The Festival of Democracy is a free event, open to the public.

Registration for each event is essential. Spaces for some events are strictly limited.

For further information, please see our website or email - idhr@sydney.edu.au

A five-day carnival of talks, lectures, workshops, art and photography probing and debating the latest scholarly thinking and practical developments concerning the present and highly uncertain future of democracy. Open to the general public, with contributions covering the Asia and Pacific region and beyond, the Festival will examine such vital topics as fossil fuels and environmental politics; the new 21st-century critics of democracy; corruption and political stability in China; and migration, hospitality and citizenship. Consideration will also be given to gender equality; the future of political representation; indigenous peoples; journalism and digital politics; state secrecy; electoral integrity and political parties; and space, territory and the future of global governing institutions.

Key speakers at the Festival include David Allinson; Peter Beilharz; Benedetta Brevini; Kerry Brown; Joseph Carens; Chee Soon Juan; Anika Gauja; Stephanie Hemelryk-Donald; Trevor Hogan; Hsu Ru-heng; Robyn Eckersley; Pieter Fourie; Peter Fray; Anika Gauja; James Gomez; Andrew Jaspan; John Keane; Martin Krygier; Connie Levitt; Sarah Maddison; Giovanni Navarria; Jennifer Nedelsky; Nicola Piper; David Ritter; Nicholas Rowley; Raul Sanchez Urribarri; Colombina Schaeffer; David Schlosberg; Miklos Sukosd; Simon Tormey; Tseng Chien-yuan; Wu Fei; Yang Maysing; Jan Zielonka and three distinguished guests from Berlin: Ruud Koopmans, Wolfgang Merkel and Michael Zürn.
MEDIATED POWER: EUROPE AND ASIA COMPARED

5 November 2013, 5:00 - 7:30 PM
Followed by Reception

The opening event of our 5-day Festival of Democracy sees our distinguished international and local guests discussing the controversial and often misunderstood relationship between media and power.

A free media system independent of state power is vital for democracy and yet politicians in different part of the world try to control information flows.

They do it differently in liberal and non-liberal countries, but as the case of Silvio Berlusconi shows manipulation of the media is possible even in well-established democracies. Young and emerging democracies in Eastern Europe and Asia are particularly vulnerable to media capture by political and corporate interests because of their fragile institutions, polarized civil society and transnational economic pressures. Governments of these new democracies also use sophisticated new methods for controlling journalists and information flows, sometimes to the point where the demarcation line between so-called democratic and authoritarian regimes becomes blurred.

Drawing on examples of mediated power from Europe and Asia, our guests will examine in detail how the clever political exploitation of media in countries like Hungary, Italy and Russia subverts the foundations of democracy and how the strikingly similar strategies employed in some Asian authoritarian regimes, like Singapore, China and Malaysia, have crucially influenced European realities. Speakers will also ask whether current trends cast a long shadow on the future of democracy as a viable political form of resistance to hubris. The key question they will seek to answer is: can Asian and European countries learn from each other, how dangerous is mediated power today and how can things be changed to ensure a brighter future?

Organisers: The event is co-organised by Media and Democracy in Central and Eastern Europe (MDCEE) and the Institute for Democracy and Human Rights of the University of Sydney (IDHR)

Speakers: Miklos Sukosd (University of Hong Kong), James Gomez (University Utara Malaysia), Jan Zielonka (University of Oxford), Andrew Jaspan (The Conversation), Connie Levett (Sydney Morning Herald), Stephanie Hemelryk-Donald and Martin Krygier (University of New South Wales), John Keane, Benedetta Brevini, Peter Fray and Giovanni Navarria (University of Sydney)
"For the animals that didn’t have a daddy to put them on the boat, the end of the world already happened." In Beasts of the Southern Wild, Hushpuppy lays out the dilemma of environmental management in the anthropocene. In a climate-changing world, what we mean by “the environment” is now unstable, with human actions affecting the very makeup, functioning and evolution of global and local ecosystems and habitats. This paper examines four possible normative underpinnings for human management of this climate-changing environment, starting with the idea of limits and boundaries, the traditional conception of the conservation of a past, and the hubris of human technological intervention. The fourth is a proposal for a conception of ecological receptivity – a ‘politics of sight’ that makes visible human immersion in natural systems. The anthropocene will not recede, and the central question of environmental management will be whether we can develop fecund ways of reflexively and sustainably managing ecosystems, habitats and human needs.

