSANYA COLLEGE OF EDUCATION</td>
<td>DEPARTMENT OF POLITICS AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS, UNIVERSITY OF JOHANNESBURG, SOUTH AFRICA</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

akinyetun.tope@gmail.com  
mnilifongo@yahoo.co.uk
The war in Afghanistan has dragged on for nineteen years with little results for the democratisation ambitions of the international community. Arguably, NATO’s counterinsurgency efforts at the operational level in Afghanistan were essentially disjointed from the strategic aims of the democratic state-building agenda because NATO was fighting a New War with old tactics. As such, this paper analyses the most appropriate military strategy in facilitating the democratic transition of Afghanistan. By employing the theory of cultural warfare, the question to be answered is what is the utility of force in democratic state-building? The ensuing conclusions are that cultural warfare offers three theoretical solutions to the convoluted frictions of New Wars, namely organisationally, tactically, and politically, through the adoption of civil-military cooperation (CIMIC) and psychological operations (PSYOPS). Finally, this paper proposes a radical paradigm change for the military: contemporary warfare is not about winning the war but winning the peace.

The paper addresses norm dynamics in the field broadly defined as peacekeeping within the UN framework, with a particular focus on the interrelation between the humanitarian norms such as Protection of Civilians (PoC), Responsibility to Protect (R2P) and ‘robust’ peacekeeping. The central argument is that the R2P agenda had been largely compromised which resulted in a comeback to civilian protection. The introduction of R2P back in 2005 was designed to change the peacekeeping landscape in enabling the international community to effectively respond to violence against the civilian population. However, an attempt to mainstream R2P as a global norm for the protection of civilians from atrocity crimes has apparently failed (Kurtz and Rotmann 2016). During the past five years, the usage of R2P language has been in decline, whereas the ‘pluralist’ norms enjoy a renewed recognition among statist and sovereigntists (Rhoads and Welsh 2019). In this context, the contemporary peacekeeping agenda is reviving in PoC and ‘robust’ peacekeeping (Megret 2015; Caplan 2019).

Although the body of literature on R2P is extensive, most papers limit their focus on this singular norm seeking to prove its success or failure. Thus, they tend to overlook other norms of protection as well as isolate these norms from a broader peacekeeping context. In addition, the shift to civilian protection is observed as a relatively recent development in the field after the debate on R2P has passed its peak. Methodologically, the paper employs discourse analysis building upon norm robustness and contestation framework elaborated on by Jennifer Welsh (Welsh 2019).

Keywords: Afghanistan; civil-military cooperation; counterinsurgency; cultural warfare; democratisation; foreign imposed regime change; psychological warfare; state-building.

Keywords: Responsibility to Protect (R2P), Protection of Civilians (PoC), ‘robust’ peacekeeping, norm dynamics, humanitarianism

Keywords: Indian Politics, Nationalism, Asia, Minorities, Democratic values

---

**Keywords:** Afghanistan; civil-military cooperation; counterinsurgency; cultural warfare; democratisation; foreign imposed regime change; psychological warfare; state-building.

**Keywords:** Responsibility to Protect (R2P), Protection of Civilians (PoC), ‘robust’ peacekeeping, norm dynamics, humanitarianism

**Keywords:** Indian Politics, Nationalism, Asia, Minorities, Democratic values

**dcoman99@gmail.com**  
**prokhorova_anastasia@student.ceu.edu**  
**Harjeetm17@gmail.com**

UNIVERSITY OF AMSTERDAM  
CENTRAL EUROPEAN UNIVERSITY  
DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE, UNIVERSITY OF DELHI, INDIA
**FEMINIST OR FEMINIZED? FEMALE PRO-DEMOCRATIC PROTEST MOVEMENT IN BELARUS AND ITS EFFECT ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF FEMINISM**

