



ENVIRONMENTAL DISASTERS 2019 SYMPOSIUM

Thursday 21 – Friday 22 November 2019
RD Watt Seminar Room, RD Watt Building
Science Road, University of Sydney

This project is funded by the Sydney Social Sciences and Humanities Advanced Research Centre (SSSHARC) and the Office of Global Engagement



THE UNIVERSITY OF
SYDNEY

—
**Sydney
Environment
Institute**

Environmental Disasters 2019 Symposium

DAY 1: Thursday 21 November 2019

RD Watt Seminar Room, RD Watt Building

Science Road, University of Sydney

10.00 – 10.30 Registration & Coffee

10.30 – 11.00

Welcome & Introduction

Prof David Schlosberg, Sydney Environment Institute

Associate Professor Susan Park, Department of Government and IR

11.00 – 12.30

SESSION ONE: Keynote Address by Professor Rosemary Lyster

Moderator: Associate Professor Susan Park, Department of Government and International Relations

'The Idea of (Climate) Justice, Neoliberalism, and the Talanoa Dialogue'.

Professor Rosemary Lyster, Sydney Law School

12.30 – 1.30

LUNCH

1.30 – 3.00

SESSION TWO: Conceptualising Disasters

Moderator: Prof Tony Burke, University of New South Wales (Canberra)

'An exploration of the tractability of the objectivist frame of disaster risk in policy implementation in Zimbabwe'.

Paul Chipangura, National University of Science and Technology, Bulawayo, Zimbabwe

'The future of disaster governance: Is the current global framework fit for 'planetary disasters?'

Sabine Selchow, Department of History

'Making Sense of the Meaning of Disaster in the Anthropocene'.

Timothy Stephens, Sydney Law School

3.00 – 3.30

AFTERNOON TEA

Environmental Disasters 2019 Symposium

DAY 1: Cont.

RD Watt Seminar Room, RD Watt Building
Science Road, University of Sydney

3.30 – 5.00

SESSION THREE: Differentiating Disasters

Moderator: Dr Robert MacNeil, University of Sydney

‘Quiet Crises and Slow Emergencies: Sea-Level Rise and the Logic of Urgency’
Abbas El-Zein, School of Civil Engineering

‘Climate change resilient energy systems across disasters types and zones’
Linda Hancock, Deakin University

‘Ecological Disasters as Accountability Disasters: The Case of Mainland Southeast Asia’
Pichamon Yeophantong, UNSW Canberra

6.00 – 7:30

Sydney Ideas Public Event

8:00

DINNER

Details to be confirmed

Environmental Disasters 2019 Symposium

DAY 2: Friday 22 November 2019

RD Watt Seminar Room, RD Watt Building
Science Road, University of Sydney

9.30 – 11.00

SESSION ONE: Perpetuating Disasters

Moderator: Associate Professor Susan Park, Dep of Government and IR

‘Slow disasters, intergenerational dynamics and art: the case of the Indigenous Community of Chiu-Chiu, Chile’.

*Francisco Camacho, Research Centre for Integrated Disaster Risk Management
Chile*

‘Disaster! No surprise’

Christine Winter, Department of Government and International Relations

‘Slow Violence and Resilience’

Teresa Kramarz, University of Toronto

11:00– 11.30

MORNING TEA

11.30 – 1.00

SESSION TWO: Realising Disasters

Moderator: Dr Robert MacNeil, Department of Government and IR

‘Environmental discourses for promoting or constraining ecological reflexivity in the aftermath of mining disasters’

Emerson Sanchez, University of Canberra

‘Governing Disaster, Sustaining Accumulation: The Ecogovernmentality of Extraction’

Jennifer Lawrence, Virginia Tech

‘Project-by-project climate disaster: Fossil fuels and the political economy of Australia’s environment and planning laws’

Rebecca Pearse, Department of Political Economy

1:00– 2.00

LUNCH

2.00 – 3.30

SESSION THREE: Disasters and the Aftermath

Moderator: Dr Stewart Jackson, Department of Government and IR

‘Rehabilitating Ranger Uranium Mine: Scientific Uncertainty, Deep Futures and the Regulatory Abyss’

