

# NZPSA 2014 Conference

Politics and International Relations

University of Auckland

1<sup>st</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> December 2014

<http://nzpsa2014.org.nz>

#NZPSA2014



THE UNIVERSITY  
OF AUCKLAND

FACULTY OF ARTS

Te Wānanga Kura Tāngata



New Zealand Political Studies Association

# New Zealand Political Studies Association Annual Conference 2014

December 1-3, 2014



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## NZPSA President's Welcome

Welcome to this year's NZPSA Conference and thank you to Politics and International Relations at the University of Auckland for hosting us this year. I am sure it will be an intellectually stimulating conference. In my experience, the NZPSA Conference is also the friendliest political studies conference I have attended, and I have no doubt we will uphold this reputation in welcoming our international guests and our first-time postgraduate attendees this year. The NZPSA has had another busy year. I hope everyone has been keeping up-to-date with our new quarterly newsletter. Highlights include the publication on our website of the first comprehensive survey of the representation – or, more accurately, under-representation – of women in political studies in New Zealand: *Advancing the Status of Women in Political Science and International Relations in New Zealand*.

This study, written by Aysser Al Janabi, Kate McMillan and Carla Lam, was funded initially by a NZPSA grant. At the Women's Caucus Meeting on the first day of the Conference we will be celebrating this achievement and talking about the next steps we should take in light of the report's recommendations. We will also be re-launching *Women Talking Politics* as an annual research magazine that publishes news items and research notes by women on politics including gender and women's issues. The first two issues are being funded by the new NZPSA bi-annual grant. We have continued to support our postgraduates on exchanges to the UK and Australian PSA conferences, by funding the pre-conference workshop, and with our conference prizes to be announced at the Dinner on Tuesday evening. We have also been exploring becoming a constituent member of the New Zealand Royal Society, and we have set up a committee to be chaired by Royal Society Fellow Professor Jack Vowles to nominate Fellows next year. Currently not only are women significantly under-represented in the Royal Society, but also our discipline. We will be discussing these and other matters at the Annual General Meeting on Tuesday at 4.20pm. Please come along to the AGM, and I hope you have an enjoyable time in Auckland catching up with colleagues and making new contacts.

Dr Vicki Spencer  
NZPSA President  
University of Otago



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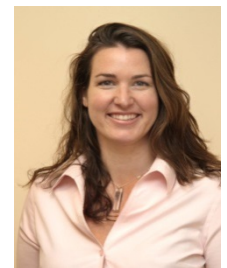
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## Conference Co-chairs Welcome

Dear conference attendees,

We are delighted to welcome you to this year's New Zealand Political Studies Association Annual Conference at the University of Auckland. As conference chairs, we received more than 230 abstracts from over 30 countries around the world, providing us with a unique opportunity to discuss the political challenges that confront us. Many of these issues are captured by the theme of the conference "Conflict and Discord in a Time of Crisis" which showcases panels on violence, war and other forms of political unrest. We also have panels that address a range of other timely and important issues, from the recent general election in New Zealand to democratisation abroad, climate change to Māori affairs, international relations to the history of political ideas. We are particularly pleased to welcome our keynote speaker Professor David Schlosberg (University of Sydney), who will deliver a talk entitled "Environmental Politics in a Time of Crisis: Climate Change and Insecurity". We will also be hosting a free screening of Professor James Der Derian's (University of Sydney) latest film *Project Z*, followed by a short discussion. We hope that you enjoy the conference as much as we have enjoyed organising it!



Sincerely,

Tom Gregory & Julie MacArthur  
Conference Co-Chairs  
University of Auckland

## Disciplinary Area Welcome, Politics and International Relations

I'm very happy to welcome you all to the conference, on behalf of Politics and International Relations, in the School of Social Sciences at Auckland. The conference committee, led by Tom Gregory and Julie MacArthur, has organized an exciting, diverse and innovative program, focussing on conflict, discord and crisis, which showcases the impressive range and relevance of the research and scholarship that we do here in New Zealand in politics and IR. The NZPSA annual conference has grown each year, and this year includes more presenters, from more countries, and covering a wider range of topics than ever before. It's a global conference that reflects the impressive international focus and diversity of research and teaching in our discipline. We hope that you'll enjoy visiting our beautiful multicultural city, and will take up many opportunities for conversations about the exciting work we're doing, as well as catching up with colleagues and friends.

Kathy Smits

Head of Politics and International Relations  
University of Auckland

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## Conference Theme

### Conflict and Discord: Politics in a Time of Crisis

The political landscape is characterized by conflict and discord. This is most evident during times of socio-political and economic upheaval, but also features in the everyday practice of contemporary democratic politics. Issues of voter apathy, cynicism and democratic decline more broadly herald significant challenges for the legitimacy and effectiveness of political institutions. At the same time, new political forces have emerged, challenging established practices and actors. In what ways does the practice of politics change? To what extent is conflict natural, necessary and perhaps even constructive? What insights can some conflicts, such as those around climate denial, provide for our understanding of political processes?

## Conference Committee

<b>Co-Chairs</b>	<b>Julie MacArthur, Thomas Gregory</b>
<b>Steering Committee</b>	Julie MacArthur, Thomas Gregory, Stephen Winter, Jennifer Lees-Marshment
<b>Section Chairs</b>	
<b>New Zealand Politics</b>	Jennifer Lees-Marshment
<b>Māori and Indigenous Politics</b>	Tiopira McDowell
<b>Political Theory</b>	Martin Wilkinson
<b>Public Policy and Administration</b>	Jennifer Curtin
<b>International Relations</b>	Anita Lacey, Thomas Gregory
<b>Political Economy</b>	Sung-Young Kim
<b>Comparative Politics</b>	Stephen Noakes
<b>Environmental Politics</b>	Julie MacArthur
<b>Media Politics</b>	Geoff Kemp
<b>Teaching and Learning Politics</b>	Katherine Smits
<b>Conference Theme</b>	Julie MacArthur, Thomas Gregory

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## Sponsors

The NZPSA conference organizers would like to extend our thanks to the University of Auckland Faculty of Arts and School of Social Sciences for sponsoring our welcome reception and the screening event of Project Z on 1 December. We would also like to thank Politics and International Relations for their financial support.



The New Zealand Asia Institute has generously agreed to sponsor the panel on Chinese Innovations in Governance and associated tea on 1 December.



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## Conference schedule

Conference Schedule	Sunday November 30	Monday December 1	Tuesday December 2	Wednesday December 3
	Postgraduate workshop day	No Panels	Concurrent Panel 4	Concurrent Panel 8
<b>AM 1 8:30-9:40</b>				
<b>TEA</b>		Registration 9:30 – 11am OGGB lower foyer	Tea break	Tea break
<b>AM 2 10:00-11:10</b>			Concurrent Panel 5	Concurrent Panel 9
<b>AM 3 11.20 - 12.30</b>		Welcome (11:00) & Keynote (11:20) LT4	NZ Election plenary (LT4)	TLP Feminism plenary (LT4)
<b>Lunch 12:30 - 13:30</b>		Lunch – Women's caucus meeting (LT5)	Lunch – HODs meeting (LT5) Networks meetings (see p 13).	Lunch – Postgraduate lunch event 12:40 – 14:40 (40b)
<b>PM1 13:30 - 14:40</b>		Concurrent Panel 1	Concurrent Panel 6	Concurrent Panel 10
<b>PM2 14:50 - 16:00</b>		Concurrent Panel 2	Concurrent Panel 7	Concurrent Panel 11
<b>TEA</b>		NZAI Sponsored Tea	Tea	End of Conference
<b>PM3 16:20-17:30</b>		Concurrent Panel 3	AGM (16:10 – 17:30) (LT4)	
<b>Evening</b>		Welcome reception (catered) and film event. Maidment Theatre 17:45-21:00	Conference Dinner and Prize giving. Bluestone Room 18:00-21:00	

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## Keynote – Professor David Schlosberg

### Environmental Politics in a Time of Crisis: Climate Change and Insecurity.



To date, most discussions of climate change have been on strategies and policies for mitigation, or keeping climate change to a manageable two degrees. However, existing regimes of global governance, along with most individual states, have failed at these 'efforts'. As a result, both the environment and human security in many regions of the world are already threatened; various reports of the IPCC make clear that the impacts of climate change are already here and increasing rapidly. While there is much we do not yet know about the conditions we are bringing upon ourselves, the known impacts will come in two very different ways. On the one hand, we have to prepare for what Nixon has called the 'slow violence' of environmental injustices – the ongoing deterioration of local environments and the peoples who depend on them. On the other, we are headed toward increasing catastrophic environmental events and disasters – crisis events, or 'punctuated disequilibrium'. Both types of crisis require a pivot to adaptation planning based in notions of resilience, adaptive capacity, and transition. I will discuss examples of how both governments and environmental efforts have turned to this crucial set of crises and challenges.

David Schlosberg is a Professor of Environmental Politics in the Department of Government and International Relations at the University of Sydney, and co-Director of the Sydney Environment Institute. His work focuses primarily on environmental political thought, environmental and climate justice, and the theory and practice of environmental movements. Professor Schlosberg has held visiting appointments at the London School of Economics, Australian National University, and Princeton University. He is the author of *Defining Environmental Justice* (Oxford 2007), co-editor of *The Oxford Handbook of Climate Change and Society* (Oxford 2011), and co-author of *Climate-Challenged Society* (Oxford 2013). Schlosberg's current research includes work on climate justice in adaptation strategies and policies, new environmental movements focused on the flows and materials of everyday life (in particular food and energy movements), and the normative challenges for environmental management in the Anthropocene.



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## Project Z Film Screening & Panel Discussion



This year's conference will include a welcome reception for conference attendees (5:45-7) followed by a free public screening of Project Z and roundtable discussion/ Q&A with the director Professor James Der Derian (Sydney), Professor Richard Jackson (Otago) and Associate Professor Laura Shepherd (UNSW).

Project Z is a documentary film by James Der Derian (Human Terrain, After 9/11, VY2K), Phillip Gara (Virtuous War 2.0, Disastrous Horizons, The Costs of War) and the Global Media Project in association with Littoral Film and Oxyopia Productions and with the support of the Carnegie Corporation of New York.

At once a road-trip, detective story, and zombie flic, Project Z is a startling investigation into worst-case scenarios produced after the Cold War by the media, military and entertainment industry that weigh upon the living like the undead. Beginning in the Mojave Desert and ending on Wall Street, Project Z tracks from the end of the Cold War to the wake of the Arab Spring and the Global Financial Crisis the emergence of a military-industrial-media-entertainment network. Project Z reveals how this unholy alliance creates and amplifies the crises it seeks to anticipate and prevent through war games, computer models, complex financial systems, and networked technology. Combining rare footage from inside the war machine with corrosive commentary by leading critics of global violence and inequality, the film challenges the living to reclaim the past from the undead and to write their own future before the final global event.

James Der Derian is a professor at the University of Sydney, Michael Hintze Chair of International Security Studies and Director of the Centre for International Security Studies. His research and teaching interests are in international security, information technology, international theory, and documentary film.

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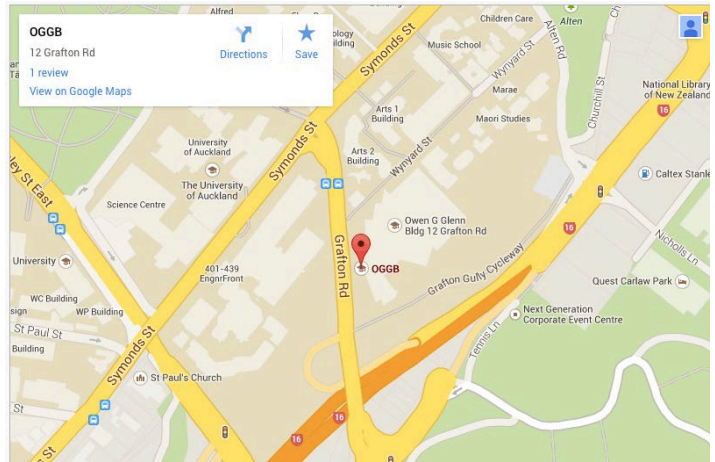
## Conference locations and maps

### Panels, teas and lunches

Owen G. Glenn Building (Lower level), University of Auckland, 12 Grafton Road, Auckland 1010

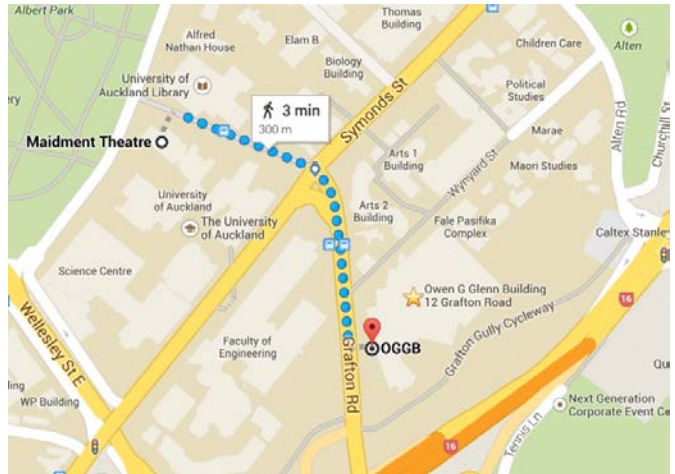
**All panels will take place in the Owen G Glenn Building.**

The keynote and plenaries will be in Lecture Theatre 4 (LT4). Concurrent panels will be in Lecture Theatre 5 (LT5), Case Room 1 (CR1), Case Room 3 (CR 3), Case Room 4 (CR4), rooms 40c and 40b.



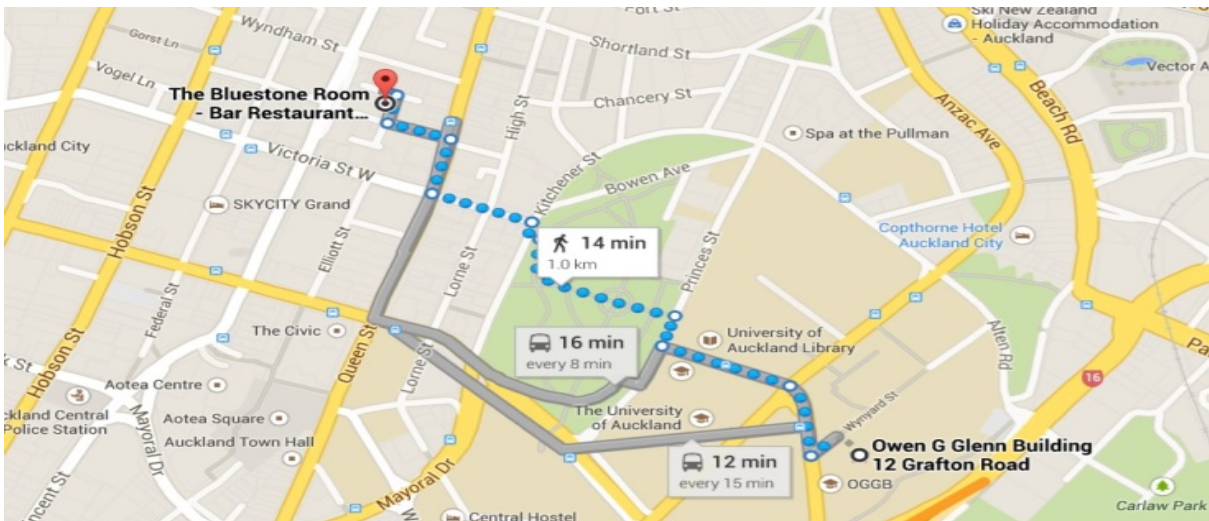
### Conference Reception and Film Screening

Maidment Theatre, University of Auckland, 8 Alfred Street, Auckland 1010



### Conference Dinner

The Bluestone Room (upstairs function room), 9-11 Durham Lane, Auckland 1010



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## Events

Date	Event	Description	Location
30th November 10:00 - 17:00	Postgraduate workshop	The postgraduate workshop is scheduled from 10am to 5pm. Detailed on p.25.	Lecture theatre 4, Owen G. Glenn building (OGGB), 12 Grafton road, University of Auckland
1st December 9:30	Conference Registration	Registration will open at 9:30am	Lower level foyer, OGGB, 12 Grafton road
1st December 11:00	Welcome and Keynote by David Schlosberg	Environmental Politics in a Time of Crisis: Climate Change and Insecurity.	Lecture theatre 4 (LT4), OGGB, 12 Grafton road
1 <sup>st</sup> December 14:50- 16:00	Sponsored Panel	Chinese Innovations in Governance This panel explores a variety of recent trends in modes of governance in China with a view to better understanding their implications for the functioning, legitimacy, and longevity of the current regime. The panel will also debate the value and lesson learned from Chinese institutional innovations for comparative cases in Asia and the wider world. NZAI have kindly sponsored this panel.	OGGB, 12 Grafton road, Lecture theatre 5 (LT5)
1 <sup>st</sup> December 14:50-17:30	Sponsored Panel	Comparative Policy Research: Celebrating Francis G Castles This panel consists of five papers: one by the eminent Francis G Castles, and the other four draw from Castles' wide ranging contributions to the fields of comparative politics and public policy exploring both old and new questions, thereby testing the intellectual resilience of the work of FG Castles.	OGGB, 12 Grafton road, Case room 3 (CR3)
1st December 17:45- 21:00pm	Film screening and catered reception	A catered welcome reception will take place at the Maidment Theatre, followed by a public film screening and panel discussion (including the filmmaker, Richard Jackson and Laura Shepherd) of Professor James Der Derian's, <i>Project Z</i> .	Maidment Theatre, 8 Albert Street, University of Auckland
2 <sup>nd</sup> December 11.20-12-30	New Zealand Election Plenary	'Behind the scenes of the 2014 Election: the Practitioners Perspective' Practitioners from NZ's three largest parties in 2014 will discuss what they think is important to know about the election from their perspective, whether it's campaigning, strategy, policy, leadership, democratic issues, successes, disappointments, lessons to be learnt, reforms needed, or future prospects for NZ	Lecture theatre 4 (LT4)

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		<p>elections. Speakers working with National (Jo DeJoux, Cameron Cotter), Labour (Roger Shakes, David Talbot) and the Greens (Ben Youdan, Metiria Turei) will have their experiences from positions such as the party insider (e.g. the campaign manager, strategist or key politician) and/or outsider consultant (e.g. the company who created their advertising or conducted the market research). They will discuss the best things about the election; the key challenges; and aspects they think they should tell academics that we might not get to know from the outside or ivory tower.</p>	
2nd December Evening 18:00	Conference Dinner	The conference dinner will take place off campus following the NZPSA AGM.	The Bluestone Room, 9-11 Durham Lane, Auckland, 1010.
3 <sup>rd</sup> December 11.20-12-30	Feminism Plenary	<p>Teaching Plenary: Teaching Feminism/Teaching as a Feminist- A Conversation</p> <p>Participants: Christine Beasley, Valentina Cardo, Jennifer Curtin (Chair), Anita Lacey, Laura Shepherd, Kathy Smits</p> <p>This teaching plenary explores the experiences of five feminist academics' teaching of feminism and as feminists in the classroom. It will take the format of a conversation and will include deliberation on issues such as the incorporation of gender versus feminist politics into teaching; the mainstreaming of feminism; a feminist canon; engagement with intersectionality; and activist teaching.</p>	Lecture theatre 4 (LT4)
3rd December 12:40 - 14:40	Postgraduate Lunch	<p>This workshop looks at practical ways to manage your research profile in the digital age. We will discuss how to use social media to raise your research profile and to increase your 'impact factor'. We will also talk about the importance of academic 'branding' and the use of digital spaces to develop virtual research networks. There is a pre-session worksheet to complete and a piece of pre-reading to inform discussion:  <a href="http://historyonics.blogspot.com.au/2014/07/doing-it-in-public-impact-blogging.html">http://historyonics.blogspot.com.au/2014/07/doing-it-in-public-impact-blogging.html</a>.</p>	Room 40b
3rd December 16:00	Conference finish	Panels are scheduled to finish at 16:00	OGGB, 12 Grafton road

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## Guide for participants:

### Presentation Guide:

Each presenter will have approximately 10 minutes. Panels will be made up of 3-4 presentations and question period following the presentations.

We encourage you to share your paper with panel members, including the chair, one week in advance of the conference. Participant contact details and full presentation abstracts are listed in the directory at the end of this conference program.

Every panel presentation room at the conference will be equipped with a projector, computer and internet access.

### Information for Chairs:

Chairs are responsible for ensuring that presenters and sessions stay within their allotted time. If you have been assigned to chair a panel and are unable to do so, please let us know as soon as possible. We encourage you to contact panel participants in advance of the conference to finalize arrangements for timing and paper circulation.

### Other information:

Login information for UOA-WiFi

Login : conf9228

Password: fryta1os

## NZPSA Network meetings 2 December:

The NZPSA is currently home to five networks. Links to each if you are interested in joining and the allocated meeting rooms are listed below:

Case room 1: [Media and Political Communications \(MPC\) Network](#)

Case room 3: [New Zealand Politics Network](#)

Case room 4: [Environmental Politics and Policy Network \(EPPN\)](#)

40b: [Gender and Politics Network](#)

40c: [Interpretative Policy Analysis \(IPA\) Network](#)

## Closed Meeting 3 December:

40c: NZPSA RS Committee (Closed)

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## Panel schedule

(Session code key: NZ=New Zealand, EP= Environmental, MP= Māori and Indigenous, IR= International Relations, THM=Theme, COMP=Comparative, MED= Media, PE= Political Economy, PT= Political Theory, POL=Public Policy, TLP=Teaching & Learning)

Rooms:

<b>Sunday 30<sup>th</sup> November 10:00 – 17:00</b>	Postgraduate workshop – see detailed information on page 25				
<b>Monday 1<sup>st</sup> December 9:30</b>	Registration OGGB Lower Foyer				
<b>Monday 1<sup>st</sup> December 11:20</b>	Keynote: David Schlosberg	Environmental Politics in a Time of Crisis: Climate Change and Insecurity. Lecture theatre 4			
	<b>NZ1</b>	<b>EP1</b>	<b>IR1</b>	<b>THM1</b>	<b>COMP1</b>
<b>Panel 1: Monday 1<sup>st</sup> December 13:30 - 14:40</b>	<p>Room: CR1</p> <p><b>Voter issues and gender in New Zealand</b></p> <p>Chair: Valentina Cardo</p> <p><u>Charles Crothers</u> AUT</p> <p>The 2013 Auckland Council elections</p> <p><u>Geoff Ford</u> University of Canterbury</p> <p>Mere Words and the Greens: Finding Key Issues in Millions of Words of Parliamentary Speech</p> <p><u>Rachel Simon-Kumar</u> Waikato</p> <p>Between Survival and Impact: Remaking Thirty Years of the Ministry of Women's Affairs (MWA)</p>	<p>Room: CR3</p> <p><b>Valuing the Environment</b></p> <p>Chair: Julie MacArthur</p> <p><u>Patrick Barrett</u> Co-authored by Priya Kurian and Jeannette Wright The University of Waikato</p> <p>Trumping planetary sustainability with short-sighted economism: New Zealand's response to environmental security in the Asia-Pacific</p> <p><u>Bronwyn Hayward</u> Co-authored by Elin Selboe and Karen O'Brien Canterbury</p> <p>Climate, Citizenship and Rethinking Civics: Learning from, for and with a new generation of youth political activists</p> <p><u>Andreas Neef</u> University of Auckland</p> <p>Valuation, Valorization or Commodification of Biodiversity and Ecosystem Services: A Comparative Analysis of Societal and Political Discourses</p> <p><u>James Wong</u> The Hong Kong University of Science and Technology</p> <p>Better Safe than Sorry: The Precautionary Principle and the Institutional Design for Interest Representation of Future Generations</p>	<p>Room: CR4</p> <p><b>Gendering/Queering International Relations</b></p> <p>Chair: Alex Chung</p> <p><u>David Duriesmith</u> The University of Melbourne</p> <p>Negative Space and Feminist International Relations Theory: strategic silences and the limits of gendering international relations</p> <p><u>Anita Lacey</u> University of Auckland</p> <p>Women and the urban development milieu: employment schemes, biopolitics and postcolonial governmentalities</p> <p><u>Paul Kramer</u> University of Auckland</p> <p>Queer publics in contemporary Turkey and North Cyprus</p> <p><u>Evern Eken</u> Co-authored by Ali Ersen Erol University of London/ American University</p> <p>Cover Yourself or Be Mine: From rape-Proof Bodies to Drone-Proof Cities, the Masculinity of the Emerging Empire</p>	<p>Room: LT5</p> <p><b>Peacebuilding and Post-Conflict Reconstruction</b></p> <p>Chair: Elisabeth Ellis</p> <p><u>Melissa Nayral</u> Co-authored by Levacher UMR GRED, IRD, France</p> <p>Conflicts: towards an understanding of political dynamics in New Caledonia</p> <p><u>Sung Yong Lee</u> Co-authored by Abdelqabar Abdelrahman University of Otago</p> <p>Dealing with 'Neighbour Countries' in Civil War Peace Negotiations</p> <p><u>Sue Ingram</u> Australian National University</p> <p>Post-conflict political settlements and the quest for stability: Bougainville and Timor-Leste compared</p> <p><u>Patrik Johansson</u> University of Otago</p> <p>Tracing Resilience: Setbacks and Recovery in Peacebuilding in the Western Balkans</p>	<p>Room: 40B</p> <p><b>(Post) Communism in Comparative Perspective</b></p> <p>Chair: Stephen Noakes</p> <p><u>M. Murat Yurtbilir</u> University of New South Wales</p> <p>Mechanisms of Maintaining Legitimacy by the Karimov Autocracy in Post-Soviet Uzbekistan</p> <p><u>Thiem Bui</u> University of Queensland</p> <p>Contestations in Vietnam's socialist law-based state and constitutionalism: Rule of Law, Party Law and Party Governance</p> <p><u>Yunzhe Chen</u> UNSW</p> <p>Questions on the Study of "the Communist Youth League and China Elite Politics" in Western Circles of Politics</p>

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	NZ2	POL1	IR2	PT1	COMP2
<b>Panel 2:</b> <b>Monday 1st December</b> <b>14:50 - 16:00</b>	Room: CR1  <b>Values, the public and policy in New Zealand</b>  Chair: Kate McMillan  <u>Lucy Cowie</u> Co-authored by Lara M. Greaves and Chris G. Sibley University of Auckland  A Latent Profile Analysis of Green Party Voters: A statistical model Identifying the underlying values of those who vote Green.  <u>Graeme Mackenzie</u> Co-authored by Rachel Simon-Kumar and Priya Kurian University of Waikato  Constructing Deserving and Un-Deserving Citizens in New Zealand Public Policy  <u>Danny Osborne</u> University of Auckland  On the Dole, but Why? Distinct Response Patterns Underlying People's Attributions for Poverty Affect Policy Support for the Poor	Room: CR3  <b>Comparative Policy Research: Celebrating Francis G Castles (#1)</b>  Chair: Jennifer Curtin  <u>Jennifer Curtin and Chris Pierson</u> Title: Introducing Francis G. Castles  <u>Francis Castles</u> ANU  The Real Issue for Future Comparative Policy Research  <u>Louise Humpage and Chris Pierson</u> Auckland  Still converging? Social policy in the United Kingdom, Australia and New Zealand after the global financial crisis  <u>Peter Skilling</u>  Closing comments	Room: CR4  <b>Intervention and (Human) Security</b>  Chair: Aisha Younus  <u>Damian Rogers</u> Massey University  Discourse of Politico-Cruelty  <u>Brite Ahlhaus</u> The University of Queensland  Utopian Quibbling: A Critical Analysis of the Legal and Political Limits to Human Security  <u>Alex Chung</u> UNDA  Necessitating intervention: the case for R2P  <u>Josh Wineera</u> Otago  Security Sector Reform and the training, advising and mentoring of indigenous security forces: A re-run of Cold-War military aid or a new form of interface in international relations?	Room: 40b  <b>Political Theory 1</b>  Chair: Xavier Marquez  <u>Stephen Acreman</u> University of Otago  Traceability and the politicisation of truth claims  <u>Paul Atkinson</u> The University of Auckland  The Art/Propaganda Debate: The case of Albert Maltz  <u>Emily Beausoleil</u> Massey  From Mastery to Meeting: Reworking the Terms of Ethical Encounter	Room: LT5  <b>Chinese Innovations in Governance</b>  Chair: Stephen Noakes  <u>Lei Zheng</u> Fudan University  Innovations in Governance with IT in China  <u>Miao Tingting</u> University of Auckland  Ideological Hysteria in City-to-city Cooperation in China's Cultural Context  <u>Stephen Noakes</u> University of Auckland  Transnational Advocacy and Institutional Change: Lessons from the Experience of International Non-Governmental Organization in China  <u>Guy C. Charlton</u> co-authored by Gao Xiang  The Incorporation and Transmutation of International Norms into Chinese Domestic Environmental Governance

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	NZ3	POL2	IR3	EP2	PT2	THM2
<b>Panel 3:</b> <b>Monday 1st December</b> <b>16:20 - 17:30</b>	Room: CR1 <b>Public attitudes in New Zealand</b> Chair: Bryce Edwards <u>Yanshu Huang</u> University of Auckland Ambivalent Sexism and abortion attitudes: A longitudinal test <u>Leon Lusitini</u> AUT An Exploration of Ethnic Differences in Political Attitudes in New Zealand	Room: CR3 <b>Comparative Policy Research: Celebrating Francis G Castles (#2)</b> Chair: Peter Skilling <u>Marian Sawyer</u> ANU Revisiting the Antipodean social laboratory <u>Jack Vowles</u> <u>And David Alsop</u> VUW Income and Aspirations: A New Approach to Class Voting in Australia and New Zealand <u>Jennifer Curtin</u> Auckland Why Politics and History matter to Policy <u>Francis G. Castles</u> Closing comments	Room: CR4 <b>Critical Terrorism Studies</b> Chair: Anita Lacey <u>Richard Jackson</u> University of Otago Terrorism, Taboo and Discursive Resistance: The Agonistic Potential of the Terrorist Novel <u>Sondre Lindahl</u> University of Otago Searching for the Silver Bullet: A Critical Evaluation of the Research on Counterterrorism <u>Mortaza Shams</u> Waikato University Ritualisation of violence and the question of suicide terrorism	Room: 40b <b>Environmental Politics in New Zealand</b> Chair: Chandra Pandey <u>Todd Croad</u> University of Otago The Role of Governance Cultures in the Stability of New Zealand's Energy Policy <u>James Russell</u> University of Auckland A comparison of attitudes towards introduced wildlife in New Zealand in 1994 and 2012 <u>Jeanette Wright</u> Waikato Conflicting Values in the Sustainable Dairying Debate in New Zealand: An Analysis of Competing Discourses	Room: 40c <b>Political Theory 2</b> Chair: Martin Wilkinson <u>David Bromell</u> Victoria University/Environment Canterbury Why (not) political philosophy? <u>Katherine Smits</u> Auckland Feminism and the problem of voluntary subordination <u>Vicki Spencer</u> University of Otago Neutrality and Multiculturalism	Room: LT5 <b>Policy in a Time of Crisis</b> Chair: Heather Devere <u>Douglas Webber</u> INSEAD The European Union in Crisis: How likely is it that Germany will remain 'pro-European'? <u>Elisabeth Ellis</u> Otago Environmental Conflict and Democratic Theory <u>Anna-Maria Murtola</u> AUT Late Neoliberalism in Question
<b>Evening event</b> <b>17:45-21:00</b>	Welcome reception (catered) and screening of Project Z at the Maidment Theatre, University of Auckland.					