Professor David Schlosberg
Co-Director
Sydney Environment Institute

Comments from David Ritter (Greenpeace)

David Schlosberg is Co-Director of the Sydney Environment Institute and Professor of Environmental Politics in the Department of Government and International Relations at the University of Sydney. He is known nationally and internationally for his work on environmental politics, environmental movements and political theory, and especially the intersection of the three themes in his work on environmental justice, most recently Defining Environmental Justice (Oxford 2007). With John Dryzek and Richard Norgaard, he is co-editor of The Oxford Handbook of Climate Change and Society (Oxford 2011) and co-author of a forthcoming book, The Climate-Challenged Society. His current research includes work on climate justice, environmental rights and democratic participation in adaptation strategies and policies.

David Ritter is CEO of Greenpeace Australia Pacific.
Contemporary democracies are facing a long and growing list of challenges, not least in their recent failures to regulate banks and credit industries, so it comes as no surprise that many observers today speak of a developing crisis of democracy, the crisis of ’late-capitalist democracies’, or even of the coming of ’post-democracy’. Wolfgang Merkel examines the evidence and counter-evidence for such claims. He notes the geographic unevenness of crisis symptoms and attempts to refine a concept of democracy sensitive enough to capture challenges that cannot be grasped by minimalist Schumpeterian understandings of democracy. Merkel emphasises the growing class bias and weakening commitment to political equality in actually existing democracies. He also asks what is meant by a ’crisis’, a concept that remains among the vaguest terms in democracy research, if not in political science as a whole. And he asks some vital questions: when does a crisis of democracy begin and when does it end? What happens when a demos is ignorant or complacent about the dysfunctions of their democracy? Is a democracy then in crisis? And if ’the people’ are the main arbiter of what counts as a crisis, does this mean that present-day trends (such as abstention from voting by citizens, declining party membership, the market domination of politics) pose an insoluble theoretical dilemma: the people, the final arbiter of what counts as democracy, may democratically accept, for instance through elections and public opinion surveys, changes which scholars of democracy consider to be undemocratic?

Professor Wolfgang Merkel is among Germany’s best-known political scientist. He is Director of the “Democracy and Democratisation” research program, Director of the WZB Rule of Law Centre at the Social Science Research Centre Berlin (WZB) and Professor of Political Science at the Humboldt University Berlin. He is a member of the Berlin-Brandenburg Academy of Sciences and Humanities and advisor to many European governments. He is also a non-party member of the Basic Values Commission of the Executive Committee of the German Social Democratic Party (SPD) and a member of the social sciences review board of the German Research Foundation (DFG).

John Keane is Professor of Politics at the University of Sydney and the Director of the Institute for Democracy and Human Rights (IDHR). His full-scale history of democracy, The Life and Death of Democracy was short-listed for the 2010 Prime Minister’s Non-Fiction Literary Prize. His Democracy and Media Decadence will be published later this month.
Benedetta Brevini, Anika Gauja, Sarah Maddison, Jennifer Nedelsky

With some notable exceptions, the study of democracy has always been, and today remains, a male-dominated endeavour. From the time of the democracies of the ancient Greek world, despite the fact that democracy has consistently been represented symbolically by the figure of a woman, it is men who have shaped the understanding of what counts as democracy, why it is a superior form of political order, or why it is prone to self-paralysis, and why it therefore should be rejected as a muddled recipe for the reign of ignorance and political disorder. This open public forum aims to turn the tables on this entrenched pattern. It gives a voice to several prominent scholars of democracy who acknowledge that they see things from a woman's point of view and have much to say about the fate of democracy in the early years of the 21st century. They discuss a range of topics, from the intensifying mediation of contemporary politics and the uncertain future of political parties to questions of representation of indigenous peoples and the pressing need to develop notions and practices of reconciliation and care for others.

Benedetta Brevini is widely known for her work on the politics of media and power, the relationship between media and democracy and global media reforms. Her most recent books include *Public Service Broadcasting Online: A Comparative European Policy Study of PSB 2.0* (2013) and *Beyond WikiLeaks: Implications for the Future of Communications, Journalism and Society* (2013).

Anika Gauja is broadly interested and well-known for her comparative work on political institutions in modern representative democracies. She is especially concerned with the future of political parties and parliaments, their continuing relevance as mechanisms for citizen participation in politics and their ability to represent diverse and conflicting interests. She is the author of *Political Parties and Elections: Legislating for Representative Democracy* (2010) and *Powerscape: Contemporary Australian politics - 2nd Edition* (with Ariadne Vromen and Katharine Gelber, 2009).