Rebecca Lawrence, Sydney Environment Institute

‘Justice for Disasters’

Susan Park, Department of Government and International Relations

3:30 – 3:45

Symposium Concludes

4PM

DRINKS

Details to be confirmed

Environmental Disasters 2019 Symposium

Abstracts (in order of appearance)

The Idea of (Climate) Justice, Neoliberalism, and the Talanoa Dialogue'

Rosemary Lyster, University of Sydney

Climate change requires global leaders to take domestic action to drastically reduce emissions and to engage urgently in adaptation and disaster risk reduction, while developed countries need to fund developing countries to support their efforts. It also requires facing the prospect that the loss and damage resulting from climate disasters will not be avoided through adaptation alone, that there will be extensive uncompensated losses, and that millions of climate displaced people may be on the move. The Paris Agreement is the international community's response to dealing with these challenges. Yet, it is claimed that the Agreement, which sets the parameters for the way forward, is a largely neoliberal document which undermines the corrective and distributive ideals of climate justice. Relying on the capabilities approach and a modified version of Amartya Sen's 'The Idea of Justice', this article teases out the 'clash of civilisations' between neoliberalism and climate justice. It sets out the concerns about neoliberalism in the climate change space and goes on to interrogate the claim that the Paris Agreement is a neoliberal document. Essentially, climate justice demands State-based responses, developed through democratic deliberation and participation, to ensure the survival, functioning and flourishing of humans and non-humans. Neoliberalism, meanwhile, posits that government is too large and complex and that regulatory activities unnecessarily disrupt the efficient operation of the market economy. Furthermore, libertarian ideas of justice undermine climate justice principles as the valorisation of market mechanisms, private property rights and private sector actors remove the issues from political contention and democratic participation. Ultimately, I question whether any justice-based normative meta-consensus or discursive meta-consensus might be found in the Paris Agreement to disrupt the international neoliberal agenda.

Rosemary Lyster is the Professor of Climate and Environmental Law in the University of Sydney Law School and a Fellow of the Australian Academy of Law. Rosemary's special area of research expertise is Climate Justice and Disaster Law. She has published two books in this area: Rosemary Lyster and Robert M. Verchick (eds.) *Climate Disaster Law* (Edward Elgar: 2018) and Rosemary Lyster *Climate Justice and Disaster Law* (Cambridge University Press: 2015). Rosemary has been selected by the Australian Financial Review as one of the 2018 '100 Women of Influence' in the Public Policy category. In 2015, Rosemary was appointed by the Victorian government to a three person Independent Review Committee (IRC) to review the state's Climate Change Act 2010 and make recommendations to place Victoria as a leader on climate change. The government accepted 32 of the IRC's 33 Recommendations which were included in the new Climate Change Act 2017. In 2013, Rosemary was appointed a Herbert Smith Freehills Visiting Professor at Cambridge Law School and was a Visiting Scholar at Trinity College, Cambridge in 2009 and in 2014. In other areas of Environmental Law, Rosemary specialises in Energy and Climate Law and Water Law.

An exploration of the tractability of the objectivist frame of disaster risk in policy implementation in Zimbabwe Paul Chipangura, National University of Science and Technology, Bulawayo, Zimbabwe

Despite the growing evidence pointing towards disaster risk as a social construction, the objectivist frame still dominates the conceptual frameworks constructed around disaster risk in Zimbabwe. As disasters continue to occur with increasing regularity and ferocity, the usefulness of the objectivist frame of disaster risk in minimizing the devastating effects of disasters is questionable. This article investigates how framing affects the tractability of the objectivist frame of disaster risk in Zimbabwe using the Tokwe-Mukosi flood disaster of 2014 as a case study. In this investigation, discourse and document analysis were utilised together with semi-structured interviews with senior managers and specialists in disaster risk management in Zimbabwe. The results of the study suggest that tractability of the

objectivist frame is mainly affected by its limited understanding of the causes of, and solutions to disasters. The frame ignores rival frames crucial in disaster causality such as the constructivist frame and in “ignorance” it harbours “latent” failures which only become apparent on the occurrence of a particular major disaster. Moreover, the objectivist frame of disaster risk requires significant administrative and technical expertise and funding to be tackled effectively which are not readily available especially in developing countries. The frame is also reactive in dealing with disasters, which makes it prone to “policy surprises” leading to “policy disasters” where disasters are viewed as direct consequences of policy choices. The article concludes that for Zimbabwe to achieve its goal of minimizing the impacts of disasters, greater efforts must be made in reframing disaster risk by integrating the objectivist frame with the social constructivist frame.