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	NZ4	POL3	IR4	MED1	THM3
<p><b>Panel 4:</b> <b>Tuesday 2nd December 8:30 - 9:40</b></p>	<p>Room: CR1</p> <p><b>Public input into Government in New Zealand</b></p> <p>Chair: Dan Zirker</p> <p><u>Janine Hayward</u> Co-authored by <u>Therese Arseneau</u> Otago</p> <p>Constitutional Reform in New Zealand</p> <p><u>Nick Laery</u> University of Auckland</p> <p>The Convention of the Mandate: The Construction of the Concept in NZ Politics with Partial Privatisation as a Case Study</p> <p><u>Haydn Read</u> Co-authored by <u>Bill Ryan</u> and <u>Karl Lofgren</u> Victoria</p> <p>An Analytical Framework – citizen preferences, council decisions and large capital investments</p>	<p>Room: CR3</p> <p><b>Policy Evaluation and Consultation</b></p> <p>Chair: Kris Hartley</p> <p><u>Jennifer Lees-Marshment</u> Auckland University</p> <p>The Ministry of Public Input: how to integrate public input into government</p> <p><u>Brad Jackson</u> Co-authored by <u>Karl Lofgren</u> Victoria University of Wellington</p> <p>Government, Academics and Policy-making in NZ</p> <p><u>David Bromell</u> Victoria University/ Environment Canterbury</p> <p>A 'fair go' in public policy</p>	<p>Room: CR4</p> <p><b>US Foreign Policy</b></p> <p>Chair: Charles Butcher</p> <p><u>Sean Starrs</u> York University</p> <p>American "American Economic Power Hasn't Declined — It Globalized! Summoning the Data and Taking Globalization Seriously"</p> <p><u>Eliot Lynch</u> University of Otago</p> <p>Parallels in the Rise and Fall of Shah Reza Pahlavi and George W. Bush: The Relevance for the Obama Era</p> <p><u>Aisha Younus</u> ANU</p> <p>The U.S.-Pakistan Cooperation in the War on Terror: Security Implications for the Tribal Areas of Pakistan.</p>	<p>Room: 40b</p> <p><b>Media and International Political Conflict.</b></p> <p>Chair: Valentina Cardo</p> <p><u>Maria Armoudian</u> University of Auckland</p> <p>Frames of Conflict, Frames of Resolution: Blame Frames, Hate Frames, Genocidal Frames and Acceptance Frames</p> <p><u>Sergey Nikonov</u> St.Petersburg State University</p> <p>Noopolitics as information strategy</p>	<p>Room: 40c</p> <p><b>Conflict, and Crisis Public Participation</b></p> <p>Chair: Olumuyiwa Amao</p> <p><u>Indi Akurugoda</u> University of Waikato</p> <p>Promoting local government and development in Sri Lanka: The contribution of non-governmental organisations (NGOs) in the post-tsunami and post-war situations</p> <p><u>John Gray</u> University of Otago</p> <p>Representation in Security Sector Institutions and Popular Perceptions of Safety: Evidence from Kosovo's Municipalities</p> <p><u>Jane Marine</u> University of Canterbury Applying Public Participation in Mitigating Internal Conflict in Kenya</p> <p><u>Yulia Sweet</u> Rutgers, The State University of New Jersey</p> <p>Nonviolent civil movements against electoral fraud vs. autocratic regimes: Russia (2011-2012) and Belarus (2010)</p>

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	NZ5	MP1	EP3	PE1	COMP3
<p><b>Panel 5:</b></p> <p><b>Tuesday 2nd December 10:00 - 11:10</b></p>	<p>Room: LT5</p> <p><b>Public engagement in New Zealand</b></p> <p>Chair: Jack Vowles</p> <p><u>Kate McMillan</u> Co-authored by <u>Fiona Barker</u> VUW</p> <p>Understanding voter turnout among Asian immigrants in New Zealand</p> <p><u>Sylvia Nissen</u> Canterbury</p> <p>Making a difference: Perspectives of young New Zealand tertiary students</p> <p><u>Janina Rack</u> University of Waikato</p> <p>The role of year 10 social studies classes to engage young New Zealanders in politics</p> <p><u>Carly Townrow</u> Co-authored by <u>Danny Osborne</u> University of Auckland</p> <p>Examining the Mechanisms of Voting: Income Contributes to Voter Abstention Through Feelings of Relative Deprivation</p>	<p>Room: CR4</p> <p><b>Indigenous issues, communication and technology</b></p> <p>Chair: Maria Bargh</p> <p><u>Kamila Hoffmann</u> Linköping University</p> <p>Information and Communication Technologies in Education and Training across the South Pacific – The Case of Blended Learning Facilitators in the Cook Islands.</p> <p><u>Lindsey MacDonald</u> University of Canterbury</p> <p>Moralising the indigenous subject.</p> <p><u>Joanne Waitoa</u> Massey University</p> <p>E-whanaungatanga: The role of social media in Māori political engagement</p> <p><u>Desiree Barron</u> New York University</p> <p>Structured Absence or Threatening Presence?: The American football mascot controversy and indigenous cultural politics</p>	<p>Room: CR 1</p> <p><b>Environment, democracy and governance</b></p> <p>Chair: Andreas Neef</p> <p><u>Priya Kurian</u> Co-authored by <u>Debashish Munshi and Lyn Kathlene</u> University of Waikato</p> <p>Operationalising sustainable citizenship: Methodologies for public engagement on controversial new technologies</p> <p><u>Julie MacArthur</u> University of Auckland</p> <p>Policy power: Critically Assessing the Role of Local Engagement in Electricity Sector Reforms</p> <p><u>Sebastian Sewerin</u> University of Cologne</p> <p>Understanding Democracies' Capacity to Innovate – Environmental Policy Performance Compared</p>	<p>Room: 40b</p> <p><b>International Economic Inter-dependence and the State</b></p> <p>Chair: Natasha Hamilton-Hart</p> <p><u>Sean Starrs</u> York University</p> <p>Does the Nationality of Capital Still Matter?</p> <p><u>Heather Whiteside</u> University of British Columbia</p> <p>What's New with Austerity Today?</p> <p><u>Zbigniew Dumienki</u> University of Auckland</p> <p>Economic Development in Microstates: Cases from Europe and the South Pacific</p>	<p>Room: 40c</p> <p><b>Public Inputs and Democracy</b></p> <p>Chair: Robert Simpson</p> <p><u>Chang-Lin Li</u> National Chung Hsing University</p> <p>The rising of initiative and referendum for the replacement of the decline of parliaments</p> <p><u>Thomas Lundberg</u> Co-authored by <u>Raymond Miller</u> University of Glasgow</p> <p>Letting the Voters Decide: Government-initiated Referendums and the Management of Risk</p> <p><u>Willy Jou</u> University of Tsukuba</p> <p>Vote Choice in Electoral Reform Referendums: A Comparative Study of New Zealand and the United Kingdom</p>
<p><b>Tuesday 2nd December 11:20 – 12:30</b></p>	<p>NZ election plenary: 'Behind the scenes of the 2014 election: the practitioners perspective'</p> <p>Lecture theatre 4</p>	<p>Practitioners from NZ's three largest parties in 2014 will discuss what they think is important to know about the election from their perspective, whether it's campaigning, strategy, policy, leadership, democratic issues, successes, disappointments, lessons to be learnt, reforms needed, or future prospects for NZ elections. Speakers working with National (Jo DeJoux, Cameron Cotter), Labour (Roger Shakes, David Talbot) and the Greens (Ben Youdan, Metiria Turei) will have their experiences from positions such as the party insider (e.g. the campaign manager, strategist or key politician) and/or outsider consultant (e.g. the company who created their advertising or conducted the market research). They will discuss the best things about the election; the key challenges; and aspects they think they should tell academics that we might not get to know from the outside or ivory tower.</p>			

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	NZ6	IR5	THM4	COMP4	PT3
<b>Panel 6:</b>  <b>Tuesday 2nd December 13:30 - 14:40</b>	Room: CR1  <b>Roundtable Outside the heat of the 2014 election: the academic's perspective</b>  Chair: Jennifer Lees- Marshment  Speakers:  <u>Valentina Cardo</u> Auckland University  <u>Bryce Edwards</u> Otago  <u>Ashley Murchison</u> Otago  <u>Jack Vowles</u> Victoria  <u>Matthew Beveridge</u> Massey University	Room: CR3  <b>Political Transformation</b>  Chair: Sean Starrs  <u>Charles Butcher</u> Co-authored by <u>Benjamin Goldsmith</u> Otago  Elections and Political Instability: Ballots to bullets, voting to violence?  <u>Darrren Atkinson</u> Otago  The left radical of Afghanistan (Chap-e- radikal-e-Afghanistan): Finding Trotsky after Lenin, Stalin and Mao?  <u>Natasya</u> <u>Kusumawardani</u> President University  The SBY's Cabinet Responses and Actions towards the Violation of Human Rights and Environmental Destruction by PT. Freeport Indonesia (PTFI) in West Papua	Room: CR4  <b>Violence and Extremism in a Time of Crisis II</b>  Chair: Yulia Sweet  <u>Olumuyiwa Amao</u> University of Otago  Is Nigeria becoming a failed State? The Boko Haram Challenge and Nigeria's Culture of Insurgency revisited.  <u>Christine Bogle</u> VUW  Transitions to Democracy in Asia- Pacific Monarchies	Room: LT5  <b>Elections, Identities and Representation</b>  Chair: Hilde Coffe  <u>Ashok Sharma</u> The University of Auckland  "The 2014 Indian Parliamentary Election: A Shift from Identity-based Politics to Governance/Economic Performance-based Politics ? "  <u>Harry Chapman</u> Co-authored by <u>Hilde Coffé</u> Victoria University of Wellington  Changing Facebook Profile Pictures as Part of a Campaign: Who Does It and Why?  <u>Jill Sheppard</u> The Australia National University  Compulsory voting and political knowledge: testing a 'compelled engagement' hypothesis  <u>Diego Zuluaga</u> <u>Zuluaga</u> University of Antioquia  The state of the art of the Tea Party movement 2009- 2013	Room: 40c  <b>Political Theory 3</b>  Chair: Lindsey MacDonald  <u>Michael Peters</u> University of New South Wales  Governing in a Trust Deficit  <u>Stefania Varnero</u> <u>Rawson</u> University of Notre Dame Australia  An Indifferent Citizenry: Democracy in a time of crisis  <u>James Wong</u> The Hong Kong University of Science and Technology  Normative Deliberative Ends and the Discursive Dilemma: Lessons for Institutionalizing Deliberative Democracy

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	NZ7	POL4	THM5	MP2	COMP5
<p><b>Panel 7:</b></p> <p><b>Tuesday 2nd December 14:50 - 16:00</b></p>	<p>Room: CR1</p> <p><b>Practitioner panel</b></p> <p><b>Vote Compass in the 2014 election: perspectives from academics and practitioners on engaging applied academic work.</b></p> <p>Chair: Bryce Edwards</p> <p><u>Jack Vowles, Jennifer Lees-Marshment, Danny Osborne</u></p> <p>Victoria, Auckland, Auckland</p> <p>The value of Vote Compass for academics including data, insight, engagement with practice and the media</p> <p><u>Renee Graham and Mark Torley</u> TVNZ</p> <p>The value of Vote Compass for TVNZ</p> <p><u>Anastasia Turnbull and Robert Peden</u> Electoral Commission</p> <p>Vote Compass and engaging New Zealanders in elections</p>	<p>Room: CR3</p> <p><b>Party policies on leadership and reform</b></p> <p>Chair: Andy Asquith</p> <p><u>Brian Costar</u> Swinburne University</p> <p>The Nationals: Australia's Resilient Agrarians</p> <p><u>William Cross</u> Carleton</p> <p>Organizational Reform in the New Zealand Labour Party</p> <p><u>Anika Gauja</u> <u>Co-authored by William Cross</u> Sydney</p> <p>Comparing Leadership Selection Reforms in Australia and New Zealand</p> <p><u>Nilay Baycar</u> University of Otago</p> <p>Turkey's Democratisation Process Under the Justice and Development Party, 2002-2014: Success or Failure?</p>	<p>Room: CR4</p> <p><b>Social Movements in a Time of Crisis</b></p> <p>Chair: John Gray</p> <p><u>Pippa Barnes</u> Massey University</p> <p>The Changing Face of Palestinian Leadership: The Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions Movement</p> <p><u>Heather Devere</u> <u>Co-authored by Kelli Te Maiharoa, Maata Wharehoka, And Maui Solomon</u> Otago</p> <p>Resisting Conflict: Indigenous Peace Traditions in Aotearoa/New Zealand</p> <p><u>Maxwell Tarrant</u> Auckland University</p> <p>The Occupy Affect: Beyond Discourse in Social Movement Theory</p> <p><u>Rebecca Llewellyn</u> University of Otago</p> <p>Health activism: a pathway forward in times of economic and political constraint?</p>	<p>Room: LT5</p> <p><b>Indigenous engagement with the state</b></p> <p>Chair: Lindsey MacDonald</p> <p><u>Maria Bargh</u> Victoria</p> <p>Where have Māori anti-'free' trade activists gone?</p> <p><u>Kiera Ladner</u> University of Manitoba</p> <p>Constitutional Renewal, Pluralism, Indigenous Resurgence and Treaty Implementation</p> <p><u>Melissa Lovell</u> ANU</p> <p>Colonial Ambivalence and the Production of Responsible Citizens: An Examination of Australia's Income Management Regime</p> <p><u>Lara M. Greaves</u> <u>Co-authored by Carla Houkamau and Chris G. Sibley</u> University of Auckland</p> <p>Identity and Demographics Predict Voter Enrolment on the Māori Electoral Roll: Findings from a National Sample</p>	<p>Room: 40c</p> <p><b>How Institutions Operate: Empirical Questions and Practical Challenges</b></p> <p>Chair: Scott Walker</p> <p><u>Brent Commerer</u> University of Auckland</p> <p>A Redistricting Regime Index for Comparative Electoral Research</p> <p><u>Hilde Coffe</u> <u>Co-authored by Rosie Campbell</u> Victoria University of Wellington</p> <p>Age group differences in definitions of 'political' activities</p>
<p><b>Tuesday 2<sup>nd</sup> December – 18:00 onwards.</b></p>	<p>The conference dinner will take place off campus following the NZPSA AGM at the Bluestone Room, 9-11 Durham Lane, Auckland, 1010.</p>				

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	POL5	IR6	NZ8	Theme Roundtable
<b>Panel 8:</b> <b>Wednesday 3rd</b> <b>December</b> <b>8:30-9:40</b>	Room: CR1  <b>Sub-national politics and policy</b>  Chair: Agkillah Maniam  <u>Andy Asquith</u> Co-authored by Andrew Cardow Massey  Independent? Yeah right!  <u>Kris Hartley</u> National University of Singapore  Power and Politics in Urban Governance: An Institutional Rational Choice Model for Conflicting Growth Strategies in Auckland	Room: CR3  <b>IR: Rethinking the Issues</b>  Chair: David Duriesmith  <u>Jeremy Moses</u> University of Canterbury  Peace without Perfection: Examining the Intersections of Pacifism and Realism  <u>Jane Verbitsky</u> AUT  Antarctica: Future Imperfect?  <u>Alex Chung</u> UNDA  Postcolonial perspective on nuclear non-proliferation	Room: 40b  <b>Democracy, governance and corruption in New Zealand</b>  Chair: Rachel Simon-Kumar  <u>Jo Barnes</u> Co-authored by Daniel Zirker University of Waikato  Expanding the Definition of Corruption in a Non-Corrupt Country: New Zealand in Perspective  <u>Charles Crothers</u> AUT  Internet Voting & Prospective Internet Voting in NZ  <u>Jonny Talbot</u> University of Auckland  Imprisonment in New Zealand under an advanced liberal governmentality  <u>Dan Zirker</u> University of Waikato  Corruption vs Corruption Scandals in New Zealand: Bridging a Wide Gulf?	Room: LT5  <b>New Zealand and the UN Security Council: Hopes and Expectations</b>  Chair: Tom Gregory  <u>Robert Patman</u> University of Otago  <u>Laura J. Shepherd</u> University of New South Wales  <u>Gerald Chan</u> University of Auckland  <u>Anita Lacey</u> University of Auckland

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	POL6	TLP1	THM6	PT4	IR7	COMP7
<p><b>Panel 9:</b></p> <p><b>Wednesday 3rd December 10:00-11:10</b></p>	<p>Room: CR1</p> <p><b>Interpretive Policy Analysis of Contemporary Issues</b></p> <p>Chair: Sung Yong Lee</p> <p><u>Peter Skilling</u> Auckland University of Technology</p> <p>Public attitudes to inequality in New Zealand: preliminary results from a qualitative-interpretive study</p> <p><u>Megan Smith</u> University of Waikato</p> <p>Cycling on the Verge? Exploring the Place of Utility Cycling in Contemporary New Zealand Transport Policy</p> <p><u>Joshua Newman</u> University of Queensland</p> <p>Wicked Problems as First World Problems: Conceptualising Complex Policy Problems in Developed and Developing Country Contexts</p> <p><u>Daniel Mann</u> University of Leeds</p> <p>A Comparison of Approaches to Mass Housing: the UK and New Zealand</p>	<p>Room: LT5</p> <p><b>Connecting studying politics to working in politics: the importance and ease of teaching practical politics in political science degrees</b></p> <p>Chair: Bryce Edwards</p> <p><u>Jennifer Lees-Marshment</u> Auckland</p> <p>Teaching The Practice of Politics: background, rationale and effectiveness</p> <p><u>Catherine Stephens</u> Auckland</p> <p>This will explore the careers section of The Practice of Politics</p> <p><u>Annette Keogh</u> Auckland</p> <p>Teaching workplace writing skills in politics</p> <p><u>Jennifer Curtin</u> Auckland</p> <p>Building Internships for Politics and Policy postgraduates</p> <p><u>Julie MacArthur</u> Auckland</p> <p>Connecting classroom assessments and the 'real world'</p>	<p>Room: CR3</p> <p><b>Epidemics, Disasters and Political Crises</b></p> <p>Chair: Douglas Webber</p> <p><u>Rami Hin-yeung</u> Chan Hang Seng Management College</p> <p>Crisis Politics of the SARS Epidemic: A Comparative Study of Mainland China, Singapore, Hong Kong and Taiwan</p> <p><u>Robert Kipp</u> University of Canterbury</p> <p>Identity and disasters: The politics of civil defence in New Zealand</p> <p><u>Griffin Leonard</u> University of Otago</p> <p>More than Words? Communication, State Behaviour, and Political Crisis</p> <p><u>Graeme Mackenzie</u> University of Waikato</p> <p>Crises and the prospects for change: Land policy in South Africa.</p>	<p>Room: CR4</p> <p><b>Political Theory 4</b></p> <p>Chair: Katherine Smits</p> <p><u>Lindsey MacDonald</u> University of Canterbury</p> <p>Who heir property rights? Locke, and the indeterminacy problem.</p> <p><u>Martin Wilkinson</u> Auckland</p> <p>Nudging and Health Behaviour</p> <p><u>Xavier Marquez</u> Victoria University of Wellington</p> <p>The Unreasonableness of Politics</p>	<p>Room: 40b</p> <p><b>Islam and International Politics</b></p> <p>Chair: Richard Jackson</p> <p><u>Najibullah Lafraie</u> Otago</p> <p>Islam's emphasis on unity and Muslims' disunity, why? A case study of Iraq</p> <p><u>M. Murat Yurtbilir</u> UNSW</p> <p>Comparison of Ottomanisms: How New the Neo-Ottomanism of Turkey's Justice and Development Party?</p> <p><u>Nigel Parsons</u> Massey University</p> <p>Is there a movement in Fatah? Secular Palestinian nationalism as a viable social movement in the West Bank: evidence from the provinces.</p> <p><u>Mohamad Al Anshori</u> Victoria</p> <p>Islam and contemporary Indonesian foreign policy</p>	<p>Room: 40c</p> <p><b>Organizing for Human Rights</b></p> <p>Chair: Mark Boyd</p> <p><u>Kate Bretherton</u> University of Western Australia</p> <p>A comparative analysis of Australia's and New Zealand's treatment of asylum seekers and their international protection obligations.'</p> <p><u>Scott Walker</u> University of Canterbury</p> <p>The Impact of Forced Democratization Attempts on Human Rights</p>
<p><b>Wednesday 3<sup>rd</sup> December – 11:20 – 12:30</b></p>	<p>Teaching Plenary: Teaching Feminism/Teaching as a Feminist- A Conversation</p> <p>LT4</p>	<p>Participants: Christine Beasley, Valentina Cardo, Jennifer Curtin (Chair), Anita Lacey, Laura Shepherd, Kathy Smits</p> <p>This teaching plenary explores the experiences of five feminist academics' teaching of feminism and as feminists in the classroom. It will take the format of a conversation and will include deliberation on issues such as the incorporation of gender versus feminist politics into teaching; the mainstreaming of feminism; a feminist canon; engagement with intersectionality; and activist teaching.</p>				

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<p><b>Wednesday 3<sup>rd</sup> December – 12:40-14:40</b></p>	<p>Postgraduate Lunch Workshop with Laura J. Shepherd  Room: 40b</p>	<p>This workshop looks at practical ways to manage your research profile in the digital age. We will discuss how to use social media to raise your research profile and to increase your 'impact factor'. We will also talk about the importance of academic 'branding' and the use of digital spaces to develop virtual research networks. There is a pre-session worksheet to complete and a piece of pre-reading to inform discussion: <a href="http://historyonics.blogspot.com.au/2014/07/doing-it-in-public-impact-blogging.html">http://historyonics.blogspot.com.au/2014/07/doing-it-in-public-impact-blogging.html</a></p>			
	<p><b>POL7</b></p>	<p><b>IR8</b></p>	<p><b>EP4</b></p>	<p><b>COMP8</b></p>	<p><b>MED2</b></p>
<p><b>Panel 10:  Wednesday 3rd December 13:30-14:40</b></p>	<p>Room: LT5  <b>Gendering Policy Research</b>  Chair: Jennifer Curtin  <u>Parisa Kooshesh</u> Massey University  "Politics, Gender and Migration" (A case study of Iranian immigrant women in New Zealand)  <u>Nyamaamaa Avirmed</u> University of Waikato  Pension care crediting: A need for a paradigm change in post- socialist Mongolia  <u>Gloria Fraser</u> Co-authored by <u>Danny Osborne</u> and <u>Chris G. Sibley</u> University of Auckland  Psychological Roots of Opposition to Affirmative Action</p>	<p>Room: CR3  <b>China, India and International Relations</b>  Chair: Robert Patman  <u>Ashok Sharma</u> The University of Auckland  "India as a Global Swing State: Which Way Will It Swing?"  <u>Weiqun Qi</u> University of Auckland  China's Policy on Islands Disputes and The US Rebalance In Asia Pacific  <u>Matt Stansfield</u> University of Otago  Containing China? The United States in the South Pacific since 2011</p>	<p>Room: CR4  <b>Comparative Environmental Policy</b>  Chair: Bronwyn Hayward  <u>Sweetie Bala</u> Jawaharlal Nehru University  Environmental Degradation as a Human Security Threat: A Case Study of Uzbekistan  <u>Agkillah Maniam</u> University of Auckland  Political factors accountable for variation in Central Forest Spine (CFS) policy implementation  <u>Yadira Ixchel Martínez Pantoja</u> University of Auckland  United States promotion of GM foods: the use of public diplomacy strategies and instruments to target government agencies in Mexico  <u>Chandra Pandey</u> Waikato University  The Tripartite Challenges of Food Security: Climate Change, Migration and Low Investment on Agricultural Research in Nepal</p>	<p>Room: 40b  <b>Making Public Policy: Cooperation and Contention</b>  Chair: Nigel Parsons  <u>Pii-Tuulia Nikula</u> University of Auckland  Change and stasis in higher education cost-sharing policies in New Zealand and Finland  <u>Robert Simpson</u> University of Auckland  Inter-governmental relations and the governance of globalised cities</p>	<p>Room: 40c  <b>Media Representations: Gender, Minor Parties, Oppositions.</b>  Chair: Kathy Smits  <u>Valentina Cardo</u> University of Auckland  Where Are The Women? Reproductive Politics and Digital Media in the 2012 US Presidential Election  <u>Tom King</u> ANU  Minor Parties in Australia and the media - friend or foe?  <u>Marija Taflaga</u> ANU  Unfair treatment?: Lessons from Australia's media coverage of the Coalition Federal Oppositions, 1983-1996 and 2007-2013</p>

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	PE2	THM7	PT5	MED3	IR9
<p><b>Panel 11:</b></p> <p><b>Wednesday 3rd December 14:50-16:00</b></p>	<p>Room: LT5</p> <p><b>Regulatory Governance</b></p> <p>Chair: Sean Starrs</p> <p><u>Federico Revelli</u> University of Torino</p> <p>Tax limits and local democracy</p> <p><u>Eko Saputro</u> Deakin University</p> <p>Indonesian Position toward Sino-Japanese Rivalry in the East Asian Financial Regulatory Regionalism</p> <p><u>Natasha Hamilton-Hart</u> University of Auckland</p> <p>Informal institutions and hybrid property rights regimes: lessons from Southeast Asia's palm oil industry</p> <p><u>Scott Russell</u> University of Auckland</p> <p>The Green-Developmental State: renewable energy and developmental institutions in Taiwan</p>	<p>Room: CR1</p> <p><b>Racialized bodies and the Politics of Resistance</b></p> <p>Chair: Richard Jackson</p> <p><u>Rula Talahma</u> University of Otago</p> <p>Resistance in the racialization of space: The story of Palestine's checkpoints</p> <p><u>Mahdis Azarmandi</u> University of Otago</p> <p>Controlling Bodies: Restrictions and Resistance of asylum seekers at the Oranienplatz Berlin</p>	<p>Room: CR3</p> <p><b>Political Theory 5</b></p> <p>Chair: Emily Beausoleil</p> <p><u>Nilay Baycar</u> University of Otago</p> <p>Is the Justice and Development Party an Islamist Party?</p> <p><u>Yunzhe Chen</u> University of New South Wales</p> <p>The Research Overview of Western Political Circles on China's Political Ecology</p> <p><u>Seyed Mohammad Lolaki</u> Waikato University</p> <p>Other than the West: The West and 'Otherness' in Iranian Political Islamic thought (1960s to 1980s) with reference to Khomeini, Shariati, and Bazargan</p>	<p>Room: CR4</p> <p><b>Media and New Zealand Politics</b></p> <p>Chair: Maria Arnaudian</p> <p><u>Thomas Owen Co-authored by Verica Rupar and Sarah Baker</u> AUT</p> <p>News, politics and diversity in the 2014 New Zealand General Election</p> <p><u>Mark Boyd</u> University of Auckland</p> <p>Newspaper and television news coverage of the 2014 New Zealand general election campaign - preliminary results from a comprehensive content analysis</p> <p><u>Sarah Baker</u> AUT</p> <p>Politics, Conflict and the Changing Face of New Zealand Current Affairs Television</p> <p><u>Edward Elder</u> University of Auckland</p> <p>A New Model of Communication for Market-Oriented Governing Leaders: Portraying the qualities of being in touch, leadership, and credibility in office.</p>	<p>Room: 40b</p> <p><b>Rethinking Foreign Policy</b></p> <p>Chair: Ashok Sharma</p> <p><u>Robert Patman</u> Otago</p> <p>Rethinking America's Great Power Rivalry: the Cases of Syria and the Ukraine</p> <p><u>HM Latiff Haneefa</u> University of Auckland</p> <p>The Impact of ISIS on Malaysian Foreign Policy</p>



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## Postgraduate Workshop

All postgraduates are invited to attend the following (catered) workshop on 30 November in OGGB Lecture theatre 4 (LT4).

<b>Time</b>	<b>Activity</b>
10.00 a.m. – 10.30 a.m.	<b>Welcome</b>
10.30 a.m. – 11:30 p.m.	<b>Methods: Beyond Quantitative Versus Qualitative</b> With Julie Park and Peter Davis
11:30am-12:30 pm	<b>Writing Lab: Developing your Voice in Writing Politics</b> With Jennifer Tatebe
12.00 p.m. – 1.00 p.m.	Lunch
1.00 p.m. – 2.00 p.m.	<b>Publishing: Strategy and Innovation</b> with Stephen Noakes and Richard Jackson
2:00pm-3:00pm	<b>Politics, Non-Profits, Careers, and Women</b> By Yvonne Underhill-Sem

Click [here](#) to join the Facebook page.

To contact the NZPSA postgraduate organizers please e-mail Paul Gordon Kramer – [p.kramer@auckland.ac.nz](mailto:p.kramer@auckland.ac.nz)

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## Accommodation options

There are a variety of accommodation options within walking distance of the conference venue on The University of Auckland's city campus.

Accommodation reservations should be made directly with the hotels. Special conference rates have been arranged for delegates – see below – please mention them when booking.

Prices are per room, per night and include GST (Goods and Services Tax) but do not include breakfast. ALL rates are subject to availability. If you have a strong preference please book early.

**Copthorne Hotel Auckland City** - 150 Anzac Avenue, +64 9 379 8509

[www.millenniumhotels.co.nz](http://www.millenniumhotels.co.nz)

This 4-star Auckland city hotel is centrally located, within easy walking distance of restaurants, Queen Street shopping, the Central Business District and The University of Auckland (5 minute walk). All rooms are equipped with Sky TV, high speed internet access, air conditioning, the sound proofing of 'hush windows' and a balcony that offers spectacular seascape or city views. Free WiFi for all guests. Use the code '#120947' when booking to receive these preferential rates.

Room rate is confirmed as NZD\$118 including GST per room per night for:

- Superior double room: either a queen or a king bed.
- Superior twin room: either two single beds or two double beds.

**The Pullman Hotel** - Corner Waterloo Quadrant and Princes Street, +64 9 353 1000

[www.pullmanhotels.com](http://www.pullmanhotels.com)

Pullman Auckland, one of Auckland's largest 5 star hotels, is conveniently located in the city centre, close to shopping and entertainment districts and just a 5 minute walk from The University of Auckland. All rooms offer King beds (or two King singles), free wi-fi, spacious working desks, Sky TV, daily newspaper and complimentary access to the health club and pool. One- and two-bedroom suites also offer a full kitchen. Use the code 'NZPSCONF14' when booking to receive these preferential rates. Call or email [reservations@pullmanauckland.co.nz](mailto:reservations@pullmanauckland.co.nz) to reserve a room.

Superior King or Twin room \$185.00 per night. Breakfast can be an added for an additional \$35.00 per person.

**University Hall** - 30 Whitaker Place +64 27 676 4862

[universityhall@aukland.ac.nz](mailto:universityhall@aukland.ac.nz)

Based at our City Campus, this ultra-modern dual tower complex is located on Whitaker Place and houses 442 students in single bedrooms on 13 levels.

Single standard room, B&B \$70.00 (incl GST) per night, with shared bathroom facilities (33 rooms per

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floor).

Studio/ensuite room with queen bed – B&B \$90.00 (incl GST) per night (11 studio rooms only as there is one per level).

To book fill in the following form and email to [summerstays@clv.co.nz](mailto:summerstays@clv.co.nz):

<https://drive.google.com/file/d/0BzudxmnS3DsNOVImclITVfK0TmM/edit?usp=sharing>.

**City Lodge** - 150 Vincent Street

+64 9 379 6193

[www.citylodge.co.nz](http://www.citylodge.co.nz) [info@citylodge.co.nz](mailto:info@citylodge.co.nz)

“The hostel that’s more like a hotel”, City Lodge is close to the Aotea Centre and Queen Street shopping, and a 15 minute walk to The University of Auckland city campus. It offers a range of private rooms, all with ensuite bathrooms. Shared kitchen facilities. Breakfast boxes available. Use the code ‘NZPSA’ when booking to receive these preferential rates.