Sarah Maddison is an Australian author and Australian Research Council Future Fellow. In 2009, Sarah was awarded a Churchill Fellowship to examine international models of Indigenous representation, through a study of the National Congress of American Indians and Canada’s Assembly of First Nations. Her areas of research expertise include Indigenous political culture, Australian democracy and democratic participation, gender politics, social movements, public policy, and democratic dialogue. Her most recent publications include *Beyond White Guilt* (2011) and *Unsettling the Settler State* (2011). She is currently working on a four-country comparative study of dialogue and conflict transformation in South Africa, Northern Ireland, Guatemala, and Australia.

Jennifer Nedelsky is Professor of Law and Political Science at the University of Toronto. She is known globally for her lecturing and scholarship in the areas of feminist theory, theories of judgment, American constitutional history and interpretation, and comparative constitutionalism. Her best known books include *Private Property and the Limits of American Constitutionalism* (1990) and *Judgment, Imagination and Politics: Themes from Kant and Arendt* (with Ronald Beiner, 2001). Jennifer is at work on *Human Rights and Judgment: A Relational Approach*, to be published by Oxford University Press.

This workshop examines one of the most visible and politically contested consequences of globalisation: rising numbers of immigrants and refugees caused by such factors as increased mobility opportunities, economic, political and military pressures and the economic and demographic needs of immigration-receiving countries. Given aging domestic populations, low birth rates and labour demand in such countries as South Korea, Japan, Germany and Australia, this trend is likely to grow stronger in the near future.

The workshop will explore why flows of people, unlike the global circulation of goods and money, are intimately tied to questions of rights and democratic inclusion, in three ways. First, immigration-receiving countries need not only satisfy their own demographic and labour market needs but must also develop rules of access to their territories that conform to international legal standards (e.g. conventions on the rights of refugees or the right to family life). Second, immigration countries need policies covering rights for immigrants who have been allowed to enter the country (or who have entered the country illegally), including access to education and health care to more far-reaching social and political rights, such as access to welfare state benefits, permanent residence, citizenship and the right to vote. Finally, the workshop will examine the ways immigrants who are allowed to become permanent residents and citizens are claiming cultural rights. In Europe and elsewhere, this has sparked intense controversies, especially focused on Muslim immigrants, about the merits of ‘multi-culturalism’. As if these challenges were not difficult enough, all three issues (immigration policies, citizenship rights and multi-culturalism) are currently provoking political backlashes, in the form of right-wing populist anti-immigration parties, whose electoral success is transforming the political landscape, especially in Western Europe.

As the Asia Pacific region becomes increasingly important as an immigration destination, there is good reason to reflect on the European experience, not because it is a ‘model’ for Asia Pacific countries to follow or reject, but because it resembles a historical laboratory from which other countries and regions can learn much when crafting their own approaches to immigrant rights.

Ruud Koopmans is among the best-known and most highly respected European researchers in the fields of migration, social movements, right-wing radicalism and citizenship. He is Director of the Migration, Integration and Transnationalization Research Unit at the Social Science Research Centre Berlin (WZB) and Professor of Social Conflict and Change at the Humboldt University of Berlin. Formerly based at the VU University Amsterdam, Koopmans is a member of the scientific councils of the Federal Office for Migration and Refugees (BAMF) in Nuremberg and the Institute for Migration and Ethnic Studies (IMES) in Amsterdam.

Joseph Carens is a Professor at the Department of Political Science at the University of Toronto. Well-known internationally for his work in the fields of political theory, immigration and political community, his most recent books include *The Ethics of Immigration* (2013) and *Immigrants and the Right to Stay* (2010).
Professor Michael Zürn (WZB Berlin)

In this public lecture, Michael Zürn addresses a fundamental political problem of the 21st-century: whether cross-border institutions, whose number and variety are rapidly growing, can come to enjoy public legitimacy. He points out that the originally European notion of legitimate rule was strongly associated with democratic constitutionalism. The formula implied the need for a modern territorial state capable of making binding decisions that were in turn controlled and authorised through democratic procedures. During the past three decades, Zürn points out, political developments ('de-bordering') have significantly undermined this formula. Democratic rule is being replaced increasingly by an assortment of cross-border powers, such as central banks, criminal courts and international organisations. While these authorities neither make final decisions nor can be described as democratic, they are often needed and trusted. Hence the world witnesses a new democratic paradox and a new politics of reflexive legitimacy: the revival of arguing and bargaining about the meaning and appropriate criteria for deciding what counts as legitimate political authority.