Paul Chipangura is a lecturer at the Institute of Development Studies, National University of Science and Technology, Bulawayo. His PhD was awarded by North-West University in South Africa and focused on disaster 'problem' framing. Paul's research focuses on disaster risk framing and disaster risk governance issues. Paul is particularly interested in understanding disaster risk causality, disaster risk policy 'problem' framing and the implications of framing on disaster risk policy formulation and implementation.

The future of disaster governance: Is the current global framework fit for 'planetary disasters'?

Sabine Selchow, University of Sydney

My paper addresses the political foundation of the Symposium's question: What are the means for improving the governance of environmental disasters at various levels (local, national, regional and international)? At the political heart of this question, i.e. at the heart of any 'improvement' of the governance of environmental disasters, is a conceptual decision about what it is that is to be governed to begin with, in other words, what makes a contemporary environmental disaster. Bringing together aspects of Ulrich Beck's theories of 'reflexive modernisation' and 'world risk society' with notions of 'planetary', I introduce the concept 'planetary disaster' as the object of contemporary multi-level environmental disaster governance. 'Planetary disaster' picks up but goes beyond recent concepts of environmental disaster, such as 'cascading hazards', in that it does not only acknowledge the fundamental complexity of contemporary natural disasters and the need to adjust existing (risk) technologies to predict and govern them but also considers the reality of 'non-knowledge', or, in Beck's language, 'global risks'. As a consequence, the concept 'planetary disaster' holds the imperative to revisit nothing less than the modern premises on which contemporary (disaster) governance is built. This is an 'essentially' uncomfortable and, arguably, abstract imperative simply because it lacks a landscape of established and familiar conceptual sign-posts that could guide such an endeavour. Yet, as I argue, if we want to avoid reproducing a world that brings out 'cascading hazards', understood as 'planetary disasters', and that struggles with developing strategies of dealing with the consequences of these disasters in a just way it is a vital step.

Making my theoretical and conceptual argument productive, my paper presents a systematic analysis of the current global framework of disaster risk governance that identifies if and where there might already be seeds of a radical opening towards an understanding of contemporary environmental disasters as 'planetary disasters', even if unintentionally and under different names. By identifying and assessing possible openings in the existing discourse, my paper aims to serve as a constructive foundation for a new strand in the debate about what an 'improved' governance of environmental disasters should look like and how it could be achieved by building on and extending what might already be there.

Sabine Selchow is a Research Fellow in the ARC-Laureate Program in International History at the University of Sydney, where she is in charge of the 'Planetary Pasts and Futures'-research theme. She is also Research Associate at the Centre for International Security Studies (CISS) at Sydney University and the Conflict and Civil Society Research Unit at the London School of Economics (LSE). Dr Selchow's research explores how modern institutions and principles, in general, and the nation-state, in particular, are reinvented in the face of global and planetary challenges, with a particular interest in security practices and discourses and the role that

global civil society plays. She is the author of *Negotiations of the 'New World': The Omnipresence of Global as a Political Phenomenon* (transcript, 2017), which explores what social and political actors do when they use the adjective 'global', and the co-editor of *Subterranean Politics in Europe* (Palgrave, 2015, with M Kaldor) and *EU Global Strategy and Human Security: Rethinking Approaches to Conflict* (Routledge, 2018, with M Kaldor and I Rangelov).

