Mon, 2 Dec, Session 2
Panel: Democracy and Women's Equality at the Grassroots

- **Indi AKURUGODA (University of Waikato)**
Promoting decentralisation and grassroots development in Sri Lanka – non-state actors and local government

Colonial governing structures and attitudes continue to influence life in Sri Lanka. Over many centuries, the ancient monarchical system has been transformed into a parliamentary system and a highly centralised approach to government administration. Since independence in 1948, there have been various proposals to restructure government in a way that decentralises powers to provincial and local levels. Despite such efforts, powers continue to be concentrated at the centre. In an important way, the existence of ethno-chauvinist groups, which have supported successive governments, have contributed to the rejection of decentralisation proposals. Local government and grassroots-led development is undermined in this context, with serious implications for much of the population. In this environment where the political elite continue to support a centralised administration, non-state actors have begun to play an important role in promoting grassroots development. Non-state actors are at the forefront of endeavours to build communities in a society which has wrestled with ethnic conflict, youth insurrections, the effects of tsunami, and depressed socio-economic conditions. This paper, based on research in the southern and eastern provinces of Sri Lanka, assesses the significance of support from non-state actors in developing the capacity and planning of local government, and in promoting grassroots development.

- **Shajeda AKTAR, Elizabeth Morrell and Janet McIntyre (Flinders University)**
Direct Election in Reserved Seats: Agency, Capability and Empowerment of Women in Local Government Institutions in Bangladesh

Under-representation of women in political office is common. In developing countries it is often argued that this is because women are not capable or emotionally strong enough to shoulder responsible and challenging public positions. Introducing gender quotas has been advocated to fast-track women's representation at various levels of government and to bring women into the mainstream political arena. At the same time, decentralized government is considered an essential platform for empowerment of the politically marginalized, including women. Therefore, local government can be an effective entry point for wider participation. This is because local institutions are smaller, closer and more accessible to communities. For example, women are more likely to become engaged in issues that directly affect the lives of their families, such as education, clean water and sewerage management, waste disposal, and local infrastructure. To enhance studies of post-election problems, in this paper we discuss a range of key pre-election issues which impact upon the capacity of women candidates. The preparedness and capability of candidates are notable aspects of effective participation, and are important because experience has shown that without competent women representatives, the reserved seats merely increase female numbers. They do not increase empowerment for either the representatives or women in the wider community. In this context, we explore the push and pull factors which motivate women to contest elections. We seek to identify key characteristics of the women who take part, and to determine the main obstacles to participation. This is important because without a congenial environment, it is difficult for women to take part in the local government elections and local government functioning.

- **Rejaul Karim BAKSHI (Deakin University)**
Social Capital and Women Empowerment in Rural Bangladesh

The proponents of the social capital provide compelling argument that low level of social capital is associated with undesirable social outcomes. It is also argued that social capital works as a protective

factor against deprivation and injustice. Bradach and Eccle, for example, pointed out that inter-personal trust alleviates fear of the person that his/her partner will behave opportunistically. Woolcock and Narayan further mentioned that it reduces uncertainty about the likely behaviour of one's network partner in everyday life. On the contrary, social trust declines when people in general are self-centred. This line of reasoning suggests that social capital would contribute to improve men's attitude towards women, increase female autonomy and decline violence against women at the household level especially in the developing countries. The paper contributes to the literature on social capital and women status by investigating the effect of social capital on a range of women's empowerment indicators in rural Bangladesh. We deviate from the extant literature in three major respects. First, we focus on the extreme poor, rather than the poor in general. This is crucial because the poor are heterogeneous, and the extreme poor, who consist of nearly 30% of the population in rural Bangladesh, are mostly illiterate, can't read newspaper, and are largely excluded from the government- and NGO-based development or social awareness programs. This offers the major advantage that the effect of social capital is not contaminated by other confounding sources of information, suggesting that the extreme poor are the ideal cohort to isolate the potential effect of social capital. Second, we advance methodologically over other studies by addressing endogeneity and measurement error in social capital, which in turn helps obtain unbiased and consistent estimates. Third, we consider an array of empowerment indicators, some of which have not been explored in prior studies.

- **Nyamaamaa AVIRMED (University of Waikato)**
Pension system reform in post-socialist Mongolia and its impact on gender equality

The reform of public pension systems has been a priority in a large number of countries over recent decades. These reforms have occurred at a time when neoliberal ideology has been dominant, encouraging individualization, privatization and the tightening of social welfare programmes. This paper is drawn from a doctoral study into these types of pension system reforms in post-socialist Mongolia, and it reflects specifically on the outcomes for women. Despite an extensive scholarship on gender and pension policy, there has been little or no scholarly attention to the gender implications of pension policy reform in Mongolia. This paper addresses this gap in the scholarship and takes into account the place of public pension systems within a broader spectrum of social security. The analysis is informed by the key insights from scholarship in the fields of gender, pensions and social policy. Five indicators for the analysis of gender sensitivity are employed: (1) employment opportunities for women during their working lives, (2) recognition of the economic importance of social reproduction, care-giving and unpaid household work, (3) the degree of redistribution towards women and recognition of women, (4) consideration of intra-household inequality, and (5) the availability of a social safety net. Using these indicators, this paper explores the implications for public policy of the growing gender gap in the public pension system of Mongolia.

Mon, 2 Dec, Session 2
Panel: Policy Processes

- **Jacob RICKS (Singapore Management University)**
Changing the Odds: Politicians, Bureaucrats, and the Politics of Policy Reform

Why do some attempts at policy reform succeed while others fail? Several scholars argue that policy reforms are dependent upon the advent of crises. Others claim that strong institutions are the key to successful policy reform. Both explanations are problematic in that some states do not engage in policy reform despite the presence of crisis, and, on rare occasion, states with weak institutions actually do implement reforms. I assert instead that policy reform is conditional on the incentives of political executives as well as the policy-making role of the bureaucracy. Only when executives face political pressure will they be willing to bear the costs of policy reform. The success of reform efforts, though, is conditional on the role of the bureaucracy. If the agency in question is politically powerful,

it may foil the reform process. Using irrigation sector reforms in the Philippines, Indonesia, and Thailand, I provide a test of hypotheses drawn from this argument.

- **Muhammad IMRAN, Lee Matthews (Massey University) and Jane Pearce (University of Canterbury)**

Political Path Dependence in Public Transport in Auckland

In June 2013, the Prime Minister of New Zealand, John Key, for the first time showed support for the proposed Auckland city rail loop with the caveat that he wants to delay the project until 2020, suggesting that only by then will there be enough patronage to justify it. He has not committed central government to funding the project. Research shows that similar announcements were made by another National Prime Minister in 1967 and 1969. This paper provides an historical overview of public transport planning and policy in Auckland to identify the institutional challenges that can explain central-local relationships in rapid rail projects. The concept of political path dependence is employed as a theoretical framework to investigate the history of small events and circumstances against which rapid rail projects have been conceived, argued over and advanced by local government, but failed to proceed due to institutional, funding and political biases against rapid rail from central government. Public transport decision-making is thus understood as having become locked-in to political decision making concerning the nature of the problem and its solution, eventually creating political path dependence. The research concludes that current barriers to public transport in Auckland can be understood by analysing the history of local politics and its relationship with wider political, social and corporate policy communities.

- **Karl LÖFGREN (Victoria University of Wellington)**

Electronic Government as a Policy Domain

Previous case-based research on national electronic government (e-government) strategies has shown the significance of the policy factors for the development of electronic government including the composition of actors in special e-government policy communities, agenda-setting, the overall formal-constitutional settings, and not at least the informal historical path-dependency of policy-making within the field. Yet, the vast body of literature in the field of e-government maintains a one-track focus on outcome and performance. This paper presents on the basis of previous research on e-government as part of a public management policies, and modern public policy theory, a different approach to understand e-government; not only in a national perspective, but also in a comparative perspective. Although not comprising new empirical research, the theoretical claims will be supported by illustrations. The main conclusion is that electronic government has developed into a separate domain in-between public sector reform policies and the overall national IT-policies.

Mon, 2 Dec, Session 2
Panel: EU and International Politics

- **Natalia CHABAN (University of Canterbury) and Ana-Maria Magdalena (University of Limerick)**

EU Perceived Importance in Times of Sovereign Euro Debt Crisis: Perspectives from Asia-Pacific

Despite its growing popularity, research on EU external perceptions has yet to explore in detail how the sovereign euro debt crisis has affected the outsiders' views on integrating Europe and its global importance and what factors shape those perceptions. The question as to whether the crisis has impacted the visions of the core features of EU international identity, including the image of the EU as a global 'economic giant' and a 'soft' and 'normative' power', remains unexplored. Considering EU external perceptions as a conceptual link between theories explaining EU foreign policy actions, goals and capabilities and EU international identity, this paper addresses these scholarly deficits by proposing analytical framework of *global, location-specific* and *EU-specific* factors shaping EU

external perceptions. The paper uses a 'mixed method of analysis' and applies it to 322 elite interviews from nine Asia-Pacific countries (2011-12).

- **Miloš BLUCHER (University of Canterbury)**

A needs-based distribution of European development aid?

In a vastly unequal world, development assistance, or aid, is seen as a way of helping to improve the quality of life of people in developing countries. When considered together, the European Union (EU) and its Member States constitute the world's largest development aid donor. The aim of this research is to investigate the extent to which the distribution of aid given to developing countries, from both EU Institutions and key Member States, is based on the relative needs of recipients. Aid allocations are generally seen as subject to political considerations and biases, and this can lead to significant imbalances between comparable recipient countries. However, the potential exists for the EU to disburse aid along more needs-based lines; multi-lateral donors are seen as less subject to traditional aid-biases, and the EU is considered as a possible 'normative power' in international affairs. However, the validity of such a conception rests on the EU's own actions. As development aid constitutes an important part of the EU's relations with the developing world, it is thus worth examining how the distribution of aid from the EU compares to the relative needs of recipient countries. The difficulties in quantifying need are acknowledged; this research will explore different ways of determining the relative needs of developing countries, and select appropriate human development indicators for use. Official aid disbursement data from the OECD's Development Assistance Committee (years 2000-2011) will be used in the project and an appropriate form of statistical analysis will be identified and used.

- **John LESLIE (Victoria University of Wellington) and Matthew Castle (Australian National University)**

'Deep' Integration and Economic Complementarity: Comparing 'Supply' and 'Demand' for Integration in European and Trans-Tasman Single Markets

Over the past thirty years Australia and New Zealand have constructed a Trans-Tasman Single Economic Market that, like the Single European Market, has substantially removed administrative barriers to the free movement of goods, services, capital and people. Officially, the EU has never recognized trans-Tasman economic integration, let alone attempted to coerce, socialize or teach Australian and New Zealand policymakers about integration. Despite this official indifference, European integration has had both direct and indirect effects on trans-Tasman developments. The UK's accession to the EEC in 1973 had a direct effect by extending the Customs Union/Common External Tariff (CET) and Common Agricultural Policy (CAP) around Australian and New Zealand agricultural producers' principal markets. The trade diversionary effects of European integration produced a 'competitive' or 'contagious' effect that precipitated trans-Tasman economic integration. Europe has also had an indirect effect by providing an example, positive and negative, at every step of trans-Tasman integration. This paper uses extensive archival research and interviews with dozens of participants to trace Europe's indirect influence on construction of the Trans-Tasman Single Economic Market. It demonstrates how the diversionary impact of the CET and CAP produced ambivalence among Australian and New Zealand policymakers toward European precedent. Accordingly, it shows how policymakers emulated liberalizing components—like the single market— appropriated coordinating mechanisms—such as mutual recognition—and avoided elements like customs union and Europe's centralized supra-national institutions (Commission, ECJ and Parliament), which they associated with il-liberalism. Australasian policymakers consciously constructed trans-Tasman integration as an example of 'open regionalism' that they offered as an alternative to European experience for regional integration in the Asia Pacific.

Mon, 2 Dec, Session 2
Panel: Disaster Politics

- **Patrick BARRETT (University of Waikato)**

The Politics of Depolitisation in a Post-Disaster Context

In the immediate wake of the February 2011 earthquake in Canterbury, as the focus was on the initial response and recovery, comments by usually oppositional political leaders suggest a shared view that it was a time when 'all political differences somehow seemed utterly irrelevant'. The circumstances were such that the appropriate, or politic, response was to act in a manner that was 'above politics'. The exceptional nature of the situation in the days and weeks after the earthquake was the justification for the bypassing of local democracy institutions, and was evident initially in the passage of the Canterbury Earthquake Recovery Act, and later in the processes by which plans for the reorganisation of the Christchurch school sector were developed. The notion of depoliticisation may have some usefulness in illuminating these processes and dynamics. It is concerned with the movement of decision making to new arenas through the creation of new institutions and rules. It also refers to the discursive strategies through which politicians deny the option of choice or responsibility for a certain issue. Disaster frames continue to be deployed as a way of managing expectations around community participation in recovery planning, and as a way of reducing conflict and cutting-off debate. This paper reflects on how the boundaries of the political have been moved in the Christchurch situation. Its starting point is the notion of depoliticisation and, in reflecting on the meaning of the 'political', its aim is to contribute to making such politics visible.

- **Akiko NANAMI (Hiroshima Shudo University)**

Organisation and Development of Student Volunteers after Disaster

Immediately after the 2011 March, many university students in Japan stood up to provide helping hands to victims in the disaster stricken areas, just like Christchurch. Knowing as group-oriented characters that Japanese are well-known for internationally, those students volunteers have shown very interesting, somewhat contradictory outcomes. I will provide my examination over this phenomena from external and internal social/political environmental factors to clarify what have impacted on their behaviours and outcomes using a series of personal interviews. I will also compare the cases from both New Zealand and Japan, both of them experienced the disasters around the same time and gone through similar experience.

- **Robert KIPP (University of Canterbury)**

Disasters as focusing events: Policy changes and disaster governance in New Zealand

Natural hazards have played a major role in shaping society in New Zealand, but an organised central government response is only a relatively recent phenomena. This paper will explore key events in New Zealand disaster governance and what the Canterbury Earthquake Recovery Act 2011 could mean for disaster legislation and policy in this country. Changes in disaster policy are often event driven and in New Zealand critical changes in public policy and public perception of disaster management would usually follow major events such as the Napier and Inangahua earthquakes, and more recently the Canterbury earthquakes. Although there have been major changes over time in responsibilities between national and local government and community involvement, the disaster policy framework in New Zealand has generally been oriented towards to low-impact high-frequency events. The Civil Defence and Emergency Management Act 2002 (the Act) was a milestone in disaster policy. Based on sustainable development principles the new policy framework and legislation were well regarded by international disaster scholars – the recovery framework in particular was considered an exemplary model for the US after Hurricane Katrina in 2005. However, after the Canterbury earthquakes additional legislation was created to help bridge the gap between the needs of the immediate response and long-term recovery and the plans originally made under the Act. The aim of this paper is to explore the changes and challenges to disaster governance – the legislation, public policy, administration, and organisations in response to major disasters - and the implications to civil defence and emergency management in New Zealand in a post-Canterbury earthquake (and pre-Wellington quake) world.

Mon, 2 Dec, Session 2
Panel: Republicanism, Humility, Apology

Stephen WINTER (University of Auckland)
Theorizing the Political Apology: An Argumentative Survey
Over the past two decades, analysis of the political apology has become a field of study in its own right. This paper provides an overview of some of the terrain the field encompasses, identifies certain shared themes, and highlight some of the critical differences between theoretical approaches. I draw attention to some of the weaknesses or problems associated with particular approaches before concluding with a robust defence of my preferred account, one that takes the political element of the apologetic act seriously.

- **Vicki A. SPENCER (University of Otago)**
Humility as a Civic Virtue

Humility might seem like a strange candidate for a civic virtue in modern democratic states with self-promotion and self-publicity commonly seen as the hallmark of contemporary politics. Understood traditionally as the virtue of having a low opinion of oneself to counteract the vice of pride, philosophers from Aristotle to Nietzsche have found it anything but ennobling. Yet there is clearly another side to humility when political theorists like Fred R. Dallmayr call for "modesty" in our engagement with others in intercultural dialogue. As modesty is used interchangeably in the literature with humility, here it becomes a necessary attitude and facilitating virtue in the kind of respect considered due to others in a politics of recognition. The aim of this paper is to attempt to extract this "positive" sense of humility from its traditional negative sense. To do so it is necessary to see the deficiency of humility not as the traditional vice of pride but as the vice of arrogance. It therefore takes on an epistemic, evaluative and behavioural dimension. Understood as non-arrogance, I argue that humility is a crucial, albeit neglected, facilitating virtue in the creation of a tolerant society.