Michael Zürn is one of Germany’s leading international relations scholars, whose work is known globally. He is the Director of the Global Governance research unit at the WZB (Social Science Research Centre Berlin) and Professor of International Relations at the Free University Berlin. He is also the head of the WZB Rule of Law Centre, a senior fellow of the London School of Economics and a member of the Berlin-Brandenburg Academy of Science. Michael Zürn served as the Founding Dean of the Hertie School of Governance from 2004 to 2009. He is now the Hertie School’s first Honorary Fellow. He has published widely in the field of international relations on such topics as global governance and European integration and is currently co-editor of the journals Leviathan and Global Policy. His most recent books include The Dynamics of the Rule of Law in an Era of International and Transnational Governance (2012) and Bringing Sociology to International Relations (2013; both co-edited for Cambridge University Press).

Jan Zielonka is Professor of European Politics at the University of Oxford and Ralf Dahrendorf Professorial Fellow at St Antony’s College. Among his best-known publications are Europe as Empire. The Nature of the Enlarged European Union (2006); Europe Unbound: Enlarging and Reshaping the Boundaries of the European Union (2002); and a forthcoming book on the current European crisis, Is the EU Doomed?

The Institute for Democracy and Human Rights and the Refugee Art Project cordially invite you to a reception and exhibition of art after the lecture.

The Institute for Democracy and Human Rights joined forces with the Refugee Art Project in July 2013. Conceived in 2010 by a collective of academics and artists, the Refugee Art Project is united by a concern for the plight of refugees to Australia and the asylum seekers who wait in Australian detention centres. The project is passionate about showcasing their talent, locked away beyond razor wire. Contributors to the project are a diverse mixture of people, who come from such places as Afghanistan, Sri Lanka, the Kurdish regions of the Middle East, Africa and Indonesia.

THE FESTIVAL OF DEMOCRACY
‘A BEACON OF DEMOCRACY’
RETHINKING TAIWAN

Co-hosted by the China Democracy Forum, the China Studies Centre (University of Sydney) and the Taiwan Foundation for Democracy

Tseng Chien-yuan, Hsu Ru-heng, Yang Maysing

This morning symposium has a single aim: to reconsider the setbacks and achievements, and to assess the 21st-century challenges facing East Asia’s most dynamic, prosperous and controversial democracy: the political experiment famously described by George W. Bush as ‘a beacon of democracy to Asia and the world’. Invited speakers will examine such matters as Taiwan’s distinctive market economy, its changing trade, banking and tourism links with the wider region and the global significance of Taiwan’s refusal of dictatorship and transition to democracy. The symposium will also consider elections, urban self-government, the changing political role of digital media, political corruption and stalemate, and deepening disaffection with party democracy, especially among young people. Discussions will not side-step the sensitive themes: cross-strait relations, questions of ‘sovereignty’; the shaping role of the United States and the People’s Republic of China and prospects for Taiwan’s role within a wider process of Asia Pacific regional integration.

Tseng Chien-yuan is Professor of Public Administration at Hsinchu City’s Chung Hua University and an associate member of Taiwan Thinktank.

Hsu Ru-heng is a Professor at the National Academy of Civil Service, Taiwan

Yang Maysing is Vice-President of the Taiwan Foundation for Democracy and a founding member of the Council of Asian Liberals and Democrats

WHEN
Friday 8 November
2:15 - 3:45 pm

WHERE
CCANESA Boardroom
Madsen Building
Eastern Avenue
University of Sydney

RSVP
Registration for this event is essential; please RSVP to:
idhr@sydney.edu.au

**Professor Pieter Fourie, Stellenbosch University**

In this final afternoon session of the Festival, Pieter Fourie will offer a short overview of current events and developments in South Africa. He will explain why, two decades after the dramatic end of apartheid, doubts and anxieties are surfacing within and beyond South Africa about the fate of its democratic revolution. The South Africa chapter of Human Rights Watch's 2012 World Report reported that the country 'continues to grapple with corruption, growing social and economic inequalities, and the weakening of state institutions by partisan appointments and one-party dominance.' It is said that health and education systems are suffering from government neglect. Widespread dysfunction in local governments has prompted public demonstrations, sometimes forcibly dispersed by police violence. South Africa has one of the highest rates of rape and violent crime in the world; the continuing white grip on land ownership remains controversial; and corruption, which is both the agent and beneficiary of the erosion of democracy, threatens the alleviation of serious poverty. These problems have been compounded by allegations of 'ghost voters' and vote-buying in elections, waning media freedoms and by the ANC's policy of 'deployment', the practice of selecting candidates for all government jobs according to their perceived loyalty to the ANC, a party machine which President Jacob Zuma is fond of saying will govern 'until Jesus comes'.