'Making Sense of the Meaning of Disaster in the Anthropocene'

Timothy Stephens, University of Sydney

In the Anthropocene it is difficult to speak of a purely 'natural' disaster. The intimate entanglement of human and nature relations in this new era renders it impossible to separate many 'acts of God' from human behaviour – natural disasters are increasingly taking on an unnatural dimension. Despite the growing evidence of the human forces impelling sudden and slow-onset disasters, the rise of disaster discourse and its operationalisation in global policy has tended to be agnostic as to cause of catastrophe. Although there is value in a victim-focussed disaster policy, there is a risk that treating all disasters as equal overlooks underlying responsibility as this accentuates rather than alleviates structural injustice. Drawing on the treatment of loss and damage in the climate regime, this paper makes the case for the human signal in disasters in the Anthropocene to be properly accounted for in its various dimensions: scientifically, economically, morally and legally.

Tim Stephens is Professor of International Law and Australian Research Council Future Fellow at the University of Sydney. Tim teaches and researches in public international law, with his published work focussing on the international law of the sea, international environmental law and international dispute settlement. His major works include *The International Law of the Sea* (Hart, 2nd edition, 2016), with Donald R Rothwell, and *International Courts and Environmental Protection* (Cambridge University Press, 2009). Tim's ARC Future Fellowship research project is examining the implications of the Anthropocene for international law. Tim has a PhD in law from the University of Sydney, an M.Phil in geography from the University of Cambridge, and a BA and LLB (both with Honours) from the University of Sydney. He is admitted as a legal practitioner in the Supreme Court of New South Wales. Tim served as President of the Australian and New Zealand Society of International Law from 2015 to 2019.

Quiet Crises and Slow Emergencies: Sea-Level Rise and the Logic of Urgency

Abbas El-zein, University of Sydney

One of the stronger certainties about the impacts of anthropogenic climate change is that sea levels will continue to rise over the next few centuries, possibly millennia, as a result of the thermal inertia of oceans, hence likely becoming a significant geomorphological driver of land use and built-environment in coastal settlements around the world. This raises questions about the suitability of our planning practices which typically operate within future time horizons of decades, up to half a century at most, when the effects of planning decisions may extend much further. On the other hand, attempting to stretch planning horizons beyond these limits is riven with obstacles, not least of which are the uncertainties related to the evolution of economic, technological, administrative and social dynamics of urban settlements. The paper examines the multiple socio-ecological temporalities associated with sea-level rise in Australia and considers the extent to which it is useful to conceive of sea-level rise as a slowly-unfolding environmental disaster (or a "slow emergency", in short).

The paper is structured as follows. The logic of "emergency declaration" is first characterised in terms of the time and space boundedness of the disaster in question, as well as the perception that its impacts exceed the capacity of *ordinary* response systems, hence calling for *extraordinary* forms of interventions. The paper then asks whether the concept of slow emergency can carry sufficient coherence to be of practical use under specific circumstances. Building on existing literature in geography, engineering and urban planning, and disaster studies, the different temporalities associated with sea-level rise are elicited and compared – from the cosmological worldviews and day-to-day time of different coastal stakeholders including indigenous and white Australians, through the structured time of late modernity and consumer capitalism, including the time horizons of urban planners and engineers and the temporal frameworks of different scales of government, up to the time

scales brought into play by various scientific disciplines producing knowledge on climate change.

The paper discusses what “slow emergency” might mean in practice in the context of sea-level rise through the prism of these temporalities – and the competing sets of prescriptive policies they hint at, predetermine or give rise to. It argues that the time-boundedness of habitual understandings of “emergency” does not necessarily invalidate the idea of a “slow emergency”. The concept may be useful in the context of sea-level rise, if it can help in negotiating the tension between, on the one hand, the need for transformative adaptation in coastal land use and, on the other hand, the democratic imperatives of participatory and/or incremental policy-making amid competing interests and future uncertainties.

Abbas El-Zein is a writer and an academic. He is Professor of Environmental Engineering at the School of Civil Engineering, University of Sydney, where he runs the GeoEnvironmental Laboratory. He is chief investigator on several Australian Research Council (ARC) Discovery and Linkage grants and has published widely on soil hydrology, carbon cycle in soils and vulnerability to climate change. Abbas advises the Environmental Defenders Office and contributes regularly to print and audio-visual media. His memoir, *Leave to Remain*, was published in 2010 and won a NSW Premier literary award. His latest book, *The Secret Maker of the World*, is a collection of short stories published by the University of Queensland Press.