Indicative rates:

Single Private Ensuite \$80

Standard Double Ensuite \$95

Superior Queen Ensuite \$110

Twin Private Ensuite \$110

Triple Private Ensuite \$120

Quad Private Ensuite \$145

## Presenter directory

Surname	First name	University/ Organization	E-mail address	Title and abstract
Acreman	Stephen	University of Otago	stephen.acreman@gmail.com	<p><b>Traceability and the politicisation of truth claims</b></p> <p>This article considers some political potentialities of the post-constructivist proposal for substituting truth with traceability. Traceability is a measure of truthfulness in which the rationality of a truth-claim is found in accounting for the work done to maintain links back to an internal referent through a chain of mediations. The substitution of traceability for truth is seen as necessary to move the entire political domain toward a greater responsiveness to the events of the natural-social world. In particular, it seeks to disarm the strategy of exploiting scientific uncertainty in order to defer political action concerning issues such as global warming. A broad acceptance of traceability as a standard for measuring truth claims responds to the problem of the political impact of a given claim to truth often being inversely correlated to the degree of truth behind the claim because of the oft-prevailing faith in the purity of representation. This substitution has implications for policy-making based on scientific research, styles of journalism, and classification of documents. Its success, however, depends on an arduous decoupling of the supposed link between truth and the purity without the deleterious undercutting of all truth claims.</p>
Agbiboa	Daniel	University of Oxford	daniel.agbiboa@qeh.ox.ac.uk	<p><b>Boko Haram and the Global Jihad: 'Do Not Think Jihad is Over. Rather Jihad has Just Begun.'</b></p> <p>This article critically examines the lethal and growing threat posed by the Nigeria-based Islamist terrorist group Boko Haram or 'People Committed to the Propagation of the Prophet's Teachings and Jihad.' Specifically, the article explores the group's emergence and grievances, as well as its increasing links to the global jihad led by Al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb (AQIM) and its affiliates in Africa, including Harakat Al-Shabaab Al-Mujahideen (aka Al-Shabab) in East Africa and the Horn, and the Movement for Oneness and Jihad in West Africa (MUJAO) in Mali and the Sahel. The article also critically engages with the ongoing debate in Nigeria regarding what can be said for and against negotiating with Boko Haram members, and for or against fighting them. In conclusion, the article argues that the failure of military force to reduce spiralling violence in (northern) Nigeria calls for a strategic rethink that must be open to, and be willing to engage with, all the components that are conducive to extremist ideologies and armed insurgencies in the restive region.</p>

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Ahlhaus	Birte	The University of Queensland	birte.ahlhaus@uqconnect.edu.au	<p><b>Utopian Quibbling: A Critical Analysis of the Legal and Political Limits to Human Security</b></p> <p>This paper critically analyses contemporary approaches to legitimize the use of force for the protection of populations from mass atrocities. This is done by examining the practical limits of human security. It is argued that the incompatibility of two incontestable norms – the traditional prohibition of the use of force and the evolving norm on human security– results in a norm conflict which demands both, utopian quibbling on the interpretation of international law and the prudential study of normative and political contingencies in the application of human security. As rule followers, middle powers emphasize compliance with the UN Charter, and, as such, the prohibition of the use of force. At the same time, middle powers define themselves as norm entrepreneurs and good international citizens. A critical analysis of policy interests behind the application of human security and political contingencies jeopardizing such application aims to cast a critical light on prominent normative approaches to humanitarian intervention. It is concluded that the current practice of human security is best defined by a prudential, or reasonable, approach that considers the emergence of a general norm of human security but also recognizes realist limits to the application of such a norm.</p>
Akurugoda	Indi	University of Waikato	ira2@students.waikato.ac.nz	<p><b>Promoting local government and development in Sri Lanka: The contribution of non-governmental organisations (NGOs) in the post-tsunami and post-war situations</b></p> <p>Sri Lanka has inherited a highly centralised approach to government administration. Since independence in 1948, the Sinhala nationalist parties and groups which have supported successive governments have generally rejected various proposals aimed at decentralising powers to provincial and local levels. Central government has consistently withdrawn from initiatives to empower local government and their local communities. The tsunami of 2004 and the end of the war in 2009 saw large amounts of foreign funding flow into Sri Lanka to assist in the recovery, from both NGO and governmental sources. Central government and its leadership have controlled the whole aid management and distribution process, directing foreign funds to large scale construction projects at the local level without considering local needs. Despite restrictions imposed by central government, a number of NGOs have begun to play an important role in promoting local development through interacting with local government bodies and local communities. Based on research in the southern and eastern provinces of Sri Lanka, this paper, examines how and why local communities have been neglected in development initiatives in Sri Lanka, and assesses the significance of the support from NGOs in increasing the capacity of local government and in promoting local development.</p>
Al Anshori	Mohamad	Victoria University	jackforzaki@gmail.com	<p><b>Islam and Contemporary Indonesian Foreign Policy</b></p> <p>This paper aims to discuss the influence of Islam on contemporary Indonesian foreign policy, particularly in the administration of Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono. Specifically, this paper intends to investigate under what circumstances the influence of Islam on Indonesian foreign policy will be substantial and under what conditions it will have less of an effect. The “return” of Islam in contemporary Indonesian politics and diminishing suspicion of “nationalist” leaders towards Islamist political parties, to establish an Islamic state in Indonesia, gives further opportunity for Islamic groups to have their voice heard both in domestic politics and foreign policy. This paper will focus mainly on the role of Islamic groups in Indonesia’s foreign policy decision-making without necessarily neglecting the importance of political leaders’ religious worldviews in shaping Indonesia’s foreign policy. As this research will focus on the relationship between the state and society in the context of Indonesia’s foreign policy, it will not treat the state as a monolithic actor. There seems to be an interplay between the state and non-state domestic actors, particularly Islamic groups in foreign policy formulation. As interest groups, Islamic groups in Indonesia have had high concerns about Muslim issues in both domestic affairs and in foreign countries.</p>

Amao	Olumuyiwa	University of Otago	talk2smath@yahoo.com	<p><b>Is Nigeria becoming a failed State? The Boko Haram Challenge and Nigeria's Culture of Insurgency revisited.</b></p> <p>This paper undertakes a retrospective appraisal of the activities of the members of the radical Islamic sect, Jama'atu Ahlis Sunna Lidda 'awatiwal–Jihad, popularly known as 'Boko Haram' in Nigeria and explicates the reasons behind the seeming inability of the Nigerian government to arrest this trend. The paper argues that the 'terror convivial environment' under which the sect thrives is a pointer to the failing nature of the Nigerian state and the unbridled romance of its leadership with incompetence and corruption. This, the paper explains, as largely responsible for the obvious incompetence of Nigeria's security agencies, the cluelessness on the part of its leadership, and the helplessness of the citizenry in dealing with this quagmire. The paper concludes by arguing that a stronger, efficient and functional military and human security measure remains a sine qua non for the Nigerian state, if it is to overcome this present debacle.</p>
Arevalo	Fidel	Universidad de San Carlos de Guatemala	fidelarevalo@gmail.com	<p><b>Facing the need of improving demand of Evaluation</b></p> <p>In the last years there has been progress in improving quality in evaluation capacity programs offer for human resources, addressing aspects such as design and technology implementation, among others. However, in developing countries it seems that better evaluation offer development is not parallel to its demand or the use of its information, which creates a disequilibrium that affects impact and results of those evaluations. Recently in Guatemala, a training program is being implemented through an alliance between public sector, academia and civil society to improve their knowledge and ability on the side of evaluation offer. This study focuses on analysing the situation of evaluation demand in Guatemala, principal strengths, debilities and opportunities, through research of evaluation result use in 14 institutions of the public and private sector and nongovernmental organization. Something that stands out is the need to design actions to strengthen the relation between policies and program users/beneficiaries, who never get to know results what limits change that could improve impact of those results.</p> <p>Co-author: Maria Luisa Calderon</p>
Armoudian	Maria	University of Auckland	armoudian@aol.com	<p><b>Frames of Conflict, Frames of Resolution: Blame Frames, Hate Frames, Genocidal Frames and Acceptance Frames</b></p> <p>This paper uses qualitative and quantitative methods to identify media frames that motivate conflict or conflict resolution. It introduces four types of frames and their components, which together are associated with particular emotions and behaviors. These frames--blame frames, hate frames, genocidal frames and acceptance frames--evoke meanings and associated emotions which motivate behaviors. The first three (blame frames, hate frames and genocidal frames) are associated with negative, attack or distancing emotions and behaviors toward identified "foes," while the fourth, acceptance frames, are associated with more positive or neutral emotions and behaviors toward these "others." Cases include the Holocaust, the Rwandan Genocide, the Bosnian War, and the Northern Ireland conflict.</p>

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Arseneau	Therese	Canterbury	therese.arseneau@canterbury.ac.nz	<p><b>Constitutional Reform in New Zealand</b></p> <p>In recent decades, constitutional debate and discussion engaging the New Zealand public has taken many forms. Most recently, the government has established a referendum on the mixed member proportional (MMP) electoral system (2011), a review of MMP by the Electoral Commission (2012) and a 'constitution conversation' headed by an expert advisory panel (2013). In each case, the government called upon the public to engage in constitutional decision-making to some degree: to vote in the referendum, to make submissions, to attend events, and to debate options for constitutional reform. In each case also, the results of public engagement have been communicated to the government as recommendations for change. The government has, however, been reluctant to respond to these recommendations, raising questions about the value of public engagement. This paper considers New Zealand's process of constitutional reform more closely. It looks to theories of public engagement in constitutional reform and real cases from international experience, to question the appropriateness of the current New Zealand model.</p> <p>Co-author: Janine Hayward</p>
Asquith	Andy	Massey	a.asquith@massey.ac.nz	<p><b>Independent? Yeah right!</b></p> <p>In New Zealand local body elections, one of the facets is the almost total lack of overt political party involvement, either through campaigning or endorsing candidates. This manifests itself in the title – 'Independent' beside a candidate's name. This absence, when combined with the limitation of a 100 word, often bland, profile provided by candidates in the official elections pamphlet seriously hinders the ability of (would be) voters to differentiate between competing candidates. However there is a shadow political allegiance if one is prepared to look for it. In analysing the words of elected local body politicians and analysing the official candidate statements of all local body candidates who stood for election to Auckland Council in the 2010 and 2013 electoral rounds, we aim to illustrate the fiction of 'independence' in local government politics. Further we question the need for a candidate to be seen as nonaligned an call for a more 'honest' form of political posturing.</p> <p>Co-author: Dr Andrew Cardow</p>
Atkinson	Darren	Otago	atkda504@student.otago.ac.nz	<p><b>THE LEFT RADICAL OF AFGHANISTAN (CHAP-E-RADIKAL-E-AFGHANISTAN): FINDING TROTSKY AFTER LENIN, STALIN AND MAO?</b></p> <p>Left-wing political thought in Afghanistan has been dominated by two opposing factions that can said to represent Marxist-Leninist and Maoist trends. These groups sought ideological, political and economic support from the USSR and China respectively and, during the fractious period of rule by the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA), they became entrenched in political enmity and violence. Across the world after the collapse of the USSR and the accession of China into the capitalist system the space for leftist groups to operate became restricted; nowhere was this more apparent than in Afghanistan. However, the geopolitical reality also led to the removal of state-based political constraints on political ideologies and, it can be argued, helped to create the space for the development of radical leftist thought unconstrained by attachment to a particular state. It is as a result of this trend, in conjunction with the growing internationalization of radical leftist thought, that the Left Radical of Afghanistan (LRA) (<i>Chap-e-Radikal-e-Afghanistan</i>) emerged as a minor, but ideologically significant, underground political group. The formation of the LRA provides evidence that activists and workers exist in Afghanistan with the purported aim of working towards revolutionary leftist ideals through rejecting the ideological and political</p>

				restrictions of the past.
Atkinson	Paul	The University of Auckland	patk013@aucklanduni.ac.nz	<p><b>The Art/Propaganda Debate: The case of Albert Maltz</b></p> <p>It is not surprising that artistic endeavour is frequently harnessed to convey political messages and to secure social change. But what responsibility does a committed political agitator, or someone seeking social reform, have to use her art for those political ends? A 1946 New Masses article, by American Communist and screenwriter Albert Maltz, commenced a heated debate amongst US Communists that charts this very territory. In this piece Maltz deployed his understandings of Marxism in defence of the artist; he argues the writer's role is to depict social and political circumstances honestly and with artistic integrity, yet many Communist Party members lashed out at this view. They retorted, bluntly, "art is a weapon" and took this to imply an obligation to use their art – be it screenwriting, oratory, painting, poetry, et cetera – for socio-political ends. I explore the responses to what came to be called the "Maltz Affair", but suggest that the art/propaganda debate it brought to the fore was not isolated to this historical controversy. Instead, it raises questions and hazards answers that are pertinent, both to the broader careers of these Marxists, as well as to artistic endeavours in our own time.</p>
Avirmed	Nyamaamaa	University of Waikato	an3@waikato.ac.nz	<p><b>Pension care crediting: A need for a paradigm change in post-socialist Mongolia</b></p> <p>With an aim to find ways to recognise the importance of social reproduction and care-giving in old age income security, this paper analyses government policies in post-socialist Mongolia related to women's reproductive and productive functions. State socialism in Mongolia as it existed for over 70 years could mobilize women into the waged labour force, but failed to support activities in the reproductive sphere, and this came at a cost to women and to the wider society. Post-socialism has not improved the situation. It has failed in both the enabling of paid employment and the easing of reproductive burdens on women. Pro-natalist policies in the post-socialist era have been attractive to women from poor households, but have also contributed to conditions that have reinforced poverty in the country. In fact, women of Mongolia have been rational decision makers by withdrawing their labour from either the productive or reproductive sphere, and this can be seen in the rapid decrease in the fertility rates since the mid 1970s. The paper, thus, argues that only a fundamental recognition of women's reproductive functions would lead to the utilization of women's productive and reproductive capabilities, and contribute to socio-economic development in a way that benefits women and society.</p>



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Azarmandi	Mahdis	University of Otago	mahdis.azarmandi@gmail.com	<p><b>Controlling Bodies: Restrictions and Resistance of asylum seekers at the Oranienplatz Berlin</b></p> <p>The current trend of Fortress Europe to impose stricter immigration policies has led to the question of asylum to become a pressing issue. As racialized subjects, asylum seekers have little space to voice their concerns and resist the European politics of exclusion. The Oranienplatz in Berlin has been the site and space for one of the central asylum seeker movements. Taking the refugee strike at Oranienplatz as an example, this article looks at politics of exclusion; the racialization of refugees in Germany; and how the asylum-seeker body becomes the site of conflict itself. These bodies are what the state tries to limit in mobility; they are bodies whose recognition, rights and belonging become contested. Facing incarceration, deportation and surveillance the asylum-seeker body is under constant threat. Yet, by looking at the current hunger strike of refugee activists, this article suggests that at the same time these very same bodies become sites of resistance in the conflict over immigration. However, restriction and resistance come in both cases at the risk of bodily harm for the racialized subject.</p>
Bah	Mamadou Diouma	Waikato	mdb21@waikato.ac.nz	<p><b>The Rocky Road to Democracy: Quasi-Ethnicity in the Military and Democratization in Guinea</b></p> <p>The military has been heavily involved in Guinean politics for nearly three decades during which time it has exhibited varied attitudes towards democratic forces. It assumed power in 1984 and formally ceded it in 2010 yet, this establishment is still at the heart of Guinean political affairs. This protracted military involvement in Guinean politics presents a threat to Guinea's fledgling democracy. The present study explores the linkages between military behaviour in politics and democratic transition by using a model derived from ethnic and identity literature. The paper argues that the understanding of this linkage can be enhanced by considering the military establishment as a quasi-ethnic identity whereby the military behaviour in politics is seen through the lens of an ethnic group's behaviour, thereby advancing an interdisciplinary approach to the study of political behaviour of military establishments in developing nations that goes beyond the conventional civil-military relations discussion.</p>
Baker	Sarah	Auckland University of Technology	<a href="mailto:sarah.baker@aut.ac.nz">sarah.baker@aut.ac.nz</a>	<p><b>Politics, Conflict and the Changing Face of New Zealand Current Affairs Television</b></p> <p>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. In this paper I will explore more recent trends in current affairs programmes on New Zealand television by examining subject matter change and item length. I will explore if the current affairs programme in New Zealand have reduced the focus in political subject matter and whether a focus on entertainment subject matter continues to eclipse a focus on politics.</p>

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Bala	Sweety	Jawaharlal Nehru University	247.sweety@gmail.com	<p><b>Environmental Degradation as a Human Security Threat: A Case Study of Uzbekistan</b></p> <p>With the end of the cold war and various other global developments, traditional Realist notion of security, became obsolete. Nontraditional security threats started being discussed about as it began to be understood in terms of human security which included many more dimensions than just military strength as the traditional concept used to be. The concept of Human Security has been gaining increasing currency within the academic literature in recent times. It calls for reformulation of the term security to incorporate issues such as environment, health, development and individual empowerment. Since the human security paradigm is designed to provide a more holistic and comprehensive definition of security, it means protection from all forms of harm. It attempts to address critical questions about who is secure, and whose interests are served. Environmental decline by no means directly lead to violent conflict. They are rather one strand within a complex web of causality in which a series of socio-economic problems are intertwined. The location of my study is one of the former post Soviet states, Uzbekistan and this paper addresses the environmental issues faced by this state and how these issues are threatening the overall human security of Uzbekistan.</p>
Bargh	Maria	Victoria	maria.bargh@vuw.ac.nz	<p><b>Where have Māori anti-'free' trade activists gone?</b></p> <p>In 2005 the New Zealand government signed the Trans Pacific Partnership (TPP) trade agreement with Brunei, Chile and Singapore. Since 2005 many other countries have joined the TPP or entered negotiations to join including Peru, the United States, Malaysia, Mexico, Vietnam, Canada, Australia and Japan.</p> <p>In 2005 there was a strong discourse of dissent against 'free' trade agreements, including from Māori groups who argued it would negatively affect their abilities to regain control over their resources. In 2014 there is very little critical discussion in Māori organisations, Māori political parties or in the Māori media specifically about trade agreements. This paper examines what has changed in the Māori discourses around international politics and 'free' trade agreements and considers whether this follows international or purely local trends.</p>
Barker	Fiona	VUW	Fiona.barker@vuw.ac.nz	<p><b>Understanding voter turnout among Asian immigrants in New Zealand</b></p> <p>International literature on the electoral participation of immigrants clearly shows that many migrant groups participate at levels much lower than those of the local-born. Very limited data exists on the electoral participation of migrants in the New Zealand context, but those which do exist also show that some migrant groups, particularly North Asians (Chinese, Koreans, Taiwanese, Japanese), vote at significantly lower levels than the native-born. This finding is particularly important in the context of overall declining voter turnout (69% in 2011) and increasing immigration from North Asia. In this paper we will report preliminary findings from a series of focus groups held in 2014 with Asian immigrants who were permanent residents in New Zealand in 2011. Participants were asked to identify the factors that influenced whether or not they voted in the 2011 general election. We will discuss their responses in light of hypotheses presented in the national and international literature about immigrant electoral participation.</p> <p>Co-author: Kate McMillan</p>

Barnes	Pippa	Massey University	pippa.barnes@hotmail.com	<p><b>The Changing Face of Palestinian Leadership: The Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions Movement</b></p> <p>Established in 2005, the development and success of the Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions (BDS) movement represents a new chapter in Palestinian leadership that builds upon Palestine's established history of popular resistance. The face of Palestinian leadership has developed and diversified greatly since the British Mandate period, with many groups claiming representation of the Palestinian people and the national movement. The unresolved matter of Palestinian leadership is central to Israeli occupation and any resolution. This paper examines the effects the BDS movement has had on the direction and strength of Palestinian leadership and the Palestinian national movement. Using a distributed leadership framework, the paper analyses how the grassroots, trans-national nature of the BDS movement has modernised and globalised the Palestinian struggle. The paper questions the use of the common comparison of the BDS movement with the anti-apartheid movement in South Africa; the interactions between formal and informal leadership structures are markedly different and often overlooked. The BDS case study illustrates how the recent rise of protest movements present an alternative to formal political institutions; globalisation and the shift towards bottom-up organisational structures has impacted upon the power of protest movements, the use of solidarity, and their relationships with formal political power.</p>
Barnes	Jo	University of Waikato	jobar@waikato.ac.nz	<p><b>Expanding the Definition of Corruption in a Non-Corrupt Country: New Zealand in Perspective</b></p> <p>New Zealand is widely perceived as the least corrupt country in the world. This is especially the case within New Zealand, where perceptions of corruption are low. This in turn may contribute to inertia as regards the establishment of barriers to spread of global corruption, and may also explain New Zealand's continuing failure to ratify the UN Convention against Corruption, one of only three developed countries in this category. Our study will explore the possibilities for expanding New Zealand's working definition of corruption to aid in bringing this issue onto the country's social agenda.</p> <p>Co-author: Professor Daniel Zirker</p>
Barrett	Patrick	The University of Waikato	pbarrett@waikato.ac.nz	<p><b>Trumping planetary sustainability with short-sighted economism: New Zealand's response to environmental security in the Asia-Pacific</b></p> <p>Historically recognised as a dominant economy and middle power in the Asia-Pacific region, New Zealand remains a small, export-dependent economy founded particularly on agriculture. Internal politics on environmental policy are framed around tensions between ecological sustainability and need for intensive development of the primary industry sector. A fragile national identity informed partly by need to maintain First World status and bolstered by bids to join big powers on the United Nations Security Council has seen New Zealand sacrifice all but rhetoric on environmental sustainability and, specifically, on climate change mitigation. This paper traces how the contradictory politics of economic growth and environmental sustainability inform New Zealand's (changing) positions on climate change policy, and the implications for its relationship with Pacific Island nations, particularly those with close historical ties. The paper explores how New Zealand has responded to the imperative of climate change and environmental security in ways that are symbolically informed by the needs of surrounding Pacific nations, but in practice by the aspiration to remain a dominant economy within the region.</p> <p>Co-authors: Priya Kurian Jeannette Wright</p>

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Barron	Desiree	New York University	<a href="mailto:dlb416@nyu.edu">dlb416@nyu.edu</a>	<p><b>Structured Absence or Threatening Presence?: The American football mascot controversy and indigenous cultural politics</b></p> <p>Since the 1970s, American Indian activists have protested the use of indigenous people as athletic mascots, a practice most popular in American football, at the high school, college, and corporate-professional levels. Recently, the National Football League's "Washington Redsk*ns" have come under increasing public scrutiny, including a landmark US Patent Office ruling against the team's trademarks, and a highly rated segment about the issue on popular news comedy program, "The Daily Show." This paper outlines a brief history of the "mascot movement" read alongside historian Philip Deloria's construct of "settler Indian play," and focuses on one case study in particular that demonstrates some of the pitfalls of the current "anti-racist" framing of the issue. The Florida State University's "Chief Osceola" is the only college football mascot endorsed by an American Indian tribal nation, and is thus a productive site for examining issues of cultural property, settler nationalism, tribal politics, and the peculiar relationship between sports iconography and indigenous history in the United States.</p>
Baycar	Nilay	University of Otago	<a href="mailto:nbaycar@yahoo.com">nbaycar@yahoo.com</a>	<p><b>Is the Justice and Development Party an Islamist Party?</b></p> <p>Political Islam, also described as 'Islamism', can be defined as a set of ideologies holding that Islam is not only a religion but also a political system. The purpose of this paper is to analyse Turkey's ruling Justice and Development Party (the 'JDP') in relation to Islamic political ideology, both in a broad sense and within the Turkish context. The key features of political parties described as 'Islamist' will be discussed first. Then differing opinions on the JDP and its Islamist profile will be briefly discussed in the context of the main labels that are attached to the party by 'friends and foes'. Afterwards I will argue why the party cannot be considered "Islamist"; and at the end I will talk briefly about the party's self identity as "Conservative Democratic" and its place in Turkey's centre-right tradition.</p>
Baycar	Nilay	University of Otago	<a href="mailto:nbaycar@yahoo.com">nbaycar@yahoo.com</a>	<p><b>Turkey's Democratisation Process Under the Justice and Development Party, 2002-2014: Success or Failure?</b></p> <p>Democratisation has become an aspirational phenomenon in many parts of the world. This paper analyses the role of Turkey's ruling JDP in Turkey's democratisation process. In order to analyse the democratisation process led by the JDP government, we must understand the nature of the JDP.</p> <p>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 in order to achieve political legitimacy and sufficient political and constitutional power to realise its hidden agenda. This argument raises a number of questions:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Can a pro-EU party like the JDP have an Islamist hidden agenda? Is the 'hidden agenda' hypothesis real or imagined?</li> <li>• How would we explain the increasing public support for the JDP and the genuine democratisation reforms led by it?</li> <li>• Could Conservative Democracy, the political identity of the JDP, be regarded as an appropriate political approach?</li> </ul> <p>Regardless of the point of view we take to answer these questions, there remains a grey zone, which the writer of this paper will attempt to clarify.</p>

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Beasley	Christine	University of Adelaide	christine.beasley@adelaide.edu.au	<p><b>Teaching Plenary: Teaching Feminism/Teaching as a Feminist- A Conversation</b> Participants: Christine Beasley, Valentina Cardo, Jennifer Curtin (Chair), Anita Lacey, Laura Shepherd, Kathy Smits</p> <p>This teaching plenary explores the experiences of five feminist academics' teaching of feminism and as feminists in the classroom. It will take the format of a conversation and will include deliberation on issues such as the incorporation of gender versus feminist politics into teaching; the mainstreaming of feminism; a feminist canon; engagement with intersectionality; and activist teaching.</p>
Beausoleil	Emily	Massey	e.beausoleil@massey.ac.nz	<p><b>From Mastery to Meeting: Reworking the Terms of Ethical Encounter</b></p> <p>Postcolonial, critical multicultural, feminist, and critical democratic theory converge around the central aim to find models of encounter in which identities may be articulated and coalitions formed without the essentialization, reduction, or conflation of social difference. And yet often the ostensibly salutary emphasis on understanding 'others' – an epistemic model of encounter – exacerbates such risks. This is most apparent in realist genres such as testimony and autobiography that too easily grant illusions of direct access to another's experience. In this paper, I argue that models of the encounter that foreground the limits of knowledge-claims, positionality of witness, and creative agency of speaker – exemplified in more evocative modes of address such as fictional theatre – can work to refocus the exchange across social difference from the mastery of knowledge to the experience of meeting; from grasping another's truth to inhabiting the ever-uncertain and unpredictable ground of the encounter. Using a case of forum theatre that both utilizes the evocative potential of performance and yet introduces objectification and violation in tandem with its most literal moments, I will examine the ethical and epistemic effects of these contending models of encounter.</p>
Bogle	Christine	VUW	christine.bogle@vuw.ac.nz	<p><b>Transitions to Democracy in Asia-Pacific Monarchies</b></p> <p>Theories of democratisation suggest radically different approaches to explaining transitions from monarchic regimes in the Asia-Pacific, and the consolidation or collapse of successor regimes. The "structuralist" approach, (closely linked to "modernisation" theory), considers social and economic factors to be the paramount determinants of democratisation's prospects, while the "agency" or "voluntarist" school, sees the role of political elites and leaders, and their ability to negotiate and compromise, as the key to a successful transition out of dictatorship. Linking to the conference theme of 'Conflict and Discord', this paper outlines a research project on efforts to transition from monarchic to democratic selection of legislators and executive in Thailand, Tonga, Bhutan, and Nepal, looking at what drives these monarchs/monarchies to democratise and how the role of the monarch might influence the (promising or uncertain) outcome of the transition</p>

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Botterill	Linda	University of Canberra	Linda.Botterill@canberra.edu.au	<p><b>Food Standards Australia New Zealand: A trans Tasman Science Arbiter at the intersection of international and domestic policy</b></p> <p>The formation of the WTO brought with it important disciplines on agricultural trade, including in the area of food regulation. As signatories to the WTO, both Australia and New Zealand have agreed that food regulation should be based on science and not become a de facto barrier to trade. Food Standards Australia New Zealand (FSANZ) is the agency charged with assessing and providing scientific advice relevant to food regulatory decisions. In Pielke's terms, the agency acts as a Science Arbiter, seeking to provide scientific input into the policy process but not acting as a policy advocate or policy maker. FSANZ was formed before the signing of the WTO Sanitary and Phytosanitary agreement but has since become an important mechanism for ensuring Australia and New Zealand abide by their WTO obligations. FSANZ also has an important intergovernmental role bridging the Australian Commonwealth and State and New Zealand governments. This paper will provide a brief history of FSANZ, exploring how it operates at the intersection between international trade law and domestic policy making and how its role has evolved and developed over time. Key food regulation controversies will be used to illustrate the tension this role can generate.</p>
Boyd	Mark	University of Auckland	boyngy@yahoo.com	<p><b>Newspaper and television news coverage of the 2014 New Zealand general election campaign - preliminary results from a comprehensive content analysis</b></p> <p>As the NZPSA conference will take place in early December, it will provide the first opportunity to present preliminary results from a comprehensive content analysis of media coverage of the 2014 election campaign, just over two months after New Zealand goes to the polls on September 20.</p> <p>The study will survey coverage in New Zealand's three main metropolitan daily newspapers, the New Zealand Herald, the Dominion Post, and the Christchurch Press, and on the two major television networks, Television New Zealand and TV3.</p> <p>The study will be modelled on that conducted on the 2008 campaign by Canterbury University senior lecturer Dr Babak Bahador, published in Levine and Roberts, <i>Key to Victory: the New Zealand general election of 2008</i> (2010); and in 2011 (unpublished). The 2014 study will be a collaboration between Dr Bahador and Auckland University PhD candidate Mark Boyd, who will present the results.</p> <p>The analysis will be broadly similar to that published in 2010, which looked at the following categories of campaign coverage:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Media coverage of parties</li> <li>Media coverage of party leaders</li> <li>Media coverage of policy vs non-policy issues</li> <li>A comparison of TV vs newspaper coverage</li> <li>A comparison of news vs analysis stories</li> </ul>

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Bretherton	Kate	University of Western Australia	kate.bretherton@research.uwa.edu.au	<p><b>A comparative analysis of Australia's and New Zealand's treatment of asylum seekers and their international protection obligations.'</b></p> <p>Australia and New Zealand share some obvious similarities, but their asylum seeker policies and human rights protection records on asylum seekers are quite different. The countries are located in the same geo-political region, each is a democracy and Commonwealth realm with a parliamentary system of government, and each has a common law legal system based on the English model. Both countries are parties to the 1951 Convention relating to the Status of Refugees ('Refugees Convention') and the 1967 Protocol relating to the Status of Refugees, and each has agreed the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees ('UNHCR') shall have supervisory responsibility under article 35 of the 1951 Refugees Convention. Unlike Australia, New Zealand has a bill of rights - the Bill of Rights Act 1990. This paper examines the two country's asylum seeker policies in light of contemporary international protection obligations, and it explores the idea that New Zealand's bill of rights has made a positive and material difference to the protection of asylum seekers in the New Zealand jurisdiction.</p>
Bromell	David	Victoria University / Environment Canterbury	david.bromell@vuw.ac.nz	<p><b>Why (not) political philosophy?</b></p> <p>Why should anyone read, study, teach or write political philosophy? What's the 'value-add'?</p> <p>David Bromell is a full-time public servant, but teaches political philosophy part time. Michael Macaulay is a full-time academic who teaches public management, but keeps coming back to political philosophy. Both feel driven, or drawn, to political philosophy as a way of dealing with perennial questions about ends and means in a political culture whose pragmatism can be less than principled.</p> <p>Their paper will clarify the proper task of political philosophy and its relationship with moral philosophy and political science. Quite apart from the intrinsic interest of the sorts of questions political philosophy addresses, they will argue for the value and importance of taking 'time out' to reflect critically on theories and operative values expressed or implied in our political choices and activities, whether as citizens or public servants (elected or appointed).</p> <p>Their challenge will be: why not political philosophy?</p>

