

# Political Emotions

22-23 July 2019  
University of Adelaide



*A woman declares 'No Hate' at a protest in Los Angeles, California 2017. Photo by T. Chick McClure*



## **PROGRAMME AT A GLANCE**

### **Monday 22 July**

(Level 7 Inkarni Wardli Building, The University of Adelaide)

10.00-10.30 Registration

10.30-11.00 Acknowledgement of Country and Welcome

11.00-12.30 Concurrent Sessions 1 (Panels 1 & 2)

12.30-1.30 Lunch

1.30-3.00 Concurrent Sessions 2 (Panels 3 & 4)

3.00- 3.30 Afternoon Tea

3.30-5.00 Concurrent Sessions 3 (Panels 5 & 6)

5.00 Journal Launch

6.30-7.30 Public Lecture: Decolonising Multilingualism: What Happens to Emotions When English Takes a Step Back by Professor Alison Phipps, University of Glasgow

### **Tuesday 23 July**

(Barr Smith South 1062, The University of Adelaide)

9.15-9.30 Welcome

9.30-10.30 Opening Panel

10.30-11.00 Morning Tea

11.00-12.30 Concurrent Sessions 4 (Panels 7 & 8)

12.30-1.30 Lunch

1.30-3.00 Concurrent Sessions 5 (Panels 9 & 10)

3.00-3.30 Closing Discussion

# PROGRAMME

## DAY 1: Monday 22 July

(Level 7 Inkarni Wardli Building, The University of Adelaide)

10.00-10.30 Registration

10.30-11.00 Acknowledgement of Country and Welcome: Katie Barclay

### 11.00-12.30 Concurrent Sessions 1

#### Panel 1: Emotional Politicians

Room IW Level 7; Chair: Margaret Allen

1. Gender, Leadership and the Politics of Emotion: Examples from the U.S., U.K., New Zealand and Australia, **Carol Johnson**, University of Adelaide
2. Caring and Crying: Australian Politicians' Approaches to Displaced Children, **Jordy Silverstein**, University of Melbourne
3. 'I want to Humanise the Debate Somewhat...': Emotional Storytelling in British Parliamentary Rhetoric, **Matthew Lovatt**, University of Leeds

#### Panel 2: Imagining an Emotional Politics

Room: EM212; Chair: Robert Phiddian

1. Political and Emotional Women: Mary Wollstonecraft, Mary Robinson and the role of Emotions in Eighteenth-Century Proto-Feminism, **Astrid Lane**, University of Adelaide
2. Emotion and Utopian Imagination, **Jordan McKenzie**, University of Wollongong
3. Romantic Love as a Political Emotion, **Renata Grossi**, University of Technology Sydney

### 12.30-1.30 Lunch

### 1.30-3.00 Concurrent Sessions 2

#### Panel 3: Emotional Educations

Room IW Level 7; Chair: Jordan McKenzie

1. Emotional Energy and the Production of Power Through Micro-Social Practices in School Classrooms, **James Davis**, Queensland University of Technology
2. Aspirations of Chinese Middle-Class Parents: Emotionality and Education, **Hannah Soong**, University of South Australia
3. Learning to Love: Eighteenth-Century Emotional Educations, **Katie Barclay**, University of Adelaide

#### Panel 4: (Post)Colonial Emotions

Room EM212; Chair: Claire Walker

1. The Anger of White Men, **Margaret Allen**, University of Adelaide
2. 'An Everlasting Resentment': Fear, Favour and the 'Indigenous Other' in British North America and New South Wales 1748-1815, **Jill Beard**, Griffiths University
3. Emotions of Inclusion: Colonisation, Anzacs, and Indigenous Inclusion in Official First World War Commemorations in Australia, **Rachel Caines**, University of Adelaide

### 3.00 - 3.30 Afternoon Tea

### 3.30-5.00 Concurrent Sessions 3

#### Panel 5: Media Emotions

Room IW Level 7; Chair: Veronica Coram

1. The Swift, Contentiousness, and the Role of the Negative Emotions, **Robert Phiddian**, Flinders University
2. More Gender Trouble: Reactions to Removing 'Gender' from Tasmanian Birth Certificates, **Louise Richardson-Self**, University of Tasmania
3. Governing Precarity through Virtuosity: Expectations of Positivity and Resilience among Persons Crowdfunding Medical Expenses, **Matt Wade**, Nanyang Technological University

#### Panel 6: Encounter, Emotion and Hopeful Ways of Living Together Roundtable

Room EM212; Chair: Renata Grossi

1. Hopeful futures? Geographies of Multicultural Encounter in Glasgow, Scotland, **Melike Peterson**, University of Glasgow
2. Building Connection and Taking Responsibility through Refugee Mentoring, **Phillipa Bellemore**, Macquarie University
3. The Emotional Work of Being In-Relation across Borders, **Melanie Baak**, UniSA

### 5.00 Journal Launch

Launch of Issue 3:1 of *Emotions: History, Culture, Society* and the inaugural issue of *Emotions & Society*.

### 6.30-7.30 Public Lecture

Room: G60 Braggs Lecture Theatre; Chair: Deb King

Decolonising Multilingualism: What Happens to Emotions When English Takes a Step Back  
**Professor Alison Phipps**, University of Glasgow

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## DAY 2: Tuesday 23 July

(Barr Smith South 1062, The University of Adelaide)

9.15-9.30 Welcome: Nathan Manning

### 9.30-10.30 Panel Discussion

Room: BSS 1062; Chair: Katie Barclay

Political Emotions in Practice

**Alison Phipps**, **Deb King** and **Michelle Peterie**

### 1030-11.00 Morning tea

### 11.00-1230 Concurrent Sessions 4

#### Panel 7: Research, Writing and the Emotions of Political Change

Room: BSS 1062; Chair: Deb King

1. Emotional Creatures: The Role of Emotions in Shaping Research with Nonhuman Animals, **Zoei Sutton**, Flinders University

2. 'Riding the Emotacycle off a Cliff'- of (Climate) Activism, Emotional Management and Eternal Return, **Marc Hudson**