Climate change resilient energy systems across disasters types and zones

Linda Hancock, Deakin University

Ecological Disasters as Accountability Disasters: The Case of Mainland Southeast Asia

Pichamon (May) Yeophantong, University of New South Wales, Canberra

This paper takes stock of the nature and scope of ecological disasters across mainland Southeast Asia and, in so doing, interrogates the extent to which the region’s governments have recognized the severity and exigency of this non-traditional security threat. Looking at the cases of Lao PDR, Vietnam and Thailand, it draws on official policies and documents to illustrate how ecological disasters still have not received sufficient policy attention, as focus remains more on mitigation and relief as opposed to prevention. Noting how some of the most damaging disasters in these countries have largely been human-induced—for example, the 2018 Lao dam collapse and 2016 Vietnam marine life disaster—the paper further discusses how existing policy mechanisms in these countries provide a weak basis for demanding and ensuring accountability to society as well as to the natural environment.

Pichamon Yeophantong [พิชามณญ์ เอียวพานทอง; 皮查蒙·约范童] is an

Australian Research Council DECRA Fellow and Senior Lecturer in the School of Humanities and Social Sciences (HASS), UNSW Canberra at the Australian Defence Force Academy (ADFA). Pichamon is a China specialist, with expertise on Chinese foreign policy and the political economy of sustainable development in the Asia-Pacific. She leads the Environmental Justice and Human Rights Project, and the Responsible Business Lab at HASS. She is also a research associate at, inter alia, the Global Economic Governance Programme (University College, Oxford), the Institute of Asian and Pacific Studies (University of Nottingham Ningbo), and the UNSW Global Water Institute. Pichamon currently serves on the International Studies Association’s Committee on the Status of Engagement with the Global South. In 2018, Pichamon was awarded the CHASS Australia ‘Future Leader’ Prize by the Council for the Humanities, Arts and Social Sciences, and was named a Chief Investigator on a project on stopping sexual harassment in Southeast Asian factories with CARE Australia and the Gendered Violence Research Network.

Slow disasters, intergenerational dynamics and art: the case of the Indigenous Community of Chiu-Chiu, Chile

Francisco Camacho, CIGIDEN,

Thinking about slow disasters implies an understanding of events traditionally conceptualized as disasters, stretching risk society externalities both back in time and forward across generations and focusing in the political actions in the long term. Thus, intergenerational dynamics (IGDs) are key to reflect and reinforce different approaches about disasters within an indigenous community when dealing with powerful outsiders, such as mining. This article assesses the degree to which the Indigenous Community of Chiu-Chiu is internally differentiated according to IGDs, with a focus on perceived costs and benefits of any outcomes of community negotiations and the 'resistance' to external actors over community inequalities regarding water resource outcomes. Through IGDs this article analyses 1981 Water Code as a slow disaster that has challenged indigenous communities development, and the way art has become a path to represent their ancestral claims and to fight against the failure of the 1993 Indigenous Law to bond indigenous communities.

Francisco Camacho. After completing my first degree, I worked as an advisor in ECLAC and as a researcher in RIDES (Resources and Investigation for Sustainable Development), a research NGO (2005-2008). Between 2007 and 2009 I did my MSc in Anthropology and Development at University of Chile and worked as a researcher in Casa de la Paz, Foundation oriented to sustainability and environmental conflicts management. Since 2009 I have been working as a freelance consultant to companies and organizations in subjects related to citizen participation, natural disasters, water resources management, climate change and environmental conflicts in sectors such as mining, forestry, energy and fishing. In addition, between 2010- 2014 I did my PhD in Human Geography at Kings College London where I studied the impact of mining and water management in the Chilean Altiplano. Currently I am researcher in the Regional Observatory at Catholic University of Temuco as well as an associate professor in the School of Sociology at Diego Portales University. I also work at Fundación Mar Adentro and Katalis. I live in Santiago, Chile with my wife and little daughter.