Bromell	David	Victoria University / Environment Canterbury	david.bromell@vuw.ac.nz	<p><b>A fair go' in public policy</b></p> <p>This paper provides a framework for public reasoning in contexts where there is argument across the political spectrum about whether a public policy gives people who are affected by it 'a fair go'. It does not propose 'a theory of fairness' as a proxy for a theory (even a non-ideal theory) of distributive justice, or social justice. It simply provides a framework for public reasoning and comparative assessment of 'a fair go' in public policy. The framework prompts consideration of context, relationships and time, fair process (impartiality, deliberative fairness, transactional fairness, transitional fairness) and fair outcomes – to be assessed by comparative assessment of options against an overall improvement in well-being and the distribution of wellbeing (e.g. using the Treasury's Living Standards Framework with its five dimensions of wellbeing and capital and stocks approach); and/or an agreed set of values or normative precepts (e.g. freedom, equity, efficiency and reciprocity). Given the Kiwi preoccupation with 'a fair go', perhaps it is more constructive in a diverse society with no common conception of the common good to deliberate in terms of 'a fair go' than to hammer on at unwinnable arguments about justice and rights?</p>
Bui	Thiem	University of Queensland	h.bui@uq.edu.au	<p><b>Contestations in Vietnam's socialist law-based state and constitutionalism: Rule of Law, Party Law and Party Governance</b></p> <p>Since early 1990s, the Vietnamese party-state has been trying to develop the concept of a socialist law-based state in an effort to provide a legal-rational basis of justification for its rule. This concept, while featuring prominently alongside Vietnam's economic success, has faced irreconcilable tensions and has arguably come to a standstill. On the one hand, it recognizes universal values of the rule of law and has made certain progress in this aspect, signalling a substantial departure from an orthodox class-based conception of law in governance. On the other hand, it asserts the party's dominance in all spheres of governance, resisting the idea of subjecting the party to the rule of law. As poor governance and rampant corruption endures, pressure for a party law to clarify the relationship between the party and the state has mounted. In this paper, I argue that the concept of socialist law-based state is losing both its rhetorical power and analytical force and is destined to fail to produce a legal-rational basis as intended without a meaningful political reform. More democratic governance is likely to follow deliberation on power constraints envisioned in a party law.</p>
Butcher	Charles	Otago	charles.butcher@otago.ac.nz	<p><b>Elections and Political Instability: Ballots to bullets, voting to violence?</b></p> <p>A number of scholars argue that elections may provoke large-scale violence in ethnically divided states. In this paper we show that this is the case only when ethnic divisions are polarized. Elections in ethnically fractionalized states actually reduce the probability of instability. Probit regressions on cross national data and the simulated marginal effect of elections and ethnic divisions on serious political instability from 1960-2010 show that civil wars, ethnic wars and coups are less likely in ethnically fractionalized states the year after a legislative or executive election, while executive elections in ethnically polarized states have the potential to provoke ethnic wars and coup attempts. Our findings for elections and ethnic fractionalization hold across different specifications of ethnic fractionalization and serious political instability, while our findings regarding polarization are subject to a greater degree of uncertainty.</p> <p>Co-author: Benjamin Goldsmith</p>



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Cardo	Valentina	University of Auckland	v.cardo@auckland.ac.nz	<p><b>Where Are The Women? Reproductive Politics and Digital Media in the 2012 US Presidential Election</b></p> <p>Social media have been seen as the solution to the crisis of democracy, as giving a voice to traditionally marginalised groups and as facilitating horizontal as well as vertical political communication. What role gender plays at the intersection between political communication and social media is though still largely understudied. This paper analyses how US women official used Twitter as a tool for political communication during the 2012 presidential election. In particular, it evaluates the extent to which they were able to adopt a gendered rhetoric to address their constituents. The paper explores whether social media provides a space for female candidates to gender their political language. It further asks whether gendering political communication through social media can be seen as an attempt to represent voters in symbolic as well as descriptive ways. Ultimately this paper evaluates whether social media make political strategies and communications more democratic</p>
Cardo	Valentina	University of Auckland	v.cardo@auckland.ac.nz	<p><b>Roundtable</b> Outside the heat of the 2014 election: the academic's perspective</p>
Castles	Francis	ANU	francis.castles@anu.edu.au	<p><b>The Real Issue for Future Comparative Policy Research:</b></p> <p>The essential argument of this paper is that, despite the work of many pioneering scholars, the original agenda of those who came to comparative public policy with a view to demonstrating that the functioning of democratic politics makes a difference remains substantially unfulfilled. The substance of that agenda was to show that choices made through the ballot box influenced not only what governments did, but also had implications for important aspects of the lives of the citizens making those choices. One important reason for this failure was that much of the emergent quantitative literature came to focus on differences in large-scale aggregates of public spending as their main measures of the impact of institutional and electoral choices without inquiring much further as to whether such differences translated into a diversity of real outcomes. This paper seeks to model a diverse range of outcomes with a view to assessing the impact of both political and governmental output variables. On the basis of that assessment, I argue that the challenge for the next generation of political science informed comparative policy research is to go beyond an examination of the link between political choice and the size of government to ask questions about – and ideally to begin to map – the linkages between the things governments do and the lives their citizens experience.</p>
Chan	Rami Hin-yeung	Hang Seng Management College	ramichan@hsmc.edu.hk	<p><b>Crisis Politics of the SARS Epidemic: A Comparative Study of Mainland China, Singapore, Hong Kong and Taiwan</b></p> <p>The State-society Interactive Framework (Chan 2013) has demonstrated its strength in explaining crisis politics in non-democratic regimes. The political forces (i.e. crisis strengthening and weakening forces) coupled with the catalytic effect of crisis can explain the processes of escalating a crisis to a governance crisis which may lead to policy changes in non-democracy. Although the Interactive Framework is developed based on the fragmented system in post-1997 Hong Kong, this paper would argue that the Interactive Framework is also applicable to non-democratic, semi-democratic and also some newly developed democratic systems. In this paper, the Severe Acute Respiratory Syndrome (SARS) epidemic is selected as an example to illustrate the crisis politics in Hong Kong and three other Asian societies namely Mainland China, Taiwan and Singapore. The main goal of this paper is to identify the possible political forces (i.e., crisis strengthening and weakening forces) that may affect the crisis politics in these societies. The result of this study found that domestic politics is highly associated with the SARS crisis as they have led to different political consequences. This analysis provides insights to substantiate further development of the State-society Interactive Framework which would contribute to fuel the theoretical discussions</p>

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				in crisis management.
Chapman	Harry	Victoria University of Wellington	harry.rhc@gmail.com	<p><b>Changing Facebook Profile Pictures as Part of a Campaign: Who Does It and Why?</b></p> <p>People changing their Facebook profile picture in support of campaigns has recently become relatively common, particularly among young people for whom a declining trend in (traditional) political engagement has been observed. The current study focuses on the characteristics and motivations of young people who change their profile picture. Using original data collected among young (less than 35 years old) Facebook-users (N=270), we find that the intensity of Facebook use and engagement in protest and boycotts have a significant positive effect on the likelihood to change their profile picture. Hence, Facebook does not seem to mobilise previously disengaged young people into politics. Among those who change their profile picture, raising awareness seems to be the primary motivation to do so. Identity formation is also a crucial motivation, in particular for profile pictures changes to support a political party campaign and to support the marriage equality campaign.</p> <p>Co-author: Dr Hilde Coffé</p>
Charlton	Guy C.	Curtin University	<a href="mailto:Guy.Charlton@curtin.edu.au">Guy.Charlton@curtin.edu.au</a>	<p><b>The Incorporation and Transmutation of International Norms into Chinese Domestic Environmental Governance</b></p> <p>A state that is considered a “responsible power” in international society actively participates in international regimes and organisations that “contribute to the core international society goal of international peace and security”. The standard expects states to undertake collective action and comply with the global norms on many global issues, such as environmental protection. Over the past several decades, environmental degradation, biodiversity loss and trans-border pollution have increasingly become more salient in both international and domestic politics, policy and law. States are now expected to ameliorate trans-border pollution, actively prevent severe environmental degradation within their borders and contribute to global environmental governance as part of their international responsibilities. Through case-studies of Convention of Biological Diversity and CITES this article examines how the Chinese government has reacted to and incorporated these international obligations into its domestic practices and how the domestic policy environment has shaped both the perception of the obligation and the policy tools used. It argues that in certain instances China has largely incorporated these international norms and conventions into its domestic environmental governance.</p> <p>Co-author: Xiang Gao</p>

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Chen	Yunzhe	New South Wales University	yunzhe.chen@student.adfa.edu.au	<p><b>Questions on the Study of “the Communist Youth League and China Elite Politics” in Western Circles of Politics</b></p> <p>The role of the Chinese Communist Youth League within China's politics is significant. But, such important institution has received insufficient analysis for a long time. Since Hu Jintao's coming into power, a reasonable numbers of cadres, with the youth league working experience, have entered the China's elite politics. And this institution arouses the focus of Western scholars. However, limited by the bias and the misunderstanding, scholars from the Western political science regarded the youth league as the foundation of certain political faction, not an institution of assisting the elite circulation for the party. Under the purpose of deepening the understanding of the research approach of the English world, this article is going to systematically analyze the former researches of the youth league in Western world.</p>
Chen	Yunzhe	New South Wales University	yunzhe.chen@student.adfa.edu.au	<p><b>The Research Overview of Western Political Circles on China's Political Ecology</b></p> <p>Due to the difference of political system and great achievements of the reform and opening up, China's political ecology has attracted more and more attention from scholars at home and abroad. In China, political theory researchers are keen on explaining problems of China through western political theory, while western political academic circles cannot develop a macroscopic theory explaining political ecology with Chinese characteristics because of the inherent mind-set. Therefore, this thesis teases out China's political literature research by the west since the founding of PRC, attributes the uniqueness of China's political ecology to four aspects which are “Authoritarian Resilience” and “Party Adaptation”, a civilization of long standing and a sense of national identity, Confucian culture and the traditional centralized management as well as the response of type conversion of leader cadres to social needs. This thesis puts up some proposals on politics study of China in the future, and explains macroscopic theory of China phenomenon with Chinese discourse.</p>

Chung	Alex	University of Notre Dame Australia - UNDA	alex.chung1@my.nd.edu.au	<p><b>Necessitating Intervention: The Case for R2P</b></p> <p>As a response to Kofi Annan's 1999 challenge to the global community to reconcile the “twin principles of sovereignty... and fundamental human rights,” the Responsibility to Protect (R2P) doctrine is based upon the rethinking of the sovereignty principle as a responsibility of the state to protect its citizens from human rights violations. Domestic authority is no longer absolute, but rather limited by both human rights principles and the responsibility of a state to protect its citizens. The adoption of the R2P doctrine at the 2005 UN World Summit demonstrated an overwhelming consensus amongst nation-states to prevent and/or put a stop to mass human rights abuses such as genocide, war crimes, ethnic cleansing, and crimes against humanity - with the use of military force when deemed necessary by a legitimate authority such as the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) and the invocation of UN Charter a Chapter VII.</p> <p>The R2P principle places an inherent duty to protect citizens irrespective of geopolitics or agreements between states. Under the doctrine, the international community does not have a choice whether to intervene or not; rather, it has a moral, de facto and de Jude obligation to do so when massive human rights violations occur. The Rwandan genocide demonstrates the need for the codification of not the right to intervene, but rather a responsibility to intervene when faced with the evidence of mass human rights abuses. In the case of Rwanda, the great power interests of the United States and France undermined the mechanisms within the UN for mobilising a coherent military force to prevent genocide and protect civilians.</p> <p>While humanitarian intervention has been tainted by neo-imperialist ambitions, the cost of non-intervention in situations of severe human rights abuses, war, or poverty is morally and intrinsically unjustifiable. This paper will state in no uncertain terms that the international community must come to the realisation that they have a responsibility to intervene if states are unwilling or unable to protect their citizens from human rights abuses. Refusing to respond when presented with unequivocal evidence of mass human rights abuses flies in the face of the R2P doctrine itself. As great power interests continue to expand in emerging economies, geopolitical instability and dissatisfaction with illegitimate regimes motivate civil society driven pushes towards democratisation, the international community must be prepared to fulfil their obligation and Responsibility to Protect (R2P).</p>
Coffe	Hilde	Victoria University of Wellington	hilde.coffe@vuw.ac.nz	<p><b>AGE GROUP DIFFERENCES IN DEFINITIONS OF “POLITICAL” ACTIVITIES.</b></p> <p>During the last few decades, citizens' repertoire of political participation has vastly expanded to include activities such as boycotting products. Yet, the extent to which citizens themselves consider these different ways of participation as “political” is an open question. Therefore, the two main research questions motivating our study are: (1 – Descriptive): To what extent do citizens vary in their definition of political activities? (2 – Explanatory): To what extent can this possible variation be explained by cohort?</p> <p>Whereas some scholars have argued that younger cohorts are less likely to engage politically compared with older cohorts, others have suggested that younger cohorts are not participating less but differently. For example, people from younger cohorts have been found to be less likely to vote compared with older people, but noticeably more likely to participate support online campaigns. Hence, we may find that young cohorts are more likely to define newer types of engagement as political compared with older cohorts. Furthermore, young people's higher levels of education may result in a broader definition of political activities than older people's definitions.</p> <p>To answer our research questions, we use original survey data collected by YouGov in February 2014 among a representative sample of British citizens.</p> <p>Co-author: Rosie Campbell</p>

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Commerer	Brent	University of Auckland	bcom002@aucklanduni.ac.nz	<p><b>A Redistricting Regime Index for Comparative Electoral Research</b></p> <p>Gerrymandering is a significant and growing problem affecting United States elections. However, it impacts some states much more than others, due to differences in the rules and institutions states choose to adopt to govern their election redistricting. A few states employ various types of boundary commissions, but most leave redistricting power concentrated in the hands of politicians or their proxies, subject to constraints varying in their scope and effectiveness. Diverse redistricting reforms have been implemented to a certain extent in the U.S., but the complex plethora of state regimes make interstate measurements or comparisons difficult.</p> <p>This paper proposes and develops a “redistricting regimes index” (RRI) as a tool for scholars to compare redistricting institutions and their reform across U.S. states. The index evaluates states according to the range of ways politicians can or cannot influence the redistricting process. The paper explains the index’s construction, demonstrates its classification of all states, and then discusses its value as a dependent variable for interstate analysis of reform patterns and correlations. The paper concludes by considering use of the index in practice in U.S. research, and the potential to also apply the index in cross-national comparative research.</p>
Costar	Brian	Swinburne University	bcostar@swinburne.edu.au	<p><b>THE NATIONALS: AUSTRALIA’S RESILIENT AGRARIANS</b></p> <p>Given that Australia has long been one of the world’s most urbanised and metropolitanised nations, the fact that the National (nee Country) Party is celebrating its centenary might come as a surprise to international political scientists and historians. It was first established by the Western Australian Farmers and Settlers’ Association in 1913 and by 1920 had representatives in all seven parliaments. In 2014 it remains in seven of the now nine legislatures.</p> <p>Far too much of the past and present commentary on the National Party has been speculation about its imminent demise, whereas it has expired only in the state of Tasmania. But, as John Warhurst (2013:1) has observed, it is ‘diminished’ and whereas political scientists once spoke of Australia’s two and a half party system, today they see the ‘Nationals as a quarter party’ (Siaroff 2003: 271 &amp; 277).</p> <p>For much of its history the Nationals were a classic mass political party but that species has become extinct in Australia as elsewhere. Given its small vote share, it cannot be called a catch-all party, rather it is a catch-some party—the ‘some’ being residents of regional Australia. It is also a minor party of government through its near-permanent coalition relationship with the larger Liberal Party.</p> <p>This paper will examine the nature of the party’s organisational culture and its political strategies past and present. It will argue that the key to understanding the party is by appreciating the hyper-federalism of its organisation which remains influenced by its divergent State histories.</p>

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Cowie	Lucy	University of Auckland	lucy.june.cowie@gmail.com	<p><b>A Latent Profile Analysis of Green Party Voters: A statistical model identifying the underlying values of those who vote Green.</b></p> <p>The Green Party experienced unprecedented support in the 2011 election. However, empirical research examining different factors that motivate Green support remains scarce. We analyse data from the New Zealand Attitudes and Values Study using Latent Profile Analysis to examine whether there are different subgroups of people who vote Green (N=6518). We examined patterns of ideological support across seven domains; the extent to which participants (1) value the environment, (2) believe in human-made climate change, (3) value equality, (4) value social justice, (5) accept historic injustice, (6) value Māori culture and (7) value wealth. Although all groups valued the environment and strongly believed in human-made climate change while valuing wealth less, four distinct groups formed. Core Green Liberals (55.6%) had high support across domains except wealth, while Green Dissonances (4.4%) were low in all domains. Ambivalent Biculturalists (19.7%) valued equality and social justice less, while they had relatively high support for Māori culture and reparation for past injustice. Contrastingly, Greens in Principle (20.3%) had high support for equality and social justice, but rejected Māori culture and historic injustice towards Māori. The utility of our novel statistical model for understanding what motivates people to vote Green, and group demographic characteristics are discussed.</p> <p>Co-authors: Lara M. Greaves Chris G. Sibley</p>
Croad	Todd	University of Otago	todd.croad@postgrad.otago.ac.nz	<p><b>The Role of Governance Cultures in the Stability of New Zealand's Energy Policy</b></p> <p>This theoretical paper will give an overview of in-depth qualitative PhD research being undertaken on the stability of New Zealand's energy policy. New Zealand undertakes long term, high level, energy policy planning in the form of the New Zealand Energy Strategy, and the New Zealand Energy Efficiency and Conservation Strategy. While this might seem to naturally lead to a high degree of policy stability in and of itself, this does not reflect what has actually occurred in recent years. In this research, resilience concepts (Walker et al. 2004) are used to examine the issue of policy stability. The policy-making arena itself is conceptualised through a variation of the Energy Cultures Framework proposed by Stephenson et al. 2010. The original Energy Cultures Framework is adapted to help investigate governance cultures. The behaviour of policymakers is analysed as the product of their practices, norms, and governance infrastructures (including institutions, structures and their capacity), and key influences on these. The boundary of analysis is the state's government and the governance apparatus tied to the energy sector: other bodies are considered external. This conceptual framework is being used to investigate the 2007 and 2011 iterations of New Zealand's Energy Strategy and Energy Efficiency and Conservation Strategy. Moving forward, in-depth qualitative interviews are being undertaken with key participants from the development of these strategies.</p>
Cross	William	Carleton	William.Cross@carleton.ca	<p><b>Organizational Reform in the New Zealand Labour Party</b></p> <p>This paper examines organizational reform in the New Zealand Labour Party between 2011 and 2013. In the wake of its second consecutive electoral defeat, the Labour Party embarked on a substantial organizational reform project. Championed by Party President Moira Coatsworth, the review touched upon nearly all areas of party organization and intra-party decision making. Drawing upon the literature on party organization (and particularly that relating to organizational change), this paper examines the motivation for reform, the process of reform, the subjects tackled and evaluates the success of the project. The paper situates the case of NZ Labour alongside those of other once dominant parties that have recently been removed from government and have embarked on organizational reform projects, particularly Fianna Fail in Ireland and the Canadian Liberal Party. The paper draws upon approximately two dozen semi-structured interviews conducted in Wellington and Auckland in April 2012 and September 2013. Those interviewed include sitting and former MPs, several Party Presidents, several General</p>

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				Secretaries, trade union officials and party activists.
Crothers	Charles	AUT	charles.crothers@aut.ac.nz	<p><b>The 2013 Auckland Council elections</b></p> <p>The 2013 Auckland elections allowed the opportunity for local voters to consolidate their attitudes towards Auckland's new governance institutions and the local political groupings campaigning after 3 years of their performance. Given that the 'Auckland model' looms as the guide to a further round of local government reform the significance of what happened in those elections is wider. The paper draws on pre- and post-elections surveys and analysis of voter patterns as part of a wider assessment by the School of Social Sciences into the performance of the Supercity?</p>
Crothers	Charles	AUT	charles.crothers@aut.ac.nz	<p><b>Internet Voting &amp; Prospective Internet Voting in NZ</b></p> <p>The internet is becoming more and more involved in all areas of life, not least government and politics and also as a research instrument. This paper reviews NZ evidence on use of internet in receiving political messages and interacting with politicians and government and in particular assesses the extent to which the involvement of internet seems to shape political directions.</p>
Curtin	Jennifer	Auckland University	j.curtin@auckland.ac.nz	<p><b>Building Internships for Politics and Policy postgraduates</b></p> <p>This paper will explore the experience of creating internships at Auckland.</p>
Curtin	Jennifer	Auckland University	j.curtin@auckland.ac.nz	<p><b>Why Politics and History matter to Policy</b></p> <p>This paper undertakes a critical review of Castles' ideas and analysis (both quantitative and qualitative) about the impact of politics and history on public policy, and his commitment to recognising the idiosyncrasies and importance of distinguishing the policy worlds of Australia and New Zealand from the rest of the English-speaking world. It explores the extent to which his arguments have travelled over time and asks what scholars might continue to learn from his comparative policy research.</p>
Denmead	James	University of Auckland	jden049@aucklanduni.ac.nz	<p><b>Capital, Ideology and the Failure of New Zealand's Climate Policy</b></p> <p>In contemporary New Zealand politics and society, environmental threats such as climate change threaten to bring the state's authority into conflict with populist demands made of democracy, challenging the assumed legitimacy of these two institutions. This research-based presentation critiques through policy analysis the 2012 Climate Change Amendment Act and the New Zealand Emissions Trading Scheme. Framework matrix analysis is used as a primary method, demonstrating this policy's incapability for meeting commitments to the 1997 Kyoto Protocol. Secondly, through qualitatively utilising discourse analysis and a philosophical grounding within Critical Theory, questions from the research are addressed concerning the state's form, the sociology of interest groups, and the limits of liberal democracy in achieving outcomes aimed at environmental equity. Ideology as an element is a focus of debate in which both an interpretation of Habermas and a critique of Zizek are incorporated. To ultimately account for the policy outcomes, the project links a non-simplistic understanding of relations between capitalism and political power with an assessment of the environmental movement's crisis as situated in an ideologically near-homogenous society. It is argued that together these structural conditions place major impediments upon the realisation of progressive environmental policy specifically in New Zealand but also globally.</p>

Devere	Heather	University of Otago	heather.devere@otago.ac.nz	<p><b>RESISTING CONFLICT: INDIGENEOUS PEACE TRADITIONS IN AOTEAROA/NEW ZEALAND</b></p> <p>The warrior nature of Māori culture as portrayed in the movie Once were Warriors is reinforced by historical accounts of wars between Māori tribes and with the British. However, there are also indigenous peace traditions in Aotearoa New Zealand that are less well known, and which are currently being regenerated.</p> <p>This paper gives an historical account of three peace traditions in Aotearoa: the Moriori of Rekohu (Chatham Islands); Parihaka in the Central North Island; and Waitaha in the South of the South Island. The Moriori people adhered to an ancient vow to never kill another person and refused to fight occupying Māori tribes in the 1830s. The people of Parihaka used passive resistance to oppose European occupation of their land between in the mid to late 1880s. The Waitaha people, a peace-based iwi, with no known war artifacts for this period of original inhabitation held a peace march in 1877.</p> <p>While research is currently underway both to record and preserve the past, these three peace traditions are also being sustained and regenerated, in order to demonstrate the peace tikanga that existed and exists within Māori and Moriori culture, and to promote peaceful alternatives to violence and conflict.</p> <p>Co-authors: Kelli Te Maiharoa Maata Wharehoka Maui Solomon</p>
Dumienski	Zbigniew	University of Auckland	zdum510@aucklanduni.ac.nz	<p><b>Economic Development in Microstates: Cases from Europe and the South Pacific</b></p> <p>This paper examines the dynamics of economic development in selected microstates from Europe and the South Pacific. It goes beyond the standard purely quantitative definitions of micro-statehood and defines microstates as modern protected states, i.e. sovereign states that unilaterally depute certain attributes of sovereignty to larger powers in exchange for benign protection of their political and economic viability against severe geographic or demographic constraints. The free association agreements between New Zealand and the Cook Islands and Niue are examples of such a relationship. The other states functioning in similar arrangements are: Liechtenstein, San Marino, Monaco, Andorra, Federated States of Micronesia, Marshall Islands and Palau. Despite structural similarities, these microstates demonstrate diverse political systems and levels of economics development. This situation presents an opportunity for evaluation of different domestic policies and ways in which the status of protected states can be exploited for economic gains. By comparing selected microstates from Europe and the South Pacific, this paper will argue that microstates become prosperous by using their status to access wider markets and infrastructure while remaining competitive to larger states and maintaining equality and social cohesion.</p>



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Duriesmith	David	The University of Melbourne	djdurie@unimelb.edu.au	<p><b>Negative Space and Feminist International Relations Theory: strategic silences and the limits of gendering international relations</b></p> <p>Since the late 2000s feminist scholarship on international relations theory has begun to struggle with the boundaries of the field. The simultaneous move towards mainstreaming of feminist ideas within the discipline and the move away from malestream priorities within feminist scholarship has created an uneasy tension within feminist thought.</p> <p>This paper will explore feminist engagement with non-feminist international relations theory advocating for the strategic use of silence. It is suggested that by actively not engaging with scholarship that is antithetical to feminist normative goals it will open new possibilities. It will contribute the concept of 'negative space' as a way to understand active non-engagement as a tool for international relations thought. It will also draw on concepts from critical theory suggesting that silence can be a positive technique for building theory.</p>
Elder	Edward	University of Auckland	eeld001@aucklanduni.ac.nz	<p><b>A New Model of Communication for Market-Oriented Governing Leaders: Portraying the qualities of being in touch, leadership, and credibility in office.</b></p> <p>Much literature in the field of political marketing has examined how political candidates and parties have adopted a market orientation to gain office. Recent literature, however, suggests that many party leaders who were able to attract public support using a market-oriented strategy lost their market-oriented image once in office. This paper will explore a potential solution to this problem. It will explore this by outlining a newly developed framework for market-oriented governing leaders' communication, and the most important findings from qualitative testing of it. The paper will argue that contemporary market-oriented governing leaders have not moved as far away from the traditional communication strategy of highlighting positives and ignoring/discarding negatives as the framework would suggest is appropriate - suggesting that 2nd generation market-oriented governing leaders are still unwilling to be truly reflective about their decisions so close to the time they are implemented.</p>
Edwards	Bryce	Otago	bryce.edwards@otago.ac.nz	<p><b>Roundtable:</b> Outside the heat of the 2014 election: the academic's perspective</p>
Ellis	Elisabeth	Otago	lisa.ellis@otago.ac.nz	<p><b>Environmental Conflict and Democratic Theory</b></p> <p>Recent focus on environmental governance and stakeholder collaboration has distracted students of politics from the most important aspect of environmental conflict from a democratic perspective. By characterizing environmental politics as conflict between human and non-human interests, we miss the real structure of conflict between the (usually small) number of human beings with short-run interests in extraction and the (usually large) number of human beings with interests in sustainable practices. Of course the structure of interests is always complicated, and individual human beings have multiple and conflicting interests, but the general fact remains that most environmental conflict pits a minority of short-term "extractors" against a majority of "sustainers," or people with medium-term interests in the sustainable provision of things like clean air and water. By characterizing environmental conflicts as conflicts between human and non-human interests, we unwittingly adopt the ideological lenses of an unrealistic minority position. The paper refocuses democratic theory on protecting majority interests and reframes environmental issues in terms of protecting majority interest in sustainability from minority interests in extraction. In environmental political theory only the literature on environmental justice has understood this; building on work in environmental justice we can revise democratic theory to reflect people's interests.</p>

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Eken	Evern	University of London	Evren_eken@yahoo.com	<p><b>Cover Yourself or Be Mine: From Rape-Proof Bodies to Drone-Proof Cities, the Masculinity of the Emerging Empire</b></p> <p>This paper examines the necessity behind the veil and questions the act of covering as a security measure. Blurring the lines between the personal and the political, this paper argues that male gaze has a similar neo-colonial view towards bodies that can be raped and territories that can be bombed. In order to demonstrate this point, we delve into the similarities between the Shura City, a drone-proof-city design; and discourses of rape, as both of them are convicting the territories and bodies for not covering themselves for protection from marauding interventions. We argue that both cases create a vulnerability and attainability category as a mode of thinking with particular correlations in world politics. We define this new neo-colonial trend as the gradual elimination of the ethical boundaries surrounding the use of force by the sovereign toward what could be perceived as vulnerable bodies and territories. In this sense, we regard Shura city as the manifestation of emerging masculine power grammar associating uncovered bodies and territories with feminine permissiveness and insecurity eventually legitimizing the acts of the attacker.</p> <p>Co-author: Ali Ersen Erol</p>
Ford	Geoff	University of Canterbury	geoffrey.ford@pg.canterbury.ac.nz	<p><b>Mere Words and the Greens: Finding Key Issues in Millions of Words of Parliamentary Speech</b></p> <p>What does the Green Party of Aotearoa New Zealand stand for? To measure the most salient issues for a political party a researcher could classify texts produced by the party. Hand-coded data from election manifestos have been used to operationalise party policy positions in studies of party competition. In contrast to a party manifesto, the set of statements made by a party in parliament is another “text” that could indicate key issues. Since speech in parliament is governed by precise rules concerning who speaks and when, “mere words” spoken in parliament can be considered a scarce resource for a political party. Minor parties attempt to strategically use their limited speaking time in parliament to focus debate on key issues and to define themselves on issues relative to other parties. This paper compares the use of parliamentary speech data with election manifestos and, focusing on the Green Party, explores the utility of two machine learning techniques (one supervised and one unsupervised) to automatically code millions of words of parliamentary utterances in the New Zealand Political Language Corpus (Ford, Watson, &amp; Hayward, 2013). In so doing, I demonstrate changes in the salience of key issues for the Greens over time.</p>
Foroutan	Yaghoob	Mazandaran University/Waikato University	y_foroutan@yahoo.com	<p><b>Politicization vs. Socialization Hypotheses: Middle East Perspective</b></p> <p>This paper provides research-based evidence from the Middle East to contrast politicization and socialization hypotheses. This study is based on socialization theory which recognizes educational system as the first official agent and the most powerful engine of socialization. Accordingly, this study also considers educational media in order to explain how it is employed by the state as a strategy for the purpose of socialization or political interest in the Middle East. In particular, the field of this study is Iran and explores how religion, gender, ethnic-religious minorities are portrayed by its educational system. This country has witnessed fundamental social and political changes over the past decades. It is also critically important to emphasize that the resources used in this analysis are standard, sole and compulsory school education materials which are entirely and exclusively provided and monitored by the state throughout the country. Accordingly, the results of this research from the Middle East and Islamic world will shed lights on the fundamental influence of ideology and power relations on educational media which has been termed in the existing knowledge and contemporary literature as the ‘political hand’ of state textbook-adoption policies and ‘ideological bombardment’.</p>
Foroutan	Yaghoob	Mazandaran University/Waikato University	y_foroutan@yahoo.com	<p><b>Media Politics and Gender Representation: Cross-Cultural Analysis</b></p>

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Fraser	Gloria	University of Auckland	gfra110@aucklanduni.ac.nz	<p><b>Psychological Roots of Opposition to Affirmative Action: Social Dominance Orientation, Gender-based Affirmative Action and the Moderating Role of Benevolent Sexism</b></p> <p>Although affirmative action is one of the most hotly debated political issues within the public sphere, relatively few studies have examined the correlates of people's attitudes towards gender-based affirmative action. The few studies that have examined this topic suggest that both social dominance orientation (SDO), a measure of preference for group-based hierarchy, and sexism have independent effects on people's attitudes toward affirmative action. The current study expands upon this literature by investigating the moderating effect of benevolent sexism (BS), a form of sexism that is subjectively positive but views women as weak and in need of protection, on the relationship between SDO and support for gender-based affirmative action within a nationally representative sample of New Zealand adults (N = 5679). Results showed that SDO was associated with opposition to gender-based affirmative action, but that BS attenuated the relationship. These results suggest that part of the insidious nature of BS is that it offers women ostensible benefits (albeit at a notable cost). The current study also demonstrates that gender-based affirmative action remains an important issue in New Zealand, despite the lack of public attention it has received.</p> <p>Co-authors: Danny Osborne Chris G Sibley</p>
Gauja	Anika	Sydney	anika.gauja@sydney.edu.au	<p><b>Comparing Leadership Selection Reforms in Australia and New Zealand</b></p> <p>In November 2012 the New Zealand Labour Party changed its leadership selection mechanisms to extend the vote for the first time beyond the parliamentary caucus, to party members and union affiliates. Seven months later, the Australian Labor Party caucus approved a similar reform, extending the leadership vote beyond parliamentarians to include party members, but not unions. In this paper we compare these two significant leadership reforms, which broke with a century of established tradition within both democracies. We examine the political circumstances that precipitated organizational reform in each of the parties and compare the new selection processes – both in terms of the formal rules and also by evaluating the first contests to be held under them. We analyze the composition of the selectorate and the respective weightings given to the various groups able to participate in the ballot, the method, provisions for removal, the turnout and final result. In doing so we reveal the kinds of decisions that each party needed to make in formulating and implementing the new procedures, and the internal and external pressures that shaped the reform process in both these social democratic parties.</p> <p>Co-author: William Cross</p>