Panel 8: The Emotions of Resource Allocation

Room: BSS 1063; Chair: Kris Natalier

1. Ethos of Scarcity: on the Emergence of a Collective Emotion in Singapore, **Marco Santangelo**, University of Torino
2. Feeling Globalization through the Family; the Emotional Work of Hong Kong Shenzhen Cross-Border Families, **Jonathan Burrow**
3. 'Bangladeshi infiltrators' and the Politics of Fear in Hindu India, **Maggie Paul**, University of Adelaide

**12.30-1.30 Lunch**

**1.30-3.00 Concurrent Sessions 5**

Panel 9: Emotions of Late Capitalism

Room BSS 1063; Chair: Zoei Sutton

1. Anger and Acquiescence: Young People's Economic Policy Attitudes, **Veronica Coram**, University of Adelaide
2. 'Do I Vote Tactically or with my Heart?' The Emotional Foundations of Dutiful Citizenship, **Nathan Manning**, University of Adelaide
3. (Emotional) Resistance in the Neoliberal Welfare System: Combatting the Cashless Debit Card, **Michelle Peterie and Greg Marston**, University of Queensland

Panel 10: State Policy and Emotional Comfort

Room: BSS 1063; Chair: Michelle Peterie

1. The Affective Impacts of Social Policy: A Comparative Analysis of the UK and Australian Child Support Programs on the Meanings of Money in Mothers' Post-Separation Lives, **Kris Natalier**, Flinders University, **Kay Cook** and **Zoë Goodall**, Swinburne University
2. Try a Little Kindness: Welfare Policy under New Zealand's Sixth Labour Government, **Claire Gray**, University of Canterbury
3. Negotiating Belonging across Generations – The Case of 3rd Turkish Heritage Migrants in Germany, **Bircan Ciytak**, University of Birmingham

**3.00-3.30 Conference Close**

Room: BSS 1062

## ABSTRACTS

### Keynote: Professor Alison Phipps

#### Decolonising Multilingualism: What Happens to Emotions When English Takes a Step Back

Alison Phipps is the Professor of Languages and Intercultural Studies UNESCO Chair Refugee Integration through Languages and the Arts (Creativity Culture & Faith), University of Glasgow

Titero, Whakarongo ... korero.

look, listen ... speak.

Asserting your rights, your subjecthood, your desires and your concerns is not easy in a language you do not speak or understand well. It requires effort and it requires dependency. It will place you in positions of exclusion and vulnerability. It will mean you are thrown back onto modes of non-linguistic communication. It will mean you may feel threatened.

In the debates in the global north relating to multilingual subjectivity (Kramersch 2014) and translanguaging (Creese and Blackledge 2017) the way migration has produced new repertoires of speech and action are well evidenced. Monolingualism has been shown to be a powerful construction (Gramling 2016), the multilingual turn has been taken (May 2014), the translation turn is well underway and languages, for all that borders are closing under fear of mass migration (Kelly 2017), are reportedly experiencing a resurgence in popularity in the UK. In Scotland, in the last ten years legislation has been passed making the country one which is now officially multilingual. Within this work, however, there is a focus on the languages which have dominated the colonial past and the neo-colonial present. The binary divide between world or global languages and other or minority or community languages persists in the discourse, theory and methodologies of language pedagogy and choice.

Drawing on the work of a recently published short book and manifesto for decolonising multilingualism this lecture will consider what might be at stake in contexts where people are seeking refuge, if integration is to mean mutual transformation at the level of language, and if integration is understood to be an artistic practice.

The lecture will develop work from AHRC Researching Multilingually at Borders project and the new South South Migration Hub, examining multilingual encounters through the work of Ngugi wa Thiong'o (1986). Breaking with traditional forms, as part of the decolonising process, this lecture offers a series of narrative vignettes, experiences, poetic content and extracts from a manifesto for decolonising multilingualism.

### Panel Papers

#### Panel 1: Emotional Politicians

#### **Gender, Leadership and the Politics of Emotion: Examples from the U.S., U.K., New Zealand and Australia**

Carol Johnson, University of Adelaide

This paper will analyse the ways in which political leaders/aspiring political leaders use gendered discourse that mobilises differing conceptions of heterosexual masculinity or femininity in their attempts to gain electoral support. The major focus will be on their (gendered) use of emotion. The paper builds on the author's previous research on Australian, U.S. and U.K political discourse and includes more recent examples from Justin Trudeau, Hillary Clinton, Donald Trump, Theresa May, Jacinda Ardern, Scott Morrison and Bill Shorten. The paper will include an analysis of the

relationship between the use of (gendered) emotional discourse and forms of populism, including relevant intersections between gender and race/ethnicity/religion. It will also analyse the relationship between politicians' discourse and differing forms of 'emotional regime' and 'affective citizenship'. The paper draws attention to the social policy implications of the discourse being used.

Prof. Carol Johnson is an Adjunct researcher in the Department of Politics and International Relations, University of Adelaide. She has published extensively on the issue of the comparative politics of emotion in journals ranging from *Australian Feminist Studies*, to *Citizenship Studies* and *Theory & Society*. Her chapters on the politics of emotion have also appeared in edited collections, including *Emotions and Social Change* (Routledge, 2014) and *Abbott's Gambit: The 2013 Australian Federal Election* (ANU Press, 2015). Her most recent sole authored book, *Social Democracy and the Crisis of Equality* (Springer, 2019), includes a key chapter on 'Feeling Equal'.

### **Caring and Crying: Australian Politicians' Approaches to Displaced Children**

Jordy Silverstein, University of Melbourne

In 2015, former Immigration Minister Tony Burke spoke at the ALP National Conference, appearing to cry as he spoke about asylum-seeking children drowning 'on his watch', as part of a speech in which he called for the ALP to support a policy of boat turnbacks. In 2018, another former Immigration Minister, Scott Morrison, spoke of being 'on his knees in tears' because there were children – under his control – imprisoned in immigration detention in Nauru. In this paper I will critique the work that these tears, and these iterations of caring, do. This political mobilisation of specific tropes and discourses – by former Ministers as well as other politicians – is productive of a great deal of emotion and sentiment which then enables certain violent political work to be undertaken. In this paper, through the deployment of Sara Ahmed's understanding of the circulation of emotions, I will historicise the narratives of politicians' selves, and of these children as a governable group, that occur through these racialised tropes and discourses, working to understand the ways that they aid in prioritizing the feelings of white politicians and the white nation above the lives of these non-white children.