Disaster! No surprise

Christine Winter, University of Sydney

Observed through a decolonial lens environmental disasters are no surprise. They are no surprise to colonised peoples who are subjects of cultural oppression and who live with the steady destruction of their homelands and kin – human and nonhuman. More specifically this paper argues environmental disasters are an inevitable outcome of underdevelopment: the underdevelopment of Western philosophy, politics, intergenerational and environmental justice. Human induced environmental disasters – disasters that forestall human, animal and environmental flourishing instantaneously and long-term – are integral to a culture without a comprehensive, clearly accepted and operationalised framework for environmental and intergenerational justice. Taking the experience of Te Whanau a Apanui vs the Minister for Energy in Aotearoa New Zealand I outline the idea of *kaitiakitanga* – the complex living philosophic, legal and cultural framework, protocols and practices of Māori. These practices and protocols are designed to protect human and nonhuman from environmental disaster and to protect and enhance the environment for future generations. I will then compare *kaitiakitanga* with the dominant Anglo philosophical, legal and political framings and the incursions of the state into the *rohe* (territory) of Te Whanau a Apanui to search for and extract oil and gas from deep water sites adjacent to Aotearoa's most active volcanic island. In doing so the paper observes a philosophical deficit which it argues is a function of the underdevelopment of Western theory.

Christine Winter is a lecturer in the Department of Government & International Relations at the University of Sydney. Her research focuses at the intersection of intergenerational, indigenous and environmental justice. Drawing on her Anglo-Celtic-Māori cultural heritage she is interested in decolonising political theory by identifying key epistemological and ontological assumptions in theory that are incompatible with indigenous philosophies. In doing so she has two aims: to make justice theory just for Indigenous peoples of the settler states; and to expand the boundaries of theories of intergenerational justice to protect the environment for future generations of Indigenous Peoples and their settler compatriots.

Slow Violence and Resilience

Teresa Kramarz, University of Toronto, Canada

Environmental disasters are not only catastrophes, they are also spectacles that concentrate – at least for a time - public attention on a dire event. However, media coverage that focuses on such events masks the causal chain of issues underpinning a disaster and privileges the visibility of tipping points. These causal chains are discounted every day in the collective consciousness. For example, an explosion in a shanty town adjacent to an oil refinery is seen as a disaster while the everyday health and environmental devastation of living next to heavy metals permeating the water, air and soil of poor communities lies dormant in public debate. Like heart attacks which appear as singular, catastrophic events that capture everyone’s attention, environmental disasters are unleashed by underlying processes that disproportionately affect the most vulnerable. Rob Nixon (2011) conceptualized these processes as slow violence - of a structural kind against the environment and the poor. He defined slow violence as gradual and out of sight, “a violence of delayed destruction that is dispersed across time and space, an attritional violence that is typically not viewed as violence at all (p 2).” This paper argues that slow violence not only leads to environmental disasters but also dispossesses communities of their means to “resist, absorb, accommodate to and recover from the effects of a hazard in a timely and efficient manner” (UNISDR 2012). However, traditional scholarly and public debates on resilience do not focus sufficiently on the underlying questions of poverty that is one of the most important drivers in developing resilient communities. This paper examines the case of the Riachuelo River basin in Argentina, one of the most polluted places on earth, to illustrate the relationship between slow violence and resilience.

Teresa Kramarz is the Director of Munk One, a program for first year undergraduate students at the Munk School of Global Affairs. She co Directs the Environmental Governance Lab with Steven Bernstein and Matthew Hoffmann (University of Toronto). Dr. Kramarz directs the Accountability in Global Environmental Governance with Susan Park (University of Sydney), an international research network of scholars investigating issues of democracy and accountability across environmental regimes. An expert on international organizations and global governance, with emphasis on global environmental politics, her work has examined the impact of the World Bank’s public-private partnerships on democracy, innovation, and financially sustainable conservation governance, the legitimacy of the World Bank as a global knowledge actor, the local/global relationship in the provision of global public goods, and extractives in Latin America. Her most recent publications appear in *Environmental Policy and Governance*, *Review of Policy Research*, and *Global Environmental Politics*. and an upcoming book on accountability in environmental politics with MIT Press.