- **Geoff KEMP (University of Auckland)**
Milton, Republican Liberty and the Fourth Estate

Milton's Areopagitica (1644) is routinely characterised as the founding document of press freedom, most recently at the UK's Leveson Inquiry. This is no doubt because Areopagitica is about the press and about freedom. The classic argument for press freedom, beyond individual free expression, is the classic Fourth Estate case justifying freedom for the press as a watchdog on government on behalf of the public. Attention to Milton within recent academic debate about republican liberty, ancient and modern, suggests new lines of interpretation regarding his thinking on 'the liberty of printing'. Amongst possible outcomes is the conclusion that republican non-dependence, rather than precluding censorship, precludes non-republican censorship. Another is the view that Milton's elitist, senate-centred republicanism divorces his argument from modern notions of 'the Press' representing 'the public' politically, yet at the same time highlights the role of 'the Press' as a form of (elite) substitute for the people. This paper will reflect on these themes against the background of recent work by Quentin Skinner, Philip Pettit, Eric Nelson and others.

- **Takashi SHOGIMEN (University of Otago)**
What to Do with Patriotism? Debating Republicanism in Japan Today

Inspired by flourishing scholarship on republicanism in the West, a debate emerged in Japan in the 2000s on the question whether Japanese society should – and could – embrace republicanism. The opinions have been polarized: one group of commentators sees the universal appeal of republicanism, thus advocating its assimilation, while the other group underscores the cultural specificity of republicanism, thereby rejecting both the legitimacy and possibility of its reception. This polarization derives largely from contrasting attitudes towards cultural context. The former downplays the possible

transcultural mutation (or rejection) of Western republicanism in Japanese soil, as if there was no such thing as a cultural barrier, while the latter is acutely aware of the difficulties associated with such transcultural translation and view the cultural barriers to be impenetrable. The polarization of contemporary Japanese attitudes towards republicanism is thus underpinned by the tension between universalism and particularism, which can be observed most evidently in the two camps' assessments of republican patriotism: the "universalists" are inclined to see republican patriotism in a critical light; "universalized" republicanism finds no place for patriotic particularism. The cultural "particularists" by contrast underscore the axiomatic status of patriotism in the republican tradition, thereby emphasizing the unbridgeable difference between Western and Japanese patriotisms. The present paper demonstrates that patriotism constitutes a stumbling block in the cross-cultural translation of Western republicanism.

Mon, 2 December, Session 3
Panel: Peacebuilding and Renewal

- **Shaun GOLDFINCH (Nottingham University)**
In it for the long haul? Lessons from post-conflict statebuilding, peacebuilding and good governance in Timor-Leste

The end of the UN mission in post-conflict Timor-Leste in December 2012 after more than a decade provides a unique opportunity to investigate good governance and statebuilding implementation in practice. Drawing on field work, interviews and secondary documents, we investigate what we see as four key, intertwined and overlapping aspects of the good governance agenda: state capacity including the establishment of a state bureaucracy; democracy and participation; institution building and rule of law; and corruption control and transparency. We note the good governance agenda works best as a policy heuristic, and abstract 'one-size-fits-all' models that avoid dealing with the complexities of machinery of government issues, the time taken to develop institutions, and historical and contextual environments of countries, are likely to face severe problems. New states may be almost entirely dependent on external forces to maintain monopoly of violence. The reversibility, and uncertainly of statebuilding and the decades-long commitment needed by international agencies is noted.

Amalia SUSTIKARINI (University of Canterbury)
Political Participation in Aceh, Indonesia: Panacea or Poison in Post Conflict Peacebuilding?

In August 2005, under the auspices of the Crisis Management Group and mediated by former Finland President Marti Ahtisaari, Free Aceh Movement (Gerakan Aceh Merdeka /GAM) and the Government of Indonesia successfully signed a Memorandum of Understanding that was expected to conclude the violent and destructive separatist conflict between the two parties. In the thirty years of separatist conflict, at least 10,000 out of 4 million Acehnese population were killed while arbitrary arrest and destruction of property were common. The MoU comprehensively arranged several subjects aimed at alleviating the grievances as the underlying factors of the conflict. Political participation is one of the primary provisions in the MoU. The end of an armed struggle is symbolised by the participation of belligerents in a political process through the formation of political parties and peaceful mobilisation of their supporters. Drafting a constitution and holding regional and national elections are legal procedures for creating new political structures. Aceh was granted a right to establish a local political party. Aceh has also conducted two local elections and as predicted, the newly established political party gained a landslide victory. Based on the critics to liberal democratic approach, rapid political participation in post conflict area often triggers the friction between group and potentially harming the sustainability of peacebuilding. My paper is an observation of the implementation of political participation in Aceh during the peacebuilding period. Does the domination of local political party reflect the true implementation of democratic governance? How's the dynamic between national and local political party in attracting voter in Aceh? What kind of political participation in Aceh, is it symbolic or substantive?

- **Aimee ADAMS (University of Canterbury)**

The Standard of Civilisation: A Case Study of Timor-Leste

In 1978, the New Zealand Ambassador to Indonesia wrote that the people of East Timor are "poor, small, riddled with disease and almost totally illiterate, very simple and, as we're told again and again, 'primitive'… Considered as human stock they are not at all impressive". The adoption of such subversive language has been utilised throughout history to deny Timorese the opportunity and capacity to self-govern. This language is representative of how Western governments and Indonesia described East Timorese in order to justify military intervention and inaction in the face of brutal repression. When the United Nations multi-national force intervened in East Timor in 1999, there was a resurrection of language that undermined the Timorese people. Australia, in particular, strongly asserted its claim to be responsible for the defence and spread of democracy to its weak neighbour in its own 'backyard'. This paper adopts the position that a standard of civilisation, which was prominent during colonisation, still persists within current discourse surrounding intervention. Powerful states employ destructive language to dominate and subjugate populations in order to legitimise their actions. The case will be made, in this context, that in order to achieve sustainable peace in Timor-Leste this subversive language must be abandoned. The language of the standard of civilisation, during state-building efforts, undermined the capacity of Timor-Leste to become a self-governing, autonomous state.

- **Patrick K. MBUGUA (University of Otago)**

International Peace Interventions and Conflict Transformation in Collapsed States: Lessons from Somalia

Studies have portrayed international actors who initiate peace processes in the collapsed states as motivated by either concern over cross border implications of violent conflicts, moral imperative, or third party intervention interests. While attributing the failure of peace processes in the collapsed states to recalcitrant local actors, analysts have paid scant attention to how the international actors undermine peace processes. This paper explores how the international actors shaped the progress and outcomes of the 2001 to 2008 peace processes in Somalia. Employing the notion of conflict transformation, the paper evaluates how the international actors affected transformation of the local actors and the institutions in which they interacted. The paper finds that all the international actors who intervened in Somalia pledged their commitment to resolution of the conflict and reconstruction of the country. However, their competing interests undermined transformation of the local actors and their relationships and hampered re-building of the institutions. Consequently, violent conflict escalated. The paper concludes with some lessons from international interventions in Somalia.

Mon, 2 December, Session 3
Panel: Policy and Emerging Technologies

- **Priya KURIAN and Debashish Munshi (University of Waikato)**

Expanding public deliberations on new and emerging technologies: An analysis of Maori and youth citizen panels on nanotechnology

Most liberal democratic states have sought to institutionalise some form of public engagement in decision making processes, stemming from varying desires to legitimise state action, minimise opposition, and enhance public approval of public policies. Although there is a broad acceptance of the need for public engagement, such engagement has remained limited to only some select publics especially where new technologies such as nanotechnology are concerned. Limited public engagement goes against the core principles of democratic governance because various publics with a potential stake in the directions these technologies take are left out of the loop. As a result, views of scientists and technical experts become entrenched as the default setting for policy-making on new and emerging technologies about which many groups of citizens have little information. This paper is based on findings from two citizen panels on nanotechnology comprising people from two

traditionally marginalised groups – Maori and youth – that were held in Hamilton in 2012. The panels included an interface between citizens and experts from a variety of domains, including scientists, sustainability champions, and indigenous thought leaders. The findings reveal how deliberations within marginalised groups bring up issues that can remain silenced in broader democratic platforms. The paper identifies ways of making policies on new technologies which are responsive to active, engaged citizens from diverse backgrounds. In doing so, it makes a contribution to a more nuanced study of democracy and public policy, especially with regard to policies around new technologies.

- **Daniel ROBERTSON (University of Canterbury)**
Is New Zealand Nano-Ready?

Nanotechnology has been claimed to be the next industrial revolution so if New Zealand is to stay competitive on a global scale, we need to be able to keep up with developments in nanotechnology. To be able to do this effectively, there are many components that must come together such as scientific expertise, business relations, regulation and policy. As far as our scientific expertise is concerned, we are definitely competitive with the rest of the world with the help of the strongly performing MacDiarmid Institute. However, in terms of business relations, regulation and policy, we are in a relative infancy with only having recently created Callaghan Innovation, having significant gaps in our legislation, and having missing or ignored policy making. This talk will therefore give more detail about where we stand in terms of nanotechnology and where we can go from here to effectively launch New Zealand's nanotechnology future so that we can avoid John Green's lament: "It is very sad to me that some people are so intent on leaving their mark on the world that they don't care if that mark is a scar."

- **Sean WELSH (University of Canterbury)**
Should Killer Robots be Banned?

Heyns calls for a moratorium on the development and fielding of lethal autonomous robotics (LARs) such as those prototyped in Arkin. Defenders of such robots argue that they could be more humane and ethically superior to humans. Opponents argue that is it simply wrong to give a machine power of life and death over humans. This paper reviews the arguments presented by both sides in the debate. Opponents tend to inflate the difficulty of discrimination and proportionality. It may be difficult for a ground based robot to discriminate between a dwarf jihadi holding a Luger cunningly disguised as an ice cream and a real child with a real and harmless ice cream but it seems plausible to claim that robot drones could discriminate targets such as oil refineries, aircraft carriers and tanks. Proponents tend to overestimate the capabilities of fully autonomous machines. While simple use cases can be devised that make the questions of discrimination and proportionality easy to answer, there is always the concern that in the fog of war easy use cases suddenly become difficult. While there are problems on both sides of the argument and a complete ban may be unenforceable and unwarranted, it is clear that regulation of some kind – perhaps within the diplomatic context of the Convention on Certain Conventional Weapons – is needed. If LARs are to be accepted by the international community as legitimate weapons, minimum standards of robotic ethical governance need to be defined.

- **Blaž LENARČIČ (University of Primorska)**
The influence of ICTs on privacy in contemporary society

Information-communication technologies (ICTs) influence many aspects of contemporary everyday lives. In this sense they create new possibilities but also raise concerns especially in terms of privacy. One of the main challenges of the information society should be protecting the privacy of individuals, but this is difficult to achieve as individuals constantly (without even being aware) leave digital traces of their lives and, on the other side, main global companies such as Google and Facebook regularly change their privacy policies. These changes, the companies say, are introduced in the interests of users – but more often the opposite is believed to be true. Besides, such changes have also important consequences on broader society and one of them is general perception of privacy. From the broader

view, this presentation will focus on perception of privacy in the cyberspace. But since it is believed that there is no (more) sharp division on two separate worlds, namely cyber and physical, these consequences are also relevant for general society. Therefore, different dubious cases of privacy issues in EU will be presented and discussed.

Mon, 2 December, Session 3
Panel: EU Foreign Policy: Global Ambitions with Limited Outcomes?

- **Milenko PETROVIC (University of Canterbury)**
EU Enlargement into the Western Balkans Beyond 2013: Wishful Thinking?

Although often defined as the most successful EU "external relations tool," "foreign policy," or "policy instrument and […] conflict prevention mechanism," further enlargement of the European Union is speedily approaching its ultimate limits. While political leaders and the people of Croatia celebrated the accession of their country as the 28th member of the EU on 1 July 2013, the prospects for further EU enlargements for the current candidates and potential candidates for EU membership (with the exception of Iceland, whose accession prospects have stalled significantly due to internal pressures) are shrouded in uncertainty and pessimism, even if the necessary reform is achieved. Pressured by the extending duration of the global economic crisis and the emergence of its 'own' Eurozone crisis in the early 2010s, the EU and its political leaders seem to have completely forgotten the promises of an "EU future" and "ultimate membership" that they gave to the current EU membership candidates and potential candidates in the Western Balkans and Turkey more than a decade ago. Instead of receiving necessary and adequate assistance to overcome remaining challenges and obstacles on their way to "ultimate membership", this group of states in recent years has often had to face new accession conditions and requirements that have been imposed on them by EU institutions and officials. Looking at the major causes of the further postponement of the already delayed process of integration of the Western Balkan states, this paper evaluates the prospects of this group of states for accession into the European Union in the short to medium term.

- **Nicholas R. SMITH (University of Auckland)**
The EU as a Realist actor? The Virtues of a Neoclassical Realist Approach for the Analysis of EU Foreign Policy Outcomes

This paper offers an initial look at the virtues and challenges of employing a neoclassical realist approach for the analysis of EU foreign policy outcomes. In the wake of the Treaty of Lisbon (ToL), the EU has potentially become a more capable and coherent international actor. Consequently, it is pondered whether it is time to start thinking of the EU in realist terms? This paper starts by offering a concise examination of the EU's foreign policy development in the post-Cold War setting up until the ToL's ratification in 2010. In the absence of a dominant realist approach, the pertinent theoretical approaches in the EU foreign policy literature are briefly examined within the context of broader international relations theory. This paper argues that of all the potential realist approaches, neoclassical realism arguably represents the most fruitful for analysing the EU because it engages variables which are both structural (and materialist) and ideational allowing the researcher greater flexibility (particularly to account for the *sui generis* nature of the EU within broader international relations scholarship) but also a measure of elegance. Through engaging with the theoretical literature, a neoclassical realist framework for the examination of the EU's foreign policy outcomes is developed. Lastly, this paper acknowledges the challenges and strengths of utilising a neoclassical realist approach in the context of the EU as well as offering future paths for research.

- **Serena KELLY, Natalia CHABAN (University of Canterbury) and Jess BAIN (University of Leicester)**
Does More Coherence Mean More Effectiveness? The EEAS and the European Union Delegations

The European External Action Service (EEAS), the European Union's (EU) new foreign policy tool was implemented on January 1 2010, and aimed to give more coherence to the previously multi-faceted EU foreign policy. Although the EEAS' composition and exact role was unclear in the Lisbon Treaty, since its formation, the Commission Delegations were transformed into EU Delegations (EUDs) thus becoming an important focal point for the EEAS in third countries. EUDs now have the capacity to speak on behalf of the entire EU and have wider competences than their predecessors from the Commission. Yet, their exact role remains unclear. This paper is novel in two dimensions. Firstly, while much of the commentary evaluating the EEAS have tended to have an internal focus, all agree that that the EEAS was designed to improve EU foreign policy coherence and consequently effectiveness. Yet, from a theoretical perspective, Thomas has noted that increased coherence does not automatically equate to more effectiveness. This paper will evaluate whether coherence equals effectiveness in respect to the EUDs. Secondly, with the data coming from 500 face-to-face semi-structured interviews from 11 countries, this paper examines how the newly formed EUDs are viewed by stakeholders in third countries -- China, Japan, India, Russia, South Korea, Singapore, Thailand, Malaysia, Indonesia, Australia and New Zealand

- **Mark FURNESS (German Development Institute)**
Let's Get Comprehensive: European Union Engagement in Fragile and Conflict-Affected Countries

The EU has made engagement with 'fragile states' a top priority for its development policy and it is one of the world's most important actors in assisting fragile and conflict-affected countries. At the policy level, the EU"s approach is in line with international best practices defined by the OECD's 2007 Principles and the 2011 Busan 'New Deal' for fragile states. At the operational level the EU is developing a "comprehensive approach" to the implementation of its policies. As is the case with most international actors that engage with fragile and conflict-affected countries, there is a multidimensional gap between the EU's intentions expressed at the policy level and the reality of operations at the country level. This paper argues that three sets of factors intervene between the policy and the operations level: cognitive factors related to turning knowledge of partner country political processes into appropriate actions, issue-related conflicts of interest and trade-offs, and actor-related factors related to coordination and capacity. This paper discusses how these three factors affect the implementation of the EU's policy frameworks with reference to three fragile and conflict-affected countries: South Sudan, Nepal and Liberia.