Dr Jordy Silverstein is a Postdoctoral Research Associate in History, working as part of the ARC Laureate Research Fellowship 'Child Refugees and Australian Internationalism, 1920s to the Present.' She is the author of *Anxious Histories: Narrating the Holocaust in Jewish Communities at the Beginning of the Twenty-First Century* (2015), and co-editor of *In the Shadows of Memory: The Holocaust and the Third Generation* (2016).

### **'I want to Humanise the Debate Somewhat...': Emotional Storytelling in British Parliamentary Rhetoric**

Matthew Lovatt, University of Leeds

Politicians are increasingly sharing personal stories, yet the democratic potential of these narratives has so far been ignored. Because they 'stir our emotions', the stories politicians tell have instead been said to threaten democracy, preventing rational discourse and encouraging 'self-indulgent' therapeutic rhetoric. But what if the emotions generated and performed through these stories can actually serve important democratic functions? I explore this question by focusing on stories told in recent British parliamentary debates on mental health, sexual abuse, and baby loss. By telling emotional personal stories about themselves and their constituents, I argue that politicians were able to bring often taboo and private experiences of political issues into the public arena, making their emotional and affective dimensions a legitimate consideration in debate. This, I argue, gives us reason to challenge the taken for granted distinction between the emotional and the democratic assumed by those critical of politicians' stories.

I'm a PhD student from the School of Media and Communication at the University of Leeds. My research project investigates the role that personal stories and anecdotes play in British political speech and debate, investigating how their emotional and experiential qualities intersect with democratic processes of political representation, performance, and debate. My work is supervised across two schools, by Professor Stephen Coleman from the School of Media and Communication,

and Dr Fiona Douglas from the School of English. My research is supported by a full WRoCAH AHRC studentship.

## Panel 2: Emotions of Late Capitalism

### **Anger and Acquiescence: Young People's Economic Policy Attitudes**

Veronica Coram, University of Adelaide

Anger, passion and a desire for change have traditionally been thought of as powerful drivers of young people's political attitudes. In this paper, I argue that the way educated young adults in Australia view economic inequality is in fact far less fervent, and largely driven by passivity, acquiescence and acceptance. Qualitative fieldwork (surveys and semi-structured interviews with 17 Australians aged 18 to 24) conducted for this study suggests that even when young people are aware of how government policies promote inequality, and policy reform would be in their own economic interests, they do not support any challenge or resistance to the status quo. This acquiescence appears to stem largely from an unwillingness to judge others for their actions or hold them accountable for inequitable or unfair outcomes. Sub-optimal outcomes are seen as essentially arbitrary and uncontrollable rather than consequential on the choices and actions of specific agents.

I am a PhD candidate in Political Science at the University of Adelaide, researching factors influencing the formation of policy attitudes. I have degrees from the University of Melbourne, the University of Adelaide and the University of Western Australia, and extensive professional experience in public policy and management. I have previously presented my research at the International Political Science Association World Congress.

### **'Do I Vote Tactically or with my Heart?' The Emotional Foundations of Dutiful Citizenship**

Nathan Manning, University of Adelaide

Democratic politics in many parts of the world seems increasingly characterised by intense emotions, bitter divisions and growing polarisation. In the UK, the referendum on membership of the European Union involved a particularly acrimonious and violent campaign. Since the referendum a range of deep social and political divides have (re)asserted themselves. Amidst this charged political atmosphere it is a common refrain that an emotional politics forfeits rational dialogue and threatens our democracy. In contrast to such claims I will argue that emotions are central to citizenship and political participation. Drawing upon qualitative archival material from the British Mass Observation Project (1983-2017) I will explore the emotional dimensions of dutiful citizenship. Civically engaged respondents experienced electoral politics emotionally and with a striking intensity. In contrast to accounts which associate dutiful citizenship with dry notions of duty, responsibility and obligation, this paper attempts to explore the emotional underpinnings of dutiful citizenship; the deep and abiding feelings citizens can have towards their orthodox civic and political participation.

Nathan Manning is a Senior Lecturer in Sociology at the University of Adelaide. He has research interests which largely fit within political sociology, with a focus on young citizens, political dissatisfaction and disengagement and the role of emotions in politics and citizenship. He is currently working on a book with Brain Loader (University of York) which will explore notions of the political self. He also continues to pursue work based on the Mass Observation Project which explores the emotional dimensions of dutiful forms of citizenship. He is also one of the editors of *Emotion & Society*.

## **(Emotional) Resistance in the Neoliberal Welfare System: Combatting the Cashless Debit Card**

Michelle Peterie and Greg Marston, University of Queensland

Compulsory Income Management (CIM) is a policy that sees a portion of affected welfare recipients' social security payments quarantined for use on 'essentials' such as food and bills. One form of CIM – the Cashless Debit Card (CDC) – was introduced to the Federal Division of Hinkler in Queensland in January 2019. Previous studies of CIM have located these policies within a broader history of neoliberal paternalism, observing that CIM reflects contemporary preoccupations with job-seeker 'activation' and 'mutual obligation'. While questions of power, coercion and harm have been central to these analyses, acts of overt and clandestine resistance – and the emotional contours of such acts – have received little scholarly attention. Drawing on in-depth interviews with income-managed welfare recipients in Hinkler, this paper highlights the policy's corrosive impacts at the socio-emotional level. In addition, it highlights and theorises important but under-recognised forms of emotional and embodied resistance in this punitive policy context.

Dr Michelle Peterie is a Postdoctoral Research Fellow at the University of Queensland and current co-convener of The Australian Sociological Association's Sociology of Emotions and Affect Thematic Group. Michelle completed her PhD at the University of Sydney, examining bureaucratic violence in immigration detention facilities. Her current research concerns the socio-emotional impacts of punitive policies and discourses, including those targeting refugees, Indigenous Australians and the unemployed.

Greg Marston is a Professor of Social Policy and Head of the School of Social Science at The University of Queensland. His research interests include poverty and inequality, the politics of policy-making and social service delivery models. Recent books include a co-edited collection on *Basic Income in Australia and New Zealand* (2016); *Work and the Welfare State: Street-Level Organizations and Workfare Politics* (2013); and *The Australian Welfare State: Who Benefits Now* (2013).