Environmental discourses for promoting or constraining ecological reflexivity in the aftermath of mining disasters

Emerson Sanchez, University of Canberra

On March 24, 1996, a spectacular mining disaster struck Boac town in Marinduque island, Philippines. Marcopper Mining Corporation’s drainage tunnel burst, unleashing millions of cubic metres of mine tailings into the river system. This incident was prominently featured in global media due to the scale of devastation it has caused. Different actors actively addressed the disposal options for the mine tailings. Through an interpretive analysis of data from primary and secondary text sources, I examined the statements and actions of different actors using Dryzek’s (2013) typology of environmental discourses and drew links between each discourse and ecological reflexivity (Dryzek and Pickering 2019), the self-critical capacity to recognise, rethink, and respond to environmental issues. In the ‘chamber of concern’ (Hajer 1997), the mining corporation and government regulators publicly subscribed to the administrative rationalism discourse which gives decision-making power to bureaucrats based on expert knowledge. However, there were indications that the corporation, with seeming support from some government regulators, was manipulating the production of expert knowledge to support the cheaper mine tailings disposal option. As such, in the ‘chamber of regulation’ (Hajer 1997), or in practice, the corporation and regulators subscribed to the cornucopian discourse that is committed to perpetual growth. The environmental movement subscribed to green politics as it countered the

cornucopian discourse. The cornucopian discourse's denial of environmental limits is not auspicious for ecological reflexivity. However, the environmental movement countered this by using local knowledge from previous mining disasters in the island to promote components of ecological reflexivity.

Emerson Sanchez is a PhD candidate at the Centre for Deliberative Democracy and Global Governance. He commenced his PhD at the Australian National University in 2014 and transferred to the University of Canberra in 2015. His PhD research on deliberative sites in the politics of mining in the Philippines is being supervised by Prof. John Dryzek and Dr. Nicole Curato. He completed his BA in Journalism at the University of the Philippines and his MA in International Public Policy at the University of Tsukuba. For his master's research, he examined the development of the indigenous movement in Muslim Mindanao and their struggle to participate in the peace process between the Moro Islamic Liberation Front and the Philippine Government. Before commencing his graduate studies, Emerson worked as an academic and NGO researcher for more than a decade. He was an instructor of research and communication at the University of the Philippines Manila and a researcher on policy-related projects for various organisations.

Governing Disaster, Sustaining Accumulation: The Ecogovernmentality of Extraction
Jennifer Lawrence, Virginia Tech, United States

This paper explores the discursive production of, and response to, environmental disaster contextualized through the Deepwater Horizon disaster. Confronting the spatiotemporal tensions of chronic and acute disaster, I interrogate the politics of visibility and measurement to illuminate biopolitical effects and lived experiences of extractive disaster. I (re)conceptualize environmental disaster to account for self-legitimizing cycle of disaster production and response and examine socio-environmental disasters as foundational to a global political economy fuelled by oil. As such, many governing strategies employed to respond to extractive disasters are intimately bound up within the same systemic processes that have created them. Utilizing the tools of immanent critique, I advance an understanding of extraction as a logic of disaster governance and expose contradictions within quickly deployed mitigation efforts that often produce second- and third-order disasters and perpetuate disastrous systems of governance. Governance of disaster is thus a process of accumulation rather than a result of technological failure, human error, or ineffective regulation. Through intersecting vectors of extractive governmentality, I conclude that disaster is rendered legible, manageable, profitable, and litigable. I also highlight how the discursive processes that construct traditional power/knowledge formations of environmental disaster might be subverted through creative means.

Jennifer Lawrence is currently a Post-Doctoral Research Associate at The Global Forum on Urban and Regional Resilience at Virginia Tech where she works collaboratively on issues at the intersection of political economy and the environment. Her current research projects examine contradictory practices and processes of accumulation by dispossession related to resource extraction and socio-environmental (in)justice. Her work highlights the tension between chronic and acute socio-environmental disasters that account for self-legitimizing cycles of disaster production and response. She is also exploring artistic forms of political resistance. Prior to coming to Virginia Tech, Jennifer earned a Master of Science in International Political Economy from the London School of Economics and Political Science, where her research focused on the political economy of natural resource conflicts. In addition to her academic career, Jennifer has worked in a number of capacities on a range of international issues including: European Union energy policy while she was the Executive Director at the Foundation on Economic Trends; human trafficking and debt relief during her time in the US House of Representatives; and a number of international development projects while consulting for USAID in Jordan.