Mon, 2 December, Session 3
Panel: Citizenship, Youth and Political Agency

- **Sylvia NISSEN (University of Canterbury)**
Understanding student political action and imagination in turbulent times

Disciplinary boundaries can be powerful dividers of a subject. In light of a series of youth 'protests' and 'occupations' of 2011, this paper provides a literature review of how youth action and imagination has been approached across disciplines, with a focus on psychology, sociology and political science. Often the result of too close a view within the confines of one disciplinary lens results in individualised, essentialised or sometimes simply inaccurate descriptions of youth political attitudes, including caricatures of young people as 'hedonistic', 'lost', 'lazy' or 'alienated'. In contract, this paper proposes the use of 'political agency' as a framework to better capture and analyse some of the intensity of youthful political action and imagination.

- **Carol MUTCH (University of Auckland)**
Participatory research with children: Christchurch students tell their earthquake stories

Much research on children in disaster settings focuses on their vulnerability and treats them as passive victims. The United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child stresses that as well as protecting children, we need to engage them in making decisions that affect them. In the Canterbury earthquakes of 2010 and 2011, all children in Christchurch and the surrounding districts were affected in one way or another. All schools and early childhood centres were also affected -- from short term closure to site sharing and demolition. The authors of this paper was part of a UNESCO-funded study which encouraged schools to record their earthquake stories for themselves, their communities and posterity. From the wealth of data, I have selected to tell the story of how several case study schools chose to engage children in their earthquake story projects. The schools represent different geographic locations and socio-economic communities. They also represent different places on a continuum in the way in which they engaged children in their projects. At one end, schools conducted research *for* or *on* their students (child-focused research); in the middle they conducted research *with* their students (child-centred research) and at the other end, they let children conduct the research themselves (research *by* children or child-driven research). The ways that schools engaged their students gives us an insight into how they view children as citizens in their own right with agency to make their own decisions around matters concerning them. The lessons from this research, therefore, have wider applicability in understanding citizenship education in real-life contexts.

Mon, 2 December, Session 4
Panel: Understanding Revolutionary Change

- **Damien ROGERS (Massey University)**
Politico-Cultural Civil War: An Emerging Politicology of Armed Conflict in Contemporary World Affairs?

This paper maps out, albeit tentatively and provisionally, a new way of conceptualising the causes, conduct, and consequences of organised armed violence in contemporary world affairs. Following in the wake of Foucault and his reversing of Clausewitz's famous dictum that war is politics by other means, the paper begins by suggesting that modern politics might be better comprehended as an ongoing outcome of some prior moment of organised armed violence. Eschewing mainstream theories of disciplinary international relations, the paper seeks greater analytic purchase and explanatory power by reifying modern politics' politico-strategic, politico-economic, and politico-social dimensions as the primary terrain over which contemporary armed conflicts are fought. Cognisable through this new paradigm — or, more precisely, what I have dubbed here as an emerging politicology — recent and current wars are provoked, sustained, and aborted by utopian projects, each of which seek to perfect a non-perfectible humanity not so much in the name of religion or as a religious war, but more to dominate and, if possible, secure for themselves the spoils of the politico-cultural project of modernity and to do so through a perpetual condition of politico-cultural civil war.

- **Joe LLEWELLYN (University of Otago)**
Regime Transitions and Nonviolent Revolutionary Movements: Current Research, Research Gaps and the Question of the State

While there has been an increase in research on nonviolent revolutions in that last few years, there are still significant gaps in our understanding of how nonviolent revolutions work and how they can achieve long term positive societal changes after transition. Chenoweth and Stephan conclude that major nonviolent campaigns (from 1900-2006) have been twice as effective in achieving their goals as violent campaigns. Along with others, such as Celestino and Gleditsch and Karatnycky and Ackerman, they conclude that the long term outcomes after a nonviolent revolutionary transition are much more favourable than after a violent transition. This is because nonviolent revolutions often result in increased levels of democracy and freedom - something that is rarely observed after a violent revolution. Having said this, some nonviolent revolutions do not result in democratic, stable, peaceful states, such as in Iran (1979). The reasons for why some nonviolent revolutions have positive outcomes while others have negative outcomes are yet to be explored in any detail. This paper will

outline the literature on transitions theory as it focuses on actor driven, revolutionary, and nonviolent revolutionary transitions. The arguments of how positive regimes transitions come about will be explored, and the current research about nonviolent revolutionary transitions will be outlined. This will create a background for my thesis research question which will explore whether outcomes of a nonviolent revolution improve if the nonviolent movement actively takes control of the state.

- **Charles R. BUTCHER, Elvira Bobekova, John Gray and Liesel Mitchell (University of Otago)**

Mobilization for Violence and Nonviolence: Network Structure and Participation in Insurgency, 1989-2006

This paper details preliminary results from the Groups in Violent and Nonviolent Conflict Project (GVANC). GVANC records the types of social groups that participate in violent and nonviolent resistance against the state annually from 1989-2012, along with the tactics that were used by dissidents and the geographical location of resistance. In this paper we compare the types of networks that insurgents draw upon to mobilize for resistance against the state across violent and nonviolent conflicts. We test the hypothesis that mobilizing for violent and nonviolent insurgency demand different organizational resources and require different types of social networks. Specifically, insurgents using violent means tend to draw upon intensive, identity based social networks with high levels of intra-group trust such as ethnic and religious networks. Insurgents mobilizing for nonviolent conflict draw upon extensive, inclusive networks that cut across social divides such as political and economic networks.

- **Mamadou Diouma BAH (University of Waikato)**

Back from the Brink: State Resilience to Armed Conflicts in Guinea

Guinea exhibits many of the major risk factors commonly associated with the onset of civil war and/or armed conflicts, including deep ethnic division; an economy dependent on primary commodity exports combined with extreme poverty; military intervention in political affairs; and a 'bad neighbourhood' with recurrent civil wars in most of its neighbouring countries. Yet, the country has managed to avoid large-scale violent conflict since independence in 1958. This raises the question as to why armed conflict has not been a feature in Guinea despite the contexts. The paper addresses this question by examining four influential theoretical approaches to the study of armed conflicts/and or civil war onset. These schools of thought include arguments focused on: bad neighbourhood effect; protracted military intervention in politics; abundant natural resources with poor economic performance; and deep ethnic division. The paper will reveal why the presence of these conflict risk variables have failed to be associated with the onset of large-scale violence in the country, contrasts with the literature on the incidence of conflict in such contexts. The Guinean case can be connected to a set of African states which managed to maintain peace and stability despite the odds. As such, the study contributes to the debate on 'resilience' vs. 'failed state' in recent literature.

Mon, 2 December, Session 4
Panel: Changing Coalitions and Regimes

- **Maria Tanyag (University of Auckland)**

Beyond *Pinays* and Pills: Intersectionality, Coalitions, and Policy Change

This paper examines the relationship between coalitions and policy change from the perspective of intersectionality theory with a focus on overlapping structures of power and multiple inequalities. Using the case of coalitions for and against public funding for contraceptives in the Philippines, it illustrates how power differentials between and within coalitions influence the complex interactions that continuously give birth to and shape reform agendas. Drawing from data gathered through several methods and sources which range from conducting semi-structured, key-informant interviews with representatives of member organisations to utilising social media; this paper argues that based on the

Philippine experience, government provision of contraceptives mobilises opposition from Catholic religious leaders and conservative elites who are at once culturally, economically and politically dominant. Their multiply-privileged status point to how the distribution of political power and material resources go hand in hand with the ability to define the normative boundaries of change. Meanwhile, even the coalition in favour of improved contraceptive accessibility which has represented themselves as a pro-democratising force is characterised by unequal power relations. As a result, the country has a significantly narrow sexual and reproductive health agenda; one which still privileges heterosexuals and sexuality within the context of marriage.

- **Tian HE (University of Canterbury)**
The Rise and Evolution of the Developmental State in East Asia

Scholars of the developmental state have learned a lot about on how state policy and influence enhances economic performance in East Asia. However, very few studies look at the rise and evolution of these states. This article introduces and assesses a new approach to look at the issue of the developmental state. I argue that (1) statist institutions have their political origins. For this reason, state policy choices and implementation are often closely tied to the political objectives of state elites; (2) economic success engineered by the state give rise to social forces that not only provide new constraints for economic policy-making but also push the statist institutional arrangements to change. Case material from South Korea, Taiwan and Singapore is offered as evidence.

- **Atsushi OSAKI (Waseda University)**
Who Survives and Who Quits? Ministerial Turnover in Advanced Parliamentary Democracies

While it is often assumed that in the Westminster system ministers resign from their posts following cabinet dissolution (ex. Walter Bagehot, The English Constitution, 1867), we often observe significant variation in the proportion of ministerial change in other parliamentary democracies. While some countries have a high proportion of new ministers installed in new cabinets, in other countries many ministers continue to retain their posts following cabinet dissolution. This study seeks to understand the causes of such variations by exploring ministerial replacement and resignation in advanced, parliamentary democracies in the postwar era. The conventional norm of parliamentary systems is that cabinets are unitary. In this article I tackle this commonly-held assumption and suggest that both electoral and intraparty rules condition the degree to which cabinets are centralized or decentralized. Furthermore, this study argues that such variations also consequently influence ministerial replacement and duration. To test my hypothesis, an original dataset for ministerial duration is created by collecting data from Japan (1955-1992 under SNTV and 1996-2010 under MMM), Italy (1955-1992 under Open-list and 1996-2010 under MMM), New Zealand (1955-1992 under SMD and 1996-2010 under MMP), and Sweden (1955-1994 Closed-list). Using survival analysis I investigate how the difference in the electoral systems affects ministerial resignation. The results show that under electoral systems that allow competition between candidates from the same party, electorally weaker ministers are more likely to be fired. In contrast, under a party-centered electoral system ministers are more likely to resign following cabinet or prime minister changes.

Mon, 2 December, Session 4
Panel: New Zealand Politics of Finance

- **Chris EICHBAUM (Victoria University of Wellington)**
The politics of central bank independence (and governance) – the evolving New Zealand story

The Reserve Bank of New Zealand Act 1989 was heralded as codifying a model of independent central banking informed by a sole focus on price stability. Moreover the legislation passed with bi-partisan support in the Parliament of the time. With few exceptions – and these are noted in the paper – the legislative framework has enjoyed bi-partisan support since. However as New Zealand approaches a General Election in 2014 there is now a clear and increasingly marked political and

policy divide around the tasking of New Zealand's central bank, and the governance of it. This paper examines the drivers behind the demise of the 'foundation' consensus and assesses the prospects for and implications of changes to the tasking and governance of the Reserve Bank of New Zealand.

- **Frank SCRIMGEOUR and Daniel Zirker (University of Waikato)**
Corruption in Australia and New Zealand: Is Australia on a Separate Path?

Concerns about corruption appear to have a higher profile in Australia than in New Zealand. However, given the strong economic and social connections between Australia and New Zealand, it would be surprising if there were markedly different experiences of corruption. We examine whether the Australian experience is indeed diverging from that of New Zealand, beginning with a review of the relative measures of corruption in the two countries. Focus is upon Australia: salient newspaper reports of corruption, court cases concerning corruption, and reports of official investigations into corruption. These are compared with like New Zealand data. Analysis considers: the domains of concern about corruption; specific issues associated with context; agents' involvement and behaviour; enforcement of anti-corruption policy; and the evolution of anti-corruption agencies.

- **Jo BARNES and Dan Zirker (University of Waikato)**
Reporting Corruption as Social Deviance in New Zealand: Protecting the Political Record?

Do reports the rare instances of corruption in New Zealand represent incidents of social deviance, as they are often portrayed in the media? This paper examines and compares conceptual definitions of corruption and social deviance in New Zealand, and explores the evidence surrounding incidents of corruption, and their portrayal, in the contemporary setting.

- **Alex THOMAS (Victoria University of Wellington)**
Balancing the Books: The New Zealand Parliament and the Control and Scrutiny of Government Expenditure

Controlling and scrutinising government expenditure is an important duty of the New Zealand Parliament. There is an on-going debate on the effectiveness of Parliament in undertaking this. The role, inherited from the British Parliament, has been developed upon and refined by the New Zealand Parliament. Parliament holds the government to account for its expenditure through a system consisting of the Finance and Expenditure Committee, other subject select committees, extensive budget documentation, and detailed appropriations. The Controller and Auditor-General, debate in the House, and thorough accounts and accounting are also a part of the process. The New Zealand Parliament can have more than adequate control of government expenditure, but is sometimes deficient at scrutinising its details. Recommendations to improve Parliament's ability to control and scrutinise government expenditure must centre on Members of Parliament being willing, able and eager to undertake the role.

Mon, 2 December, Session 4
Panel: Education and Political Conflict

- **Zorana MEDARIĆ and Maja Zadel (University of Primorska)**
Intercultural co-existence: The case study of interethnic violence in schools in five European countries

Due to intensified migration in the last decades on one hand Europe is dealing with ethnic, cultural and religious diversity, but on the other also with greater intolerance, hostility, prejudices, discrimination and rising xenophobia towards "others" – immigrants in general, members of certain minorities, religious groups (e.g. Muslims) etc. – all perpetuated through media, political discourse (particularly populist and right wing parties in the rise) and society in general. This duality is reflected

also in the everyday life of immigrants and ethnic minorities who are confronted with notions of equal opportunities, tolerance, intercultural communication, while sometimes facing the opposite – discriminatory behaviour, unequal treatment and negative stereotypes. Being aware of these problems, Europe is trying to tackle them also through developing comprehensive migration, anti-discrimination policies as well as educational policies, putting special attention on social cohesion and integration of migrants and minorities with the final aim of preventing interethnic violence and conflicts. But how does it work in practice? The paper will discuss findings of the research exploring and understanding children and young people's experiences of ethnic based conflict and violence in school environment – an under-researched and inadequately discussed phenomenon – in five European countries: Slovenia, Italy, Austria, Cyprus and UK. The paper will present and discuss the quantitative and qualitative findings of the research from three perspectives: children, school staff and experts dealing with (interethnic) peer violence with special emphasis on the analysis of the schools' commitment to promoting nonviolence and wellbeing of pupils and students regardless of their ethnic background

- **Rachel RAFFERTY (University of Otago)**
Peace-ing Together the Puzzle of the Past: The Politics of History Education in Post-conflict Northern Ireland and the Balkans

Education is a political act – at the structural level policy-makers can protect or change a status quo, and at individual level teachers can engage in pedagogy which either reproduces or challenges social norms. Perhaps no area of education, however, is so explicitly political and so frequently contentious as the teaching of history in a country that has recently experienced mass violence. In such regions, educators must contend but with a wider political culture where nationalistic readings of history are used to justify policy in the present. This paper outlines the challenges for history teaching in post-conflict countries where there is often high-level political interference in the history curriculum, where there is a culture of politicisation of young people into nationalistic mind-sets, and where at the same time teachers can be reluctant to take a critically-political stance in their educational practice. The paper considers the extent of political influences on teaching history in in the Balkans and Northern Ireland and the implications for future peace in those regions. Drawing on research conducted in both regions, the paper also presents some of the options available to history educators if they wish to present history in a manner that can contribute to greater understanding between social groups. Thus, this paper is ultimately an argument for educators to recognise the political nature of their profession and take a critical stance towards the current practice of presenting history as a single 'grand narrative' which glorifies their own group at the expense of others.

- **Marie NISSANKA (University of Otago)**
Integrated schooling – a connector or a divider?

There are numerous challenges for implementing policies, which foster a peaceful schooling environment, and equitable schooling opportunities for all students in developed and relatively peaceful nations. However, these challenges are multiplied in post-conflict nations. The historically, ethnically and linguistically segregated schooling in Sri Lanka, is a result of the societal divisiveness created during the British colonial rule. After the Government military victory against the rebel organisation Liberation of the Tamil Tigers Eelam (LTTE) in 2009, Sri Lanka is now a post-conflict nation which is in the process of increasing ethnic integration (between the majority Sinhalese and the minority Tamil students), through a Government initiated bilingual education system. Peaceful, cohesive education practices have been used as a bridge to connect divided communities in many conflict and post-conflict societies including Northern Ireland, the Middle East, and South Africa, and Cyprus to name a few. There are multiple terminologies used to describe frameworks for creating peaceful integrated schooling environments. Some of these terms include peace education, multicultural education, anti-racist education, education for social cohesion, values education and bilingual education (aimed at promoting social equity through language instruction). However, does integration alone actually contribute to a peaceful schooling environment and have the potential to create a more peaceful society? How is history depicted in text books? What are the divisive symbols, anthems and stereotypes which permeate the schooling environment? These are some context-specific

questions which this paper aims to address while formulating an original conceptual framework for analysing the nature of integration in various types of schools in Sri Lanka in diverse geographic regions – some which were affected by the conflict, and others which were not.