### Panel 3: Emotional Educations

#### **Emotional Energy and the Production of Power Through Micro-social Practices in School Classrooms**

James Davis, Queensland University of Technology

Power in school classrooms is commonly viewed as part of longstanding traditions and systems of rules that shape teacher-student and student-student relationships. Evidence of institutional structures of power in schools is accessible at the meso-level of school or class-wide interaction. However, at the level of micro-social interaction students and teachers perform continuous moment-to-moment reflexive actions as constitutive elements of localized social practices, which typically involve experiences of emotional energy. These performances and experiences may be viewed as sites for the re-production and transformation of power structures where participants make ongoing choices to engage or disengage with others. This study uses interaction ritual theory to analyse empirical data to explore how power may be re-produced, transformed, and re-distributed in a secondary school science classroom. It is anticipated that the findings of this study will point toward a methodological approach for exploring connections between emotional energy and power in school classrooms.

James is a Lecturer in STEM Education and Entrepreneurial Thinking in the Faculty of Education at the Queensland University of Technology, Brisbane, Australia. His core research interests focus on the sociology of emotions in learning and understanding students' emotive-cognitive engagement from social perspectives. James is a contributing author to the Routledge volume *Emotions in Late Modernity*, and he has recently published on Objectivity, Subjectivity and Emotion in School Science Inquiry in the *Journal of Research in Science Teaching*.

## **Aspirations of Chinese Middle-Class Parents: Emotionality and Education**

Hannah Soong, University of South Australia

This paper recognises the role 'emotions' play in shaping Chinese middle-class parents' academic aspirations for their children. Although much has been written about emotions from the perspective of individual educators and students, little is known about how the term 'emotionality' can provide for a more contextualised, relational and socio-cultural perspective (Denzin, 1984) to better understand what propels Chinese middle-class parents to aspire their children to break into circles of privilege via the train of 'good education'. By infusing 'emotionality' into the analyses of class, culture and household dynamics, I explore the various trajectories of emotionality to argue for the need of 'analyses of emotions in the production of knowledge, culture, individual and collective identities and power relations' (Harding and Pribam, 2004: 864) to recognise the socio-cultural and political influences in attitudes to education that middle-class Chinese parents have for their children.

Dr Hannah Soong is a Senior Lecturer in the School of Education, University of South Australia. Hannah's research explores the nexus between education and migration of international students and how these influence their subjectivities and transnational lived experiences in Australia. Her current research publications and projects lie in the empirical studies and theorisation of transnational mobility of international students, migrant teachers, and the impacts of parent's aspiration on their children's education and wellbeing in Asia. Her most recent research projects include Channel 7 Children Research Foundation investigating the relations between refugee parents' educational aspirations on the positive academic performance of their children in primary and secondary schooling. She has also researched on the learning and intercultural experiences in a 'foreign' context for international students studying and living in Singapore and Australia. One key area is the investigation around developing ethical engagement with global shifts and relations in education. In 2016 she published her first sole-authored book with Routledge entitled *Transnational Students and Mobilities: Lived Experiences of Migration*. Her forthcoming books to be published in 2018 by Springer include *Asia Literacy in a Global World: An Australian Perspective*; and, by Palgrave *The Palgrave Handbook of Citizenship and Education*.

## **Learning to Love: Eighteenth-Century Emotional Educations**

Katie Barclay, University of Adelaide

Eighteenth-century Scots were expected to comport themselves lovingly, where love or *caritas* was a profound emotional ethic designed to mediate social relationships and produce a Christian social order as an embodied practice. Drawing on depositions taken from criminal and civil suits during the period, this paper explores how Scottish children and young people were taught to behave lovingly, how they negotiated that education, and how society provided space for that negotiation through ideas around the nature of childhood and the child. It contributes to our understanding of how emotions are produced as cultural and temporal practices through childhood socialization.

Katie Barclay is Deputy-Director of the ARC Centre of Excellence in the History of Emotions and Associate Professor in History at the University of Adelaide. She has written widely on family life, gender and emotion. With Andrew Lynch and Giovanni Tarantino, she edits *Emotions: History, Culture, Society*.

## Panel 4: (Post)Colonial Emotions

### **The Anger of White Men**

Margaret Allen, University of Adelaide

The colonial political order was built upon racial distinctions and white privilege. White imperialists had an emotional investment in this order, or as Aileen Moreton-Robinson has termed it - 'possessive investments' in a system, which privileged them. Changes to that order could arouse violent reactions. In late 1929, Lawrence Hogg, the young editor at the Indian YMCA Association

Press in Calcutta, noted in his diary about his experience out collecting donations among the European community. 'I had a depressing interview with a wealthy old Englishman retired...[he won't donate this year as] because the Y.M.C.A. is 'doing too much for these Indians'. He had lived 45 years in the country but had nothing but hatred for the people and he has been poisoning his mind with 'Mother India'. The opposing views of the progressive Hogg and the die-hard conservative Englishman, reflected a deep division within the Indian YMCA which had widened in the 1920s. The policy of Indigenisation within the YMCA, which saw Indian leaders and their British and American supporters casting a somewhat critical gaze upon British colonialism and white racism, enraged the European Association in India, which launched an attack on the Indian YMCA. This group could not support the YMCA taking a direction under Indian leaders, more sympathetic to nationalism. The YMCA leaders met this outburst of anger, with reason and calm. This paper will explore the conflict and the political strategies of both groups within the changing political and social landscape of India in the 1920s.

Margaret Allen is Professor Emerita, Gender Studies, University of Adelaide. Margaret Allen taught gender studies with an historical flavor at the University of Adelaide for four decades. She is interested in transnational, postcolonial and feminist histories and whiteness and has published widely across these fields. She has been researching Indian and Australian connections during the period 1880-1940. Currently she is a CI on the ARC DP project, 'Beyond Empire: transnational religious networks and liberal cosmopolitanisms' with Associate Professor Jane Haggis (Flinders), Professor Fiona Paisley (Griffith) and Professor Clare Midgley (Sheffield Hallam).