Project-by-project climate disaster: Fossil fuels and the political economy of Australia's environment and planning laws
Rebecca Pearse, University of Sydney

This paper interrogates Australia's environment and planning regulations as disastrous for human and non-human life in the Anthropocene. The project-by-project logic of environmental and planning approvals for major new coal and gas mines has been roundly critiqued as a failed system of governance that favours extractive developmentalism over human and non-human flourishing and sustainability. I seek to extend this critique by first going backward - to the property relations underpinning extractivism in Australia. I then move forward - to what might end the losing fight against project-by-project fossil fuel mine approvals. Any reform agenda to end the disaster logic of project-by-project approvals will need to reckon with the settler capitalist system of landed property. This critique of the political economy of extractivism will be put into conversation with the ongoing campaigns for a new generation of environmental law and regulation in Australia.

Rebecca Pearse joined the Department of Political Economy in 2017. Her teaching and research addresses inequalities and social/environmental change, with particular interests in how capital relates to the carbon cycle, labour, land, gender and social difference. She is a Key Researcher with Sydney Environment Institute. Beck's current research investigates land and labour in renewable energy. She is a Chief Investigator on the ARC Discovery Project Decarbonising Electricity (2018-21). In 2016-17, Beck was a Postdoctoral Fellow in the School of Sociology at Australian National University, working on a research project investigating gender and disciplinarity in the social sciences and humanities. She also worked as a Research Associate contributing to the ARC Discovery Projects - The Coal Rush and Beyond and Global Arenas of Knowledge. Beck's latest book, *Pricing Carbon in Australia* (Routledge/Earthscan, 2018), details the substantive and socio-political failures of Australia's short-lived emissions trading scheme. Her research on the political economy of carbon markets, environmental movements, gender relations, and the coloniality of knowledge has been published in *Energy Policy*, *Environmental Politics*, *The Sociological Review*, *Feminist Economics*, *Wiley Interdisciplinary Reviews: Climate Change*, and elsewhere.

Rehabilitating Ranger Uranium Mine: Scientific Uncertainty, Deep Futures and the Regulatory Abyss Rebecca Lawrence, University of Sydney

This presentation will discuss contestations surrounding the rehabilitation of the Ranger Uranium Mine in the Northern Territory of Australia. I explore how particular technical knowledges are privileged, but only so long as the rehabilitation problems at hand are deemed manageable. I also argue that the implications of the immense time scales of impacts are being ignored, and the question of monitoring, remediation, and regulation thousands of years into the deep future constitutes a kind of "uncomfortable knowledge".

Rebecca Lawrence is a Research Affiliate at Sydney Environment Institute, a Research Associate at Stockholm Environment Institute, and a Research Fellow at the Department of Political Science, Stockholm University. Rebecca has a research collaboration with Australian Research Foundation regarding the rehabilitation of the Ranger Uranium mine.

Justice for Disasters Susan Park, University of Sydney

What measures are in place to address harms caused by environmental disasters? How do we identify who is accountable? How can we provide recourse and redress for harm resulting from environmental disaster? This paper seeks to identify the main types of recourse and redress available at multiple scales for environmental disasters, questioning whether there is a distinction between institutions used by public, private and voluntary actors in the provision of justice.

Susan Park is an Associate Professor in International Relations. She joined the department in 2008 after teaching at Deakin University for three years and previously at the University of New South Wales. Susan has two current research projects. The first, examines the rise, spread and efficacy of accountability mechanisms that have been created by Multilateral Development Banks in order to redress the negative impacts of development projects on local

communities. Susan has consulted for the Asian Development Bank on improving outreach for their Accountability Mechanism. The second research project on Accountability in Global Environmental Governance (AGEG) with Teresa Kramarz (University of Toronto). She is co-coordinator for the AGEG Task Force, which is part of the Earth Systems Governance Network: <http://www.earthsystemgovernance.org/AGEG>. Susan has a long standing commitment to Global Environmental Politics.