- **Pradit CHINUDOMSUB (University of Canterbury)**

The influence of university lecturers towards students' class perceptions

Higher education, particularly at university level, is very important for every person, both professional and personal life. In every society in every country, education prepares a person to become a member of society; knowledge is transferred, values and ideas are reproduced, and attitudes are shaped in order to transform ordinary people to become desirable citizens. In life, if we keep lying something long enough, people will believe it. Education works in the same way, we teach about democracy as the best political system but is it? We tell our students good things about capitalism but can it solve poverty? Students are told the same things over and over again; soon they will believe it is true. Why? Because students, just like a blank canvas, are pure and innocent. Education, through their mentors, paints them life-long colors and students will carry those colors into society. In contrast, teenagers always are teenagers, do they really listen to the grown-ups? Do they believe in their lecturers? Do they obey the rules? Sometimes, the more we tell them to do, the less they do. Therefore this paper, which is part of my research on how university education influence students' class perception in Thailand, will focus on the relationship between lecturers and students which I have collected data from political science faculties in 7 universities across the country. Also, this paper will investigate whether students' attitudes are influenced by their lecturers or not.

Mon, 2 December, Session 4
Panel: Discourses and Governmentalities

- **Xavier MÁRQUEZ (Victoria University of Wellington)**

Ritual and Political Theory

Can there be a political theory of ritual? Political theory – especially liberal political theory - has often been preoccupied with *ideas* and *beliefs*, and has often (since Locke) relegated ritual to the private realm. However, using the work of Randall Collins (*Interaction Ritual Chains*, 2004), I suggest that ritual is often, if not always, importantly *prior* to the sorts of politically relevant beliefs that concern much liberal political theory, and hence requires special attention. In particular, ritual is what we might call a *source of normativity*: the identities and symbols generated through ritual activities, and so the ideas and beliefs that become salient and important in particular contexts, only acquire motivational force and are experienced as genuinely valuable and worthy of commitment through their circulation in interaction ritual chains. This understanding of ritual as a source of normativity raises a number of questions I explore in this paper. First, we can ask whether a normative political theory of ritual is possible, and what it could meaningfully say. Second, connected to recent worries about "realism" in political theory and the historical limitations of liberal theory, we can ask about how values become empirically incommensurable through circulation in ritual chains, and what this suggests about the possibility of meaningful communication across cultures. I explore some of the consequences of "ritual incommensurability" by looking at a society that is extremely distant from liberal society, the Aztecs, whose cosmology was enacted in extraordinarily intense rituals of human sacrifice.

- **Paul KRAMER (University of Auckland)**

Queer Governmentalities

Research into the contemporary politics of non-Western, non-normative sexualities has reached an impasse. Relevant theorists are almost exclusively concerned with Western gay identity politics. This discourse only extends into the developing world when academics attempt to catalogue indigenous formations of sexual identity anthopologically. Some argue these Western imaginings of non-

normative sexualities to be a destructive ambition. We find ourselves locked into a struggle of binaries: West against East, imperial power against developing country, Western gay identities against nebulous identities. By reorienting our focus to the specificities of power in queer development politics we can reach more subtle understandings of the establishment of modern non-Western queer imaginaries. Notably, we may consider queerness itself not only as a governable identity, but also a force which itself has the power to conduct. This allows us to move past simply identifying the cultural qualities of "other" forms of queerness and their submission to western hegemonies. Instead, power can be considered diffuse across networks of applied techniques, which are assembled by reflective, formalized knowledge. I propose to move past debating the binary of heteronormative society against marginalized sexualities with a governmentality framework. Although queer-focused non-profit organizations and the state are significant actors in the conduct of queer lives, I argue that more subtle politicized processes exist in the origins, constraints on, and demands of queer publics. I will show how queer persons are governed at a range of different levels by many different actors, but also that queerness itself creates social knowledge and applies power.

- **Carla LAM (University of Otago)**
Political theory as (invested) story-telling: lessons from western feminism

In *Why Stories Matter: the political grammar of feminist theory* (2011), political theorist Clare Hemmings identifies three dominant narratives of feminist history that, she argues, are really one from the point of view of a problematic feminist political grammar that has become hegemonic. Hemmings applies her postmodern reading to "progress," "loss," and, "return" narratives which are similar in their use of a generational framework, the decade-by-decade feminist waves approach, and differ only in terms of who comes out on top as *the* Feminist Subject and who is to blame for the current state of affairs; namely that feminism has become anachronistic. She argues these narratives are "amenable" to anti- or post-feminist cooptation, and include "affect" in ways that render feminist subjects blind to our repetitively heroic roles in our histories. Hemmings's indictment of Western feminism's invested beliefs can be seen as both scathingly critical and yet supportive of feminism, and she nicely articulates this key conflict as the "structuring tension between corrective drive and corrective refusal". The latter pole of the tension also deflects her ignoring of the aspects of the new material feminisms which overlap with her own project. While I can see the validity of establishing scope and parameters, in reading the book, I was distracted by the glaring absence of numerous material feminist texts which clearly reinforce Hemmings's overarching themes. This paper focuses on a recurring theme in her book, shared by the new material feminists: the need to challenge and move beyond generation-bound representations of feminism.

Mon, 2 December, Session 5
Panel: Managing Southeast Asian Insurgencies

- **Naimah TALIB (University of Canterbury)**
Pursuing a Durable Peace in the Southern Philippines: The 2012 Framework Agreement between the Philippines Government and the Moro Islamic Liberation Front

The framework peace agreement signed in October 2012 between the Philippines government and the Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF) heralds a significant step towards achieving stable peace in the Southern Philippines. Previous attempts at negotiations between the minority Muslim community in the Philippines and the government have not resulted in durable peace. Although an autonomous Muslim region was created in 1987 and a peace agreement signed in 1996 with another Muslim group, the Moro National Liberation Front (MNLF), government initiatives in the last few decades have not been able to accommodate deep-seated Muslim grievances such as territory, economic and political marginalisation. The 2012 framework agreement engages the MILF, now the largest dissident Muslim organisation in the Philippines. It attempts to acknowledge Muslim identity and ancestral homeland and paves the way for negotiations on power and wealth sharing and the creation of a Bangsamoro autonomous region. Negotiations on governance issues acceptable to both the

Philippines government and the Muslim leaders are now underway and there is cautious optimism that the new provisions will lead to sustainable peace. This paper argues that the scuttling of the earlier 2008 peace agreement by the Supreme Court and the consequent resumption of hostilities by the MILF were important factors in bringing both the MILF and President Aquino back to the negotiating table. It considers the negotiation process and bargaining positions of the parties involved as well as their commitment to building sustainable peace in the Southern Philippines.

- **Ajirapa J PIENKHUNTOD (University of Otago)**
Contributions of religious leaders to peacebuilding: Investigating the importance of social bonding and bridging in the Deep South of Thailand

The importance of local actors is fully recognised in peacebuilding studies. Local actors are a source of contextual knowledge and understanding of local needs; their initiatives for peace can be particularly vital in intrastate armed conflict settings where international intervention is restricted. To date, most studies on local peacebuilding have focused on the role of local civil society actors – only a handful of studies have explored the potential contributions of other local actors such as religious leaders despite their long and decisive involvements in both conflict and peace. In the protracted conflict in the Deep South of Thailand, religion has importantly influenced the conflict dynamics but the roles and contributions of local religious leaders to peacebuilding have yet to be examined. My PhD thesis aims to begin filling this gap by investigating the peacebuilding efforts of Buddhist-Thai and Muslim-Malay leaders in the conflict areas, and identifying factors that determine their peacebuilding capacity. Building on social capital theory, this paper illustrates existing peacebuilding works of religious leaders and factors shaping their success and failure.

- **Thanikun CHANTRA (University of Canterbury)**
Political Participation and Conflict in Southern Thailand

The conflict and violence in the southernmost provinces of Thailand has occurred for years. Despite the many attacks which have caused thousands of deaths and injuries and the massive amount of government budget that have been dumped to deal with the problem in the south for over 9 years, there is still no concrete solution and there seems to be no end in sight. However, in spite of the ongoing attacks, the local people in the conflicted area do not disregard participation in voting and other political activities. The voter turnout rate of the national election in 2005 and 2011 surprisingly shows an increasing rate in the southernmost area where the conflict continues. Besides elections, political participation of people in the form of non-electoral activities such as interest group involvement, civil society or in participation in community political activities is also rising. There has been considerable speculation as to why most of the people living in the midst of longstanding conflict and violence in southernmost Thailand, despite the ineffectiveness of politics, want to participate in politics rather than ignore it and turn to join the rebels. However, participating in politics does not always come as smoothly as desired, especially with people in the conflicted area. Many factors and players such as state, insurgents, interest groups, civil society, local authorities, and people themselves shape path of political participation and the current path of political participation of southern people in the conflicted area of Thailand seems to be a rough yet vague pathway right now.

- **Kayanee Chor BOONPUNTH (University of Waikato)**
The Role of Civil Society in Resolving Insurgency in Southern Thailand

Ethno-religious violence in southern Thailand has multiple causes including historical concerns, economic marginalisation, political and social issues, religious and cultural differences, educational opportunity inequities and judicial discrimination. These have resulted in local grievances and a latent crisis in inter-ethnic relations. More than a hundred civil society groups are involved in the southern conflict issues. Since the violence resurged in 2004, some civil society groups have been established and then dissolved after the problem seems too difficult to solve, while some have accumulated their experiences and played significant roles in the area. These groups have become a strong network

which could reduce the tensions in the south. The research is to find the most suitable solution for southern Thailand's violence; to strengthen the civil society sector to be a peace-building tool; and to encourage a non-violent approach to solve the insurgency problem in Thailand. This study uses the qualitative method employing in-depth interviews and documentary research. The data is collected through person-to-person interviews with representatives of 29 civil society groups. It is a non-random sampling procedure by using purposive sampling.

Mon, 2 December, Session 5
Panel: International Trade

- **John LESLIE (Victoria University of Wellington) and Annmarie Elijah (McGill University)**

From one single market to another? Ideas, Europe and construction of the trans-Tasman Single Economic Market (TTSEM)

Over the past thirty years Australia and New Zealand have constructed a Trans-Tasman Single Economic Market that, like the Single European Market, has substantially removed administrative barriers to the free movement of goods, services, capital and people. Officially, the EU has never recognized trans-Tasman economic integration, let alone attempted to coerce, socialize or teach Australian and New Zealand policymakers about integration. Despite this official indifference, European integration has had both direct and indirect effects on trans-Tasman developments. The UK's accession to the EEC in 1973 had a direct effect by extending the Customs Union/Common External Tariff (CET) and Common Agricultural Policy (CAP) around Australian and New Zealand agricultural producers' principal markets. The trade diversionary effects of European integration produced a 'competitive' or 'contagious' effect that precipitated trans-Tasman economic integration. Europe has also had an indirect effect by providing an example, positive and negative, at every step of trans-Tasman integration. This paper uses extensive archival research and interviews with dozens of participants to trace Europe's indirect influence on construction of the Trans-Tasman Single Economic Market. It demonstrates how the diversionary impact of the CET and CAP produced ambivalence among Australian and New Zealand policymakers toward European precedent. Accordingly, it shows how policymakers emulated liberalizing components—like the single market—appropriated coordinating mechanisms—such as mutual recognition—and avoided elements like customs union and Europe's centralized supra-national institutions (Commission, ECJ and Parliament), which they associated with il-liberalism. Australasian policymakers consciously constructed trans-Tasman integration as an example of 'open regionalism' that they offered as an alternative to European experience for regional integration in the Asia Pacific.

- **Philip NEL, (University of Otago)**

The rise and fall of BITs

When the journal *International Organization* in 2006 published a special issue on the dissemination of neoliberalism, Bilateral Investment Treaties (BITs) instruments were much in vogue and increasing rapidly in number. The scholarly consensus then was that BITs facilitated host competition for foreign direct investment (FDI), and that they did lead to an increase in FDI flows (some argued only marginally). Seven years down the track, interest in BITs is declining and states both from the OECD camp (eg Australia) and from the Global South (Venezuela, South Africa, Bolivia, Pakistan) are turning their backs on them. Why? The purpose of this paper is to answer this question and to revisit the consensus of seven years ago. I argue that BITs are becoming unpopular due to their 'sovereignty costs' and the loss of confidence by FDI hosts in the international 'private' arbitration processes of BITs. But, BITs are also becoming redundant, being replaced with regional plurilateral arrangements that seem to engender more confidence on the part of hosts. On a theoretical level, the rise and fall of BITs is a barometer of the fortunes of the Washington consensus and the revival of 'sovereignty thinking' on the part of states.

Mon, 2 December, Session 5
Panel: US Foreign Policy

- **Robert G. PATMAN (University of Otago)**
Rethinking the Origins of 9/11

The conventional wisdom is that the events of September 11 suddenly transformed the international security environment. That claim is profoundly mistaken. This paper reveals a clear linkage between the disastrous US-led intervention in Somalia in 1993 and the emergence of a permissive security environment that made the events of September 11 possible. The US experience in Somalia precipitated a risk averse approach in Washington to intervention in civil wars – the Somalia Syndrome – and also had a very significant impact on the evolution of an anti-American Islamist terrorist organization, al Qaeda. It is now known al Qaeda participated in the episode popularized as Blackhawk Down. As an upshot, the al Qaeda leadership believed it had helped create the Somalia Syndrome and was emboldened thereafter to launch a series of terrorist attacks on American interests, culminating in 9/11. While the Clinton administration did target the bin Laden network after 1998, the Bush administration refusal to take seriously numerous high-level warnings about the al Qaeda threat made 9/11 all but inevitable.

- **Eliot LYNCH (University of Otago)**
The United States, the Persian Gulf Region, and a Deepening 'Crisis of Wilsonianism': The Impact of the 1979 Iranian Revolution and the 2003 Iraq War on American Foreign Policy

The Persian Gulf region has posed a comprehensive challenge to the core 'Wilsonian' assumptions that have guided the United States' liberal hegemonic leadership of an open and rules-based international order. 'Wilsonianism' has three core intellectual components that have been fundamental to the 20th century US foreign policy worldview: the distinction between 'free peoples' and their autocratic rulers; the belief in the mutually compatible interests of all 'free peoples'; and collective institutional security between the great powers. The trajectory of US-Persian Gulf relations since 1979 has increasingly undermined the three core aspects of 'Wilsonianism' in US foreign policy thinking, constraining the US ability to frame policy outcomes in this important geostrategic region. The Cold War context enhanced the US sense of reliance on the Iranian Shah. 'Wilsonian' principles were superseded as the Shah's Iran was viewed as a Cold War strategic pawn. The 1979 Islamic revolution produced a highly anti-American regime which the US felt could be dealt with through the use of force or containment. After the Cold War in 2003, the Bush administration bypassed the UN Security Council and assumed that decapitating Saddam Hussein's 'rogue' regime by military force would lead to a democratic and stable Iraq and a second US-aligned security pillar in the Persian Gulf. This vision coupled 'Wilsonian' assumptions regarding democratic 'free peoples' with perceived necessity to force regime change, deepening anti-Americanism in the region without improving the US strategic position. During and after the Cold War, American decision-makers have assumed the Persian Gulf had a strategic utility that substantially overrode 'Wilsonian' principles. This highlights the potentially limited reach of America's 'Wilsonian' vision of liberal leadership and the ongoing salience of realist characteristics of the international state-system, with the Persian Gulf contributing, in the 1970s and 2000s, to the relative international decline of the United States.

Nicholas KHOO (University of Otago)
Hard-Balancing the Hegemon: China's Response to U.S. Ballistic Missile Defence

One of the central debates in contemporary international relations scholarship concerns the issue of whether balancing has occurred in response to U.S.-based unipolarity, and if it has, how this should be characterised. Existing research has seen analysts variously argue that major power responses to unipolarity can be placed in one of either three categories: an absence of balancing, soft balancing, and hard balancing. This paper seeks to contribute to this literature. It does so by arguing that the first two groups of analysts have missed distinct evidence of hard balancing against the United States.

Moreover, while the third group of analysts have argued that hard balancing has occurred, they have not engaged in detailed case studies of hard Chinese balancing, arguably the most important instance of this phenomenon. This paper examines China's reaction to the U.S. Ballistic Missile Defence (BMD) system from 2001-2012. Specifically, it is contended, via a qualitative case study analysis, that one of the manifold effects of United States' on-going pursuit of BMD has been to serve as a catalyst for Chinese hard balancing, primarily of an internal variety. This has contributed to emerging security dilemma dynamics in Sino-U.S. relations.