This paper examines the dynamics of massive pro-democratic rallies in the Republic of Belarus after the proclaimed landslide victory of the incumbent president, the strongman Alexander Lukashenko, at the presidential elections in August 2020, and their potential impact on the evolution of feminist protest movement. As he was throwing derogatory remarks against female rivals, doing it outmost to keep the image of “muzhik”, or a “real strong man”, President Lukashenko apparently contributed to the development of feminism in Belarus more than one could possibly expect. Surprisingly for many the opposition united around three female figures, two of whom never claimed to be involved in politics - Svetlana Tikhonovskaya, wife of an imprisoned would-be candidate, Veronika Tsepkalo, wife of a would-be candidate, and Maria Kolesnikova, campaign manager of another imprisoned candidate. Unprecedented female protest activities marked last year when organized women’s groups went to the streets, building “solidarity chains”, chanting slogans and symbolically throwing flowers at special security officers, in a desperate attempt to stop the violence and protect demonstrators, severely beaten and detained. As gender studies and protest activities in Belarusian society lack profound examination, this paper makes an attempt to look into the nature of female political opposition in patriarchal and traditionalist post-soviet society under the rule of a man, known as the last dictator of Europe. It could also contribute to the analysis of democratization and transition processes. The study is looking at the evolution of female protest activities through the prism of gender studies in post-soviet nations.

**IS IT OKAY TO BE GAY? A MULTI-LEVEL STUDY OF THE INFLUENCE OF THE MEDIA AND INTERNET ON ATTITUDES TOWARDS HOMOSEXUALITY.**

The aim of this quantitative study is to investigate the relationship between media freedom and internet use on people’s attitudes towards homosexuality. It is the first study looking into the combined effect of the media and internet use on attitudes towards homosexuality. I argue that while both mediums have the potential to frame attitudes, positive attitudinal change is only achieved when the media is at least partially free. I carry out a multi-level (random-intercept) regression analysis using data from the World Values Survey and Varieties of Democracy Institute’s datasets. I carry out a multi-level analysis using a two-level model consisting of country and individual levels. This includes 54 countries and approximately 77,000 individual respondents. The results show that both media freedom and internet use can positively affect people’s perception towards homosexuality. However, in the case of the internet, frequent internet use is seen to positively affect perceptions of homosexuality only when the media is at least partially free. In line with current literature on the internet and frequent internet use in heavily censored, non-democratic media environments is expected to strengthen negative attitudes towards homosexuality. This complements other studies done separately on media freedom, the internet and attitudes towards homosexuality. It provides more generalizable conclusions and brings us one step closer to understanding the media and internet’s impact on attitudes and attitudinal change on this issue. The study also has important implications for democracies as media and internet freedom and levels of democracy are highly correlated.

**IT’S ALL ABOUT THE ATTITUDE! POLITICAL ATTITUDES AS ANTECEDENTS OF ACTIVISM IN LIBERAL AND ILLIBERAL DEMOCRACIES**

Political participation is a core element of strong democratic societies. This study examines whether political attitudes like loyalty towards the political system, perceived legitimacy, and internal and external political efficacy predict normative and non-normative forms of political participation of young Europeans, and whether these links differ in liberal versus liberal democracies. We conduct an online survey among 227 participants (M age = 23.59, SD = 3.36), applying inter alia the newly developed Loyalty Questionnaire. A mediation analysis shows that the regime type significantly predicts political loyalty, mediated by the perceived legitimacy. The level of political efficacy is also found to differ depending on the regime type. Multiple linear regression analyses reveal that both loyalty and efficacy positively predict activism, especially peaceful activism intentions.

The findings point to the importance of positive political attitudes for normative political participation and emphasize the need to support the development of political attitudes during adolescence. But results also indicate that democratic backsliding has considerable impacts on political attitudes and hence on the selection of normative versus non-normative modes of political engagement.

**Keywords:** feminism, protest, post-soviet

**Media, Internet, censorship, homosexuality, attitudes**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TATIANA KRIVOBOKOVA</th>
<th>SHREEYYA PILLAI</th>
<th>ANNE SOPHIE PUERS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>UNIVERSITY OF PADOVA</td>
<td>UNIVERSITY OF GOTHENBURG</td>
<td>TRIER UNIVERSITY</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Keywords: Political activism; Non-normative activism; Political attitudes; Loyalty; Perceived legitimacy; Political efficacy; Illeberal democracy |

| anne.puers@gmx.de | N/A | N/A |