### **'An Everlasting Resentment': Fear, Favour and the 'Indigenous Other' in British North America and New South Wales 1748-1815**

Jill Beard, Griffiths University

Resentment permeates the politics of colonisation. British readings of the resentment of the Indigenous peoples in their American colonies and in the colony of New South Wales shaped their perceptions of those peoples. Those readings also framed their political and diplomatic interactions and entanglements. This paper considers how the resentment of Indigenous peoples was read in Britain's American and Australian colonies in the latter half of the long eighteenth century. It does so by considering how resentment was understood in Scottish Enlightenment political thought and the ways in which those understandings were applied in episodes of colonisation where Indigenous resentment was clearly identified by colonists. It argues that these readings were fluid, and contingent on the furtherance of colonial interests. It discusses some implications of these readings for the governance of Indigenous peoples in the eighteenth century and touches upon their contemporary legacies.

Jillian Beard completed her PhD on the intellectual history of conciliation in British colonial governance in 2018. She is interested in the way Enlightenment thought influences cross cultural contact.

### **Emotions of Inclusion: Colonisation, Anzacs, and Indigenous Inclusion in Official First World War Commemorations in Australia**

Rachel Caines, University of Adelaide

This paper explores how emotional responses to colonisation and the Anzac Legend in Australia have influenced the level of Indigenous inclusion in official commemorations of the Great War. Although historical interest in both areas has grown in recent decades, few scholars have analysed the role of Indigenous veterans in official commemorations, or how the colonial past influences their level of inclusion. This paper argues that the strong emotional responses to Australia's history of colonisation and its involvement in the Great War have contributed to the lack of Indigenous inclusion in official First World War commemorations over the past century. In particular, the sacralisation of war commemoration and continuing conflict over the Frontier Wars have created an emotionally-charged commemorative space that resists diversification and Indigenous inclusion. Arguments over inclusion during the recent Anzac Centenary reflect the continuing importance of this issue in Australian politics and national identity.

Rachel Caines is a final year Master of Philosophy student at the University of Adelaide. Her research explores the nature of Aboriginal, Torres Strait Islander, and Maori inclusion in Australian and New Zealand commemorations of the First World War. She is interested in the creation and evolution of national narratives, and particularly how non-dominant groups navigate and become included in these narratives.

## Panel 5: Media Emotions

### **The Swift, Contentiousness, and the Role of the Negative Emotions**

Robert Phiddian, Flinders University

I am working on a short book on mobilising the harsh emotions of satire – the CAD (Contempt, Anger, Disgust) triad explained for the purposes of satire, with examples from the 1720s and brief relevant comparison with current satirical controversy. This paper is a reading of Swift's, *Gulliver's Travels* to illustrate how the model works with a canonical satirical text. This will require detailed work (now enormously aided by the new Cambridge Edition of Swift) on the drama of the book's initial publication in 1726 and Sir Robert Walpole's reaction to it. This can provide an exemplum of the development of functional political toleration and harassment of satire in the early print era.

Robert Phiddian is Professor of English at Flinders University. He is author of *Swift's Parody* (Cambridge UP, 1995) and (with Julian Meyrick and Tully Barnett) *What Matters? Talking Value in Australian Culture* (Melbourne: Monash University Publishing, 2018). He edited (with Haydon Manning) *Comic Commentators - Contemporary Political Cartooning in Australia* (Perth: Australian Public Intellectual Network, 2008) and (with David Lemmings and Heather Kerr) *Passions, Sympathy and Print Culture: Public Opinion and Emotional Authenticity in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016). He is author or co-author of nearly 50 academic articles or chapters, and would have completed another book or two had he not been in senior administrative positions at Flinders, 2004-17. He was founding director of the Australasian Consortium of Humanities Research Centres (2011-17) and sits on the board of the international Consortium of Humanities Centers and Institutes.

### **More Gender Trouble: Reactions to Removing 'Gender' from Tasmanian Birth Certificates**

Louise Richardson-Self, University of Tasmania

In 2018, news broke that a bill was being debated in the Tasmanian Parliament which would make the recording of 'gender' on birth certificates optional. Online news comments sections are a common site of reactive emotion, particularly when that news pertains to gender issues. By surveying Facebook comments responding to this news shared by The Australian my aim is to (1) thematically analyse the responses, and (2) draw inferences about the features of Australia's contemporary gender order (an order which structures all social relations). Once elaborated, this can inform strategies undertaken to improve gender-literacy and reduce queer-phobia.

Louise Richardson-Self is Lecturer in Philosophy & Gender Studies, School of Humanities, University of Tasmania.

### **Governing Precarity through Virtuosity: Expectations of Positivity and Resilience among Persons Crowdfunding Medical Expenses**

Matt Wade, Nanyang Technological University

Crowdfunding medical expenses has grown exponentially. Strikingly apparent in campaigns is an *insistence* on positive resolve and burdensome confessional labour. However, most efforts fail, generating injurious metrics of life's worth. Still, crowdfunding remains one of few 'empathy paths' available. Today, precarity is governed through *virtuosity*, a positive reframing where those who prove themselves morally deserving are redeemed. Yet vulnerable subjects must also remain *ideologically compliant*. That is, while victims of injustice, expressing such views potentially divides

the crowd and weakens donations. Achieving recognition thus perpetuates a 'violence of normativity' (Berlant) that 'morally fuses hyperbolic self-reliance with readiness to be sacrificed' (Brown). The 'crowd', alternatively, can voice ideological stances. Advocates, meanwhile, curate 'sympathy biographies' (Clark), abide the 'Tyranny of Positive Energy' (Lovink and Rossiter), and become 'spiritual bellhops' in 'the traffic in sorrow and grief' (Spelman). This discursive-affective space implies life is 'grievable' (Butler) only when moral worth is visible, instructive, and consumable.

Matt is a postdoctoral fellow in the Centre for Liberal Arts and Social Sciences at NTU, Singapore. Broadly speaking, his work explores intersections and co-constitutive practices around morality, meaning-making, wellbeing, and technology, along with the circulation of capital through these spaces. If of interest, most of Matt's work can be easily accessed at [mattwade.net/work](http://mattwade.net/work).