Mon, 2 December, Session 5
Panel: New Zealand Politics of Reform

- **Fiona BARKER and Kate McMillan (Victoria University of Wellington)**
Constituting Political Community: New Zealand's extension of national voting rights to non-citizens

Numerous philosophical and practical considerations underpin decisions about who to include in, and exclude from, the political community. In one respect, New Zealand's political membership is particularly liberal: it allows permanent residents to vote in national elections after only one year's residence. Only three other countries, Chile, Malawi, and Uruguay, also allow non-citizens to vote in national elections, but have significantly longer residency requirements. Little scholarly work, and even less public attention, has been devoted to why New Zealand extended the franchise to non-citizens in 1975, and to the political and social consequences. This is puzzling in light of the fierce political debates about non-citizen voting internationally, as many societies grapple with the question of whether, and how, large non-citizen immigrant populations should be included in the formal political community. This paper weighs up various explanations of the decision to extend the franchise, including arguments in the literature that New Zealand has a constitutional tradition of inclusiveness and liberality in voting rights, and, conversely, that the decision reflected a national tradition of pragmatic, incremental and informal constitution-making. The paper also suggests that the extension of voting rights represented a conservative impulse, as Parliament did not want to disenfranchise the large numbers of British and Irish 'kin' immigrants who had not acquired New Zealand citizenship. The paper concludes that, regardless of the original reasons for granting non-citizens the vote, this electoral rule has proved to be powerful and flexible during New Zealand's recent transition to a highly diverse and mobile society.

- **Joy TWEMLOW (University of Canterbury)**
Time for a Written Constitution? Assessing the Desirability in Light of New Zealand Constitutional Culture

New Zealand's constitutional developments have been described as "pragmatic" and "incremental". Without direction it can be difficult to ascertain where New Zealand's constitution is, or ought to be, heading. One solution to this predicament is to codify New Zealand's core constitutional principles within a written document; the desirability of which is the focus of this paper. In making such a determination the first section will look at the purpose for which a constitution may be adopted within New Zealand. The second part will look at the way in which various academics have characterised New Zealand's attitude towards constitutional change and governmental organisation; identifying New Zealand's 'constitutional culture'. In light of New Zealand's approach to constitutional matters, this paper argues that a written constitution would not be an appropriate development. However, focus should still be placed upon implementing an alternative mechanism which installs a greater understanding of the key structures and principles contained within our constitution.

- **David MACDONALD (University of Guelph)**
Models of Diversity: Reforming Canadian Multiculturalism in an Era of Aboriginal Settler Reconciliation

Since the 1960s, some Aboriginal theorists and political leaders have critiqued principles of multiculturalism in Canada. They do so largely on the premise that they dilute Aboriginal legal rights and cultural distinctiveness. Multiculturalism and its promise of "tolerance" (within western institutions) and formal legal equality arguably go against what many Aboriginal peoples desire from the federal state – which is full recognition of their distinct legal, political, and historical status. Multiculturalism also fails to address the continuing inequalities between Aboriginal and settler populations. This paper promotes the merits of working towards a "syncretic multiculturalism," which will involve promoting a genuine partnership between Aboriginal and Settler peoples, rather than focusing on efforts to "help" Aboriginal peoples better integrate into the Settler mainstream. This paper also draws out comparisons between the Canadian and New Zealand experiences and history of race relations, arguing that there are aspects of Maori-Pakeha relations which can be helpful as Canadians look to reform multiculturalism in a putative era of reconciliation.

Tues, 3 December, Session 2
Panel: China and East Asia

- **John BAILEY (University of Otago)**
Balance of Vulnerability and the Distribution of Fear in East Asia

This discussion will examine regional variations in state fear response to China's rise. Specifically, why has the East Asian distribution of fear emerged as it has in relation to the 'rise of China'? Scholars of international relations from various backgrounds forward highly divergent expectations of the regional fear dynamic and response to a rising China. While many realists struggle to explain the lack of fear across important East Asian bilateral relationships, constructivists and liberals often to deflate expectations of fear beyond what is emerging empirically. Building upon Daryll Press' 'Current Credibility model, I make the argument states fear of each other is a function of how they calculate the 'balance of vulnerability' between them, encompassing Military, Economic and Political vulnerability. This redresses a current lack of emphasis upon resource and economic dependence, and the role of internal state characteristics in national threat calculations. Applying this model to contemporary East Asia, it will be argued CCP reliance on economic growth for legitimacy is affecting the regional 'balance of vulnerability', which explains the current distribution of fear in East Asia.

- **Richard HUDSON (University of Auckland)**
The China Model and the evolution of the Chinese Economy- The case of Sino-Angolan relations

In the last decade, Sino-African economic relations have become increasingly studied in academia, however understanding why this relationship has developed in its current form has remained largely unresolved. In particular, the growing role of Chinese firms on the African continent has challenged the understanding of how the Chinese state regulates and supports the export of Chinese products and technical standards. This paper presents a new perspective on the relationship between China and Africa by arguing that these economic relations can be best understood as products of the domestic Chinese political economy and its internal conditions. By drawing on a domestic institutions framework of analysis, I examine how the orienting ideas and institutional characteristics of the Chinese state explain China's export credit programme in Africa. I focus specifically on the case of Angola and the telecommunications infrastructure projects provided in that country by China's Export-Import Bank (Exim Bank). My findings suggest that China's export credit programme in Angola is being driven by techno-nationalist ideas and institutional features which share similarities, and important differences, with the East Asian developmental state model. I hypothesise that these differences lie in the historical construction of elite perceptions; the organisational make-up of the Chinese state and in its relationship with domestic firms. These findings have implications for understanding China's growing role in world affairs, specifically Africa, and for studies on the 'Chinese model' of development.

- **Ashok SHARMA (University of Auckland)**

India-China Relations in the Context of US-India Strategic Partnership: Will it be Stormy or Peaceful?

Amidst the growing economic and strategic significance of the Asia-Pacific region in the 21st century the two Asian giants China and India are gaining prominence in the international community and are pitched to become great powers in the international system with considerable influence in Asia, in particular, and the world in general in this so-called Asian century. The two Asian giants, with their rising economic and military power, are reformulating and re-adjusting their foreign policies according to their national interests and in pursuit of their power projection in the international arena. However, their relationship has been full of suspicion, sensitivity and directionless. Despite the attempts made by both sides to improve their relationship through increasing bilateral economic engagement and sharing concerns at multilateral platforms on global common issues, the two Asian giants remain stuck in a legacy of mistrust and suspicion. On parallel to this there has been a significant positive development in the mutual trust and confidence between India and the US resulting into a sturdy strategic partnership between New Delhi and Washington in which Asian balance of power is a major factor. Hence, the Sino-India relationship amidst the increasing economic and strategic significance of Asia-Pacific region brings many challenges at the regional as well as at the global level. This conference paper by employing 'Power Cycle Theory' will examine the historical, economic and strategic determinants of India's relationship with China and will assess the future projection of India-China relationship in the context the deepening US-India strategic partnership.

- **David BELGRAVE (Victoria University of Wellington)**

Mao's Feather Cloak: New Zealand's Cold War Strategic Assessments of Communist China 1949-1976

For twenty-three years, the New Zealand Government denied the existence of the People's Republic of China. During this period New Zealand recognised officially the Republic of China in Taiwan as the rulers of all of China. The 1950s saw New Zealand help form a series of alliances aimed at containing Communist Chinese expansion. By the mid 1970s New Zealand had recognised the Beijing government and China had ceased to be seen as a potential threat. Yet China is largely absent from New Zealand's Cold War literature. Writers have placed emphasis on allied relationships rather than on potential adversaries. What were New Zealand's assumptions about Chinese power and how did New Zealand's fledgling security and diplomatic apparatus assess the threat from Beijing? Through alliances and military adventure, New Zealand was an active participant in the Cold War. Yet, as a junior member of the Western alliance system, New Zealand placed its efforts in maintaining its security guarantee rather than on direct relations with potential threats. Nevertheless, participation required New Zealand to make its own analysis on the communist powers. Using newly declassified documents, this research turns the focus of New Zealand's Cold War away from its allies and asks what were the assumptions on China that drove New Zealand's Cold War strategy?

Tues, 3 December, Session 2
Panel: Media, Framing and Politics

- **Ghislaine L. LEWIS**

Evolving Newspapers abd Courting Conflict: Jamaica on the Cusp of Change

Jamaica is so much more than its' idyllic tourism campaigns, smooth reggae vibes and Blue Mountain coffee. Behind the slogans is a country divided by political affiliations, a crippling crime rate and increasing poverty. This paper focuses on the political economy of the island's newspapers by exploring the role of Jamaica's two daily newspapers during the nine months prior to extradition of transnational drug dealer Christopher Coke to the United States. There have not been many recent

studies on newspaper coverage in Jamaica; the Coke crisis provided a unique opportunity to assess the news agenda on the island along with the perspectives of community voices as they engaged to influence a peaceful resolution. The newspaper coverage of the extradition battle exposed many flaws in the island's political and social dynamic that elevated government's predicament from a routine extradition warrant to an armed conflict. This was examined through an in-depth newspaper content analysis and interviews with journalists, academics and civic agents whose voices helped shape the national debate. The paper explores the political and social complexity of the island by investigating the concepts of political corruption, social inequality, civil disobedience and criminality against the backdrop of the newspaper medium.

- **Khin Wee CHEN (University of Canterbury)**
Political Humour as Part of Transmedia Mobilization in Singaporean Social Movements

Since gaining independence in 1963, social protests in Singapore have rarely existed and when they do, are muted or quickly snuffed out. However, in recent years, social movements have regained traction, in part due to a change in the socio-political climate of Singapore but also due to the availability of new media tools that provide multiple platforms for activists to engage more successfully a wider social base. These have led to several ad hoc protest formations in recent times, including the 6.9 Million Population White Paper protest and a large blogger-led protest against the clamp-down on media freedom, both occurring in 2013. This shift from a poorly mobilized citizenry in the past to the now more politically engaged citizens can be understood through the application of Constanza Chock's observation of the rise of *transmedia mobilization* strategies, where movement groups transition "from content creation to aggregation, curation, remixing and circulation of rich media texts." This paper will argue through three case studies that political humour plays a key role in opening up communicative practices that is enriching the narrative of political change in Singapore and underscores the benefits of decentralizing communication as opposed to the more traditional top-down approach of organisers.

- **Gabriel WEIBL, Steve Howard and Berry Greenland (University of Canterbury)**
The EU in New Zealand high schools: an investigation in the framing of the EU in New Zealand Social Studies textbooks

The project, the EU in New Zealand high schools looks at the ways in which the EU is captures in high school textbooks. This project involved a small number of teacher and researchers who collaborated on development of ideas for better framing of the EU in NZ textbooks. This study analyses the perceptions of the EU through Social Studies textbooks in years 9 to 13. Furthermore this project seeks to establish the role of the EU as a normative power. The following hypothesis were tested:
- Europe will be represented not in terms of the EU vs. non-EU but in terms of geo-cultural areas

Western Germanic
Western Latin
Western Scandinavian
Eastern Slavic
- Europe will be represented along the 'Cold War' divide: West (non-socialist) vs. East (socialist)
- The UK will dominate and obscure all other countries in Europe
- The UK will not be positioned in "European" context nominally, but in terms of normative contexts
- Europe will be presented as a "Normative Power Europe"
- Europe is portrayed in a negative light

The study found that indeed while most of these hypotheses proved to be correct, the case of normative power seems to be overridden by negative images. There is a great potential for textbooks

to include contemporary case studies of the EU and Europe thus enhance the teaching of the EU in the New Zealand context as well as its perception.

- **Suthida PATTANASRIVICHIAN**

From Journalism to Political Protest: The Yellow Shirts' Pathway to the Emergence of Collective Action Frames

The People Alliance for Democracy (PAD) or the Yellow Shirts group represented an alliance of miscellaneous groups such as elites, royalists, social movement entrepreneurs, NGOs, grassroots organizations, members of state-enterprise labor unions, and general people. At that time, Sondhi Limthongkul a media mogul was being hard pressed both in politics and business because of his television program-Mueng Thai Rai Sapda- which criticized Thaksin's government. Due to the cancellation of his program from Channel 9, Sondhi set out his program in the form of a political live talk show at Thammasat University and Lumpini Park which attracted thousands of people. Later, the PAD or Yellow Shirts was ultimately formed in February 2006 to anti-Thaksin and his government in terms of different economic, political and social issues. According to Sondhi Limthongkul, as one of the PAD leaders, his media network became instruments to disseminate messages to the participants. A number of malpractices of Thaksin and his colleagues such as corruptions, populist policy, the abandonment of the royal prerogatives, the critical unrest incident in the south of Thailand, and so forth were raised and highlighted to recruit a number of movement participants. This organization had the complexity of network and involved a series of symbols and discourses, in particular, nationalist discourse with royalism in opposing Thaksin and his colleagues. Regarding this, their success in political belief construction could be illustrated by the process of issue framing through media. Accordingly, this paper determines to explore what collective action frames were created and how they were applied by the leaders of the PAD to mobilize participants efficiently.

Tues, 3 December, Session 3
Jacob Bercovitch Memorial Panel: Conflict, Mediation and Peace

- **Carmela LUTMAR (University of Haifa)**

Leadership Change and Mediation in Civil Wars

The nature of war and warfare has changed dramatically since the end of the Cold War. The battles and proxy battles that characterized the Cold War have given way to bloody and intercommunal conflicts in diverse places all over the globe such as Angola, Sri Lanka, Myanmar, Sudan, Iraq, Russia, Turkey, Rwanda, Sudan, Ethiopia, and Bosnia. The post Cold War period has been characterized by an outbreak of nationalism and the accentuation of national and religious identity. By one account only seven out of 111 militarized conflicts in the twelve years after 1989 were traditional conflicts between two sovereign states, and even these may have had a strong internal or communal dimension. Since the end of the Cold War, the types of actors involved in the major hot-spots of violent conflict in the world have changed; the issues in dispute have shifted; the methods and technologies of warfare have evolved. Clearly the above has important implications for the ways actors in the international system behave in managing, and no less importantly, in resolving their disputes. Mediation has become one of the most frequently practiced methods of conflict resolution in global politics. Concomitantly, scholarly research on the theory and practice of mediation has advanced in great steps to gain a better understanding of the process and in particular, to determine how to make it more successful. This impressive bulk of literature largely draws upon lessons learned and data extracted from mediation cases in interstate war. We argue that due to the significant changes in conflict in the world, many of those questions warrant reformulation and reexamination, with a focus on the unique attributes of civil conflict. With this in mind, in this paper we focus on one specific aspect of mediation in violent conflicts by examining the impact of leadership change on the prospects for mediation in civil wars. We approach this issue within the broader context of mediation timing.

Tues, 3 December, Session 3
Ali Memon Sustainability Panel

- **Julie MACARTHUR (University of Auckland)**
Scalar Politics and Sustainability: Assessing the Promises and Pitfalls of Ecolocalism

As global environmental challenges—biodiversity loss, intensifying climate change, deforestation and pollution—continue to develop in the face of mounting scientific evidence, calls to investigate new governance forms are drawing increasing attention. Both supra and subnational attempts to match the scale of environmental challenges with political organization are crucially important, but they are also accompanied by issues of effectiveness, efficiency and democratic legitimacy. While the literature on global regimes and environmental governance represents one end of this discussion, at the other lies a reduction in scale to community-level institutions, or 'ecolocalism'. This paper examines the concept of ecolocalism and its potential for underpinning sustainable transformations going forward. Particular attention is paid to how political theories of participation, power, and economic democracy are integrated into ecolocal thinking. In the paper I address three questions: 1) What explains the appeal of ecolocalism to sustainability advocates? 2) What are the limits (if any) of the ecolocal governance model? 3) What lessons can we draw from this discussion to design sustainability enhancing governance reforms?

- **Chandra Lal Pandey (University of Waikato)**
Managing Climate Change: Shifting Roles for NGOs

Non-governmental organizations have been playing a significant role in the formation and implementation of global climate change policies. The incremental participation of non-governmental organizations in climate change negotiations is significant for two reasons: 1) They provide governments with expertise and information; 2) They help to bridge the lack of democracy and legitimacy in global environmental governance. However, the fulfilment of these two functions is surrounded by doubts as very little progress has been made so far in combating climate change. Many non-governmental organizations themselves lack democratic legitimacy in their formation and structures and international climate change agreements are often fragile, not because the negotiators lack information but because they lack political will. This paper examines and outlines the areas to identify how non-governmental organizations should contribute more to produce effective climate policies to mitigate and manage climate change in the absence of democratically more legitimate international climate change policy making process.