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Gonzalez	Eduardo	University of the Philippines	edtgonzalez@yahoo.com	<p><b>The emergence of unstable polycentric governance in the developing world: Is the payoff sustainable?</b></p> <p>In typical developing country settings, there is a huge gap between the existing governmental order (Weber's model of pyramidal hierarchies characterized by regulations) and the actual practice of localized, non-hegemonic governance in which power is dispersed. Established institutions, not being able to hold up well to deliver the required service delivery outcomes on their own, are forced to take part in multiple networks of decision-making. This discrepancy arises because classical-modernist political institutions identified with the state have been unable to contend with the ensemble of mostly unstable non-governmental practices that have emerged in new political spaces. While challenging established governmental rules and norms, the new players also negotiate new institutional rules and work out new notions of rightful political intervention.</p> <p>Nowhere is this incongruity more pronounced than in climate change management, which finds itself in an unsteady institutional space, when state agencies can no longer govern in the old, conventional way. Indeed, the fact that climate change effects are not fully quantified or causally connected to all sectors even today has transformed existing and common hazards into many unfamiliar situations.</p> <p>Yet it is precisely these unstable open spaces that seem to provide the answer to better climate risk governance. Precisely because a diversity of agents is implicated, the new setup augurs well for inaugurating a new polycentric administrative system which is open and regularly resonating to the ecosystem warning signs and community preparedness.</p> <p>The aim of the study is to interrogate this new framework by exploring how such participatory intersections break in on various spheres of climate change governance. The Philippines, Indonesia and Vietnam, which are frequently visited by weather-induced disasters, will be the case illustrations.</p>
Gray	John	University of Otago	johnlaidlawgray@gmail.com	<p><b>Representation in Security Sector Institutions and Popular Perceptions of Safety: Evidence from Kosovo's Municipalities</b></p> <p>While scholarly research on post-conflict security sector reform has advanced in recent years, few studies have explored the effects of representation in security institutions at the local level. The bulk of contemporary literatures instead focus more predominantly on national institutions (e.g. the armed forces) and macro-level outcomes. This paper uses post-conflict Kosovo as a case, and examines how the inclusion of ethnic minorities in the Kosovo Police Service (KPS), judiciary, and Municipal Community Safety Councils (MCSC) affects public perceptions of safety at the local level, across Kosovo's 37 municipalities. Results show that overall, ethnic representation has a statistically significant and positive effect on public perceptions of safety, though they vary across the indicators used.</p>

Greaves	Lara M.	University of Auckland	lara.greaves@auckland.ac.nz	<p><b>Identity and Demographics Predict Voter Enrolment on the Māori Electoral Roll: Findings from a National Sample</b></p> <p>Only 55% of those that identify as having Māori ancestry on the electoral roll enrol to vote in one of the seven Māori electorates. Despite this low rate, research examining what drives people to enrol on the Māori roll remains scarce. We present a model assessing the extent that demographics and psychological aspects of subjective identification as Māori (using the Multi-dimensional Model of Māori Identity and Cultural Engagement; MMM-ICE) predict enrolment on the Māori roll. Firstly, data from participants of Māori descent (N=1,865) showed that being a parent, and from a more economically-deprived neighbourhood meant a higher likelihood of being on the Māori roll. Participants of mixed Māori/European ancestry were less likely to be on the roll. Gender, religion and education were not significant predictors. To assess the impact of both demographics and identity, we used the national probability, Māori-focus subsample (N=499). For demographics, only being of mixed ancestry remained significant. Two dimensions of the MMM-ICE predicted being on the Māori roll: higher Cultural Efficacy and Active Identity Engagement (personal efficacy when engaging in Māori culture) and higher Socio-Political Consciousness (belief/engagement in Māori political issues and history). This study provides much-needed information on what predicts enrolment on the Māori roll.</p> <p>Co-authors: Carla Houkamau Chris G. Sibley</p>
Gregory	Tom	University of Auckland	t.gregory@auckland.ac.nz	<p><b>Teaching Plenary: Teaching Feminism/Teaching as a Feminist- A Conversation</b></p>
Hamilton-Hart	Natasha	University of Auckland	n.hamilton-hart@auckland.ac.nz	<p><b>Informal institutions and hybrid property rights regimes: lessons from Southeast Asia's palm oil industry</b></p> <p>A tenet of New Institutional Economics (NIE) approaches to economic development is that private investment that imposes large sunk costs over relatively long time frames is contingent on a governance system that provides expectations of generalized security of property rights. In practice, such legalized, general guarantees of property protection do not appear to be necessary. Of the two main palm oil-producing countries – Malaysia and Indonesia – Malaysia is generally considered to have a more secure property rights regime, based on legal predictability and a generalized, rules-based system governing property transactions. However, pervasive conflicts indicate that neither Malaysia nor Indonesia offers generalizable, rules-based property governance in this industry, although the forms land conflicts take differ across the two countries. Those involved in the industry have, however, developed solutions to problems of property rights protection that provide a degree of security. This paper develops a revisionist approach to NIE models of property institutions to incorporate informal elements of institutions as they manifest in hybrid property regimes.</p>
Haneefa	HM Latiff	University of Auckland	<a href="mailto:hkmh235@aucklanduni.ac.nz">hkmh235@aucklanduni.ac.nz</a>	<p><b>The Impact of ISIS on Malaysian Foreign Policy</b></p> <p>The Middle East is a region that has been fraught with seemingly intractable conflict. The latest being the rise of ISIS, a transnational radical militant Islamic movement that now controls large swathes of territory within the states of Iraq and Syria. This paper looks at the rise of ISIS, from a post cold war global power perspective, examining the implications and imperatives for the foreign policies of Malaysia, a rising regional middle power in South East Asia.</p>

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Hartley	Kris	National University of Singapore	hartley@nus.edu.sg	<p><b>Power and Politics in Urban Governance: An Institutional Rational Choice Model for Conflicting Growth Strategies in Auckland</b></p> <p>This paper addresses infrastructure development in Auckland, with a particular focus on how institutional reform – namely metropolitan amalgamation – has altered the local-central government power dynamic. The new Auckland Council supports transit-oriented development, but related infrastructure projects are somewhat reliant on a central government sympathetic to sprawl. Answerable more to the latter, New Zealand's social housing provider (HNZC) is intensifying suburban stock to optimize asset performance. However, this exacerbates spatial imbalances between housing and employment opportunities while largely ignoring evolving demand for smaller units. This paper examines how local-central political conflicts manifest themselves in contrasting growth visions, situating the debate within an institutional rational choice model that provides a meta-vocabulary and analytical structure to problematize political contention. Methodologically, the model reorients actors as agencies and local-central government interactions as institutional parameters, operationalized by a hybrid of two existing frameworks, Ostrom's IAD and Jensen and Lange's multi-scalar governance framework. As such, this paper makes a critical but under-theorized link among the structure of public sector organizations, political power, and capacity for urban resilience. It also contributes to the literature by exploring the broader ramifications of actor-agency strategies to fulfil individual organizational objectives amidst the vicissitudes of New Zealand's increasingly complex politico-institutional milieu.</p>
Hayward	Bronwyn	Canterbury	<a href="mailto:bronwyn.hayward@canterbury.ac.nz">bronwyn.hayward@canterbury.ac.nz</a>	<p><b>Climate, Citizenship and Rethinking Civics: Learning from, for and with a new generation of youth political activists</b></p> <p>Drawing on a review of meta studies and research conducted by the authors with young political activists aged 16-34 years in both social and market liberal democracies, this paper considers the issues raised for and by a new generation of activists as they learn to challenge post positivist politics of climate change and struggle to assert issues of social justice, new economics, and sustainable living in the contemporary political and social context. We also offer some reflection on ways the discipline of political science and education for citizenship can become less isolated from the wider intellectual and political challenges now confronting over half the world's population now aged under 24 years</p> <p>Co-authors: Elin Selboe (Oslo) Karen O'Brien (Oslo)</p>
Hoffmann	Kamila	Linköping University	kama.hoff@gmail.com	<p><b>Information and Communication Technologies in Education and Training across the South Pacific – The Case of Blended Learning Facilitators in the Cook Islands.</b></p> <p>Information and communication technologies (ICTs) are having remarkable effects and potential to address many of the South Pacific islands' geographic, economic and social challenges. Access to ICTs is also an increasingly important factor for education and training in the region. While the Pacific eLearning Observatory, supported by the University of the South Pacific, monitors the development and access to ICT in education across the university's campuses, studies that specifically examine understanding of educators working on the islands of the South Pacific towards the use of ICT in their profession and for their professional development are rare. This study aims at addressing the gap in the literature by examining perceptions of facilitators working for the Digital School of the Cook Islands in blended learning environment across the remote islands of South Pacific. The research involved in-depth, semi-structured interviews and was grounded in a social and situated theory. By closely examining the facilitators' perceptions the project sheds new light on still little recognised concept of online communities of practice in teaching and learning. The central finding is that participation in online communities of practice offers on-going opportunities for development and reduces feeling of remoteness associated with the geographical</p>

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				conditions of the South Pacific region.
Huang	Yanshu	University of Auckland	yhua212@aucklanduni.ac.nz	<p><b>Ambivalent Sexism and abortion attitudes: A longitudinal test</b></p> <p>Although the abortion debate remains a major political issue throughout the international community, an examination of the determinants of abortion attitudes in New Zealand has only received a limited amount of empirical attention. Research from other Western countries, however, suggests that people's attitudes toward women are associated with their abortion attitudes. Specifically, hostile sexism (HS)—negative attitudes towards women who violate traditional gender roles—is related to opposition towards traumatic abortion. In contrast, benevolent sexism (BS)—subjectively positive attitudes towards women who conform to traditional gender roles—is related to opposition towards both elective and traumatic abortion. The direction of causation, however, is currently unknown. The current study addresses this oversight by investigating the relationship between HS and BS on abortion attitudes longitudinally using a nationally-representative sample of New Zealand adults (N = 6785). Results indicate that HS at Time 1 predicted opposition to traumatic abortion at Time 2, whereas BS at Time 1 predicted opposition to both elective and traumatic abortion at Time 2. Abortion attitudes at Time 1, however, were unassociated with BS and HS at Time 2. These results suggest that people's attitudes toward women play an important role in determining their stance on the abortion debate.</p>
Humpage	Louise	Auckland	l.humpage@auckland.ac.nz	<p><b>Still converging? Social policy in the United Kingdom, Australia and New Zealand after the global financial crisis</b></p> <p>Much of Frank Castles' scholarly work has focused on the issue of policy convergence within shifting and varied national policy contexts. This presentation updates one such analysis (Castles &amp; Pierson 1996) by re-examining policy developments in the United Kingdom, Australia and New Zealand in the context of the 2008-2009 financial crisis. It argues that there was further convergence in key social policy areas (but most notably welfare) during the 2000s, but politics and the economy still matter. In particular, we argue that the United Kingdom's poorer economic positioning facilitated harsher and more rapid reforms, including in core areas such as health and education, that were not evident in New Zealand or, most notably, Australia. Nonetheless, as time has progressed and the political leadership in Australia has changed, further convergence has been apparent.</p> <p>Co-author: Chris Pierson.</p>

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Ingram	Sue	Australian National University	sue.ingram@anu.edu.au	<p><b>Post-conflict political settlements and the quest for stability: Bougainville and Timor-Leste compared</b></p> <p>Does the character of the political settlement forged in the wake of prolonged conflict affect the prospects for future stability? Recent reports and policy statements on statebuilding in fragile and conflict-affected states from the OECD, World Bank and bilateral donors take the position that an inclusive, or inclusive enough, political settlement is an important precondition for future stability. The large academic literature on peace processes makes a strong link between the inclusiveness of peace agreements and the avoidance of conflict recurrence, but little empirical work has been done on political settlements to test the correlation. This paper provides an assessment of the key features of the political settlements that emerged in Timor-Leste and Bougainville after their long conflicts and looks at subsequent patterns of stability or instability in each case study to explore the possible relationship between the two.</p>
Iqbal	Muhammad Zubair	Preston University	drzubair.iqbal@gmail.com	<p><b>Countering the Extremist Narrative Online: The Pakistani Perspective</b></p> <p>Historical, political and social conditions in Pakistan have largely been exploited by the extremists to found and further their Jehadi narrative in Pakistan (Khan, 2013). They have utilized both traditional as well as the new media for the extension of their ideological messages to religiously motivated minds who are already suffering from the long standing effects of mis-governance since decades. They tend to fall prey to the rhetoric of 'regaining the Muslim rule in the world even through violent means' (Maudoodi, 1938). Pakistan is the second largest Muslim population in the world with roughly 10 % of them have access to internet facilities. The social media has been actively used by those individuals and organizations who believe in the extremist narrative of changing political government through violent means. They advocate the return of Khilafah (Muslim Caliphate) through militant Jihad. Pakistanis, disillusioned by their leaders and their lack of governance are their soft and easy targets. However, over past few months, a prominent counter Jehadi narrative has been emerging on the internet. The messages of prominent religious scholars like Javed Ghamidi are gaining prominences who consider the use of military means as un-Islamic to bring about political changes. This study is a qualitative analysis of the messages that appear on official Facebook and Twitter accounts of three prominent religious Pakistani scholars: Javed Ahmed Ghamidi, Tahir-ul-Qadri and Tahir Ashrafi. The messages appearing during three months period between September to December 2013 are the sample of this study. The research shows that the narrative against extremist militancy is gaining considerable ground. People are questioning the extremist narrative in the light of the messages of the above mentioned scholars. They have started challenging the justification of militant acts to gain political ends. The social media is changing the scenario and appears to change the ways people respond to extremist messages in Pakistan.</p>
Jackson	Brad	Victoria University of Wellington	Brad.jackson@vuw.ac.nz	<p><b>Government, Academics and Policy-making in NZ</b></p> <p>To what extent, and how, do policy-makers listen to academics? This paper presents the initial results of a survey to senior civil servants in NZ regarding channels for accessing and using academic research and expertise in policy-making. It is part of an international comparative study including 35 countries around the world managed by Manchester University (UK).</p> <p>Co-author: Karl Lofgren</p>



Jackson	Richard	University of Otago	richard.jackson@otago.ac.nz	<p><b>Terrorism, Taboo and Discursive Resistance: The Agonistic Potential of the Terrorist Novel</b></p> <p>The last decade of the war on terror has arguably increased levels of direct and structural violence and strengthened forces of political oppression. This paper explores the ways in which the terrorist novel might act both as a mode of discursive resistance to these forms of power, and as a site of emancipatory agonistic politics. Among possible modes of discursive resistance, the novel has genuine potential. However, to date, the terrorist novel has not realized its potential, but has instead tended to reinforce the counter-terrorist truth regime by maintaining the modern terrorism taboo. In this context, the publication of Confessions of a Terrorist represents something of a watershed, as it is the first sympathetic fictional depiction of a terrorist, and the first to give primary voice to the views of the terrorist. Allowing the terrorist to speak not only acts to undermine the terrorism taboo, but potentially also creates an agonistic moment in which the violent subaltern can speak on an equal footing directly to the counter-terrorist. The paper concludes by reflecting on the political role of the novelist, and the emancipatory potential of opening up a dialogue with the ‘terrorist other’ free from dehumanizing myths and stereotypes.</p>
Johansson	Patrik	University of Otago	patrik.johansson@pol.umu.se	<p><b>Tracing Resilience: Setbacks and Recovery in Peacebuilding in the Western Balkans</b></p> <p>Post-war peacebuilding is a delicate undertaking, and even the most promising process will face challenges and setbacks, purposeful as well as accidental. Examples include residual violence, coups d’états, terrorist attacks, delays of implementation, disagreement over what has been agreed, etc. Sometimes these challenges derail a peacebuilding process, but in other cases they are overcome allowing the process to continue more or less unaffected. The ability to withstand challenges should be an important indicator of the quality of peace and the success of post-war peacebuilding, and is now entering the conceptualization of peace and peacebuilding in the form of “resilience.”</p> <p>This paper develops an analytical framework of resilient peace based on the ability of post-war societies to withstand challenges of three different types: violent challenges, political challenges, and social challenges. The paper adopts a systems approach to peacebuilding, using thresholds and adaptive cycles to understand how various challenges and the responses to them affect the development of resilience over time. The analytical framework is applied to three cases in the Western Balkans—Bosnia-Herzegovina, Eastern Slavonia, and Kosovo—in order to analyze the resilience of the peace built in these cases, as well as to evaluate the usefulness of the analytical framework.</p>
Jou	Willy	University of Tsukuba	jouw@aoni.waseda.jp	<p><b>Vote Choice in Electoral Reform Referendums: A Comparative Study of New Zealand and the United Kingdom</b></p> <p>While electoral system change is often the outcome of bargaining among political elites, New Zealand and the United Kingdom stand out as exceptions by offering voters the chance to decide whether existing rules should be overturned. In New Zealand, popular referendums resulted in the adoption of a mixed-member proportional (MMP) system in 1992-93 and an unsuccessful attempt to replace it in 2011, while in the UK a proposal on adopting the alternative vote was rejected by voters in 2011. A large number of academic and journalistic accounts are devoted to explaining the stances adopted by various parties in each referendum, and analysing the consequences of potential electoral reform. In contrast, the present study explores individual-level factors that influenced how voters cast their ballots, and makes a rare cross-national comparison. Using surveys from the New Zealand Election Study and British Election Study, we examine whether and how partisanship (large versus small party support; government versus opposition party support), political efficacy, satisfaction with democracy, and socio-demographic characteristics affected referendum choice. We also discuss differences between findings from the two countries, and the applicability of these results to other countries where electoral reform is under debate.</p>

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Keogh	Annette	Auckland	annette.keogh@auckland.ac.nz	<p><b>Teaching workplace writing skills in politics</b></p> <p>This will discuss the importance and nature of writing skills in the workplace of politics, noting the gap between this and traditional academic writing, and making suggestions for how to address this to ensure our graduates are fully prepared.</p>
King	Tom	ANU	tom.king@anu.edu.au	<p><b>Minor Parties in Australia and the media - friend or foe?</b></p> <p>This paper explores the role of the media in the rise and fall of a number of minor political parties in Australia. The paper firstly examines the older minor parties that have risen and then fallen. These parties are the Australian Democratic Labor Party (DLP), the Australian Democrats (AD) and Pauline Hanson's One Nation (PHON). The paper explores the parties' perception of the media as well as the media's perception of minor parties. In some cases the media poured out publicity to a minor party in the party's beginning only to seriously curtail that publicity later on as the party became established. The question of what the party did, or in some cases did not do, to encourage adverse publicity is also explored. Later parties considered in the paper are the Australian Greens (AG), Palmer United Party (PUP) and the Katter Australia Party (KAP). The paper also explores the minor parties' understanding, and pre-emption if any, of the media and its methodology and strategy. The paper concludes that over the years the minor parties' have had very little understanding of the media and its role and power.</p>
Kipp	Robert	University of Canterbury	robert.kipp@gmail.com	<p><b>Identity and disasters: The politics of civil defence in New Zealand</b></p> <p>Civil defence and emergency management (CDEM) policy in New Zealand finds its origins in wartime preparedness schemes and Cold War-era concerns about nuclear attack. However the rationale, philosophy, and institutions of civil defence have been influenced by factors ranging from earthquakes to riots and war. Despite these ominous origins the CDEM system shifted focus to natural hazards even as the Cold War lingered. However in the 1960s emphasis on the nuclear threat over natural hazards led to conflict over the rationale and philosophy of CDEM and led to significantly divergent policy interpretations. This situation presented barriers to policy implementation and lead to confusion about the purpose of civil defence and even doubts about its necessity. Further conflict and criticism emerged following the 1979 Abbotsford landslip, an event which preceded considerable navel gazing about civil defence policy and practice. This paper explains the roots of the modern institutions, policies, and philosophies of civil defence and emergency management by exploring its Cold War origins and critical events which shaped public perception and political will for developing a nationwide system of hazard management. Comparison is made with Australia, Canada, and the US and their civil defence and subsequent emergency management systems.</p>
Koch	Mirijam	University of Potsdam	mirijam.koch@gmx.de	<p><b>The Power of the Domestic: a Liberal Analysis of US Policy Decisions in the Nuclear Conflict with Iran</b></p> <p>This research explains the background of US foreign policy with Iran by analyzing the impact of domestic structures and coalition-building processes between political actors and interest groups. The question to be answered is: Why is the amount of influence of some lobby groups higher than of others? The answer enables an analysis under what circumstances interest groups fail or succeed. Through this approach the background of US foreign policy decisions in regard to Iran will become more clear, which enables a prediction of the future possibility of a reform in US foreign policy with Iran. The focus of this research lies, in particular, in the inconsistent strategy of the United States in regard to the Iranian nuclear program. Coming from the liberalist approach of Moravcsik and Risse this study focuses on domestic structures and internal groups as the origins of US foreign policy. It thereby contributes to recent studies analyzing the impact of interest groups. This is a qualitative case study which uses the preference attainment approach to compare the goals of selected interest groups with political outcomes.</p>

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Kooshesh	Parisa	Massey University	Parkooshesh@yahoo.com.au	<p><b>“Politics, Gender and Migration” (A case study of Iranian immigrant women in New Zealand)</b></p> <p>The intersection of politics, migration and gender is one of the most neglected areas of political science research. This neglect is especially noticeable concerning the political aspects of migration from the migrants’ countries of origin. This paper aims to examine the political forces that encourage or force Iranian women to emigrate, and the political factors that shape their opportunities or limitations after coming to NZ. This study will elicit the main motivations of Iranian women who have migrated to NZ, and assess the relative importance of factors such as desire for socio-political freedom, gender equality, or educational and financial opportunities. More importantly, the study will investigate the post-migration experiences of these women. This research involves an interdisciplinary approach that combines investigation of political factors with ethnographic field work among members of the NZ Iranian community. The research methods will include observation and semi-structured in-depth interviews with Iranian women. The data from this field work will be interpreted in the context of differences between the political, legal, and social systems of Iran and New Zealand.</p>
KOTHARI	RAJ KUMAR	VIDYASAGAR UNIVERSITY	kothari65@hotmail.com	<p><b>Foreign Policy of Russia under Vladimir Putin: Emerging Trends</b></p> <p>Foreign policy of Russia in the immediate post-cold war years had by and large been a continuation of the policies pursued by the Soviet Union under Mikhail Gorbachev. However, the enthusiasm for cooperation with the West had not been as great as it was during Gorbachev years, when it was widely believed that competition between the two superpowers could be transformed into a mutually beneficial partnership. While Boris Yelstin and his team inherited a pro-Western stance, a progressive disillusionment in relations with the West, particularly with the US, gradually pushed Russian foreign policy towards a new anti-Western posture. The period of heightened tension in relations with the West coincided with a period of increased Russian attention towards the developing world. In fact, Putin’s pragmatic foreign policy approach that differed significantly from his predecessor Boris Yelstin provided the inputs for re-conceptualizing Russian foreign policy with in a ‘multi-polar’ world order. It is in this context, that the emerging trends in Russian foreign policy under Vladimir Putin are to be viewed and analysed with in a neo-realist framework.</p>
Kramer	Paul	University of Auckland	p.kramer@auckland.ac.nz	<p><b>Queer Publics in Contemporary Turkey and North Cyprus</b></p> <p>My paper promotes the possibility of a Foucauldian ‘governmentality’ framework in understanding the multiple registers of governance which ‘conduct the conduct’ of queer lives in both Istanbul, Turkey and Lefkosa, North Cyprus. This paper will present my preliminary findings from my fieldwork in these regions. It is first and foremost a consideration of the ways in which Foucault’s work on governmentality supplements his earlier work on sexuality, permitting an empirically-based study of the nature of power as projected onto and employed by queer communities in a non-Western context. It takes as its point of departure the establishment of queer identities in Istanbul and Lefkosa. Turkey and North Cyprus present especially pertinent case studies for this governmentality analysis, given the multiplicity of identities present (ethnic, linguistic, queer, refugee, religious, etc.), and their emergence as a hybrid location between East and West. Both states also host a burgeoning gay rights movement, supported by international LGBT NGOs, Human Rights Bodies, and the media. Both communities are faced with the challenges of recognition, violence, and mobility. Rather than simply itemizing queer identity politics in these locations, I consider the conditions under which queer regimes of practices come into being, are affected by competing techniques of governance, and become transformed.</p>

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Kurian	Priya	University of Waikato	pkurian@waikato.ac.nz	<p><b>Operationalising sustainable citizenship: Methodologies for public engagement on controversial new technologies</b></p> <p>Public engagement on issues around controversial new technologies has traditionally focused on dialogues between scientists and lay people. Such a process, we argue, is flawed on two counts. One, it assumes that scientists and lay people are two distinct categories with divergent sets of values and goals. And, two, it is dictated by simplistic debates on whether new technologies are safe or commercially viable rather than deeper political questions around what needs a particular technology might address and what it may mean for society and the environment. In sharp contrast to existing approaches, this paper attempts to chart a more deliberative way of highlighting the shared values of a wide range of diverse publics on the use of new technologies that emerge from a considered clash of ideas. It uses a creative combination of research methods, including interviews, Q-sort surveys and citizen panels, to show how a framework of what we call 'sustainable citizenship' can be put into action to reconfigure public engagement on new technologies.</p> <p>Co-authors: Debashish Munshi Lyn Kathlene</p>
Kuryшева	Yulia	St. Petersburg State University	yuliakuryшева@gmail.com	<p><b>Mediatization of international political conflict: types of information sources</b></p> <p>Modern rapid development of information technologies and diverse political conflicts on local, regional and international levels result in a specific kind of conflict that is based on forcefulness of modern mass media (Cottle 2006; Auberbach et al. 2005). Mediatized conflicts are represented to the audience through the news and opinion agenda. This definition underlines the idea that news media do not only inform society about conflict but actively enact and perform it. Criticism of media biased agenda is mostly common for transitive democracies (Jebri, Stetka, Loveless 2013). Old democracies are usually recognized as an example of independent and balanced news coverage of political issues although many studies challenged this approach (Ansolabehere, Behr, Iyengar 1991; Stephenson &amp; Bromley 1998; Newton 2006). We assume that the coverage of international political conflicts (Soroka 2003; Baum et. al. 2008; Bennet 1990) in old democracy and transitive democracy has a similar degree of one-sidedness. To prove this hypothesis we compare the variety of information sources used by journalists of national daily newspapers of general interest covering international political conflicts in Russia, the U.S. and the UK. For the reliability of our study there were selected two international conflicts with different political circumstances.</p>

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Kusumawardani	Natasya	President University	natasya.kusumawardani@gmail.com	<p><b>The SBY's Cabinet Responses and Actions towards the Violation of Human Rights and Environmental Destruction by PT. Freeport Indonesia (PTFI) in West Papua</b></p> <p>PT. Freeport Indonesia (PTFI) operates the world's largest gold and copper mine in West Papua. The existence of this mining company has been a controversial issue since 1967, when Freeport signed contract with the Government of Indonesia (GOI) even before Indonesia formally gained sovereignty over the territory. In the era of Soeharto, the Indonesian military executed hundreds of indigenous people, and many cases of torture and murder also occurred near or in the mining. Many cases of human rights' violation directly involved the security forces of Freeport. The US Annual Human Rights Report, the United Nations, the Indonesian Human Rights Commission and many local and international NGOs have also reported these violations of human rights. The mining operation has severely damaged the land and polluted the water, destroying the Ajkwa river system, which are the central of economic and social life of indigenous people, particularly the local Amungme and Kamoro. In 2005, Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono (SBY) had said that the response of Indonesian government to the assassinations would be a "test case" of how far the country has changed. Thus, this paper will examine the response of the GOI to those problems and analyse whether it has taken the right actions to manage it. Eventually, it will evaluate the collaborative efforts of the GOI and PTFI to stop the human rights violation and environmental degradation and conclude with the possible policy initiatives and scenarios ahead.</p>
Lacey	Anita	University of Auckland	a.lacey@auckland.ac.nz	<p><b>Women and the urban development milieu: employment schemes, biopolitics and postcolonial governmentalities</b></p> <p>This paper investigates employment schemes in urban centres and the ways women are imagined and called to participate in the formal sector in the name of development. A number of contemporary employment schemes in Honiara, Solomon Islands, and Port Moresby, Papua New Guinea, are examined to reveal the ways in which international and local development actors imagine and call on (or do not) women's engagement in the formal employment sector. In so doing, it is argued that these development actors and the women themselves are engaged in a myriad of interwoven biopolitical and postcolonial governance practices that concurrently stress neoliberalism's extension of formal market relationships and relationship orientations in all spheres of life and exercise power over individual and collective life itself. This paper makes use of a genealogical approach in two specific urban contexts in order to better illuminate the nature of biopolitical and postcolonial governmentalities, and their key local particularities, that make use of notions of development, gender and security in rationalities and programs of government. It draws from fieldwork research and examines development aid projects and interventions focused on gender and economic livelihoods in growing urban centres, as well as potential resistances to these interventions.</p>
Lacey	Anita	University of Auckland	a.lacey@auckland.ac.nz	<p><b>Teaching Plenary: Teaching Feminism/Teaching as a Feminist- A Conversation</b></p>

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Ladner	Kiera	University of Manitoba	kiera.ladner@umanitoba.ca	<p><b>Constitutional Renewal, Pluralism, Indigenous Resurgence and Treaty Implementation</b></p> <p>In November 2010, Australia announced its intent to consider options for constitutional reform that would address the Aboriginal peoples. A referendum on Indigenous constitutional inclusion is expected in 2016. New Zealand also announced its intentions to consider the drafting of a written constitution and to address the constitutional standing of the Treaty of Waitangi. Established in December of 2011, New Zealand's constitutional panel was charged with engaging both public and leaders in consultations, and reporting on matters of constitutional urgency and consensus to the government.</p> <p>The opening of these constitutions, and the succeeding debates over issues of nationhood, Indigenous sovereignty, treaties and Indigenous rights (political, economic, social, and territorial), represents an opportunity to engage in the study of Indigenous constitutional politics in Australia, New Zealand and Canada. This is a study of the constitution itself, and of Indigenous constitutional visions, as well as visions of decolonization, reconciliation, and resurgence.</p> <p>Focusing on matters of legal and constitutional pluralism, this paper will demonstrate how constitutional reform and discourses of reconciliation in Australia and Canada have obfuscated Indigenous constitutional orders and question whether constitutional reform and reconciliation in New Zealand could chart a new course towards meaningful decolonization, treaty implementation and Indigenous resurgence.</p>
Laery	Nick	University of Auckland	nick.laery@gmail.com	<p><b>The Convention of the Mandate: The Construction of the Concept in NZ Politics with Partial Privatisation as a Case Study</b></p> <p>The Fifth New Zealand National Government claimed it had an electoral mandate for its controversial programme to partially privatise State-owned assets. National reasoned that, having presented its proposal at an election it subsequently won, it had every right to proceed with the sales process. The concept of an electoral 'mandate' is an important democratic convention in New Zealand, with its roots in nineteenth century British Parliamentary tradition. The mandate concept plays an important role in encouraging greater democratic accountability. The theoretical basis of the mandate is the delegate model of political representation. There are two important components of a mandate. First, the elected government's right, and second, its obligation, to implement policy in a manner consistent with the public manifesto it presented during the election campaign. This paper will demonstrate that the National Government holds both a general mandate to govern and a specific, if very weak, mandate for its policy of partial privatisation.</p>
Lafraie	Najibullah	University of Otago	najib.lafraie@otago.ac.nz	<p><b>Islam's emphasis on unity and Muslims' disunity, why? A case study of Iraq</b></p> <p>Islam considers all the Muslims part of the community of the believers, umma. Its basic texts, the Noble Quran and the Sayings of the Prophet (Hadith), exhort Muslims over and over to close ranks and stay united. Yet, differences of opinion among the companions of the Prophet right after his death created a rift that seems unbridgeable in the light of recent events in the Middle East.</p> <p>This paper will first briefly review the concept of umma and discuss how historically the emergence of Shia and Sunni branches affected the Muslim community. Then it will briefly examine the differences between Shia and Sunni to assess whether they are basically theological or political. Afterwards the paper will focus on Iraq as a case study. Shias and Sunnis have been residing in Iraq from the early days of Islam. How was their relationship in the past, especially in the recent past? Can we trace the roots of the current violent tension to past relations or are there other factors involved? If the latter, what are they and how did they come about?</p>