#### Panel 6: Encounter, Emotion and Hopeful Ways of Living Together Roundtable

Melike Peterson, University of Glasgow

Phillipa Bellemore, Macquarie University

With growing concern about the increasingly fear-full ways in which issues of migration, (re)settlement, multiculturalism, nationhood, 'home' and belonging are currently discussed in and beyond politics (e.g. Neal et al 2018, Staeheli et al 2012, Pain 2009). Feminist and other critical geographers have been emphasising that these 'anxious' landscapes shape contemporary, especially urban, life in uneven ways, and are felt by specific people more than by others. This has led to a burgeoning interest in multicultural encounter as critical social platforms that allow people to negotiate often complex and multi-layered identities, belongings, and claims to citizenship and 'home' in mundane and informal ways. Encounters are argued to be experienced, enacted and performed in messy and unpredictable ways (e.g. Wilson 2016, Askins and Pain 2011), and critically always affective, sensuous and emotive, some with stark spatio-political consequences (e.g. Wise and Velayutham 2017, Askins 2015, Lobo 2015, Wright 2015). In this session, we want to explore the emotional geographies of how people may find ways of living together with difference in more inclusive and hopeful worlds (after Wright 2015, Wise 2005). This is not to discount the injustices, inequalities, prejudices and racisms that simultaneously exist and shape communities and societies. Rather, scholars also have significant contributions to make by exploring and emphasising hopeful stories of togetherness and living with others that may feed into gradual social change (Lobo 2014, Askins 2015). Our contribution will consider:

- Hopeful and careful encounters and ethics
- The transformative potential of emotionality in/as encounter
- The role of emotions in creating/(re)making 'new social worlds' (Westoby 2009)
- Emotions and/as everyday agency and resistance
- Emotional geographies of un/settling landscapes of fear and hate
- Embodied relationality as felt and placed

The session will commence with three presentations and then discussion questions will be used to prompt discussion and further reflection on the themes.

Melike Peterson is a 4th year PhD student in Human Geography at the University of Glasgow, Scotland. Her research focusses on everyday spaces of multicultural encounter in Glasgow and the micro politics of encounters with/across difference, particularly their role in nurturing processes of connection-building, community and belonging in Scottish society. She is particularly interested in theories of intersectionality and embodiment, feminist geographies of encounter and belonging, and entanglements of racialization, emotion and (national) identities.

Phillipa Bellemore is a final year PhD student in Sociology at Macquarie University, Sydney. She is researching the relationship between refugees and the receiving community through the study of three refugee mentoring programs in Australia. Prior to the PhD, She is a member of Member of Academics for Refugees and worked as a Project Officer on Making Connections, an academic

mentoring program for refugee background students. Phillipa is interested in intercultural relationships developed through organised encounter programs.

### Panel 7: Research, Writing and the Emotions of Political Change

#### **Emotional Creatures: The Role of Emotions in Shaping Research with Nonhuman Animals**

Zoei Sutton, Flinders University

Human and nonhuman animals live entangled lives. For sociologists studying nonhuman animals, this poses a challenge as research advocating for animals often impacts on the humans with which they are entwined. This poses an ethical dilemma when undertaking critical research that challenges the 'use' of animals for human gain. Advocating for animals in research can mean compromising our emotional ties to other humans and their preferences, and anthropocentrism filters through when we continue to prioritise human feelings (including our own). In this presentation I consider how emotions have or are likely to structure research around human-companion animal relationships and argue that academic research is more often than not shaped by the affective lens through which we humans view our pets. I conclude with a call for animal studies scholars to critically reflect on the significant influence of emotions on research when conducting research for other animals.

Zoei Sutton is a PhD Candidate in Sociology at Flinders University. Her doctoral thesis critically examines the navigation of human-companion animal relationships, particularly the negotiation of asymmetrical power relations inside and outside of the home, and the impact on research when species inclusive methods are pursued.

#### **'Riding the Emotacycle off a Cliff'- of (Climate) Activism, Emotional Management and Eternal Return**

Marc Hudson

Thinking people are prone to despair. They join movements and movement organisations to change the world, but also to 'manage' that despair. In this paper, an identifiable cycle of emotional peaks and troughs, partially under movement control, is identified. This 'emotacycle' has four phases- the Big Event (a march, rally, camp) at which positive emotions (hope, optimism, affiliation) are performed and displayed; the aftermath, where disappointment and despair are contained; the Re-evaluation, where 'next steps' are mooted; and Feeder Events building with optimism towards the next Big Event. The article, based on personal experience, observation and interviews, will outline some of the psycho-social dynamics within each phase, the movement between phases, and - crucially – the efforts to move social movement organisations towards more effective styles of behaviour, and outline a research agenda for scholar activists and activist scholars.

Marc Hudson has completed a PhD at University of Manchester on 'enacted inertia: incumbent resistance to carbon pricing in Australia, 1989-2011'. He is a long-serving climate activist, while intensely critical of the means by which activists attempt to organise and mobilise.

### Panel 8: The Emotions of Resource Allocation

#### **Ethos of Scarcity: on the Emergence of a Collective Emotion in Singapore**

Marco Santangelo, University of Torino

Singapore can be considered as a place in which it is possible to see how collective emotions have become politicised and institutionalised (Olson, 2015). In the South-East Asian city-state the construction of urban landscapes has, in fact, been conceived to respond to a strategy to build – materially and symbolically – Singapore. A narrative of the city-state as a place of limitations, constraints, tightness has been purposely created, thus shaping the Singapore we can see today

(Ng, 2017). What I would highlight is that, in Singapore, scarcity has not only informed narratives and actions that produced the city; it has also become the foundation for a collective feeling, an emotion that has effects on how everyone acts, or is asked to act. It is possible to identify an ethos of scarcity, an inclination to generate a collective emotion thanks to which a framework of practices, norms, and rules is defined and accepted.

Marco Santangelo, geographer and associate professor at the Interuniversity Department of Regional and Urban Studies and Planning (DIST) of the Polytechnic and University of Torino. His research interests are related to urban studies and in two main research fields in specific: cities transformation in the current phase of economic restructuring, especially as regards governance processes, strategy-making and regeneration; human-space-technology interactions and the role of digitalization in the changing socio-spatial urban structure. He has more recently expanded his research interests in the direction of understanding emotional geographies in the definition of urban spaces and in shaping contemporary societies.