Tues, 3 December, Session 4
Panel: Peacebuilding in the Pacific

- **Celeste DONOVAN (University of Otago)**
Security for Whom? A Gender Perspective on the 'Merging' of Security and Development through a Case Study of the New Zealand Community Policing Programme in West Papua, Indonesia

The importance of linking development and security has become a policy mantra in recent years. Since the end of the Cold War, a wide range of actors and international bodies, have called for the integration of security into the theory and practice of development. International ideas about peace and security have played a key role in shaping regional approaches to security. There is growing evidence that security is an emerging and increasingly important priority for New Zealand aid with resources directed to reflect this priority. However, the impact of this 'securitization' of New Zealand aid has not been examined in terms of its overall effect on aid priorities. There are mounting concerns

that the securitization of New Zealand's development aid has been conducted at the expenses of other development initiatives. Within the growing nexus between security and development, projects such as police capacity development have become commonplace in aid programming, in conflict and post-conflict environments. In late 2006, the Indonesian National Police (INP) requested New Zealand assistance with Community Policing in the provinces of Papua and West Papua. Conclusions about the overall impact of the security-oriented approaches to development assistance are drawn from a case study of New Zealand's involvement within the Papuan Community Policing Programme, between 2008-2010. Results from this study suggest that the instrumental use of aid as a tool to promote security objectives has had a negative impact on the overall effectiveness of development assistance.

- **Mele TABUKOVU (University of Canterbury)**
Fiji-China Relations Post-2006 Coup and the Impacts on Fiji's Domestic Politics

The growing relations of Fiji and China since Fiji's 2006 military-led coup, has attracted attention for its effect on Fiji's democratic transition. The strengthening of Fiji's 'look North' policy, in addition to sanctions and criticism from traditional partners, has resulted in increased political, economic and cultural exchanges between China and Fiji. This paper analyses how Fiji-China relations has evolved since Fiji's 2006 coup and the implications on Fiji's domestic politics. This paper examines Fiji's 'looks North' policy and how this policy has contributed to the ineffectiveness of sanctions and criticisms from traditional partners. This paper argues that China's support through economic and political engagement has contributed to Fiji's government's legitimacy; which in turn has allowed Fiji's government to make major changes within Fiji.

- **Hannah GORDON (University of Otago)**
Tailor Made? New Zealand Aid and the Tonga Police Development Programme

Security and development have a long and complex relationship. Just as the international aid landscape has changed over the years, so has the relationship between these two spheres. In recent years, they have been presented together in aid policy and practice, a connection referred to as the security-development nexus. In the years following 9/11, international security concerns have seen the balance in the nexus tip heavily in favour of security. Projects such as police capacity development have become commonplace in aid programming. Despite the willingness of policy makers to employ the nexus, many warn that we need to go beyond the rhetoric of linking the two and consider the consequences. Concerns about conceptual confusion, issues of implementation, and institutional challenges have received scant consideration in development literature. Given the breadth of the nexus, many have called for it to be evaluated in small scale, context specific considerations related to particular applications This presentation is a synthesis of the introductory chapters of a thesis which aims to produce such an analysis. It will consider the implementation of the Tonga Police Development Programme (TPDP) by the New Zealand Aid Programme. In considering the institutional challenges supposedly inherent in the nexus, it will explore the extent to which indigenous and endogenous actors and practices can work together in the TPDP in attempts to produce sustainable and effective results.

- **Andrew YDGREN (University of Canterbury)**
Post-Conflict Policing: The Experience of RAMSI's Participating Police Force

This research aims to learn more about the local-level dynamics of police-led peace-building missions. Much of the focus in the current literature is directed at the global implications of the practice as well as some of the organisational challenges associated with its expansion. The aim in this research is to isolate the interface between international police officers, their local counterparts and the communities they are tasked with policing so as to understand more about the dynamics of their interactions as well as how those interactions might help or hinder the search for peace in post-conflict societies. The paper uses the Regional Assistance Mission to Solomon Islands as a case study

to explore some of the issues that arise when officers of a highly organised and professional international police force are deployed to remote communities to build and sustain peace.

Tues, 3 December, Session 4
Panel: Authoritarian Pathways

Daniel ZIRKER and Ibikunle Adeakin (University of Waikato)
"Quasi-Ethnicity" and an African Army: Nigerian Authoritarianism in Political Perspective

Recent articles in *Armed Forces and Society* have suggested that sub-Saharan military identities are closely tied to the establishment of new "quasi-ethnic," rather than ideological, formations. In this sense, quasi-ethnicity is thought to create significant, if not primordial, attachments that seem to transcend the traditional ethnic attachments of the holders. This study examines the concept of "quasi-ethnicity" as it applies to African military establishments, and applies it specifically to the case of the Nigerian military.

- **Dawn MILLER-MCTAGGART (University of Canterbury)**
Colonial Legacy and Polity Imposition: The Effect of Polity Imposition on the Survival of Former Colonies

The installation of new governments in Afghanistan and Iraq and the advocacy of democracy as a cure for intrastate and international system conflict draw attention to governments created by outside actors. Governments such as those most recently established in Afghanistan and Iraq are the products of outside influence and likely would not have developed as they did, or even at all, without such influence. While not new, attempts to impose polities have recently received increased attention. Policy makers increasingly advocate state-building as a tool of foreign policy to address a myriad of problems such as regional conflict, reconstruction of post-conflict states, and security threats. Despite increased attention and advocacy, establishing new polities is a complex process that is understated by policy makers and scholars. In this project, I investigate the implications of polity impositions. In particular, I examine whether externally imposed institutions lead to the persistence of democratic polities. If a state builds a democratic polity in another state, will it persist? Does the amount of democratic institutional experience lead to greater likelihood of polity persistence? To test my hypothesis regarding institutional experience, I construct a data set consisting of states undergoing a democratic episode. The data set includes imposed and non-imposed polities. Using duration analysis, I estimate the effect democratic experience has on democratic persistence in imposed and non-imposed polities. My results will provide insight on the relationship between institutional experience and democratic survival; clarify the impact of colonial legacy; add to the Democratization literature by clarifying the role of external states; and explore the dynamics of internal and external forces on democratization.

- **Seung KIM (University of Canterbury)**
The Formation and Solidification of South Korea's Modern National Identity: North Korea-Exclusive National Identity

Korea is one state, but at the same time, two different states. No matter what national identity each side has developed since it was divided, what is common is that both sides have excluded each other from their identity. The objective of this present study is to find out about the logic of exclusion formed and solidified for an extremely short time, compared to the long history of ethnic identity in Korea. It was not when the national state was founded in 1948, but when the people in the South were experiencing the Korean War that a national identity began to be formed. It was not the long existing ethnic community based on social norms, but the national state holding the monopoly of physical force that could protect the survival of its individual members. For survival, the people in the South chose to be members of the national state and began to accept the North Korea-exclusive national identity, which solidified during the authoritarian military regimes which followed, where the South

Koreans had to be loyal members to their national state not only for survival from North Korea's threat, but for survival from the military dictatorship of the South.

Tues, 3 December, Session 4
Panel: Sovereignty, Power and the State

- **Laura SOUTHGATE**
The Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) and the Concept of Sovereignty

Of interest to this discussion is the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) record at upholding state members' sovereignty. More specifically, when has resistance to sovereignty violation by external actors in Southeast Asia succeeded and when has it failed? Of particular interest to this discussion is the right of every state to lead its national existence free from external interference, subversion or coercion. This principle is not unique to ASEAN. Deriving from the modern international system, it is based on the Westphalian model of sovereignty. I will argue that a convergence in threat perception will cause the success of resistance to sovereignty violation. More precisely, intra-ASEAN and extra-ASEAN threat perception convergence will cause the success of ASEAN member state resistance to sovereignty violation from actors external to the region. Conversely, an absence of convergence will cause the failure of ASEAN member state resistance to sovereignty violation from actors external to the region. The purpose of this discussion is to highlight the prevalence of the latter dynamic over the former. Indeed, it shall be argued that intervention by external powers has been instrumental for the resolution of the majority of Southeast Asia's regional problems.

- **Jeremy MOSES (University of Canterbury)**
Sovereignty, Intervention and Contemporary International Law

This paper will critically examine the international legal dimensions of the R2P. The first part will look back at the Kosovo advisory opinion handed down by the International Court of Justice in 2010, while the second will examine the issues and shortcomings surrounding the controversial attempts to connect the International Criminal Court with the workings of the R2P. The 2010 Kosovo advisory opinion issued by the ICJ has been widely considered to be evasive and unsatisfactory, as it deliberately sidesteps the actual material consequences of the declaration of independence and advises only that there is nothing in international law that prohibits the making of such declarations. This response, I will argue, is emblematic of the lack of sovereign power in international law in that it demonstrated the unwillingness of the court to consider the decisive act of intervention that created and maintained the conditions for Kosovar independence in the first place. In the absence of an enforcement power, I will suggest, the court will remain limited to opinions of marginal relevance to tough questions of intervention, self-determination and sovereignty. There is a further debate that has developed more recently over the relationship – if any – between the R2P and the International Criminal Court. While some argue that the ICC should act as an enforcement arm of R2P, others make the more modest suggestion that it represents a development toward an international or global order in which sovereignty is no longer a shield against outside interventions for human protection purposes. Focusing on the indictment of Sudanese President Omar al-Bashir, I will argue that his maintenance of *de facto* sovereignty over Sudan is precisely what shields him against being tried at the ICC. This section, in short, will argue that the difficulties that the ICC has faced thus far offer little encouragement to those who believe that sovereignty can be transcended or divided through innovative international arrangements.

- **Lucas KNOTTER (University of Canterbury)**
Geopolitical Anomalies and Contingent Sovereignty

The persisting emergence and manifestation of political movements outside the international state framework continues to challenge traditionally prevalent notions about global politics. This paper

wants to discuss the concept of *geopolitical anomalies* to discuss those entities that are not fully recognized as sovereign states with bounded territories, but nonetheless strive to exist within the state system as they act in state-like ways. It will try and uncover the variety of issues concerning authority, legitimacy, and recognition that these anomalies exemplify and are faced with. It will be assessed how these anomalies function, how they are perceived in international relations, and whether they are sustainable in their anomalous status and circumstance. As this paper contends that states are not the only sovereign actors in international politics and do not possess universal sovereignty within their boundaries, it will discuss non-state conceptualizations of sovereignty as a foundation and theoretical tool for talking about geopolitical anomalies.

- **Osman Antwi-BOATENG (UAE University)**

The Rise of Qatar as a Soft Power and the Challenges

This paper argues that Qatar exercises soft power influence in a troubled region via attraction and "carrots". The sources of attraction includes: Qatar's political stability derived from its military alliance with the U.S and effective income redistribution policies and a progressive higher education system which have greatly enhanced the stature of Qatar in the Middle East. Qatar offers the following "carrots" for influence: the potency of its Aljazeera Network, "carrot diplomacy", sports investments and a generous foreign aid policy. However, the efficacy of these tools could be undermined, by the lack of a democratic culture in Qatar, questionable associations and causes, the unsustainable trajectory of "carrot" diplomacy and a creeping shift towards hard power in resolving conflicts and its attendant backlash.

Tues, 3 December, Session 4
Panel: Resources and the Environment

- **Jonathan SYMONS (Hankuk University of Foreign Studies)**

After Environmentalism: The Politics of a Transformative Energy Research Agenda

Twenty years after negotiation of the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change, there has been little progress toward the treaty's goal of stabilising atmospheric concentrations of greenhouse gases. Amid growing calls for fresh approaches, there is increasing acceptance that mitigation efforts will be insufficient. This paper evaluates the environmental movements' values, strategies and tactics in the light of this failure. Accepting that demand-side efficiency measures, lifestyle change and internationally negotiated emissions constraints have proven inadequate, we argue that there is a growing conflict between the environmental values of restraint and protection, between accepting radical technological interventions and sacrificing whole ecosystems. This division over values and policy prescriptions risks undermining the environmental movement's influence. In response, we argue that an effective international response to climate change requires strategies that support *scalable* emissions control measures and international *cooperation*. To this end we consider the 'bright green' argument for accelerated research into breakthrough low-emissions energy technologies, as it has the potential to make international cooperation around future mitigation efforts politically viable. We outline some of the barriers to an increased international research effort and identify political strategies that might minimize governance failure. The failure of traditional environmentalism to avert dangerous climate change has wide-ranging implications; if localism, non-domination and reduced consumption can no longer be justified as practical responses to threatened ecological catastrophe then their advocates must seek to articulate other alternative justifications.

- **Elizabeth SOAL (Waitaki Irrigators Collective Limited)**

Freshwater in New Zealand – is sustainable common pool management possible?

Globally, issues relating to environmental degradation, climate change, a burgeoning human population, freshwater scarcity, and food security are becoming ever-more pressing. In order to meet global nutrition demands, further agricultural intensification is required. However, such intensification must be done in a sustainable manner. Sustainable intensification is closely linked

with the sustainable use and management of freshwater resources. Freshwater policy changes in New Zealand are being driven centrally, in response to growing community concerns relating to the current and future state of our freshwater resources. These policy changes include the formation of the Land and Water Forum, the promulgation of the first National Policy Statement on Freshwater Management, and the planned National Objectives Framework. This paper examines how integrated catchment management which links industry and the wider community may lead to successful, sustainable freshwater management in New Zealand – and how this might occur within the new policy settings being developed nationally. The paper considers how industry, and the rest of the community, must actively participate in the political dimensions of freshwater resource management. The paper will examine international research on the success of common pool resource management, the importance of socio-ecological policy making, and will touch on the potential for ecosystem services to assist in moving the debate in New Zealand beyond simply preservation versus use.

- **Lauren Ann GENT (University of Auckland)**
Governance of the Renewable Energy Technologies Sector in New Zealand

Despite having one of the world's highest levels of renewable electricity generation, the unprecedented opportunities presented by renewable energy technology industries and its early development and adoption of hydro and geothermal electricity technologies, New Zealand now lags behind the likes of Denmark, the US, China and South Korea in the renewable energy technologies sector. The aforementioned countries' governments are all pursuing the greening of their economies via techno-industrial development strategies. What approach is the NZ government taking to the challenge of developing a renewable energy technologies industry and what explains this approach? By examining the worldviews of policymakers and industrial actors, institutional underpinnings of government-business relations, government policies used to support the renewable energy technologies industry in NZ, and the outcome of these efforts to date, this project tests claims over the nature of the state and of government-business relations in economies typified as 'Liberal Market Economies'. I argue that New Zealand does not display the characteristics of an LME in this sector, nor of a country taking a strategic, long-term approach to industrial governance. Rather, NZ's institutional inconsistency and lack of policy space explains the lack of any serious government attempt to pursue green growth in the renewable energy technologies sector via techno-industrial development strategies and explains NZ's failure to become a world leader in this sector. There is yet to have been a study taking a political economy approach to investigating government-business relations in this industry, despite the unprecedented opportunities presented by this industry and NZ's ideal conditions to foster a domestic presence in such a strategic industry of the future.

Tues, 3 December, Session 4
Panel: New Zealand Parliament and Cabinet

- **Hilde COFFÉ (Victoria University of Wellington)**
Life as it is for Members of Parliament: Time Use among New Zealand Members of Parliament

Members of Parliament (MPs) combine the roles of constituency members, party loyalists and parliamentarians. The aim of my study is to learn how MPs organize these conflicting roles and to investigate their daily practices. Taking insights from rational choice, motivational and socialization theories, I will compare the role priorities of different MPs and document on how different characteristics of MPs (including their tenure, method of election, internal motivations, and gender) influence their time use. To give one example, rational choice theories suggest that MPs calculate the costs and benefits of their activities. Hence, the hypothesis is that list MPs, whose re-election depends on their position on the party list, will spend more time on party-related activities to please party leaders who control the party list than electorate MPs. Electorate MPs in their turn are more dependent on the support of the voters for their re-election and are thus expected to prioritize constituency work. To investigate how MPs combine their different roles and organize their daily lives, I use data from an original time use survey among 14 New Zealand MPs which included the

completion of a time diary during a 5 day-period (April/May 2013). These data are supplemented with some insights from interviews with MPs about their time use.