Lee	Sung Yong	University of Otago	sungyong.lee@otago.ac.nz	<p><b>Dealing with 'Neighbour Countries' in Civil War Peace Negotiations</b></p> <p>When and how do neighbour countries become 'spoilers' of civil war peace negotiations? The proposed paper explores this question by examining the peace processes in Cambodia (1985-91) and Darfur-Sudan (2003-13). The roles of neighbour states in peace negotiations have been largely marginalized in contemporary academic discussions mainly because these neighbours generally lack sources of strong negotiation leverage (e.g. military forces, economic resources, legitimate power, and diplomatic networks).</p> <p>Although their roles as negotiation facilitators might be less significant than more powerful international actors, neighbours frequently have a critically negative impact on the progress of negotiations. In many peace processes, these countries have presented proactive but biased approaches in their intervention due to their pre-existing geopolitical and economic interests in the concerned conflicts. Such policies have frequently caused critical problems (e.g., Algeria in Western Sahara, Venezuela in Nicaragua, DR Congo in Rwanda). Hence, in order to nurture effective third-party mediation, it is essential to prevent neighbours from becoming spoilers.</p> <p>This study addresses this gap by analysing the behaviour of Thailand and Chad in the peace processes of Cambodia and Darfur-Sudan, respectively. Specifically, it explores (1) factors determining neighbour countries' strategic positions, (2) methods of intervention, (3) the timing and conditions under which the neighbours' attitudes became radical.</p> <p>Co-author: Abdelgabar Abdelrahman</p>
Lees-Marshment	Jennifer	Auckland University	j.lees-marshment@auckland.ac.nz	<p><b>Deliberative Political Leadership</b></p> <p>This paper will present new insights into how political leaders integrate public input into government within the constraints and realities of electioneering and government, presenting the perspectives of 51 government ministers on their use of public input and leadership style in conjunction with emerging theories of political leadership from academic literature. The research will report how our leaders currently find ways around the existing limitations in the way public input is collected to ensure they receive constructive and usable input that helps them show leadership and implement legitimised and long-lasting change. They acknowledge that leaders cannot know and do everything by themselves, and seek to utilise a diverse range of input from those outside government. They listen to, engage with, and judge this input carefully; furthermore they also seek to work with the public in identifying solutions before making final decisions. The paper will then put forward a model of deliberative political leadership, which incorporates a range of leadership styles including judging or reflective political leadership; out and about and learning political leadership; consultative and interactive political leadership and shared-solution finding and facilitatory political leadership.</p>

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Lees-Marshment	Jennifer	Auckland University	j.lees-marshment@auckland.ac.nz	<p><b>The Ministry of Public Input: how to integrate public input into government</b></p> <p>Government collects an increasingly varied range of public input mechanisms including consultation, deliberation, informal meetings, travels out in the field, visits to the frontline and market research. However this raises questions about whether such input is high enough quality, how it is collected and processed, and integrated into decisions made by political leaders. This paper will present results from an appreciative inquiry analysis of academic and practitioner documents, and interviews with practitioners and government ministers in the UK, US, New Zealand, Canada and Australia. It will make proposals for how public input can be gathered more effectively, processed, and integrated into government decision making. It will propose that governments need to create a single government unit – whether a commission or ministry – of public input to prevent continued wastage of resources and hope and provide a transparent and effective method of integrating input from outside government within its existing structures and practices.</p>
Lees-Marshment	Jennifer	Auckland University	j.lees-marshment@auckland.ac.nz	<p><b>Teaching The Practice of Politics: background, rationale and effectiveness.</b></p> <p>This will discuss the experience of teaching The Practice of Politics</p>
Lees-Marshment	Jennifer	Auckland University	j.lees-marshment@auckland.ac.nz	<p><b>Applied politics - academic engagement with the media and practice</b></p>
Leonard	Griffin	University of Otago	grif_13kav2009@hotmail.com	<p><b>More than Words? Communication, State Behaviour, and Political Crisis.</b></p> <p>The role of communication/language in influencing state behaviour is recognised as important by both the rationalist and constructivist schools of thought in international relations (IR). Even “cheap talk” can provide information to, and alter the behaviour of, the receiver of a communication. This is despite the reasons offered by rationalist thinkers which would suggest, at first glance, that costless communication should have no influence on the receiver’s actions.</p> <p>This paper examines the reasons for why both the rationalist and constructivist school believe communication to be influential in times of political crisis. It is argued that despite an agreement on the matter of communication’s influence, gaps in the existing literature mean our evidence for, and understanding of, this phenomenon are not as substantial as they could be. These gaps relate to 1) a lack of quantitative, large-n empirical studies on the effects of “costless” communication and 2) a narrow focus on communication via the predominance of deterrent threats as the subject of investigation. This paper is an early attempt at filling these two gaps and offering preliminary findings gained through doing so.</p>



Li	Chang-Lin	National Chung Hsing University	lichow168@gmail.com	<p><b>The rising of initiative and referendum for the replacement of the decline of parliaments</b></p> <p>Inspired by the precursor of Political Science Lord James Bryce who pointed out “the decline of parliaments”, this research paper will be dedicated to emphasize the rising of initiative and referendum and its theory of direct democracy. Governance model on direct democracy Use the governance model on direct democracy such as semi-direct democracy and semi-representative democracy presented by Zogg, and make the systematic analysis from its research structure. Based on the examinations of the seven standards of initiative and referendum for example national referendum into the Constitution, obligatory constitutional referendum, popular initiative, ordinary facultative referendum, extraordinary facultative referendum, democratic system typology, national referendum volume etc. presented by Hamon, to make a classification and comparison for nineteen countries in Europe.</p> <p>Analysis on the initiative and referendum A. The global tendency to practice on the initiative and referendum is becoming more increasing. According to the indication of “Initiative and Referendum Institute Europe”, up to the year of 2010, the national referendums have reached to 1538 cases around the world. B. Discuss the reason why the global practice on the initiative and referendum is becoming increasing ? C. Do the systematic analysis according to the new data on the national referendums practiced in the whole world (such as phenomenon shows that the volume is increased on the national referendums, and the spreading situation for each country etc.).</p> <p>Comparison on the global national referendums Based on three voting models (centralization, decentralization, political party), and six systems of national referendums (Denmark, France, Italy, Switzerland, British combination such as New Zealand and Australia, Latin America etc), to make a comparison and related case study analysis.</p>
Lindahl	Sondre	University of Otago	sondre.lindahl@postgrad.otago.ac.nz	<p><b>Searching for the Silver Bullet: A Critical Evaluation of the Research on Counterterrorism</b></p> <p>9/11 and other major terrorist attacks against Western targets resulted in a massive interest from academia to find ways to counter terrorism. At the peak a new book on terrorism was published every 6 hours reflecting how counterterrorism is now a major security issue for most states. Based on a dissatisfaction with the field of terrorism studies in the years after 9/11, Critical Terrorism Studies was established in order to stimulate and undertake research on topics largely overlooked in the “orthodox” study of terrorism. This paper reviews the key arguments made by CTS, and some “orthodox”, scholars about contemporary counterterrorism, the key issues that occupy scholars, and what future critically-oriented work ought to focus on. As such the paper provides an important overview of critically-oriented research on counterterrorism. The paper will then identify the need for critically-oriented research on terrorism that goes beyond general exhortations, and instead offer concrete alternatives to prevailing models of counterterrorism based on critical theorising and an emancipatory commitment.</p>

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Llewellyn	Rebecca	University of Otago	r.l.llewellyn2011@gmail.com	<p><b>Health activism: a pathway forward in times of economic and political constraint?</b></p> <p>The current socio-political and economic context of rampant neoliberal capitalism is an unsupportive environment for many public health practices. The stagnated progress for many public health ails such as child poverty can be seen to have, at least in part, resulted from this context of economic and political constraint: a situation reflecting the overall failure of constitutional politics to resolve issues of great social concern. The case for alternative methods of political engagement, specifically that of health activism, will be presented. The construct of health activism will be explored, drawing on interdisciplinary understandings of the parameters and practice of the construct. Questions such as: 'what is the potential for social transformation?', 'is activism democratic and ethical?', 'what are the implications of System Justification Theory?' and 'are there serious alternatives to violence?' will be touched on. The conclusions drawn and questions raised from the literature will be complimented by preliminary findings from semi-structured interviews held with current public health professionals. The lived experienced of professionals working in the field serves as a 'proof of concept' for the academic understanding of health activism, providing practical insights into if and how the utilisation of activism for health could proceed in the future.</p>
Lolaki	Seyed Mohammad	Waikato University	sml33@students.waikato.ac.nz	<p><b>Other than the West: The West and 'Otherness' in Iranian Political Islamic thought (1960s to 1980s) with reference to Khomeini, Shariati, and Bazargan</b></p> <p>My doctoral study investigates political Islam within the Iranian context. It examines the three main aspects of political Islam present in discourses that attempt to fuse Islam with political streams that are also motivated to some degree by nationalism and aspects of modernity and developmentalism. These discourses can be categorized into three main schools of thought: jurisprudential Islam grounded in the writings of Ayatollah Khomeini, leftist Islam based on Ali Shariati's works, and liberal Islam exemplified in the thinking of Mehdi Bazargan.</p> <p>Islamic political groups allied to these schools played a proportionately greater role in mobilizing the Iranian masses in the 1960s and 1970s than nationalist secularists or socialist secularists. Their efforts led to the 1979 Islamic Revolution. In the course of the post-revolutionary era, two out of these three schools have come to dominate Iran's intellectual discursive arena: jurisprudential Islam and liberal Islam. In this paper I will analyze and examine the work of the three Iranian thinkers with respect to their ideology of 'Otherness' vis-a-vis western modernity.</p>

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Lovell	Melissa	Australian National University	melissa.lovell@anu.edu.au	<p><b>Colonial Ambivalence and the Production of Responsible Citizens: An Examination of Australia's Income Management Regime</b></p> <p>Contemporary debates about citizenship are more likely to focus on the responsibilities of citizens—including the responsibility to manage foreseeable risks and avoid dependence on welfare—than on the State's responsibility to secure citizens' civil, political or social rights. This paper uses Australia's Income Management (IM) Regime as an illustration of contemporary debates about both the appropriate conduct of citizens and the potential of social policy to transform the capabilities of 'vulnerable' citizens, especially Indigenous peoples. IM, which quarantines a portion of individuals' social security income for expenditure on essential items such as food and rent, was first introduced in remote Indigenous communities as part of the Australia's Northern Territory Intervention in 2007. It was later extended to non-Indigenous individuals in low socio-economic regions across Australia. This study demonstrates that the policy shift was accompanied by a change in political discourse from an initial focus on Aboriginal cultural dysfunction to a later focus on identifying vulnerable individuals and building their capabilities so they could manage economic and social risks more successfully. The example of IM also demonstrates the growing influence of governmental technologies of risk and prudence, and their relation to an ongoing ambivalence about Indigenous identity and citizenship.</p>
Lundberg	Thomas	University of Glasgow	Thomas.Lundberg@glasgow.ac.uk	<p><b>Letting the Voters Decide: Government-initiated Referendums and the Management of Risk</b></p> <p>Despite their attendant risks, referendums are normally initiated by governments with a view to achieving the results those same governments want. But why risk a referendum that might yield a result the government does not want, particularly when there are potentially safer options for resolving issues of constitutional importance, such as the normal legislative process? This paper will propose a theoretical framework that addresses the questions of why governments initiate referendums on significant constitutional matters they could potentially lose, how elite and mass opinion plays out during the resulting debates, and how the referendums' sponsors handle the process. Our case studies are drawn from voter responses to attempts to change the electoral system. In all three government-initiated referendums in New Zealand (1992, 1993 and 2011), the outcomes were unwanted by the governing elites, and while the result of the United Kingdom electoral referendum of 2010 was welcomed by the Conservative Party, its decision on the options to put before the British public reflected a desire to minimise risk. We argue that modern political pressures may force governments to include the wider public in decision making on constitutional matters, but governments will attempt to sabotage the process to prevent unwanted outcomes.</p> <p>Co-author: Raymond Miller</p>

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Iusitini	Leon	Auckland University of Technology	leon.iusitini@aut.ac.nz	<p><b>An Exploration of Ethnic Differences in Political Attitudes in New Zealand</b></p> <p>Research has shown that political attitudes in New Zealand tend to be structured along two underlying dimensions – an ‘economic’ construct (left-wing vs. right-wing) and a ‘social’ construct (liberal vs. conservative). Ethnic differences in political attitudes are the subject of much anecdotal conjecture but little empirical evidence. To address this gap, data from six waves of a survey conducted after each general election (the New Zealand Election Study between 1996 and 2011) were merged (n=17,876) and analysis was conducted to explore differences in political attitudes among the main ethnic groups in New Zealand. Preliminary findings suggest Māori and Pacific electors are further to the left on the economic dimension compared to New Zealand European, Asian, and ‘Other’ electors who were further to the right (on issues such as taxation, privatisation, welfare, and class conflict). On social issues, the picture appears more mixed: Māori and ‘Other’ electors were more pro-environment than other ethnic groups; Māori and Pacific electors held more favourable attitudes towards Māori people; Asians were the most pro-immigration and Māori the least; and New Zealand European and Pacific electors more likely to be monarchists compared to Asians who tended towards republicanism and Māori who were more evenly split.</p>
Lynch	Eliot	University of Otago	eliotlynch@hotmail.com	<p><b>Parallels in the Rise and Fall of Shah Reza Pahlavi and George W. Bush: The Relevance for the Obama Era</b></p> <p>This paper argues that there are meaningful parallels in the leadership trajectories of Shah Reza Pahlavi and George W. Bush which have relevance for our understanding of US-Iran relations during the Obama era. It is argued that both Shah Reza Pahlavi, during the 1970s, and George W. Bush, during the 2000s, engaged in a highly ideological pursuit of Persian Gulf hegemony, which combined militarism, nationalism, and considerable strategic overestimation. The failure of both the US-allied Shah and G.W. Bush to realize Persian Gulf hegemony represents two distinctive phases in the universal modernizing logic of post-World War II US-led liberal international order. The paper will then contrast the 1979 Iranian revolution and 2008 US presidential election as moments of acute hegemonic contestation. Khomeini’s 1979 Iranian revolution contested the legitimacy of the Shah’s westernizing agenda and sought to embed and soften the projection of Iranian power within a broader project of deepening Islamic legitimacy in the Middle East region. Since 2009, Barack Obama has sought to restrain US power and embed the US in a project of deepening liberal international order and rule of international law. The paper will then discuss possible insights into the nature and significance of ongoing US-Iran negotiations.</p>
MacArthur	Julie	University of Auckland	j.macarthur@auckland.ac.nz	<p><b>Policy power: Critically Assessing the Role of Local Engagement in Electricity Sector Reforms</b></p> <p>Moves towards decentralizing, privatizing, and reorganizing previously public electricity systems are consistent with dominant policy norms. These changes are accompanied by increased involvement of non-traditional (private) actors in both policy design and policy implementation due to: the increasing complexity and informational asymmetries accompanying policy problems, the belief that governments should ‘steer’ but not ‘micromanage’ and the impact of globalization and deficit reduction on state capacity. The electricity market restructuring that has taken place in Canada, New Zealand, Denmark and the UK over the past thirty years has opened up, in theory, space for new actors, new renewable sources, and the decentralization of energy systems that many environmentalists suggest is necessary for climate change mitigation. This paper undertakes a preliminary comparative critical examination of community energy sectors in these countries, with a view to understanding key drivers and impacts.</p>

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MacDonald	Lindsey	University of Canterbury	lindsey.macdonald@canterbury.ac.nz	<p><b>Moralising the indigenous subject.</b></p> <p>The focus of this paper is theories of 'indigenous' political claims derived from an idea of indigenous morality. In their most simple forms such theories are based in the difference between indigenous and non-indigenous beliefs, for example, the claim that since Māori (the indigenous people of New Zealand) value whanau (family) more than non-Māori, then they have a more plausible claim to group rights. The most complex of such theories derived from indigenous morality are those in which the scholar assumes that they understand the political aims of indigenous people, based on their knowledge of indigenous society. I am not concerned here with theorists who are explicit that it is their own political preferences that inform their argument, for example where a theorist wishes to protect the diversity of languages, and therefore wants to argue for indigenous language protection. Rather, I wish to question the wisdom of arguments that make political claims based on an idea of indigeneity, or more properly, an ethic of indigeneity created by the theorist themselves.'</p> <p>Co-author: Lindsey MacDonald</p>
MacDonald	Lindsey	University of Canterbury	lindsey.macdonald@canterbury.ac.nz	<p><b>Who heir property rights? Locke, and the indeterminacy problem.</b></p> <p>The paper argues against recent scholarship that Locke takes no normative stance on individual property rights in the political society in his Two Treatises; that he does not specify that property 'continues' from the state of nature. Of course he holds that individual property is justifiably held against the common in a state of nature, it is one of his great innovations. But nowhere does Locke specify how a government is to deal with the indeterminacy of property in the state of nature. So we err greatly in thinking that he provides us a way through the tragedy of the commons.</p>
Mackenzie	Graeme	University of Waikato	graememackenzie73@gmail.com	<p><b>Crises and the prospects for change: Land policy in South Africa</b></p> <p>Analysis of current conflicts around social justice, economic inequality and democratic politics could benefit from the lessons provided by past crises. The 'punctuated equilibrium' framework (Baumgartner &amp; Jones, 2009) offers a theoretical lens for analysing such crises, predicting drastic changes to established policy equilibria after short periods of crisis. Through qualitative analysis of primary and secondary data, this paper argues that the example of land policy in South Africa shows that policy changes after such crises are not guaranteed. Between 1990-1996, South Africa experienced crisis when a transfer of power was negotiated from a minority racist regime to a democratic government. In land policy, prior to 1990 the policy equilibrium gave white citizens privileged access to landownership. During the transition to democracy, the possibility of a new land policy equilibrium arose, potentially providing black citizens with access to landownership. This crisis was resolved by a compromise that simultaneously maintained privileged white access to landownership and mandated government action to widen access to farmland to black citizens. This shows that contrary to the predictions of the punctuated equilibrium framework, revolutionary changes are not the only possible outcome of crises. Post-crisis policy equilibria can easily bear great similarities to pre-crisis policy equilibria.</p>

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Mackenzie	Graeme	University of Waikato	graememackenzie73@gmail.com	<p><b>Constructing Deserving and Un-Deserving Citizens in New Zealand Public Policy</b></p> <p>Frameworks of critical policy analysis postulate that public policy is not merely a technocratic response to societal problems. Rather, it actively plays out ideologies and values of dominant groups in society in a range of ways. Schneider and Ingram (1993; 1997; 2006), for example, argue that all public policy actively construct their target populations along four categories as socially positive or negative and as politically strong or weak. Some of these values imbued in public policy may be based on party-politics. Despite a common commitment to neoliberal economic ideology, the two dominant political parties in New Zealand, Labour and National, appear to overtly diverge in their policy priorities in some policy sectors, such as health, education, sustainability, taxation and so on. This paper maps the social constructions of target populations in New Zealand public policy by the National Party-led government between 2008-2011. Drawing on the theoretical framework of the social construction of target populations, the paper explores how specific policy constructions of target groups are made visible in the public sphere through the national print media. Using content analysis and discourse analysis, we map out the “new” desirable and undesirable citizens in current public policy.</p> <p>Co-authors: Dr Rachel Simon-Kumar Associate Professor Priya Kurian</p>
Magcamit	Michael	University of Canterbury	mim49@uclive.ac.nz	<p><b>A Carabao’s Riddle: Securing the Philippines’ Development Space in the Time of Perpetual Oligarchy</b></p> <p>The Philippine development riddle has continued to undermine the country’s people-centered national security policy which puts emphasis on the goal of securing the gains of democracy for individuals and societies. It argues that amid the presence of perpetual oligarchy, the government has attempted to implement various neoliberal economic policies, particularly trade liberalization, that have been adeptly harnessed by oligarchic forces to their uncontested advantage. The paper examines the major threats to the country’s development space, rooted primarily on economic underdevelopment as opposed to internal and/or external military conflicts. The deeply-entrenched patronage system dominating the country’s political and economic arrangements breeds and sustains national insecurity rather than security.</p>
Maniam	Agkillah	University of Auckland	anma441@aucklanduni.ac.nz	<p><b>Political factors accountable for variation in Central Forest Spine (CFS) policy implementation</b></p> <p>Powers are constitutionally divided between different levels of government in Malaysia’s federal state. In this system, subnational units are often tasked with crucial policy areas, such as sustainable development or natural resource management. Through Malaysia’s top-down policymaking approach, subnational units have been assigned responsibility to implement policies. Aligned with this institutional framework, successful policy implementation in a federalist structure is influenced by two other features, the intergovernmental relations between government units and the distribution of finances. In recent years, co-existence of a federal structure with environment policy has become a critical problem. In 2006, the government of Malaysia enacted the Central Forest Spine (CFS) policy to link, preserve and conserve existing forest islands in Peninsular Malaysia. However, the policy has not been uniformly implemented at subnational level. More specifically, the CFS policy has been implemented in some states but not others. The states which have not implemented the CFS policy claim that they lack financial resources; they were not consulted, and that the new policy conflicts with existing development plans. This paper aims to explain some of the key assumptions which have been identified to be possibly responsible for the implementation variation of Malaysia’s Central Forest Spine (CFS) policy.</p>

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Mann	Daniel	University of Leeds	d.e.mann@leeds.ac.uk	<p><b>A comparison of approaches to mass housing: the UK and New Zealand</b></p> <p>Both New Zealand and the UK share the same form of government and have a great deal of shared heritage, however this is not reflected in the evolution of New Zealand's public housing policy and practice. This is evident in both the timeframes and the dichotomous approaches both countries took towards the construction and operation of mass housing. Despite New Zealand having a much smaller population than the UK with less land area, it started building 'state housing', as social or council housing is known in New Zealand, and unlike in the UK, it almost exclusively takes the form of fully detached dwellings and can often be found in suburban areas, some of which were built exclusively for these new housing developments. While the latter has direct parallels with overspill estates in the UK, the former is in direct contrast where council housing is most often comprised of either low-rise or high rise blocks with some semi-detached housing but almost no fully detached homes. I will examine the political contexts which led to New Zealand's unique approach to council housing and the circumstances which enabled it to evolve differently than council housing did in the UK, and whether the model used in New Zealand is more tenable than what is found in the UK.</p>
Marine	Jane	University of Canterbury	jane.marine@pg.canterbury.ac.nz	<p><b>Applying Public Participation in Mitigating Internal Conflict in Kenya</b></p> <p>On 1st February 2008 Kofi Anan for the Panel of Eminent African Persons, witnessed the signing of the Kenyan National Dialogue and Reconciliation document on the resolution of the political crisis brought about by the post-election violence of 2007/2008. The document had four main agenda and of interest to this paper is agenda four which stated in part "..... Perception of historical injustices and exclusion on the part of segments of the Kenyan society constitute the underlying causes of the prevailing social tensions, instability and cycle of violence." One of the proposed solutions in agenda four for this long standing issue was undertaking constitutional, legal and institutional reform.</p> <p>On August 27th 2010 Kenya promulgated a new constitution. I will look at how the different elements of public participation as articulated in the new constitution are contributing to the mitigation of conflict in Kenya post 2010 as Kenya continues to navigate towards a more peaceful, equitable and participatory country. This paper will highlight the progress thus far and areas of further work that need to be considered.</p>
Marquez	Xavier	Victoria University of Wellington	xavier.marquez@vuw.ac.nz	<p><b>The Unreasonableness of Politics</b></p> <p>Recent research in psychology and political science suggests that the circumstances that make possible rational persuasion in politics are extraordinarily rare and fragile. Moreover, this research also suggests that these circumstances seem to be deeply rooted in the "nature" of democratic politics, insofar as such politics depends on the formation of group coalitions tied together through ritual by emotionally charged symbols. Politics, this research suggests, seems to be deeply, and not contingently, unreasonable, as the intractability of debates over inequality, global climate change, and many other apparently urgent problems attests. This paper argues that the unreasonableness of (democratic) politics is a structural condition that can be managed but not eliminated, and argues that this fact should trouble certain democratic ideals of deliberation. The structural unreasonableness of politics argues for institutions that minimize its harms rather than maximize reasonableness.</p>

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Martínez Pantoja	Yadira Ixchel	University of Auckland	ymar183@aucklanduni.ac.nz	<p><b>United States promotion of GM foods: the use of public diplomacy strategies and instruments to target government agencies in Mexico</b></p> <p>Mexico is considered a center of origin and biodiversity for corn and this crop is relevant in the country to the extent that GM maize commercialization is not allowed because corn is part of the national identity. Despite this designation of origin and biodiversity, Mexico imports 10 million tons of GM corn each year in accordance with the NAFTA commitments. It is my hypothesis that not only the Mexican government agencies have done research and decided by themselves about biosecurity regulations, but also there are international actors and forces, such as the US Department of State and the US Department of Agriculture, that have influenced the changes in the GMOs regulation. Therefore, this paper will identify the public diplomacy strategies and instruments that the United States is implementing to promote GM foods among the Mexican agencies in order to adopt a flexible regulation respect to GM maize. How the American agencies have interacted with Mexican officials and have influenced the change of GM food policy in Mexico is the subject of this paper.</p>
Mas'udi	Wawan	Victoria University, Melbourne	wawanmu@gmail.com	<p><b>The Indonesian populist way: How does Jokowi create political legitimacy?</b></p> <p>Ahead Indonesian presidential pool in 9th July 2014 Joko "Jokowi" Widodo, Governor of Jakarta, is the most appealing figure. Jokowi emergence in Indonesian politics is somewhat unique since as politician he comes from common people background, while his career was started from local arena, Mayor of small city Solo. His emergence seems to break the return of 'old' political patronage and traditional political hierarchy in Indonesian democracy context. While politics is about creating popular legitimacy, Jokowi set different approach and policies. His popularity is much linked to two cardinal aspects. One is pro-urban poor programs, as he started in Solo and being expanded in Jakarta. Two is direct political approach (communication or relationship) with people, known as mider-praja in Solo and blusukan in Jakarta. Drawing analysis using the framework of creating legitimacy, my presentation will discuss; 1) to what extent his approach and policies creates legitimacy; and 2) what those mean for Indonesian democracy. Data utilized in the paper are part of my PhD research on Local Populism in Decentralized Indonesia.</p>
Matahaere	Matthew	University of Otago	matma747@student.otago.ac.nz	<p><b>The sexualisation of native masculinity</b></p> <p>The Rugby World Cup in 2011 provided a space for contestation in terms of the representation of native bodies in New Zealand. Central to a 'bloke culture', rugby and sports in popular culture continues to be a signifier of native masculinity. The native body becomes the text in which colonialism reproduces itself. The paper will be working with Rachel Rakena's exhibit of the 'big black phallus' and the reconstitution of imperialist discourse or 'slavers block'. Images are never neutral, there is no empty space for representation so in the absence of context what does this mean?</p> <p>How do we articulate resistance in an analysis that neither romanticises nor slides over the difficulty of representations of native masculinity in an era of mass production, cultural imperialism and popular capitalism?</p>



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McMillan	Kate	Victoria University of Wellington	kate.mcmillan@vuw.ac.nz	<p><b>Understanding voter turnout among Asian immigrants in New Zealand</b></p> <p>International literature on the electoral participation of immigrants clearly shows that many migrant groups participate at levels much lower than those of the local-born. Very limited data exists on the electoral participation of migrants in the New Zealand context, but those which do exist also show that some migrant groups, particularly North Asians (Chinese, Koreans, Taiwanese, Japanese), vote at significantly lower levels than the native-born. This finding is particularly important in the context of overall declining voter turnout (69% in 2011) and increasing immigration from North Asia. In this paper we will report preliminary findings from a series of focus groups held in 2014 with Asian immigrants who were permanent residents in New Zealand in 2011. Participants were asked to identify the factors that influenced whether or not they voted in the 2011 general election. We will discuss their responses in light of hypotheses presented in the national and international literature about immigrant electoral participation.</p> <p>Co-author: Dr Fiona Barker</p>
Moses	Jeremy	University of Canterbury	jeremy.moses@canterbury.ac.nz	<p><b>Peace without Perfection: Examining the Intersections of Pacifism and Realism</b></p> <p>This paper delves into the theoretical baggage of classical Realism in order to understand more fully how conflict and war finds a place in that theory and to investigate the possibilities for rethinking and reconceptualising a pacifist approach in response. This research will first examine the moralisation of war in just war theory as well as arguments that suggest that no such moralisation is possible. Realist criticism of the liberal moralisation of war will come into consideration here and will represent an important point of departure for understanding how Realists have tended to view war as an amoral yet tragically inevitable element of international interaction. The question as to whether war can ever be considered as being congruent with principles of justice will be considered and the question as to whether a Realist orientation toward the inevitability of political conflict can be squared with a commitment to non-violence will be studied in detail.</p>
Motta	Sara	University of Newcastle	sara.c.motta@newcastle.edu.au	<p><b>The Storytellers of Critique: Decolonising Political Science</b></p> <p>Feminisms from the margins- Black, Chicana and Decolonial - draw our ethical and analytic attention to the epistemological, ontological, embodied and spiritual violences, of modernity towards its co-constitute others, particularly the poor black woman. Such violences are reproduced in the epistemological logics of political science in which only certain ways of performing the intellectual, with particular embodied attributes and affective commitments – disembodied and instrumental, certain forms of producing knowledge -abstract, individualised and masculinised, and certain forms of knowledge -the written and textual, are permissible.</p> <p>Yet these traditions also provide us with gems of analytic insight which can contribute to political science's reimagining. I contend that it is in the figure of the storyteller from the epistemological margins that we can find the outlines of a practice of affirmative critique that decolonises the practices of knowledge and subjects of knowing of political science. Elements of such a practise include an epistemological privileging of the margins; a methodology of border-thinking; and an ethics of care. These foreground practices of affirmative critique in the epistemological politics of political science. They open the critical imagination and practices of imagining to ways in which we might learn to become otherwise in practice and in theory.</p>

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Murchison	Ashley	University of Otago	ashley.murchison@gmail.com	<p><b>Roundtable:</b> Outside the heat of the 2014 election: the academic's perspective</p>
Murtola	Anna-Maria	AUT	<a href="mailto:Annamaria.murtola@aut.co.nz">Annamaria.murtola@aut.co.nz</a>	<p><b>Late neoliberalism in Question</b></p> <p>The global financial crisis put the shortcomings of neoliberalism on the global agenda. Yet it seems that neoliberalism has not only survived but triumphed. In this triumph it is becoming increasingly clear that neoliberalism no longer presents itself as a corollary of democracy or a friend of economic or political freedoms. Instead, we see a rise in a very different kind of neoliberalism, an 'authoritarian neoliberalism' that does not seek to persuade. In Europe, austerity measures have suspended democracy, protests in the United States have been met with police brutality and legal amendments are made across the world restricting the right to protest. At the same time, neoliberalism combines with authoritarianism in countries such as Turkey, a constellation that the Gezi revolt last year tried to challenge.</p> <p>Today, physical force combines with neoliberal necessity in an effort to discredit and demoralise advocates of alternatives. Thus consent is garnered primarily based on a politics of detachment. This turn to force indicates what Gramsci a long time ago described as typical in the situation of a 'crisis of authority'. At the same time, the rise of authoritarian capitalist powers provides a compelling alternative model to democratic capitalism. In this paper I argue that the current crisis of neoliberalism has brought consensual neoliberalism to an end. This means that our analytic vocabularies need to be realigned.</p>
NAYRAL	Melissa	UMR GRED, IRD, France	melissa.nayral@gmail.com	<p><b>Conflicts : towards an understanding of political dynamics in New Caledonia</b></p> <p>In New Caledonia, the political landscape regularly witnesses conflicts, some of which have been particularly significant in local history.</p> <p>In view of Gluckman's work on African States (1963), we wish for the notion of conflict to be the starting point of our analysis of New Caledonian political life and of the role conflicts play in it. On the basis of discord providing with highlights on some of the finer moments of the local political life, this communication wishes to describe and analyze two recent conflicts observed in our respective fieldworks on Ouvea Island and the commune of Yate in the past 10 years. It aims to demonstrate that far from being the consequence of Melanesian's political institutions internal problems (Babadzan, 2007), in New Caledonia, conflict and discord are constitutive of the way these systems operate and are also a factor of social change.</p> <p>More generally, we hence wish to demonstrate that unlike common beliefs that the political life of a country is first composed of systems that operate well, New Caledonian political life seems to be relying on more or less violent conflicts and more or less intense crisis to do so.</p> <p>Co-author: LEVACHER</p>