### **Feeling Globalization through the Family; the Emotional Work of Hong Kong Shenzhen Cross-Border Families**

Jonathan Burrow

Mr. Yu traced his finger along the horizon on the balcony of his thirtieth-floor penthouse. The building stood isolated surrounded by fields of reclaimed sea, vacant while it settled in advance of construction. Patiently Mr. Yu tried to impart to his young nephew, an ethnographer and his interpreter a hidden linguistic and genealogical history of the region. A history shrugged off by his nephew who noted it remained only in the menus of the region's restaurants. This reflexive paper uses conflicting and disputed family histories of the Hong Kong – Shenzhen border region to discuss the emotional work Chinese cross-border families like Mr. Yu's do as they have cared for the needs and whims of global capitalism over the last fifty years. Through the lenses of the intergenerational encounter, I emphasize that economic productivity is made possible through gendered and racialized networks of care and translation. I reflect on the gendered and heterogeneous work Hong Kong – Shenzhen transnational families did and continue to do to enable the transnational capitalist exchange that brings the goods of the world's factory to the world.

Jonathan completed his PhD in Human Geography at the University of Oulu in 2017. His research focuses on the interplay between the politics of families, capital, and the state through the lens of the family home. He has conducted extensive fieldwork in Shenzhen and Hong Kong with cross-border commuter families. Currently based in Adelaide, he is perusing a dual academic and professional career in the international education sector.

### **'Bangladeshi infiltrators' and the Politics of Fear in Hindu India**

Maggie Paul, University of Adelaide

In the past year, the leader of the ruling party in India, repeated over and over again in official political rallies that Bangladeshi (Muslim) migrants in India whom he referred to as 'illegal infiltrators' were like 'termites' eating the country from within (Al Jazeera, 2018b). The current prime minister in his national election campaigns in the year 2014 and thereafter many times during state election rallies exaggerated the language of 'intrusion' and made claims to arouse the sentiments of people, usually fashioned around state specific emotions (NDTV, 2014). The clandestine 'Bangladeshi migrant' (implicitly Muslim) has been a referent par excellence for 'national threat' discourses in India – marking the public emotions around them as relevant to the nation's goals to 'secure' itself and hence making them important stakeholders in public culture and national politics (Nussbaum, 2013). Sankaran Krishna has aptly articulated this overt and long-standing obsession with 'alien infiltration' in terms of a basic postcolonial 'cartographic anxiety' (Krishna, 1994). The public emotion of insecurity and anxiety is both the anchor to and propelled by the politics of fear; 'the Muslim' is discursively constructed as a site of fear, fantasy, distrust, anger, envy and hatred, thus generating desires of emulation, abjection and/or extermination (Anand, 2005:207)'. This paper would (a) explore the contemporary politics of fear around the

Bangladeshi migrants; and (b) juxtapose the politics of 'insecurity' of Hindu nationalism (that these articulations are mostly based on) with the political imaginary of Rabindranath Tagore underpinned by the politics of 'love' and 'inclusiveness' – especially around the time of partition of Bengal which created Bangladesh in the first place. This analysis would therefore highlight the importance of public emotions in creating various political discourses of national relevance.

Maggie Paul is currently pursuing her PhD with the Department of Politics and IR at the University of Adelaide, Australia. Her project is tentatively titled: 'Hidden among the Teeming Millions: Marginalisation and Citizenship Practices of Bangladeshi Migrants in Mumbai, India'. Her research interests include migration and migrant citizenship practices; religion, emotions and political subjectivities in the urban context; social theory especially gender theory; methodological aspects in social sciences; Buddhist mind traditions and ecological sensibilities; educational philosophy and pedagogical innovations. She has worked as an Assistant Professor at Tata Institute of Social Sciences, Mumbai and held Research Consultation positions with various non-profits in India.

### Panel 9: Imagining an Emotional Politics

#### **Political and Emotional Women: Mary Wollstonecraft, Mary Robinson and the role of Emotions in Eighteenth-Century Proto-Feminism**

Astrid Lane, University of Adelaide

The role of emotions was a contentious issue for proto-feminist authors discussing the situation of women in the eighteenth century. Mary Wollstonecraft remarked in 1792 that it was assumed that women 'possess more sensibility, and even humanity, than men', but she perceived that the 'strength of feeling' which was lauded as 'female excellence' was almost synonymous with weakness. This weakness, she claimed, was taught rather than naturally occurring, hence she argued that quality of education was a key political concern. Wollstonecraft's social and intellectual contemporary Mary Darby Robinson similarly wrestled with the contradictory way in which women were told to 'yield to' or 'resist' the influence of the passions. This paper analyses the works of Wollstonecraft and Robinson, and argues that both women utilise the philosophy of ancient Stoicism in unexpected ways to insist on a place for emotion in political, religious and social life.

Astrid Lane is a doctoral candidate at the University of Adelaide. Her PhD is an exercise in Intellectual History, seeking to explicate the transmission and influence of Stoicism on key female thinkers of the English enlightenment. Her research interests include Hellenistic Philosophy, Eighteenth Century Literary Women, Eighteenth Century Philosophy and Theology, Romantic poetry, and Causation.

#### **Emotion and Utopian Imagination**

Jordan McKenzie, University of Wollongong

Contemporary utopian theory offers exciting insights about the role of emotion in the theory and praxis of the political sphere. In place of classical utopian literature from More, St Simon and Bacon, modern utopian literature places this kind of thinking in everyday critique (Levitas 2013; Jameson 2005), everyday praxis (Cooper 2014; Sargisson 2017), and perhaps most importantly, within the realm of inevitability rather than impossibility (Bloch 1954; Abensour 2008). Utopian thinking simply involves critiquing the present in favour of a better future, and for Bloch in particular, this is something that individuals constantly do. Jameson furthers this approach and suggests that even anti-utopian thought is itself a form of utopian thinking as it identifies historical mistakes and attempts to rectify them. This presentation will consider the role of emotion in utopian theory and praxis. Political discourse is deeply intertwined with emotion and visions for a future utopia (in the sense of a best possible outcome for society) are imbued with nostalgia, hope, happiness and pride. Meanwhile, dystopian narratives are often driven by fear, shame, hatred and guilt. There are important emotions missing from this list; loneliness, boredom, envy and so on, and the prominence of some emotions over others undoubtedly shapes the direction and tone of political

arguments. This presentation will specifically explore the possibility for differing emotional climates to inform and drive directions of utopian discourse.

Jordan McKenzie is Lecturer in Sociology, University of Wollongong.