- **Geoff FORD Kevin Watson and Bronwyn Hayward (University of Canterbury)**
The New Zealand Political Language Corpus and Citizen Taxpayer: Introducing a new corpus and a case study exploring representations of the taxpayer

This paper introduces the New Zealand Political Language Corpus (Ford, Watson, and Hayward, 2013), a new data-set and software for studying political language in New Zealand. The corpus consists of over 35 million words from New Zealand Parliamentary Debates since 2003. Corpus linguistics, which applies computer software to the analysis of large bodies of text, has particular relevance to political science in an age of increasingly publicly accessible and digitised text. This paper discusses what can be found by studying political language using corpus techniques and how these findings can be interpreted. This will be demonstrated by a case study analysing linguistic references to "taxpayers" made by members of parliament. References to "taxpayer/taxpayers" outnumber "voter/voters" almost seven to one and "citizen/citizens" almost two to one, suggesting the relative importance of these words in parliamentary rhetoric. Over half of the instances of the word "taxpayer" are preceded by the definite article, "the", as in "the taxpayer". An image of "the taxpayer", as portrayed in parliamentary debates, will be developed and challenged by comparing this prototypical representation with the variability of people who pay tax in New Zealand. The analysis examines who invokes the taxpayer and examines why the taxpayer is invoked. As well as illustrating corpus techniques, this analysis reveals how people may come to understand the responsibilities of governing and what citizenship means.

- **Grant DUNCAN (University of Auckland)**
The New Zealand Cabinet Manual: What Does it Do?

One of the best sources of information about New Zealand's constitutional *status quo* is the Cabinet Manual. The stated purpose of this Manual is to describe current constitutional arrangements and to guide the day-to-day conduct of executive government. It has no formal legal status and can be changed by the government of the day as needed. The fact that this document has put into writing some of the basic conventions of Westminster-style government means that it has attracted much interest in Canada and the UK. This paper will introduce the Cabinet Manual as a text and ask: With what authority does this document 'speak'? What are the effects of putting into writing constitutional conventions that, by definition, are said to be 'unwritten'? The paper examines what the Cabinet Manual *does* (as a kind of speech-act) alongside what it describes and what constitutional experts claim it does (and does not) do. This reveals that its politico-legal potential or force deserve more rigorous consideration than it has received so far. I argue that the Manual alters constitutional convention and that it gives effect to a disavowed force of 'law' outside of the norms of written laws.

Tues, 3 December, Session 5
Panel: Human Rights, Aid, and Security

- **Dawn MILLER-MCTAGGART and Scott Walker (University of Canterbury)**
Rights Provision Episodes: Measuring Human Rights Provision Persistence

In the growing literature of empirical human rights, human rights are often used as a dependent variable. But while interested in understanding the impact phenomena have on human rights, the majority of studies use various time lags in pooled cross-sectional analysis with panel, corrected standard errors to indirectly test the duration or persistence of change in human rights practices. We can observe changes in human rights between two time periods, but not the persistence of a good period of human rights. To solve this problem, we introduce a new conceptualization of human rights, which we call a Rights Provision Episodes (RPEs). Human rights episodes are periods in which states are at a high-level of human rights provision. The human rights episode persists as long as the polity

maintains a high-level of human rights provision. We argue the concept of rights provision episodes, or RPEs, is a better way to capture the concept of persistence in human rights performance in a given polity over time. RPEs allow us to move beyond merely noting whether a change occurred from year to year in a given country. To test whether Rights Provision Episodes are a fruitful way to study human rights we analyze common covariates included in the empirical human rights literature. In this paper we introduce the rationale for the RPEs concept, and then discuss how they are constructed. Second, to test whether Rights Provision Episodes are a fruitful way to study human rights we use duration models to analyze common covariates included in the empirical human rights literature.

- **Ipek DEMIRSU (Sabanci University)**
The Trade-off between Human Rights and National Security: A Comparative Analysis of the UK and Turkey

In contemporary world politics, the concept of human rights has not only come to constitute a moral claim that can be utilized by individuals or groups against state oppression, but also a means to distinguish legitimate practices of state sovereignty. On the other hand, 'international terrorism' poses a serious challenge to such established rights by invoking an escalated sense of national security as manifested in various counter-terrorist measures that by-pass rights and freedoms. Consequently, there is a prevalent paradox arising from the clash of national security interest and human rights norms, particularly in the post-9/11 world politics. At this juncture, this paper aims to analyze how states endeavor to strike a balance between the two, namely their obligations to international human rights and their duty to provide security for their citizens. The study undertakes a comparison of the UK and Turkey, due to the similarities they convey in their experiences with terrorism and the subsequent counter-terrorism measures amidst differences in the political contexts.

- **John GRAY (University of Otago)**
Help or hindrance? Analyzing the impact of post-conflict security sector reform on political stability

Countries that emerge from violent conflict are often characterized as fragile and unstable, and building sustainable peace in these settings continues to puzzle policy makers and academics alike. Today, one of the most used peacebuilding tools of the international community is security sector reform (SSR), touted on the grounds that it reduces the likelihood of violence reoccurring and that it builds peace through the development of effective and accountable security institutions. However, security sector reform is an extremely expensive undertaking for both international community as well as the countries that receive it, and its impact has yet to be fully understood. This paper aims to fill both theoretical and methodological gaps within the post-conflict security sector reform and peacebuilding literatures, as it seeks to answer fundamental questions regarding the efficacy of SSR and its components through a large-N study.

Tues, 3 December, Session 5
Panel: Identity, Peace and Conflict

- **Ria SHIBATA (University of Otago)**
Memory, identity and competing victimhood in Sino-Japanese relations

At a time of crisis, when there is a threat to a group's identity, historical memory is used to valorize the group and restore its collective esteem. The rise of neo-nationalist discourse in the 1990s can be viewed through the lens of Japan's identity crisis, a reaction of a nation struggling amidst feelings of insecurity and frustration. Such national crises as the Great Hanshin earthquake, the Aum Shinrikyo's sarin gas attack in the Tokyo subway further revealed weaknesses of the Japanese system and led to a serious crisis in Japanese national identity. The 1990s was also a time of reconstruction of historical narratives in China as the country faced an ideological crisis following the outbreak of the Tiananmen pro-democracy movement which weakened the legitimacy of the Communist leadership. Unresolved

trauma, historical memory and identity anxieties generate deep contextual elements for negative dynamics of enmification. This paper analyzes the role of historical memory in shaping national identity at times of crisis. Popular nationalism deeply rooted in historical trauma and competing victimhood can exacerbate mutual threat perception, shape foreign policy decisions and become a catalyst for a protracted conflict. Exacerbated tensions between China and Japan, triggered by the Japanese government's move to purchase the rights to the Senkaku/Diaoyu islands, are the most recent manifestation of a deeper incompatibility between the two countries that pre-dates and flows from the Second World War.

- **Tadashi IWAMI (University of Otago)**

Japanese Peacebuilding and its Collective Identity as a Responsible Member of International Society

As part of my PhD thesis, I examine the conception of a responsible member of an international society in reference to collective identity, and investigate the relationship with Japanese foreign policy. In focusing on the development of the peacebuilding policy of Japan in the last two decades, the thesis investigates the formation of a collective identity of a responsible member of the following three conceptions of international societies: a UN-centred international society, a Western international society, and an Asian-focused international society. In my presentation, I attempt to demonstrate the way in which Japan perceives the conception and collective identity of a responsible member of the international society in the first instance. I argue that the policy actors conceive the collective identity as a responsible member of an international society in these three contexts differently, but they are a set of crucial source that guide the peacebuilding policy of Japan

- **Troy GILLAN (University of Canterbury)**

Retribution or Reconciliation? The People as Victims and Post-Dictatorship National Reconstruction in Allied Occupied Japan and Germany

The end of the Second World War saw the defeated Axis powers prostrate and under occupation by the Allied powers. Yet the occupiers were faced with a complex problem of how to deal with the former enemy populations while trying to reform, rebuild and reconstruct the defeated nations. Part of the Allied reconstruction strategy in both Japan and Germany was to hold grand public trials of identified war criminals to punish their actions, and the actions of the former regimes they served. An important aspect of how these trials was the application of the 'victim thesis', an understanding that the population as a whole was not necessarily culpable for the crimes of the regimes, and further were themselves victims of them. This concept emerged for several reasons and a range of motivations and aims for the trials and the occupations as a whole underpinned its acceptance. This paper explore how the 'victim thesis' was constructed and applied in relation to the war crimes trials and the occupations conducted in Japan and Germany. My aim is to investigate how the idea emerged and why, how the idea was applied within the trials, and how the idea was applied more broadly. The role of the victim thesis in the reconstruction of Japan and Germany is important not only as an historical example of how national reconstruction might be conducted, but increasingly important given the interventionist role international organisations and the world community has come to play in helping to rebuild and reconstruct nations after experiencing dictatorships, inter-state war and civil wars since the end of the Cold War.

Tues, 3 December, Session 5
Panel: International Environmental Regimes and Politics

- **Stephen NOAKES (University of Auckland)**

"The Greening of a Civil Society? Transnational Environmental Activism and China's Climate Change Politics"

This paper explores the development of an international cap-and-trade regime and the concomitant evolution of Chinese policy on global warming. While advocacy of such a regime by a transnational network of climate change activists has strengthened incentives for state compliance through its diffusion of a "polluter pays" ethos, China has resisted emissions trading, viewing any cap on its carbon outputs as the imposition of terms by Western governments and a likely drag on economic development. Instead, activists and NGOs working in China's environmental sector have been co-opted, legally incorporated into government-owned organizations and redeployed in the national interest, partnering with official agencies to serve China's own climate change agenda, aid in disaster management, and retrofit Chinese factories with the latest green technology. Not only does this finding challenge the common conception that NGOs in China are increasingly autonomous from the state and able to leverage expanding space for mobilization into greater influence in policy discussions, it also illustrates how the norms embodied and enforced by transnational advocacy networks can be shaped by the very states whose practices those groups seek to change.

- **Xiang GAO (University of Auckland)**
"Common but Differentiated Responsibilities": China's State Socialisation and the International Environmental Regime

Since the 1980s, a contribution to global environmental governance has been largely regarded as an essential component of a state's international responsibility. China, an increasingly active member of the international community has not been immune to such global norms; in its efforts to be regarded as a "responsible power", it has ratified or signed approximately 50 international environmental conventions. This paper will discuss China's state socialisation into international environmental norms. It first examines China's participation in major international environmental treaties through a network analysis which depicts China's position in the global environmental regime and its connections with other member states. The second section focuses on a case-study of China's involvement with *Convention on Biological Diversity* (CBD). It investigates China's gradual state socialisation into the international norm of biological diversity by observing the socialisation micro-processes of persuasion, social influence, mimicking and identification, as well as the norm localisation in China. It contends that under the influence of the "peer states" and relatively large size of the normative group, China's has internalised the norm of biological diversity into its foreign policy and domestic practice. In contrast to the biodiversity regime, the third section outlines the lack of China's state socialisation under the *Framework Convention on Climate Change*. It argues that the "norm contestation" and small size of the normative community has made norm diffusion and localisation difficult. China has not fully subscribed to the international norms of climate change due to the lack of social influence and positive group identification.

- **Yadira Martinez PANTOJA (University of Auckland)**
The Influence of Biotechnology Corporations and Environmental Groups on Mexico's GM Food Policy Change

Mexico has wide biodiversity which scientists and NGOs are interested in protecting. In spite of this, the Mexican GMOs policies have moved from a restrictive approach toward transgenic foods to the promotion and commercialization of GMOs agricultural production, possibly at the risk of narrowing Mexico's biodiversity. In 2005, the Law of Biosafety of Genetically Modified Organisms was approved, allowing GM seeds field trials, and in 2008 in accordance with the NAFTA, Mexico liberalized all agricultural product imports opening more trade opportunities to GMOs. Why? It is my hypothesis that Mexican GM food policies have been influenced by international and domestic actors and forces. Therefore, this paper will identify the strategies that US NGOs and biotechnology companies are implementing to influence the Mexican government. Currently, Greenpeace Mexico has a campaign ¡Transgénicos ni maíz! to prevent more GM food legislation changes. On the other hand, the American biotechnology companies have support from the United States government. For example, the Foreign Agricultural Service office of the USDA located in Mexico City promotes export opportunities including GM seeds. How NGOs and American biotechnology companies' campaigns have influenced the change of GM food policy in Mexico is the subject of this paper.

Through the public diplomacy theory and a public diplomacy model, I will analyze these actors and the communication strategies involved in this change.

Tues, 3 December, Session 5
Panel: Media, Public Communication and Politics in New Zealand

- **Margie COMRIE (Massey University)**
Political Journalists and their Twitter feeds during Labour's leadership contest

Twitter has been hailed as a transformative journalism tool. For instance, Hermida writing from a British perspective says, "Twitter has been rapidly adopted in newsrooms as an essential mechanism to distribute breaking news quickly and concisely, or as a tool to solicit story ideas, sources and facts". New Zealand news organisations and many journalists have also taken up Twitter, using it in different ways. While there has been plenty written about Twitter's potential, there have been fewer studies of journalists' Twitter use. This paper presents some initial results on how the political editors from TVNZ and TV3 used Twitter during Labour's recent leadership contest. Twitter posts from TVNZ's Corin Dann and TV3's Patrick Gower from 23 August to 16 September 2013 were downloaded and analysed. The two political journalists are very different in their Twitter profile, with Gower being a much more active and interactive and covering a wider range of topics, than Dann. Hermida argues that Twitter and other forms of micro-blogging are 'para-journalism forms'. He calls them "'awareness systems'", providing journalists with more complex ways of understanding and reporting on the subtleties of public communication". With this initial analysis the paper attempts to see to what extent journalists are tapping Twitter's potential at a time of high media interest in a political event.

- **Juana DIESING (University of Otago)**
Social Media: A Solution to Declining Youth Engagement in Politics?

New Zealand is no exception to the decline in political participation, particularly among youth, observed in nearly every developed democracy around the world. Attempts have been made to use social media to increase youth political engagement, so far with mixed results. This study, conducted in Dunedin, New Zealand, analyses how young people use social media and asks whether social media can be a solution to declining political participation amongst youth. A combination of quantitative and qualitative data is used in this mixed methods approach, with the findings confirming many of the themes emerging from recent studies that have moved beyond the initial hypothetical excitement about social media as a tool to increase political engagement. Overall, this study reveals that Dunedin youth see social media as a social rather than political tool. Therefore, social media is unlikely to make a difference to young people who are not already politically interested. Moreover, traditional media available online is the dominant source of political news for young people in this study. This suggests that we need to draw our attention to the use of social media by politicians and political parties, and how they can stimulate political interest in young people through their use of social media. Because the supply of political information (communication) influences demand (interest and knowledge about politics), effective communication with young people is critical to increasing youth engagement. These 'supply-side factors' have yet to receive adequate attention.

- **Sarah BAKER (Auckland University of Technology)**
Politics and the Changing Face of New Zealand Current Affairs Television

Current affairs television programmes are a key area of journalism and have held a privileged position in public service broadcasting in many western countries. Current affairs television was one of the original mediums where politicians were held to account. Deregulation widely impacted on broadcasting in New Zealand in the 1980s which went from what might be loosely termed a public service broadcasting system to a commercialised system. The impact of deregulation on broadcasting in New Zealand has been widely explored in previous research into television news and this paper

explores how these trends have affected the television current affairs genre. Over the last two decades the adoption and impact of neo-liberal policies, deregulation and digital media proliferation has diminished the role of public broadcasting and current affairs television. These trends have affected most western countries and New Zealand in particular. In this paper I will explore how two aspects of programme format, current affairs item length, and subject matter have altered within the highly commercialized deregulated broadcasting system in New Zealand. I will discuss how these changes are mirrored in the more recent current affairs offerings on New Zealand television and how these new formats alter the context and delivery of political discourse.

- **Matthew GIBBONS (University of Waikato)**
Government expenditure in New Zealand since 1935: A re-assessment

This paper draws together the best available data, largely from published but overlooked sources, to produce a more accurate depiction of New Zealand central government expenditure since 1935. Most publications, including an important economic history text (Briggs, 2003, 110), and a *Policy Quarterly* article (Rea, 2009, 58-67) use a 'consolidated' expenditure series for the period before 1973 that is hosted (albeit with strong disclaimers) on Statistics New Zealand's website, and is part of an excel file that was compiled by staff working for Treasury. This dataset has also been cited (usually without disclaimers) by politicians and by political science students. However, more comprehensive and consistent expenditure series that have been published for most years since 1935 show that New Zealand peacetime central government expenditure was higher in the 1930s, 1940s and 1950s than the consolidated series suggests, and has grown much less over time than is sometimes thought. This paper discusses why the alternative data is more accurate and consistent, and considers what the data (which can be broken down by function) shows about changes in the role of the state in New Zealand. As well as enabling comparisons with changes in government expenditure in other countries, the paper considers how we should treat electronic datasets and the need to robustly test the accuracy of data using primary sources such as the *AJHR* and *Yearbooks,* rather than accepting statistics uncritically.