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Neef	Andreas	University of Auckland	a.neef@auckland.ac.nz	<p><b>Valuation, Valorization or Commodification of Biodiversity and Ecosystem Services: A Comparative Analysis of Societal and Political Discourses</b></p> <p>The rationale for valorizing biodiversity and ecosystem services has been discussed controversially since the 1990s. While the proponents of valuation, valorization and financialization of biodiversity and other ecosystem services count on new impulses for global environmental conservation and even expect positive effects in terms of rural poverty alleviation, the critics of such market-based concepts and instruments fear the transformation of biodiversity and ecosystem services into marketable commodities, associated with the enclosure and commodification of nature in the sense of a "Green Capitalism". The controversy around this issue has gained additional momentum through the international popularization of the "The Economics of Ecosystems and Biodiversity – TEEB" approach. Against this backdrop, the German Parliament recently commissioned a set of scientific reports aimed at scrutinizing the TEEB study's sweeping conclusions and contentious implications. Drawing on my involvement in this expert consultation, I will first discuss some of my own findings from a five-country comparative study on societal and political discourses on the valorization of biodiversity, with particular emphasis on the discursive strategies employed by a variety of actors and the discourse coalitions that have evolved among them. I will then present a critical account from the final workshop held in Berlin in November 2013.</p>
Newman	Joshua	University of Queensland	j.newman2@uq.edu.au	<p><b>Wicked Problems as First World Problems: Conceptualising Complex Policy Problems in Developed and Developing Country Contexts</b></p> <p>Modern developed countries are increasingly confronted with wicked policy problems, in which solutions and appropriate instruments are unknown and political forces go against conventional policy trajectories. However, seen from another perspective, complex policy problems are a luxury afforded only to governments that are fortunate enough to govern in a context of advanced policy development. For many governments in the developing world, even the most basic issues in public policy exhibit the characteristics of wicked problems. This paper uses the example of asylum seeking migrants to explore how a complex policy problem can be conceptualised differently in a developed country, such as Australia, and a developing country, such as Cambodia. Because wicked problems are viewed differently in these countries, divergent approaches and policy responses are possible. In Australia, dealing with asylum seekers has taken on heightened political significance as the methods to deal with this issue have become increasingly controversial. However, in Cambodia, the high level of complexity associated with most policy problems reduces the special nature of the asylum seeker issue. This has resulted in particularly unexpected outcomes, such as the government of Cambodia's 2014 announcement that it would consider relocating some asylum seekers that had been rejected by Australia.</p>

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Nikonov	Sergey	St.Petersburg State University	NikonovS@mail.ru	<p><b>Noopolitics as information strategy</b></p> <p>A modern world dismissed a thesis that the Cold War is over. International journalists work for the benefit of their states, entering into confrontation with each other every day, using the new technologies of communication media. Practically, the mass media has become the mean of manipulation. It is possible to change any political system of another state using the mass media. For this the information strategies are developed. The article provides a definition of Noopolitics as information strategy for manipulating international processes via the mass media. It leads to the formation of the public's positive or negative attitude towards the foreign or domestic policy of the state, or blocks of the states, in order to build a positive or negative image of the ideas, and to promulgate moral values. With the development of global information space, the political systems are developed new countries, such as Kosovo, South Ossetia, Western Sahara, South Sudan, are being formed. What was considered logically organized and complete in the world policy, it is destroyed now. A new understanding of geopolitics, as the influence of world policy on international relations, emerges in the modern world taking into consideration the role and place of mass media and journalism.</p>
Nikula	Pii-Tuulia	University of Auckland	pnik004@aucklanduni.ac.nz	<p><b>Change and stasis in higher education cost-sharing policies in New Zealand and Finland</b></p> <p>In many countries, debating the appropriate cost-sharing ratio between the state and the student has risen on the policy agenda after the massification of tertiary education and the resulting pressure for additional funding. Countries have varied in their response. A minority have continued with a predominantly publicly funded model while many now require higher than nominal private contributions. This paper compares changes in tuition fee and student allowance policy legislation in Finland and New Zealand between 1989 and 2013 and the arguments utilized justifying these policies. Policy trajectories are explained by using the 'multiple streams lens' with an additional focus on institutional constraints. Harnessing a comparative perspective this paper investigates why the two case countries have chosen and continued in different policy paths and the conditions facilitating, or hindering, the likelihood of a radical change.</p>
Nissen	Sylvia	University of Canterbury	sylvia.nissen@pg.canterbury.ac.nz	<p><b>Making a difference: Perspectives of young New Zealand tertiary students</b></p> <p>Many New Zealand university students lead fulfilling lives, but have also experienced growing rates of inequality, debt, loss of access to quality public space, unemployment, resource consumption and social exclusion. Yet despite significant commentary on an apathetic or 'lost' generation, young citizens are not simply passive consumers or victims of local or global changes. This paper presents preliminary findings of how young New Zealand tertiary students today are expressing and practicing their political agency - defined here as the ability to imagine a different future and do something about it. Based on ethnographic fieldwork and a series of semi-structured interviews with young New Zealand students, this paper suggests that there are deeply contested visions of what it means to make a difference between, on the one hand, de-politicised and technocratic mechanisms for change within existing frameworks and, on the other hand, radical action that aims to address issues by creating conflict, disruption and dissent to challenge power structures and prompt greater systematic change.</p>

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Noakes	Stephen	University of Auckland	s.noakes@auckland.ac.nz	<p><b>Transnational Advocacy and Institutional Change: Lessons from the Experience of International Non-Governmental Organization in China</b></p> <p>The emergence of International Non-Governmental Organizations (INGOs) in China has been met with a large and growing body of scholarship, the conventional focus of which has been the implications of INGO engagement for China. For example, much recent research has examined how these groups participate in and influence the policy process at a variety of levels, when and why they are effective in doing so, and their influence on the development of a domestic NGO community. By contrast, relatively little work has focused on the consequences of strategic engagement with China for INGOs. This paper takes an interactive and process-based approach in order to examine the intentional alteration by INGOs of their core strategies as a direct result of engaging China. We develop a theory of organizational change that ascribes the shift in INGO tactics and goals to a learning process that is a consequence of immersion in China's authoritarian institutions. In doing so, we expand a growing literature that not only moves beyond a binary conception of state-society relations in China, but adds to a gathering resurgence of interactive approaches to the nexus of states and transnational social actors more broadly, demonstrating how China transforms INGOs just as INGOs and other foreign actors can and do, in small ways, change China.</p>
Osborne	Danny	University of Auckland	d.osborne@auckland.ac.nz	<p><b>On the Dole, but Why? Distinct Response Patterns Underlying People's Attributions for Poverty Affect Policy Support for the Poor</b></p> <p>Welfare policies remain a contentious issue in contemporary political debates. The literature on attribution theory, however, suggests that the ways in which people explain the causes of poverty affect their willingness to help the poor. To these ends, research shows that poverty beliefs vary along four causal properties: locus, stability, personal control, and other control. The current paper extends this framework by identifying response patterns (latent profiles) underlying these beliefs about the causes of poverty. Participants (N = 315) belonged to one of three latent profiles: Unsympathetic (high internal locus; moderate stability; high personal control; high other control), Sympathetic (low internal locus; moderate stability; low personal control; high other control), and Moderate (moderate across causal properties). Conservatism and system justification positively correlated with membership in the Unsympathetic (vs. Sympathetic) profile. Membership in the Unsympathetic profile correlated with more anger, less sympathy, and less support for personally—and others—helping the poor. These findings demonstrate that the unique ways in which people explain poverty have a substantive impact on their support for policies aimed at rectifying poverty within New Zealand. Implications for the framing of welfare policies will be discussed.</p>
Pandey	Chandra	Waikato University	pandeycl@gmail.com	<p><b>The Tripartite Challenges of Food Security: Climate Change, Migration and Low Investment on Agricultural Research in Nepal</b></p> <p>One of the major challenges posed by climate change is global food security in the context of ever increasing population, providing little access to food for the poor. Nepal is one of the poorest and least developed agrarian countries in the world. Agriculture contributes 35% of the total gross domestic product of Nepal. But three issues have been creating setbacks in agricultural productivity in Nepal. The first is increasing impacts of climate change. Nepal has experienced the changes in climatic system such as changes in monsoon period, prolonged precipitation, landslides, drought and receding fresh water sources. The second is increasing outflow of labour. The majority of youths migrate to Middle East countries for employment opportunities. The third is declining government's investment in research and development for higher and sustainable agricultural productivity. Inputs needed to increase the land's productivity—from seed to fertilizer, technology, machinery, irrigation and finance—are scarce nationwide. The issues of food security will be deteriorating, forcing the poorest and most vulnerable starved. This paper explores these three interrelated challenges—climate, migration and low investment—and their combined impacts on agriculture and food security in Nepal and seeks to frame the debate for addressing the</p>

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				challenges.
Parsons	Nigel	Massey University	N.Parsons@massey.ac.nz	<p><b>Is there a movement in Fatah? Secular Palestinian nationalism as a viable social movement in the West Bank: evidence from the provinces.</b></p> <p>The mainstream Palestinian nationalist movement Fatah continues to define itself as a movement (harakat) as opposed to a party (hizb), primarily because 'party' implies a degree of political normalcy absent in Palestine. Equally, Fatah has suffered from well-documented internal failings connected to the maladministration and stagnation of the national project that is the Palestinian Authority. This paper examines internal efforts to revive Fatah across the West Bank since the electoral defeat of 2006 and the subsequent damaging split with Hamas and Gaza. Revival efforts are gauged against the qualities of a typical social movement, including a capacity for collective endeavour driven by a purposeful and active membership. This lens is coupled with a focus on political dynamics outside of metropolitan Ramallah, specifically Jenin in the north and Central Hebron in the south. Conclusions find an enervated movement demoralised by failure and detached from the centre yet striving to remain relevant; on a provincial level there can still be identified a movement within Fatah.</p>
Patman	Robert	Otago	<a href="mailto:robert.patman@otago.ac.nz">robert.patman@otago.ac.nz</a>	<p><b>Rethinking America's Great Power Rivalry: the Cases of Syria and the Ukraine</b></p> <p>In recent decades, the exponential increase in globalization has accelerated to the point where many challenges in the security, economic or environmental spheres can no longer be resolved alone by any sovereign state. The relative decline of the US, therefore, does not necessarily mean, as Paul Kennedy and others have foreshadowed, that the mantle of global leadership will be automatically passed from America to China or another great power rival. But the Syrian and the Ukrainian crises have revealed a basic paradox. While the structure of the international system in the 21st century is fundamentally different from the past, great powers like the US and Russia have yet to recognize their growing inability to determine events in places like Syria and the Ukraine and continue to continue in ways that weaken or marginalise international efforts to deal with these pressing security issues.</p>
Peters	Michael	University of New South Wales	Michael.Peters@unsw.edu.au	<p><b>Governing in a Trust Deficit</b></p> <p>The 'trust deficit' that appeared in Western states in the mid-2000s and lasted through the Global Financial Crisis affected state institutions more adversely than private ones, such as banks, businesses, and media outlets. Most importantly the trust deficit negatively affected the ability of the state to carry out its regulatory functions, changing the power relationship between government and business. Drawing on and criticising Lindblom's 1977 'exchange of rights' explanation of the relationship between the state and business, I argue that to understand the challenges of governance during the trust deficit we must examine in an historically situated way the locations at which the resources of state and business institutions are produced, noting the different appearance of trust in each. I describe the characteristics of the trust deficit and then examine its effects on the regulatory capacities of state institutions in Britain, the United States and Australia.</p>

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Qi	Weiqun	University of Auckland	qwei748@aucklanduni.ac.nz	<p><b>China's Policy on Islands Disputes and The US Rebalance In Asia Pacific</b></p> <p>China's rise has been one of the most prominent phenomena in international relations. Since 2008 after the Beijing Olympics, people have witnessed a more and more assertive China in terms of territorial disputes and security issues in the region of East Asia. Particularly after 2010, the territorial disputes on the East and South China Sea, including the Diaoyu (Senkaku) Islands, Paracel Islands and Spratly Islands with its neighbours escalated. Its neighbours concern that China may use force to obtain the islands in dispute, which would greatly upset the existing security order in East Asia.</p> <p>Meanwhile, the United States is always perceived as an important state in the security issues in the region of Asia Pacific. After 2010, president Obama proclaimed its "return to Asia" strategic move. Behind this strategy, IR scholars commonly believe the Sino-US relation would influence the regional security issues greatly. Interactions of both sides towards the islands disputes should be examined carefully. In this paper, I would examine the cases of territorial disputes in the sea to see how does Beijing perceive the existence of the US military power and its rebalance in the Asia Pacific.</p>
Rack	Janina	University of Waikato	janina.rack@googlemail.com	<p><b>The role of year 10 social studies classes to engage young New Zealanders in politics</b></p> <p>Nineteen percent of young, eligible New Zealanders did not vote in the general election of 2008, which is a population of 78,000 people (Dinsdale, n.d.). While New Zealand is still amongst the countries with the highest voting rates, it also has the eighth steepest declining turnout rate out of 22 advanced democracies (Vowles, 2004). Deciding factors in political participation of young people include: an early start in political participation, sound political content knowledge (Catt, 2005; Rattinger, 2009) and high self-efficacy (Bandura, 1977). School, as one of the agents of political socialization beside family, peers and the media, takes an important stake in supporting these three factors of forming a political identity and positive attitudes towards political participation (Catt, 2005; Rattinger, 2009). This paper focuses on year 10 social studies classes to promote political literacy and increase political participation among young New Zealanders. At the heart of this paper are eight activities students can engage with, which are a result of careful consideration of the following aspects: The context of political participation and its relevance to Year 10, the New Zealand Curriculum, a philosophical inquiry into the development of political institutions and ideas and pedagogical theories, including different strands such as educational psychology and critical theory.</p>

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Raghavan	Suren	University of St Paul	rghavansuren@gmail.com	<p><b>Buddhism Beyond Ethnonationalism - The Struggle for Democracy in Buddhist States-the case of Sri Lanka</b></p> <p>The research adopted a case study method in order to reconstruct the life history and mindsets of three Saigha activists, who changed the manner in which peacebuilding was received as an idea in Lanka. By analyzing the history of the resistance politics of the Sinhala Saigha, this research found that Saigha resistance is not merely a colonial by-product or post-colonial innovation but rather a direct expression of the Sinhala 'cosmion', i.e. of a world of meaning in which Sinhala society appears as an analogue of the Buddhist cosmic order. Within this cosmion, the Saigha play a crucial role as the mediators between the cosmic order and its earthly manifestation. Peacebuilding projects and federal proposals advanced by Western actors and their local supporters failed to appreciate this historical Sinhala self-understanding, because their Western frameworks considered federalism as an 'export-ready' political template while the religious actors in Lanka featured as mere 'spoilers' in the inevitable process of modernization.</p> <p>In conclusion, we argue that future peacebuilding in Lanka should consider two approaches. On the one hand, recognize and appreciate the cultural role played by key forces in Lankan society and, on the other, work with the self-understanding of these forces in order to help them transcend the singular uniqueness of the position, which they think they occupy in the world of Buddhism and beyond.</p> <p>Co-author: Suren Raghavan</p>
Read	Haydn	Victoria	Haydn.Read@wcc.govt.nz	<p><b>An Analytical Framework – citizen preferences, council decisions and large capital investments</b></p> <p>Local government in New Zealand faces a number of significant challenges. One of these challenges revolves around understanding how elected members reach decisions to support large capital investments on behalf of their local communities. The Local Government Act (2002), the planning frameworks to operationalise the Act, and the citizen engagement practices which councils adopt to determine citizen preferences set the contextual scene for these decisions. This is how information regarding citizen preferences is sought, collated, and then presented to elected members to support decision-making on such matters. To what extent does this information influence decisions? Elected members are also subject to a broad range of influences when deliberating upon a decision. These broadly include the consideration and weighting of any citizen preferences, expert technical advice, and or political pressures placed upon them by their peers – to lean one way or another. It is my hypothesis that citizen preferences for large capital investments are not given enough weight by elected members who make the decisions for or against these investment opportunities. Using a number of decision cases, this paper describes the analytical framework and theoretical derivations for the doctoral research which supports this position.</p> <p>Co-authors: Bill Ryan Karl Lofgren</p>



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Revelli	Federico	University of Torino	federico.revelli@unito.it	<p><b>Tax limits and local democracy</b></p> <p>This paper* investigates the impact of hierarchical fiscal limitations – a key determinant of the actual degree of local government autonomy in multi-tiered government structures – on the functioning of local democratic processes in terms of voter turnout, political competition, and candidate selection. Based on a theoretical model of voluntary, costly voting where state limits on local government policy narrow the position issue gap between candidates and elicit a move from private value (ideology) to common value (valence) voting, I exploit exogenous variation in tax limitation rules in over 7,000 Italian municipalities during the 2000s to implement a difference-in-differences research design relying on local turnout in parallel Parliamentary elections as a counterfactual. The estimation results show that fiscal restraints provoke a fall in voter turnout and number of mayor candidates, and a sizeable widening of elected mayors' win margins. The evidence is compatible with the hypothesis of hierarchical tax limitations fading the ideological stakes of local elections and favoring valence-based party line crossing, thus questioning one of the fundamental postulates of the fiscal federalism lore, namely the widespread credence that tax decentralization is a key ingredient to foster local government performance and accountability.</p> <p>* early working paper version at: <a href="http://ideas.repec.org/p/uto/dipeco/201336.html">http://ideas.repec.org/p/uto/dipeco/201336.html</a></p>
Rogers	Damien	Massey University, Albany	d.r.rogers@massey.ac.nz	<p><b>The Discourse of Politico-Cruelty</b></p> <p>Many legal analyses of the evolving set of rules prohibiting the commission of war crimes, crimes against humanity, and genocide tend to understate, if not neglect, contingent historical realities, though scholars of critical legal theory routinely attend to such contextual matters. When it comes to explaining the politics of enforcing international criminal law however, propitious politico-strategic circumstances are necessary, but on their own insufficient, conditions. This is because decisions to establish international criminal tribunals and courts are also informed by a discourse opposing any and all acts of cruelty committed in pursuit of some non-trivial matter. This paper begins by describing the character of this discourse of politico-cruelty and situating its origins within the modernist project. It seeks to demonstrate that on five occasions favourable politico-strategic circumstances were accompanied by a strong attachment to that discourse, manifesting in the establishment of the International Military Tribunal, the International Military Tribunal for the Far East, the International Criminal Tribunals for the Former Yugoslavia and for Rwanda, and the International Criminal Court. The paper concludes that the enforcement of international criminal law constitutes a new means of waging 'lawfare' within 'judicified' conflicts occurring as contemporary politico-cultural affairs.</p>

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Rupar	Verica	AUT	<a href="mailto:verica.rupar@aut.ac.nz">verica.rupar@aut.ac.nz</a>	<p><b>News, politics and diversity in the 2014 New Zealand General Election</b></p> <p>This project engages with the multidisciplinary study of news and the implications of digital modes of communication on the relationship between media, politics and society. Serving as a base for the ongoing programme of study into media, discourse and social change the project focuses on news coverage of the 2014 New Zealand General Election to investigate how the discursive practice of journalism negotiates its democratic role in opening a space for public dialogue in increasingly interactive and highly mediated social and political environment. Interrogating journalism's capacity to facilitate spaces for public dialogue, it explores the dynamic between conventional forms of political reporting and new digital models of producing and sharing the news. The media's role in making sense of the political world, together with its power to define which groups deserve attention and who may act as their spokesperson, will be explored by using content, discourse and network analysis of election stories published, broadcasted and shared in the New Zealand Herald, TV NZ's One News, National Radio's Morning Report and on Twitter. The project applies a multi-methodological approach to examine distinct factors of news discourse in both 'legacy' and social media.</p> <p>Co-authors: Thomas Owen Sarah Baker</p>
Russell	James	Auckland	<a href="mailto:j.russell@auckland.ac.nz">j.russell@auckland.ac.nz</a>	<p><b>A comparison of attitudes towards introduced wildlife in New Zealand in 1994 and 2012</b></p> <p>Management of introduced species is necessary to moderate both their beneficial use, and their negative impacts. For some species the duality of being both a resource and a pest can cause conflict among people with different attitudes towards the species and their management. The attitudes of New Zealanders to introduced wildlife and their control were surveyed in 2012, and compared to 1994. Attitudes to widely established introduced herbivores such as deer, possums and rabbits have remained consistent, whereas those for goats, pigs and uncommon species such as thar, chamois and wallabies are changing. New Zealanders generally accept that large mammals are both a resource and a pest requiring management and control. Attitudes to small herbivores such as possums and rabbits, and predators such as mustelids and rodents are negative and focused on control or extermination using multiple methods. Less than one per cent of respondents felt doing nothing was acceptable, but acceptability of poisons has declined. New Zealanders generally take a utilitarian approach to wildlife management. Future management of introduced animals in New Zealand will need to be situational and utilise mixed management methods appropriate to different demographics and stakeholders, while appropriately resolving conflict.</p>

Russell	Scott	University of Auckland	srus043@aucklanduni.ac.nz	<p><b>The Green-Developmental State: renewable energy and developmental institutions in Taiwan</b></p> <p>One of the greatest challenges in the 21st century is developing an environmentally sustainable form of economic growth. In recent years, states across East Asia and elsewhere have responded to this challenge through technology-based climate mitigation strategies. Of these countries, the Taiwan government's efforts in the promotion of renewable energy technologies particularly the promotion of solar photovoltaic (PV) technologies has been the subject of increasing scrutiny as Taiwan's solar PV sector consistently ranks among the top four in the world for production. While many argue there has been a retreat of the developmental state in Taiwan, the purpose of this study is to test this view through examining the Taiwan state's role in promoting innovation in fields such as solar PV. The findings suggest that the promotion of Taiwan's solar industry is a case of institutional reconfiguration and recombination. It develops this argument through exploration of the macroeconomic plans for renewable energy technology in Taiwan and close examination of the linkages between public R&amp;D institutions and large solar PV companies in Taiwan's solar energy sector.</p>
saputro	eko	Deakin University	esaputro@deakin.edu.au	<p><b>Indonesian Position toward Sino-Japanese Rivalry in the East Asian Financial Regulatory Regionalism</b></p> <p>This paper attempts to explore the Indonesian financial authorities' response toward Sino-Japanese competition in the ASEAN+3 financial cooperation. It is argued that Indonesian political stance has influenced the Indonesian financial authorities' perspective and response toward both major powers. At this point, the political dogma of "bebas aktif" (the politics of independent and active) is believed to shape the financial authorities to be neutral toward the rivalry. The fieldwork findings indicate that the absence of national economic strategy for regional cooperation contributes in directing Indonesia to avoid the rivalry. However, it is also suggested that Indonesian financial authorities consider Japan as a comfortable dialogue partner while criticizing China due to its organizational manner in developing regional cooperation.</p>
Sawer	Marian	ANU	marian.sawer@anu.edu.au	<p><b>Revisiting the Antipodean social laboratory</b></p> <p>Frank Castles has left a lasting legacy with his concept of the 'wage-earners' welfare state'. The concept of Australasian exceptionalism, is one that has enabled scholars to escape from analytic and normative frames developed far from the Antipodes. Yet the focus on the wage-earners' welfare state as the basis of Australasian exceptionalism sometimes diverts attention from the significance for women of the social liberalism that was institutionalised in Australasia – along with its principles of state interference. While the early introduction of non-contributory old-age pensions paid to women in their own right was one expression of this, further dramatic developments occurred from the 1970s when women in both countries 'looked to the state' to provide social justice. This paper will look at the extent to which the concept of Australasian exceptionalism is helpful in explaining the kind of gender policy machinery developed in both countries, the use of centralised wage-fixing processes for gender equity purposes and the innovative but less successful attempts to make the distribution of unpaid work an indicator of gender equality.</p>
Sewerin	Sebastian	University of Cologne	sebastian.sewerin@uni-koeln.de	<p><b>Understanding Democracies' Capacity to Innovate – Environmental Policy Performance Compared</b></p> <p>Amidst all discussions of evolving global environmental governance, there are good reasons not to neglect the role of state-led policy making. Decisions on policy change and the allocation of sparse resources have to be negotiated in political processes and need legitimization by and enforcement through state institutions. As the changes necessary for moving societies towards sustainable development are inherently political the question arises what institutional contexts are favourable to negotiate policies breaking existing patterns. The transition towards renewable energy is a complex, long-term environmental policy problem. In recent years new innovative energy policy schemes have been introduced in some, mostly European, countries and are beginning to change the overall modes of governance, while other countries lag behind. This article will compare the patterns of energy</p>

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				<p>policy innovation across five cases (Australia, Austria, Germany, New Zealand, UK) from 1998 to 2010. The cases were chosen to achieve variation on institutional characteristics while a new approach to measure policy output, the Index of Policy Activity, will assess how innovative the countries' policy portfolios are. The aim of this article is to analyze the effect of institutional characteristics on patterns of policy innovation and thus shed light on the politics of policy innovation.</p>
Shams	Mortaza	Waikato University	mshams@waikato.ac.nz	<p><b>Ritualization of violence and the question of suicide terrorism</b></p> <p>Muslim militants call attacking civilians using suicide tactics as "jihad". The term "jihad" which nowadays is the main concept in the literature of so-called Islamic suicide terrorism is a jurisprudential term which had long been forgotten. Whether it was the rise of Islamic jurisprudence, or "fiqh", which promoted religiously motivated terrorism or actually it was instrumentalisation of "fiqh" by extremists which dragged the Islamic jurisprudence into the plight of terrorism is a question which will be answered in this paper. It will be explained how "ritualization of violence" in the name of jihad and using it as a technical tool for justification of suicide terrorism contradicts several well-established principles of the Islamic jurisprudence.</p>
Sharma	Ashok	The University of Auckland	ashok.sharma@auckland.ac.nz	<p><b>"The 2014 Indian Parliamentary Election: A Shift from Identity-based Politics to Governance/Economic Performance-based Politics ? "</b></p> <p>The 2014 Indian Parliamentary election has been won convincingly by the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP). This paper argues that the 2014 election is a watershed in Indian political history. This election stands out because of the substantive issues on which the political parties focussed their campaign, which eventually decided the results of the election. This paper further argues that in India's post-liberalisation phase there has been a considerable shift from identity based politics of caste, region, religion and language. The 2014 election reinforces this trend and can be considered as landmark shift from identity based politics to the politics of governance and economic performance.</p> <p>To substantiate this claim, this paper will analyse the election campaign strategy of the three main contenders for the prime ministerial post and the election manifesto of the main political parties. It concludes that the increasing number of middle class citizens and their political participation, and the BJP's shifting focus from Hindu nationalism to governance and economic issues and the mandate that BJP got in the election. This shows that BJP has been able to transcend the barriers of caste, region and language politics and also the barriers of gender and demography, to win on issues of governance and economic performance.</p>
Sharma	Ashok	The University of Auckland	ashok.sharma@auckland.ac.nz	<p><b>"India as a Global Swing State: Which Way Will It Swing?"</b></p> <p>India with its central geographical location, growing economy, expanding foreign policy and strategic posture is considered as a 'global swing state' in the emerging balance of power. In the post-Cold War period India has taken some resolute steps to reformulate its foreign policy. One of them is its strategic engagement with the United States. The US-India relationship should be seen in the context of geo-strategic and geo-economic interests grounded on the values and principles of democracy. The U.S. engagement of India is clearly motivated by India's rising economic, military and political profile in the international arena. The United States has taken tangible steps to support India's aspiration to become a great power.</p> <p>But the US-India strategic partnership has seen a lull in recent years. Under the new Narendra Modi-led BJP government there is likely to be continuity in India's foreign policy posture. But 'web of allies' clause in BJP election manifesto signals some change in its foreign policy. This paper will examine India as a 'global Swing state' and how close India's foreign policy under new Modi government would be to the US. Then it will analyse which way will India swing in the competition between the US and China.</p>

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Sheppard	Jill	The Australian National University	jill.sheppard@anu.edu.au	<p><b>Compulsory voting and political knowledge: testing a ‘compelled engagement’ hypothesis</b></p> <p>Compulsory voting is known to have both primary and secondary effects: while it has been consistently shown that voter turnout increases with compulsion, the effects of compulsion on political engagement, democratic satisfaction, and electoral advantages are still open to debate. Similarly, the positive effects of compulsory voting on political knowledge are widely assumed, but experimental research has found that disengaged citizens do not seek out political information to inform their (compelled) vote. This study hypothesises that compulsory voting does increase citizens’ political knowledge, if only because countries that compel citizens to vote tend to also reduce the costs of becoming informed, offsetting the increased burden of having to vote. Examining data from the Comparative Study of Electoral Systems dataset, the study uses descriptive statistics and multivariate regression analysis to test this potentially important second order benefit of compulsory voting.</p>
Shepherd	Laura	UNSW	l.j.shepherd@unsw.edu.au	Teaching Plenary: Teaching Feminism/Teaching as a Feminist- A Conversation
Siegel	David	Brock University (Canada)	dsiegel@brocku.ca	<p><b>Leaders in the Shadows: The Leadership Qualities of Successful Municipal Chief Administrative Officers in Canada</b></p> <p>Leaders in the Shadows: The Leadership Qualities of Municipal Chief Administrative Officers</p> <p>This paper is based on a book which will be published soon by University Press. It reviews the leadership qualities exhibited by five municipal chief administrative officers (CAOs) who have been judged by their peers as exceptionally good leaders. This is an outgrowth of an award-winning article that I wrote in Canadian Public Administration in 2010 which reviewed in a theoretical manner the leadership qualities which the literature suggested CAOs should have. The book takes an empirical approach. It uses thick case studies of five CAOs who are regarded by their peers as exceptional leaders. This paper will use those five case studies to discuss the leadership qualities which are sought in exceptional CAOs.</p> <p>Biography of David Siegel David Siegel is Professor of Political Science at Brock University. He has written extensively in the areas of public administration and local government. He has a Ph.D. in Political Science from the University of Toronto and an M.A. in Public Administration from Carleton.</p>