### **Romantic Love as a Political Emotion**

Renata Grossi, University of Technology Sydney

Strečko Horvat in the *The Radicality of Love* asserts that Revolution is love if it wants to be worthy of its name. Hannah Arendt on the other hand in *The Human Condition* said that love is not only apolitical but antipolitical. This paper will attempt to reconcile these opposing views by analysing why and how romantic love can be a political emotion by reconceptualising it as a cluster of emotions (desire, hope and empathy).

Renata Grossi is an interdisciplinary legal scholar in the Faculty of Law at UTS. She is the author of *Looking for love in the legal discourse of marriage* (2014 ANU Press) and co editor of *The Radicalism of Romantic Love: Critical Perspectives* Routledge (2017). She also co-edited a special edition of Law in Context on Law and Love (2016). Her most recent publications are: 'Love as a disadvantage in law', *Journal of Law and Society*, 2018 vol. 45, no. 2 and 'What Happened to the feminist critique of romantic love in the same-sex marriage debate?' in Adriana, G-A, Gunnarsson, L.; Jonasdottir, A (eds), *Feminism and the Power of Love: Interdisciplinary Interventions*, Routledge, London and New York, pp. 55-72.

### Panel 10: State Policy and Emotional Comfort

#### **The Affective Impacts of Social Policy: A Comparative Analysis of the UK and Australian Child Support Programs on the Meanings of Money in Mothers' Post-Separation Lives**

Kris Natalier, Flinders University, Kay Cook and Zoë Goodall, Swinburne University

In this paper we explore the intersection of social policy and the political emotions of post-separation family life. To do so we use interview data from a cross-national study on women's child support experiences. Australian child support policy compels poor single mothers to seek child support and maintain administrative, financial and emotional links with their former partner. In contrast, UK policy does not require single mothers to seek child support, thus eroding compulsory ties between former partners. These differences translate into divergent emphases on the emotional and financial dimensions of child support amongst Australian and UK mothers. For Australian mothers, child support is fraught with frustration and a sense of powerlessness, the need to manage their partner's anger and resentment, and the need to manage their own emotional wellbeing and that of their children. UK mothers emphasised the financial dimension of child support: it could be an economic loss or resource but women understood and managed its effects as a financial, and not emotional issue.

Associate Professor Kristin Natalier's research centres on the gendered dimensions of familial relationships as lived experiences and sites of policy intervention. Her current research includes an ARC funded project on children's understandings of home after parental separation/ divorce (with Professor Belinda Fehlberg [University of Melbourne] and Professor Bruce Smyth [ANU]); and the support needs of young domestic and family violence survivors (with Professor Sarah Wendt [Flinders], funded by SA Department of Human Services). She is co-convenor (with Dr Ashley Barnwell) of the TASA Families and Relationships Thematic Group.

Associate Professor Kay Cook is an Australian Research Council Future Fellow whose research addresses how social policies transform relationships between the state, individuals and families. Through focusing on the personal impact of political processes, her research seeks to effect humanistic reform in policy development and service provision. She is Co-Director of the International Network of Child Support Scholars and a contributor to the *SAGE Encyclopaedia of Qualitative Research Methods* and the second edition of the *Handbook of Interview Research*.

Ms Zoë Goodall is a research assistant and freelance editor. Her areas of interest are the effects of social policy on marginalised groups, and feminist film analysis.

### **Try a Little Kindness: Welfare Policy under New Zealand's Sixth Labour Government**

Claire Gray, University of Canterbury

New Zealand Prime Minister Jacinda Arden recently urged Work and Income New Zealand - the national administrator of welfare entitlements - to take a 'kinder' approach to the delivery of welfare. Beginning from the assumption that affectively laden discourses and practices have material consequences, this presentation examines the affective-discursive contradictions within the Labour Government's proposed welfare policy. Prime Minister Arden's recommendation of kindness stands in stark contrast with the disgust often surrounding those who receive state welfare (Hancock, 2004; Jensen & Tyler, 2015; Soldatic & Meekosha, 2012; Thompson & Hoggett, 2012). As I have previously argued, in New Zealand disgust at beneficiaries' continued dependency upon the state has been used to justify the implementation and delivery of punitive welfare policies (Gray, 2017). In this presentation, I question what level of change 'kinder' social policy might effect in an environment in which the design and delivery of welfare is saturated with negative emotion.

My research interests focus on issues of income inequality and, particularly, the intersection between poverty, gender and ethnicity. As a result of my research in this area, I have recently been awarded an Early Career Researcher Visiting Fellowship with the Welfare Conditionality: Sanctions Support and Behaviour Change project at the University of York in the United Kingdom. Prior to this I taught into the Sociology Programme at the University of Canterbury.

### **Negotiating Belonging across Generations – The Case of 3rd Turkish Heritage Migrants in Germany**

Bircan Ciytak, University of Birmingham

In recent years there has been a rise in anti-Turkish feeling in Germany with a drive to expel Turkish migrants that corresponds to the political shift in Turkey since 2003. The political shift implemented by the JDP (Justice and Development Party; established by the Turkish Prime Minister Erdogan) has been researched widely but its impact on Turkish migrants in Germany and their sense of belonging and identity have been missed out. Germany hosts the largest Turkish society living abroad. Therefore, the Ph.D. thesis focuses on Turkish migrants in Germany and aims is to identify what factors shape the 3rd generation Turkish Migrants' sense of belonging and identity and to ascertain the role of diaspora institutions, thus the political shift in Turkey. The results will present possible causal links between belonging and identity of migrants and the role of diaspora institutions.

My name is Bircan Ciytak. I am a second year full-time Ph.D. student at the University of Birmingham's School of Social Policy and Social Work. My supervisors are Dr Nando Sigona and Dr Lisa Goodson. Due to my mixed background, Kurdish and Turkish roots, I am interested in the impact of politics on the sense of belonging and identity of the in diaspora living Kurdish and Turkish migrants in Germany and diaspora institutions. Not only my interest in belonging, identity, diaspora and immigration but the current geopolitical events as well as the new diaspora politics of Turkey are driving factors that contributed to the choice of my research project. I work as a research assistant at various projects such as the Race Equality Charter Mark for the academic services of the University of Birmingham and the asylum outcomes on behalf of 'Hope projects' with Dr Lisa Goodson and Dr Marisol Reyes within the School of Social Policy, University of Birmingham.