Pieter Fourie will examine these and other trends in order to help the audience make sense of what's happening in South Africa, and whether counter-trends are keeping alive the spirit and substance of democracy in southern Africa's most important experiment in self-government. In connection with the Festival's This is Democracy – Photography Competition, his talk will be introduced by screenings of two short videos produced by the South African collective Photography And Democracy.

**Pieter Fourie** is Associate Professor of Political Science at Stellenbosch University in South Africa. Actively engaged in the politics of health, and its new prominence in international relations, he is an outspoken champion of a more robust civil society in southern Africa. He recently called on the South African government to support HIV advocacy groups, such as the Treatment Action Campaign, and their international alliance partners, for the purpose of developing a new and more inclusive ‘Aids diplomacy’ backed by transnational justice networks. Pieter Fourie is editor of Politikon (South African Journal of Political Studies) and his most recent publications include The Politics of AIDS Denialism: South Africa's failure to respond (2010) and Health for Some: The political economy of global health governance (2009).

---

THE FESTIVAL OF DEMOCRACY
SPACE, POWER AND DEMOCRACY
AN INTERNATIONAL SYMPOSIUM

9 November 2013, 9am - 6pm
Followed by a closing reception

Featuring several distinguished overseas guests, this international symposium aims to revisit and radically question the deep attachment of democratic politics and theories of democracy to outdated images of space bound up with the modern state and its supervision and control of populations within demarcated territorial settings. It questions the place-based and un-dynamic ‘territorial mentality’ of democracy, for instance by noting such contemporary developments as the spread of mobile communication networks, the ‘promiscuous’ cross-border spirit, language and practices of democracy, and the growth of a multi-sited landscape of organisations and networks in such fields as migration, stateless peoples, environmental politics and experiments (in Taiwan and Tibet) with post-sovereign government. Drawing on examples from the Asia and Pacific region, papers and discussions will explore the need for moving beyond the scholarly flatlands, in search of multi-dimensional and more dynamic democratic imaginaries, towards a new understanding of the poetics and politics of space. The key question throughout will be whether the spirit, language and institutions of democracy can be reconceived kaleidoscopically, that is, understood in terms of a dynamic pluriverse of multiple and often overlapping spatial frameworks in which peoples, through their representatives, govern themselves in settings of different sizes and rhythms.

Speakers: David Allinson, University of Sydney; Peter Beilharz, La Trobe University; Robyn Eckersley, University of Melbourne; Pieter Fourie, Stellenbosch University; James Gomez, University Utara Malaysia; Max Grömping, University of Sydney; Trevor Hogan, La Trobe University; Sarah Maddison, University of New South Wales; Wolfgang Merkel, WZB (Berlin); Giovanni Navarria, University of Sydney; Nicola Piper, University of Sydney; Nicholas Rowley, University of Sydney; Colombina Schaeffer, University of Sydney; Simon Tormey, University of Sydney; Raul Sanchez Urribari, La Trobe University; Michael Zürn, WZB (Berlin)

Organisers: The event is co-hosted by Thesis Eleven at La Trobe University and the Wissenschaftszentrum Berlin (WZB)

WHEN
Saturday 9 November
9:00 am - 6:00 pm. Followed by a closing reception. Coffee and tea will be served upon arrival.

WHERE
Sutherland Room,
Holme Building, Science Road
University of Sydney

RSVP
Attendance at this symposium is by invitation only

Produced by G. Navarria - IDHR, University of Sydney, NSW, 2006. The University reserves the right to make alterations to any information contained within this publication without notice. 10/2186  ABN 15 211 513 464  CRICOS 00026A
Support for the Festival is generously provided by:

The Australian Research Council;
China Democracy Forum; the China Studies Centre;
Greenpeace Australia Pacific;
The Media and Democracy in Central and Eastern Europe (MDCEE) project at the University of Oxford;
The Refugee Art Project;
The School of Social and Political Sciences (SSPS) at the University of Sydney;
The Taiwan Foundation for Democracy;
Thesis Eleven at La Trobe University;
The University of Western Sydney;
The Wissenschaftszentrum Berlin (WZB);
And democracy researchers at the Institute for Democracy and Human Rights (IDHR) at the University of Sydney.

FOR MORE INFORMATION
CONTACT
T +61 2 9351 3324
E idhr@sydney.edu.au
sydney.edu.au/arts/idhr