Tues, 3 December, Session 6
Panel: Building Peace and Security

- **Daniel OHS (University of Otago)**
Can Contemporary Ex-Combatant Management Create Sustainable Peace? A Social Psychological Perspective

The reintegration of ex-combatants into civilian life is one of the most difficult challenges to peacebuilding. To date, ex-combatant re-assimilation into civil society has been through disarmament, demobilisation and reintegration (DDR) programmes. However, what DDR constitutes and where it should be positioned in wider peacebuilding frameworks is poorly understood. Moreover, academic attention has suffered from a narrow focus, centring on economics, and security, to the detriment of important social-behavioural issues. The present study aims to address this gap by developing a conceptual framework of social psychological issues regarding the perpetration of violence and its reconciliation as relevant to ex-combatant reintegration. To achieve this, the framework draws upon social psychological theories on the social, behavioural, and cognitive facets of intergroup relations, similar to work by political psychologists Ervin Staub on genocide and Daniel Bar-Tal on intractable conflict. The study proposes that by looking at past events, we can better understand the needs of ex-combatants in reintegration initiatives of the present. To probe its legitimacy, the framework is applied to the cases of Rwanda and Burundi, studying the experiences of ex-combatants during each country's civil war as well as their reintegration initiatives. From this empirical analysis, it is revealed that contemporary understandings of ex-combatants and reintegration may suffer from serious gaps in their understandings of human psychology. This finding underlines the imperative need for interdisciplinary collaboration to help solve these challenging dilemmas, and increase the chance of achieving sustainable peace.

- **Luca J. UBERTI (University of Otago) and Maj Grasten (Copenhagen Business School)**
The politics of institution-building in a post-conflict international protectorate: Privatization and property rights in Kosovo (1999-2008)

The privatization process in post-war Kosovo raises an important puzzle: how could the UN-led international administration handle the contest of domestic vested interests associated with Kosovo's state sector, while at the same time put in place an institutional regime that so closely matched the neo-liberal reform template? Drawing on new-institutionalist analyses of institutional change, we explain the design and implementation of the post-war privatization regime with reference to the contest of policy *ideas* that was taking place within the bounds of Kosovo's transitional authority (UNMIK). We argue that domestic political *interests* and inter-elite contestations took a back seat to a set of imported (and often conflicting) *norms*, with the latter rather than the former being the chief determinants of institutional preferences and outcomes. Institution-building in the privatization sector was overwhelmingly driven by a contest that took place within different sectors of the UN between competing conceptions of property rights. These different normative conceptions had implications for the extent to which the UN should use its authority to create or reallocate new property rights or preserve the existing rights repertoires inherited from the former Yugoslavia and the Milosevic regime.

- **Michael MAGCAMIT (University of Canterbury)**
The Escape from 'Trading in Illusions': Empirical Analysis of Cohabitative Security-Trade Nexus in Asia-Pacific

This paper provides an empirical analysis of cohabitative security-trade nexus in Asia-Pacific using time-series cross-sectional (TSCS) model. Cohabitative security refers to the amalgamation between traditional and nontraditional security issues in free trade agreements. It is defined in terms of state-centric, institutional security (traditional) and people-centered, economic security (nontraditional). The idea is to examine interplays between specific trade contexts (multilateral, plurilateral, and bilateral) and cohabitative security at regional and domestic levels. A key element of this task is the conceptualization of an alternative approach for analyzing and interpreting world governance index (WGI) and human development indicators (HDI) to better understand the impact of predictor variables (effective tariff and nontariff schedules) on outcome variables (institutional and economic security) based on specific trade contexts. This enables comparative assessments between specific case studies – Philippines, Malaysia, Singapore and Taiwan – thereby, exploring the facets of cohabitative security within the ambit of trade liberalization. Does the 'twin-engine' trade liberalization process – fuelled by progressive reductions in tariff (GATT) and implementations of specific commitments (GATS/TRIPS)– increase or decrease the level of 'cohabitative security' in the Philippines, Malaysia, Singapore and Taiwan? Why or why not? How do they fare in comparison with other Asia-Pacific countries included in the survey? Why are some countries better governed than others under the context of trade liberalization? What factors can account for these differences as well as similarities? What will constitute effective and efficient trade governance that can uphold 'cohabitative security'? These are the questions that the paper seeks to answer.

Tues, 3 December, Session 6
Panel: Democratisation

- **Aaron KUNARAJA (Victoria University of Wellington)**
Semi-Democracy in Transition? GE 13 and The Resilience of Competitive Authoritarianism in Malaysia

In the political science literature, Malaysia has been consistently classified as a semi-democracy or a competitive authoritarian state; combining elements of democracy such as regularly-held elections with restrictions on civil liberties more reminiscent of authoritarian regimes. Semi-democracy in

Malaysia has been relatively stable with extended periods of strong economic performance. Existing literature broadly suggests that the resilience of semi-democratic regimes such as Malaysia can be attributed to effective government, weak civil society, a fragmented opposition and a politically inactive middle-class. However, recent political developments have cast some doubt on the resilience of such a system. The last two elections have shown a consistent loss in support for the ruling Barisan Nasional or National Front coalition which has been in power since independence in 1957. It also appears that restrictions on civil liberties have been lifted, albeit partially. The 'complacency' that existed among the middle class has largely given way while civil society is playing a much more prominent role in public discourse. On the other hand, there has been little structural change to the electoral system that still heavily favours the incumbent government and key institutions of the state are still controlled by the ruling party. This paper will review recent political trends and the results of the 2013 general elections in order to analyse the state of Malaysian democracy and the prospects for transition to a more open political system.

- **Nilay BAYCAR (University of Otago)**

The Contribution of the Justice and Development Party (JDP) to Democratisation in Turkey: Success or Failure?

Democratisation has become an aspirational phenomenon in many parts of the world. This paper analyses the role of Turkey's ruling Justice and Development Party (the 'JDP') in Turkey's current democratisation process. In order to analyse the democratisation process led by the JDP government, we must understand the nature of the JDP. Critics argue that the JDP, though professing to be a conservative democratic party, is in fact a fundamentalist Islamic party with a hidden agenda to establish a Sharia-based regime in Turkey. They feel that the JDP, in hiding its real aims, performs a game of dissimulation (takiyye) in order to achieve political legitimacy and sufficient political and constitutional power to realise its hidden agenda. This argument raises a number of questions:

- Can a pro-EU party like the JDP, which gained significant and increasing support in the 2002, 2007 and 2011 Turkish general elections, have an Islamist hidden agenda?

- How would we explain the increasing public support for the JDP and the genuine democratisation reforms led by it?

- Could Conservative Democracy, the political identity of the JDP, be regarded as an appropriate political approach for Turkey?

- Is the 'hidden agenda' hypothesis real or imagined?

These are some of the key questions being discussed by Turkey's elites in relation to the JDP. Regardless of the point of view we take to answer these questions, there remains a grey zone, which this paper will attempt to clarify.

Tues, 3 December, Session 6
Panel: Intervention and the Responsibility to Protect

- **Aidan GNOTH (Victoria University)**
Lost in Translation: A Comparative Analysis of R2P's Diffusion within South East Asia and Africa

The Responsibility to Protect (R2P) is a norm that has held a momentous amount of attention within academia and policy circles since its inception in 2001. Despite a significant fall from grace after the NATO led intervention in Libya in 2011, efforts to garner support and acceptance for the norm by resistant states continue to be undertaken and have, according to some, been met with increasing success. Utilising Amitav Acharya's theory of norm localisation, those studies that support this claim

argue that R2P is being sculpted by resistant states to make it more congruent with pre-existing norms and practices. These studies have utilised traditional theories of norm diffusion conceiving of norms as static entities with fixed content and as such have not attempted to analyse how R2P has changed as a result of efforts to diffuse it. This paper draws on recent constructivist literature which conceives of norms as processes and undertakes a comparative analysis of Southeast Asia's and Africa's receptions to R2P to find that receptions within these regions have not significantly altered since R2P's unanimous endorsement in 2005. Challenging the claim that there is a growing normative consensus in the international arena with respect to a state's responsibilities and accountabilities, this paper argues that instances in which R2P has begun to be more warmly received have often stripped the norm of its raison d'etre, eliminating its ability to respond to mass atrocity crimes and leaving yet another cosmopolitan norm designed to enhance preventative capacity building in its place.

- **Stan JAGGER (University of Canterbury)**

Embedded humanitarian action by, and humanitarian engagement with, non-state armed groups (NSAGs): The case of NSAGs in the borderlands of Burma/Myanmar

Neutrality, impartiality and independence are seen as the cornerstones of major international humanitarian non-governmental organisations (IHNGOs). However, IHNGOs and UN agencies operate within the international system of recognised states and international humanitarian law (IHL). Therefore, they are obliged to respect state sovereignty. In Burma/ Myanmar, the host state government has, until recently, denied access for most IHNGOs and UN agencies to ethnic borderland areas controlled or contested by non-state armed groups (NSAGs). As a consequence, other local cross-border aid organisations have operated in coordination with some NSAGs. NSAGs, as parties to the conflict, are clearly part of the problem since they oppose the central state and have provoked the state's counter-insurgency response over decades. However, some have demonstrated they can also be a part of the solution through facilitating access and security for local cross-border humanitarian organisations. Embedded humanitarian action by NSAGs raises questions about the efficacy of international liberal humanitarianism when host states are unwilling to allow access to areas of conflict within their territory, and about the NSAG role in assisting or promoting assistance that falls outside the accepted system of recognised states. NSAGs in Karen, Mon, and Karenni states provide case studies for the analysis of this activity and engagement.

- **Dennis MARDLE (University of Canterbury)**

Broadening the traditional concept of the international responsibility to protect: Kaitiakitanga

The traditional view of the international responsibility to protect covers the situation where a state is unable or unwilling to protect its people from mass murder, rape and starvation. If the state fails then the wider international community must pick up that responsibility. The traditional concept was examined in light of the recognition of new threats facing the 21st century. These new threats were identified as coming from poverty and environmental degradation, inter state conflict, internal conflict, terrorism and non-state actors, transnational crime and a range of nuclear, biological and other weapons. Somalia embodies many of these threats, environmental degradation, non-state actors, internal conflict and state failure. The adoption of the traditional concept by the international community has failed to resolve Somalia's problems regarding illegal fishing and hazardous waste dumping. The Maori word, Kaitiakitanga, carries with it connotations of guardianship, protection, preservation or sheltering, especially in terms of the environment. Kaitiakitanga carries with it a more nuanced approach to the internationalization of a duty of care that recognizes the interconnectedness of all humankind. The traditional view of the responsibility to protect, that focuses on cases where a state has failed to protect its people, and military intervention is warranted, is a much narrower view than Kaitiakitanga. The paper aims to examine the traditional concept of international responsibility to protect, the concept of Kaitiakitanga and why the latter should be employed as erga omnes in international law to respond to Somalia-type situations.

- **James HEADLEY (University of Otago)**

Russian policy on the war in Syria

In September, Russian diplomats negotiated an agreement for the Syrian government to destroy its chemical weapons that was subsequently endorsed by the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) and thus averted US air strikes. It was interpreted by many commentators as a triumph for President Putin and typical of the methods and aims of foreign policy during his tenure. Yet, I suggest that it bears a strong resemblance to a Russian initiative to prevent NATO air strikes against Serb forces besieging Sarajevo in early 1994, during Yeltsin's presidency. Then, Russian diplomats also acted as interlocutors once the US had threatened force, reaching an agreement without prior consultation with the US; and there were subsequent disagreements over what had led to a successful resolution of the immediate crisis, over its long-term viability, and over what actions should be taken if the agreement was not abided by. More widely, I argue that Russian policy on Syria reflects long-standing features of Russia foreign policy that were evident earlier during the Yugoslav conflicts: opposition to the use of force or threat of force without UNSC sanction; scepticism about external intervention in a civil war; wariness of facilitating Islamic fundamentalism; and desire to demonstrate Russia's great power status. I consider the importance of these principles in explaining Russian policy towards the conflict in Syria, weighing them against alternative explanations such as Russia's direct interests in Syria and its relationship with the Assad regime.

Tues, 3 December, Session 6
Panel: Voting Behaviour

- **Guillermo MERELO (University of Auckland)**
Neither here nor there, I don't vote and I don't care: The role of political culture in electoral non-participation through external voting in Mexico

In 2006 an estimated 10.7 million Mexican emigrants around the world were entitled to vote in presidential elections in Mexico making this country the highest potential recipient of external votes around the world. Despite this fact, during the 2006 and 2012 presidential elections less than 0.5% of that estimated population actually casted their external votes raising questions about how previous patterns of political behaviour can transcend borders and accompany immigrants to their new countries. In this work I argue that Mexican immigrants' interaction with an established democracy such as New Zealand is not a fundamental reason to encourage political participation through external voting. Through a qualitative lens the paper attempts to analyse sentiments, attitudes and behaviours of Mexican immigrants towards the political arena and their effect in preventing or encouraging formal participation in Mexican elections. I conclude that cultural patterns of electoral behaviour that originated in Mexico, particularly political apathy and political distrust play a decisive role in the way Mexicans relate to their native country, regardless of the intensity of political integration to New Zealand democracy.

- **Lara GREAVES, Danny OSBORNE and Chris SIBLEY (University of Auckland)**
Finding the Fence Sitters: A Latent Class Model of Political Support in New Zealand and the Prediction of Voter Turnout

Fence-sitters, or moderate voters, win or lose elections across the world, partly depending on whether they turn up to vote. However, little research has been completed on how they differ from committed voters in terms of demographics, ideology or personality, especially in New Zealand. Using a large, nationally representative sample of New Zealanders ($N = 6,284$) we applied Latent Class Analysis to derive response profiles of different types of voters. Five classes of political support emerged: National Supporters (24.3%), Right-Wingers (12.5%), Fence-Sitters (32.8%), Left-Wingers (16.4%) and Labour Supporters (14%). Participants from the National and Right-Wing Supporter classes (versus the political left) were more likely to be New Zealand European, were less economically deprived, more politically conservative, less neurotic and more conscientious. Notably, the Fence-Sitters sat in the middle of liberal-conservative ideological spectrum, were more likely to be female,

of non-European ethnicities and were the youngest of the classes. The model was validated by successfully mapping the proportion of Fence-Sitters across New Zealand's 63 electorates. The voter turnout in each electorate was negatively correlated with the proportion of Fence-Sitters in each electorate. This single predictor accounted for 11% of the variance in voter turnout. This study provides evidence not only about the fence-sitting voters that swing elections and their turnout, but also the key voting blocs in New Zealand.

- **Danny OSBORNE and Chris Sibley (University of Auckland)**
Intergroup emotions have opposing effects on Māori voters' support for conservatism

Although the policies endorsed by conservative political parties change over time, the core tenets of conservatism are the tendency to (a) support tradition and (b) accept inequality. These central features of ideology present an inherent conflict for minority voters. Namely, by endorsing conservative views, minority groups (i.e., traditionally disadvantaged groups) reinforce their unequal status. Yet we know that minority groups do sometimes identify with conservative values. Thus, the question remains: why do some minority group members identify as conservative whereas others do not? We address this question by assessing the relationship between perceptions of group-based deprivation (GRD) and people's political ideology in a national probability sample of Māori ($N = 689$). Participants completed measures of GRD and feelings toward members of the majority outgroup (i.e., Pākehā) and minority ingroup (i.e., Māori). As predicted, GRD *negatively* correlated with feeling warmly towards Pākehā ($B = -0.098$, $SE = .029$, $p = .001$), but *positively* correlated with warmth towards one's ingroup ($B = 0.146$, $SE = .027$, $p < .001$). In turn, warmth towards Pākehā and Māori were positively and negatively associated with conservatism, respectively ($B = 0.142$ $SE = .036$, $p < .001$ and $B = -0.135$, $SE = .038$, $p < .001$). Critically, these results held *after* controlling for (a) the belief that one was personally deprived and (b) objective deprivation. Thus, our analyses show that GRD and associated feelings towards group members play a crucial role in shaping minority group members' ideological preferences.