Silfvast	Sandra	University of Melbourne	sandra.silfvast@unimelb.edu.au	<p><b>Food Security in Southeast Asia: A regional solution</b></p> <p>This paper will look at the challenges to food security in Southeast Asia and how a regional approach to tackling those could be further developed. In doing so, this paper will examine the potential role of the EU in developing the necessary mechanisms and modalities needed in Southeast Asia. It will be argued that the regional organisation ASEAN has a crucial role to play in developing such an approach and that there is a key role for the EU in assisting such an endeavour. The two regional entities' approaches will be compared, taking into consideration the time period and level of institutional development of the two organisations. It will be argued that ASEAN as an organisation is understaffed and underfunded and would highly benefit from external assistance. The EU as a regional entity with a functioning common agricultural system in place that ensures food security (availability, physical/economic/social access, safe utilisation at all times) possesses the relevant expertise that ASEAN could draw from. However, as the success of such an approach would be highly subjected to the political will of the ASEAN member states, EU-ASEAN cooperation on food security would have to be based on the exchange of expertise – a two-way flow – where the EU and ASEAN are equal partners.</p>
Simon-Kumar	Rachel	Waikato	rachelsk@waikato.ac.nz	<p><b>Between Survival and Impact: Remaking Thirty Years of the Ministry of Women's Affairs (MWA)</b></p> <p>Since its inception and establishment in 1984/85, the Ministry of Women's Affairs', as an institution working for the empowerment of women, has had a dotted and controversial profile. What began as a 'femocratic' institution representing the interests of women in the community from inside government gradually and decisively reformed into a policy agency whose primary role was to provide strategic advice to the Minister of Women's Affairs. Caught between neoliberal influences, conservative politics and the institutional conformity required by the public sector, the MWA has critics both within and outside government. For activists and scholars, the MWA has become disconnected from its primary constituency, i.e., women, and has been ineffective in tackling women's substantive subordination headlong. Assessments from within the public sector point to the lack of purpose and leadership, while questioning the usefulness of its policy advice. To its sympathisers, on the other hand, the MWA has been able to navigate a space of trust among its external and internal client groups and making significant impact in some key areas of women's and gender research, despite working under increasingly male-centric policy environments. Survivor and/or impotent policy actor? As part of marking the 30th anniversary of the MWA, this paper aims to examine the contradictory narratives – as change-maker, survivor, symbolic, leader – about the Ministry. This presentation seeks to highlight transitions during the last three decades in the strategic and organisational focus, working styles, and foundational ideologies of the Ministry, in light of concomitant changing political and social environments in New Zealand. The presentation concludes drawing on the lessons of the past to reflect on future roles that the MWA might play.</p>

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Simpson	Robert	University of Auckland	rsim022@aucklanduni.ac.nz	<p><b>Inter-governmental relations and the governance of globalised cities</b></p> <p>The role of large, outward facing, cities as drivers of national prosperity, increasing international competition between these cities, and the impact of globalisation on urban governance arrangements, are central themes within the comparative local government literature. The recent local government reforms in Auckland were at least partly driven by the perception that Auckland was not performing to its potential as an aspiring global city and an engine for economic growth in New Zealand.</p> <p>This paper offers a critical review of the arguments relating to the changing relationship between local and central governments as a result of the rise of, and competition between, increasingly globalised cities. More specifically, the paper engages in a cross-national comparative analysis that explores the extent to which local government in these cities enjoy special relationships with higher levels of government compared to other local bodies within their respective nations, and what this might mean for future urban governance reforms.</p>
Skilling	Peter	Auckland University of Technology	peter.skilling@aut.ac.nz	<p><b>Public attitudes to inequality in New Zealand: preliminary results from a qualitative-interpretive study</b></p> <p>This paper reports on a Marsden-funded research project that explores the attitudes and values that lie behind people's attitudes to economic inequality and redistributive welfare. The project deploys a combination of Q-methodology and engaged citizen deliberation, and works intensively with a relatively small number of carefully chosen participants, to develop an in-depth understanding of their core values, policy preferences and reasoning strategies.</p> <p>The design of the project (engaging with participants individually before bringing them together in a deliberative setting structured to ensure a diversity of perspectives) is intended to critically analyse the progressive claims often made for citizen participation in public policy debates. Does it make a difference to people's policy preferences when they are provided with the time and space to engage with experts and fellow citizens? What is the relationship between their pre-existing emotional and value-based commitments, on the one hand, and the provision of informational content, on the other?</p> <p>Assuming that certain high levels of inequality are socially damaging, the project also points towards ways in which modes of argumentation and persuasion around progressive policies might be made more effective.</p>
Smith	Megan	University of Waikato	s-m.smith@xtra.co.nz	<p><b>Cycling on the Verge? Exploring the Place of Utility Cycling in Contemporary New Zealand Transport Policy</b></p> <p>Efforts to increase cycling as a mode of transport (utility cycling) occur at all levels of government, as evidenced by a range of supportive strategies, research, and guidelines. Despite these efforts, utility cycling levels in New Zealand have remained persistently low. This paper explores the apparent disparity between policy intent and policy outcome, using a discourse analytical approach. It examines how cycling is positioned in contemporary New Zealand transport policy documents, and reveals whose priorities are shaping transport policy and how they prioritise utility cycling. The findings show transport is promoted almost exclusively by the government as an activity to facilitate economic growth and efficiency, despite its potential (and existing) impact on health and well-being, social justice, and environmental sustainability. The discursive practices of the government privilege private motor vehicle use, helping both to legitimate and maintain that privilege, while marginalising utility cycling as an effective mode of transport.</p>

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Smits	Katherine	Auckland	k.smits@auckland.ac.nz	<p><b>Feminism and the problem of voluntary subordination</b></p> <p>A central problem for feminism is posed by women who claim to freely accept norms, rules or mores which can be understood as patriarchal – ie, which imply, enact or embody their subordination to men. Liberal feminism has responded to this problem of voluntary subordination in two ways: 1) women’s choices to subordinate themselves are not truly voluntary, but are the result of patriarchal socialization or institutions; or 2) what appears to be subordination is not truly that, but is in fact, the expression of another, say sexual, freedom. In either case, voluntary subordination is assumed from a liberal perspective to be incompatible with autonomy. In this paper I explore the grounding of this assumption in social contract theory, in which one fundamental and continuing voluntary act of submission to authority by individuals vitiates all others. I examine the distinction, evident in a comparison of Locke, Rousseau and Kant, between voluntary subordination first to the state as an expression of natural freedom, second to the law as a rational and ethical ideal, and third, to the will of others. The paper argues that chosen subordination to cultural and communal values and norms may be defended on an alternative liberal reading of the relationship between contract, authority and autonomy.</p>
Smits	Katherine	Auckland	k.smits@auckland.ac.nz	<p><b>Teaching Plenary: Teaching Feminism/Teaching as a Feminist- A Conversation</b></p>
Spencer	Vicki	University of Otago	vicki.spencer@otago.ac.nz	<p><b>Neutrality and Multiculturalism</b></p> <p>Recently Peter Balint has argued against multicultural thinkers who criticize the notion of state neutrality on cultural matters. While he recognizes neutrality is impossible, he argues that it is a regulative ideal we should strive toward. His preferred form of neutrality is a ‘hands off’ approach for the state. Though I have some sympathy for his view that the state is often cumbersome and ineffective in its interference in people’s lives, I argue that the advantages Balint claims for a “hands off” approach with respect to marriage are fallacious. In particular, whilst he indicates the danger for women of the state providing recognition to traditional groups, I show that his proposal ushers in far greater problems for women.</p>
Stansfield	Matt	University of Otago	matt.stansfield@postgrad.otago.ac.nz	<p><b>Containing China? The United States in the South Pacific since 2011</b></p> <p>Hillary Clinton’s attendance at the 2012 Pacific Islands Forum meeting in Rarotonga marked a turning point in the United States’ (US) engagement with the South Pacific. Since the end of the Cold War, the US has focused much of its foreign policy on the Middle East. However, as the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq end, the US has begun to engage with the Asia-Pacific. So, why has the US decided to come back to the region now? There are three primary arguments for why the US has increased its presence in the South Pacific. Firstly, the US is containing the rise of China in the region, secondly, this is part of a wider shift in US foreign policy from West to East, and thirdly, it is being influenced by the nature of the Obama Administration and its approach to globalisation. This paper will argue that rather than seeing the US’ re-emergence in the South Pacific as a containment policy against China, its return should be viewed in light of the wider shift in US foreign policy from West to East under the Obama Administration.</p>



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Starrs	Sean	York University	sean.starrs@yahoo.ca	<p><b>"American Economic Power Hasn't Declined — It Globalized! Summoning the Data and Taking Globalization Seriously"</b></p> <p>A key debate since the 1970s is on the decline or persistence of American economic power in world order. The vast majority of analysts have employed national accounts — especially GDP — as a measure of economic power. In contrast, this paper argues that with globalization and foreign ownership, national accounts are no longer an adequate indicator of national power. In short, they under-estimate American power, and over-estimate Chinese power, due to the continued dominance of American transnational corporations. Hence, American economic power has not declined; it has globalized, and we need to move beyond national accounts to account for this.</p>
Starrs	Sean	York University	sean.starrs@yahoo.ca	<p><b>Does the Nationality of Capital Still Matter?</b></p> <p>With the explosion of capitalist globalization in the last two decades of the twentieth century, many commentators proclaimed the irrelevance of the nationality of capital — if not already, then certainly in the near future (Robert Reich 1992, William Robinson 2004). Other commentators, however, contested the rise of the 'global corporation' as a myth (Doremus et al. 1998), and affirmed the world's top corporations as largely national with international operations. Over a decade since the height of this debate, has capital by now cast off the shackles of nationality, or is it still moored to a particular nation-state? This paper sets up a range of criteria with which to address this question, and presents new empirical research on corporate board nationality, ownership data, and case studies on specific companies that are often portrayed as 'global corporations'. Following from this evidence, I argue that the nationality of the world's top corporations still very much matters. I then conclude with a number of theoretical implications, from the importance of nationalism in global capitalism to social movement strategy.</p>
Stephens	Catherine	Auckland	c.stephens@auckland.ac.nz	<p><b>The importance of embedding careers in the politics curriculum.</b></p> <p>This will explore the careers section of The Practice of Politics</p>
Sweet	Yulia	Rutgers, The State University of New Jersey	julia.lada@rutgers.edu	<p><b>Nonviolent civil movements against electoral fraud vs. autocratic regimes: Russia (2011-2012) and Belarus (2010)</b></p> <p>Can nonviolent movements initiate a transition from autocracy to democracy? How do failures of civil movement affect the development of democracy? In jeopardizing the status quo of regimes, pro-democracy civil rebels have to be ready for harsh retaliation from a government. If civil movements sustain and present a great level of resilience against repression, they may win, therefore, promoting further democratic change. However, as Russian and Belarusian experience showed, authoritarian rulers are no longer easy targets. The anti-government rhetoric of the civil movements predetermined the intensity and severity of government. In Russia and Belarus were employed various illegal and violent methods against entire movements as well as individual activists: arrests, murders, disappearances, kidnappings, intimidations and others. Putin and Lukashenka realized the many benefits and immeasurable power with their successful utilization of the Internet, social networks and other attributes of contemporary civilization. Their countermoves clearly demonstrated that dictators have become more sophisticated and nimble. The failure of the pro-democracy oppositions provoked a further consolidation of power, causing the shrinking of democratic principles and the entrenchment of autocratic principles.</p>

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Taflaga	Marija	Australian National University	marija.taflaga@anu.edu.au	<p><b>Unfair treatment?: Lessons from Australia's media coverage of the Coalition Federal Oppositions, 1983-1996 and 2007-2013</b></p> <p>Oppositions have long complained of poor, even unfair, coverage by the mainstream media. Oppositions are a key institution in democratic political systems, acting as both the government's chief critic and the alternative government. How then does the media cover oppositions? Using Australia as a case study, this study will examine the media's coverage of the Australian Liberal Party in Opposition between 1983 and 1996 and 2007 and 2013. This study will conduct a content analysis using all articles written about the opposition in The Australian and The Canberra Times on 30 randomly selected days each year. The study will examine whether the opposition is portrayed as initiating or reacting to events, whether reporting is about policy, tactics, internal divisions and tensions. It will also examine whether reporting is positive, negative or neutral. This will reveal new insights into how Oppositions are covered by the media and what aspects are considered most newsworthy.</p>
Talahma	Rula	University of Otago	rula.talahma@postgrad.otago.ac.nz	<p><b>Resistance in the racialization of space: The story of Palestine's checkpoints</b></p> <p>The sophisticated system of checkpoints, roadblocks, and temporary and permanent closures imposed by Israel on Palestinians in the West Bank is one technique of governmentality. Paradoxically, Israel established the checkpoints ostensibly to protect the Israeli settlements, but they became a daily life technology of control and dehumanization for the Palestinians. Using the case of Qalandia checkpoint, as one of the main checkpoints located to the north of Jerusalem, this article analyses old and new photographs documenting the evolution of this checkpoint. The article argues that there is a different story showing the dynamics of resistance within a blatant racialized space, divided among different audiences: Palestinians, Israelis and foreigners. The article concludes that checkpoints represent the historical continuity of the racial politics of border control, while revealing, in juxtaposition, other spaces of resistance in the heart or periphery of that racialized space.</p>
Talbot	Jonny	University of Auckland	jtal022@aucklanduni.ac.nz	<p><b>Imprisonment in New Zealand under an advanced liberal governmentality</b></p> <p>The recent return to private prison management in New Zealand is the latest manifestation of changes to imprisonment in the country. Rather than taking this as an isolated incident, this study investigates whether prison privatisation can be seen as part of a changing set of penal practices under conditions of advanced liberal rule. Specifically, the question is asked: How has imprisonment changed in New Zealand under an advanced liberal governmentality?</p> <p>In order to answer this question, this study will use draw upon the work of Michel Foucault and others on governmentality. A governmentality approach investigate the 'rationalities' and 'practices' involved in the governing of modern societies, that is the 'conduct of conduct'.</p> <p>Using this optic the study will proceed in two parts. First, it will broadly describe the ways in which imprisonment has changed in New Zealand under an advanced liberal governmentality and ask to what extent this shift in governmental rationalities can explain these changes. Second, a more detailed analysis of the neoliberal technologies of government used within the practices of imprisonment will be undertaken. The first of these is the increasing use of home detention, or electronic monitoring. The second is the shift to private management of Mt Eden Corrections Facility by the British corporation, SERCO.</p>

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Tarrant	Maxwell	Auckland University	max.tarrant89@gmail.com	<p><b>The Occupy Affect: Beyond Discourse in Social Movement Theory</b></p> <p>In September 2011 a protest movement began with an occupation of Zuccotti Park, in New York's financial district. Within a month's time, Occupy protests had been held in hundreds of cities across 80 countries. Its causes were broad based and the movement never articulated a unified set of goals. Considering the breadth of its political interests it is hard to imagine what force could have held it together. These aspects of the movement make it very challenging to define or explain, and my argument is that the dominant social movement theories have not been successful in doing so thus far. I suggest that Occupy was not motivated by an identity claim or clear political goals, but by a deep material connection between its participants, or what has been called affect. The concept, as defined by Gilles Deleuze and with particular reference to the philosophy of Baruch Spinoza, provides the means to explore these visceral feelings of connectedness that seem otherwise unexplainable. I will argue that the salience of affect in Occupy is the result of the failure of alternative mechanisms for expressing outrage and the desire for transformation. This failure is particularly notable in our inability to talk about or imagine a plausible alternative to the global system.</p>
Tingting	Miao	University of Auckland	tmia666@aucklanduni.ac.nz	<p><b>Ideological Hysteria in City-to-city Cooperation in China's Cultural Context</b></p> <p>China is by no means a 'ruled by law' society. The role of the appointed local cadres in China is different from those elected officials in advanced capitalism, which often seek growth in the context of coalition. Facing the intensified intercity competition and uncoordinated development which has led to economic inefficiency and political fragmentation, this paper identifies local officials' bureaucratism as one of the many reasons to Chinese cities' devious activities to their neighbours. Unfolding the bureaucratism, three connotations are included. The first indicates local cadres' closed development thinking and consciousness of absolute authority. They rather stand as the 'lord of their jurisdiction' instead of developing interactive relationship with outside cities. Secondly, local officials think little of credit issues. The tradition of 'new officers ignore the old issue' leads to policy change's lack of continuity and coherence. Statistics have shown that local governments are facing credit crisis in regional governance field. Furthermore, local protectionism can also be seen in local officials' developmental strategy. This paper will use literature analysis and case study to explore the cultural context which local officials contribute to and where they behaviour in.</p>
TIWARI	NEHA	JAWAHARLAL NEHRU UNIVERSITY	neha.twr10@gmail.com	<p><b>Commercial Surrogacy: Empowerment of One; Exploitation of the Other</b></p> <p>Commercial surrogacy has been banned in many parts of the world or is under strict regulation. India however has emerged as the new destination for childless couples as the surrogates are available in abundance, the whole procedure costs one-fourth of what it costs in the developed world and the laws regulating the practice protects the interests of the couples and ignore the surrogates. Many see it as a fair deal since according to them it provides a child to the childless and money to the poor. Some also argue that it empowers the poor women. However, this paper attempts to study this very myth and argues that commercial surrogacy is empowering the women living in the developed world since it gives them an option to have a baby even if they can't for various reasons. However, a woman living in the developing world is literally forced into it because of lack of options. She doesn't have a choice. The major problems faced by them are- firstly, their reproductive rights are affected in various ways. Secondly, it doesn't ensure a stable source of income. Thirdly, they bear the social stigma attached with it and face marginalization within their own families.</p>

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Townrow	Carly	University of Auckland	ctow014@aucklanduni.ac.nz	<p><b>Examining the Mechanisms of Voting: Income Contributes to Voter Abstention Through Feelings of Relative Deprivation</b></p> <p>Voter turnout in most Western Democracies has experienced a dramatic decline over the last 60 years—a decline that has accelerated in recent years. In 1984, over 85% of the electorate voted in New Zealand’s General Election. Yet the 2011 General Election saw close to 1/3rd of the population abstain from voting. Although research has examined the demographic correlates of this trend, the psychological mechanisms responsible for rising rates of voter abstention have been overlooked. We address this oversight by examining the indirect effect of income on voter turnout through perceptions of relative deprivation. Participants (N = 4942) completed a survey assessing their beliefs about the extent to which they felt (a) personally deprived relative to others and (b) their group was deprived relative to other groups, as well as their income and demographic variables. Voter turnout was determined via the Master Roll. As expected, income was positively correlated with voter turnout. Follow up analyses, however, indicated that the relationship between income and voter turnout was partially mediated by perceptions of relative deprivation. These results demonstrate the importance of examining the correlates of voter turnout from multiple levels of analysis and provide insights into interventions that could boost voter turnout.</p> <p>Co-author: Danny Osborne</p>
Ugwuanyi	Bartholomew	IMT, Enugu	ugwuanyiib@gmail.com	<p><b>THE MILITANCY IN THE NIGER DELTA REGION OF NIGERIA: A REFLECTIVE DISCOURSE ON THE CAUSE AND THE AMNESTY AS A MEASURE OF CONTROL</b></p> <p>The emergence of the militancy in the Niger Delta Region of Nigeria in 1998, following the Kaiama declaration by the Ijaw Youths Council, has been seen to have serious implications on the nation’s economy, security of lives and property and its fledging democratic governance. Consequently, various policy measures had been adopted to control the militant activities. The latest of such policy measures is the amnesty for the militants adopted in 2009. The key objectives of the paper is then to reflectively discuss the issue of the Niger Delta militancy and the underlying cause; critically analyze the appropriateness or otherwise of the amnesty initiative as a measure of control and to recommend measures for more effective and sustainable control of the Niger Delta militancy. In doing this, we relied essentially on secondary sources of data collection and consequently adopted content analysis technique in our analysis and conclusion. The basic findings of the study are that the militancy in the Niger Delta region is a consequence of the inability of the Nigerian state to provide the basic development needs of the people of the region and that even though the amnesty as a measure of control of the militancy has restored relative peace in the region, it nonetheless would not be sustainable unless it is followed up with other policy measures that would significantly address the fundamental problem of underdevelopment in the region. Consequently, the paper recommends, as a more effective and sustainable measure of controlling the militancy, a systematic and holistic development in the region. In conclusion, the study noted that the capability and the political will of the Nigerian state leadership to provide basic services and development needs of the people are necessary and critical not only for the control of the existing Niger Delta militancy but to forestall the occurrence of other militant activities in other regions in Nigeria that might be induced by similar neglect of development needs. The discourse generally is situated within the theoretical framework of state fragility.</p> <p>Key words: Amnesty, development, fragility, militancy, Niger Delta Region, Nigeria.</p> <p>Co-author: Chinwe A. Ohagwa</p>

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Vargas-hernández	José G	University Center for economic and Managerial Sciences, university of Guadalajara	jvargas2006@gmail.com	<p><b>IMPACT OF STRATEGIC PROTECTIONISM IMPLEMENTED BY BRAZIL AND ARGENTINA IN THE FIELD OF MEXICAN AUTO INDUSTRY</b></p> <p>Today protectionist actions have been highly adopted by the nations, that in order to cope with the constant crises that threaten to slow economic growth. The cancellation of trade agreements has led to a strategic management restructuring, which now seeks to minimize the negative effects. Mexico is not the exception, because last year suffered the imposition of a series of protectionist guidelines by Brazil and Argentina, which were intended to reduce the number of exports that are made to these South American economies. This study intends to analyze the impact and strategic changes adopted by Mexico in the automotive industry as a result of these regulations. Using a method of analysis of quantitative and qualitative data is to estimate the damages to the sector as well as the measures taken by Mexico to decrease side effects.</p>
Varnero Rawson	Stefania	University of Notre Dame Australia	steraw@gmail.com	<p><b>An Indifferent Citizenry: Democracy in a time of crisis</b></p> <p>This study addresses the problem of citizen indifference and argues that there is a causal connection between sovereign state interest and the pervasive influence of political apathy among the citizenry. Political indifference creates a homogenous, absent citizenry, with the steady erosion of both deliberation and a rational debating public sphere. This suggests that state or governance rather than directly exerting its authority over citizens—as in the classic theory of sovereignty—fosters indifference as a very ordinary, micro-process to control collective behavior and eliminates political dissent. However, this condition of antagonistic emptiness dramatically alters the nature (and future) of democracy as a mere consensual administrative apparatus paradoxically based on an exclusionary basis.</p> <p>Political indifference unfolds the scandal of a democracy evolving into a post-democracy system in which one sole actor performs on stage in front of a dormant mass of citizens. What is arguably taking place is not a simple deliberative or electoral crisis but a new self-established hybrid system constructed around the notion of civil detachment and sovereignty as the lone authoritative power, with no hegemonic alternative.</p>
Verbitsky	Jane	AUT University	jane.verbitsky@aut.ac.nz	<p><b>Antarctica: Future Imperfect?</b></p> <p>As a non-militarized area and the first nuclear free zone on earth, Antarctica is often overlooked in global security reviews and debates. Yet it is a place that has a history of unresolved contestation and is the locus of resources – for example, minerals, fresh water, fish - in increasingly scarce supply elsewhere in the world. Notwithstanding the presence of the Antarctic Treaty 1959 which established a cooperative multilateral condominium governance regime for the area south of 60 South, this paper suggests that the southernmost continent is likely to become once again the site of contention in the twenty-first century. The paper examines the extant systems of governance and control of Antarctica, the key issues that may give rise to competition and conflict over the southernmost continent, and the actors involved. It also considers New Zealand's role as a Consultative Party to the Antarctic Treaty, and how these security challenges may impact on that role.</p>
Vowles	Jack	Victoria University	jack.vowles@vuw.ac.nz	<p><b>Vote Compass: what political scientists can learn from the data.</b></p>

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Vowles	Jack	Victoria University	jack.vowles@vuw.ac.nz	<p><b>Income and Aspirations: A New Approach to Class Voting in Australia and New Zealand</b></p> <p>Household income is usually assumed to have a significant effect on vote choice, with persons in low income households (the 'poor') voting for parties of the Left, and persons in high income households (the 'rich') voting for parties of the Right. Yet comparative empirical research shows that this is not always the case, and that the effects of income are often conditional on other factors. Here we identify one factor in particular: voters' perceptions of their prospects of upward mobility, or 'aspirational voting'. We use CSES and national election study data from elections in two similar country cases, Australia (2013) and New Zealand (2011), and confirm the conditional effects of aspirational voting. We also find that income affects vote choice more strongly in New Zealand. We suggest that at least part of the explanation lies in differences between the two countries' tax and welfare systems, and perhaps Australia's system of compulsory voting, that tends encourage high voting among those on lower incomes who might otherwise be more disposed to abstain.</p> <p>Co-authored by David Aslop</p>
Waitoa	Joanne	Massey University	jojowaitoa@hotmail.com	<p><b>E-whanaungatanga: The role of social media in Māori political engagement</b></p> <p>This paper explores the potential of social media to enhance Māori development via political engagement, using the Mana Party Facebook pages as a case study. It is informed by Kaupapa Māori and empowerment theories and involves interviews with the Mana Party president, Mana Party Facebook page moderators, and users of the Mana Party Facebook pages to investigate the efficacy of using social media to increase Māori political awareness and participation.</p> <p>The research found that Mana Party objectives were met to varying degrees. It also found that social media has both positive and negative implications for indigenous development. While social media aligns with tikanga Māori through Tino Rangatiratanga and whanaungatanga, it can conflict with tikanga Māori due to lack of respect, cultural misappropriation, sharing of sacred information, subversion of traditional hierarchy and absence of a 'seen face'. The paper explores tensions in the use of social media for political engagement among indigenous peoples and offers a framework of how indigenous groups might use social media in a way that emphasises the positive and mitigates the negative aspects of the platform</p>
Walker	Scott	University of Canterbury	scott.walker@canterbury.ac.nz	<p><b>The Impact of Forced Democratization Attempts on Human Rights</b></p> <p>A number of studies have focused on the success rate of American attempts to force democracy (Bueno de Mesquita and Downs 2006, Gleditsch et al. 2007; Walker 2010). To date, however, such research has focused merely on the record of whether such efforts were successful in delivering democracy over the short and long term. In this paper, I review the record of American attempts to impose democracy in terms of their human rights outcomes. I focus the effects of such interventions on personal integrity rights during the 1950-2011 period.</p>

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Wanto	Adri	S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies (RSIS) Nanyang Technological University (NTU) Singapore	isadriwanto@ntu.edu.sg	<p><b>The Growing of Religious Intolerance in Indonesia</b></p> <p>Indonesia has recently seen a series of events which indicate an increase in religious intolerance. Certain Islamist groups promote anti-pluralist ideology to the Indonesian Muslims towards religious minorities, such as, Ahmadis, Shi'i's and Christians. President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono has been criticized for failing to act decisively in defending the rights of religious minorities which are guaranteed by law. This is important point as the state is obliged to protect the people and their rights. However, the law enforcement approach is only able to hide problems seen at the surface. Meanwhile, the root causes, that is, a high level of hatred and anger, remain in existence in the people at the cognitive level. The influence of Islamist's narrow and dogmatic interpretation of Islam has contributed significantly to the people's mind-set and emotional state. Therefore, in addition to Mr. Yudhoyono's administrative, the role of Kyais are crucial to promulgate a wider perspective of Islam to prevent Indonesia following the path of the Middle East's bloody religious war which has spanned hundreds of years. Kyais have to be proactive to straighten the Islamic discourse that has been hijacked by Islamist groups. Instead of remaining in their sanctum to contemplate.</p>
Webber	Douglas	INSEAD	douglas.webber@insead.edu	<p><b>The European Union in Crisis: How likely is it that Germany will remain 'pro-European'?</b></p> <p>Since 2010 at the latest, the European Union (EU) has been in a deep crisis, arguably the most profound since its inception. This paper will describe the various dimensions of the EU's crisis. In assessing how this crisis is likely to play out, it will focus in particular on one causal variable: the European policy of the Federal Republic of Germany, which numerous scholars argue has developed into an (albeit 'reluctant') hegemonic power in the EU. The paper will explore the extent to which regional political integration requires 'stabilizing' hegemonic leadership, to what extent Germany has provided such leadership in recent years, what variables help and/or hinder it in playing such a role, and how likely it is that Germany will remain fundamentally supportive of the integration process and supply the kind of leadership that the EU requires to survive this and prospective other crises. A concluding section will broaden the analysis to include other factors likely to shape the outcome of the current crisis.</p>
Whiteside	Heather	University of British Columbia	heather.whiteside@geog.ubc.ca	<p><b>What's New with Austerity Today?</b></p> <p>This paper asks the question: what, if anything, is new with austerity today? While simple in its formulation, answering this requires examining fiscal austerity as an evolving and interrelated set of macroeconomic theories and policy practices. Attention will be paid to temporal dynamics (how changes in the neoliberal state and accumulation regime affect or influence the use of austerity measures over time), spatial effects (the scalar impact of austerity, particularly downloading onto municipal or local authorities), and institutional considerations (public and private policy formulation and advice). The temporal, spatial, and institutional dimensions of austerity will be illustrated using examples from the global North, although some contrast with other experiences will also be provided. Establishing change and/or continuity in the austerity agenda will help uncover just how innovative the switch from stimulus to austerity was in the aftermath of the 2008 global financial crisis.</p>

Wilkinson	Martin	Auckland	m.wilkinson@auckland.ac.nz	<p><b>Nudging and Health Behaviour</b></p> <p>This paper is about the trendy idea of nudges – changes in ‘choice architecture’ that affect behaviour without (big) changes to costs and benefits - and specifically whether nudges could get people to behave more in line with public health advice. Nudge enthusiasts usually explain nudges via a central distinction in psychology between automatic and reflective decision-making processes; they take nudges to work mainly through automatic processes. However, unhealthy behaviour that may not be fully explained by automatic processes or remedied by nudges because behaviour change must be sustained in the long-term and unhealthy behaviour often involves failures of self-control. Nudge enthusiasts not deal adequately with these problems and needs supplementing with theories in health psychology. In the written version of the paper, we set out one such theory, Temporal Self-Regulation Theory, that helps with developing health nudges and illuminates the limitations of thinking of them as working only through automatic processes.</p>
Wineera	Josh	Otago	josh.wineera@postgrad.otago.ac.nz	<p><b>Security Sector Reform and the training, advising and mentoring of indigenous security forces: A re-run of Cold-War military aid or a new form of interface in international relations?</b></p> <p>This paper explores the practice of security sector reform (SSR), with a focus on capacity building through the training of local, indigenous security forces in post-conflict settings. The common notion is when local forces are deemed capable of taking responsibility for their own states’ security then external international forces can leave.</p> <p>Researchers have primarily concentrated on the macro top-down structural approaches to establishing capable, responsive and accountable security forces. Few study the micro bottom-up dynamics that occur at the training-learning juncture, and even fewer examine the preparation and readiness of the international trainers themselves. ‘It’s not just about how we teach but also how they learn’. This paper stresses the importance of including indigenous learning theories and learning styles, to complement the routine cultural and language components of the trainer preparation syllabi.</p> <p>Recent military and private security company practices in Afghanistan will be discussed, as well as New Zealand’s training role in Kabul. Finally, the paper argues that while this form of military aid may seem like a replication of its Cold-War predecessor, efforts to ensue alignment with democratic norms, good governance and upholding both state and human security values indicate a newer, more personal interface of international relations.</p>



Wong	James	The Hong Kong University of Science and Technology	jameskalei@ust.hk	<p><b>Better Safe than Sorry: The Precautionary Principle and the Institutional Design for Interest Representation of Future Generations</b></p> <p>This paper examines the implications of the precautionary principle for the design of democratic institutions that aim at representing the interests of future generations.</p> <p>It has been argued that the interests of future generations are often underrepresented in today's democracies (e.g., Goodin, 1996; van Parijs, 1998). At the same time, 'granting a voice to the voiceless' has become one of the central concerns in both environmental politics and the institutional design of democracy (Beckman and Page, 2008).</p> <p>In this paper, I focus on the precautionary principle – a widely received principle in decision-making for future generations – and discuss its implications for the choices and constraints of decision procedure in collective decision-making. Drawing on the theories of social choice and judgment aggregation, I illustrate: (1) the epistemic requirements for a decision procedure in order to satisfy the precautionary principle; and (2) the trade-offs for meeting these epistemic requirements in the design of democratic institutions.</p> <p>This paper will illuminate insights into the design of institutions that are not only democratic but also reliable for representing future generations' interests, or more generally, long-term decision-making.</p>
Wong	James	The Hong Kong University of Science and Technology	jameskalei@ust.hk	<p><b>Normative Deliberative Ends and the Discursive Dilemma: Lessons for Institutionalizing Deliberative Democracy</b></p> <p>This paper discusses the normative implications of the problem of the 'discursive dilemma' in social choice theory for institutionalising deliberative democracy.</p> <p>John Dryzek and Simon Niemeyer (2006/2007) propose two deliberative ends which we should aim at, i.e., meta-consensus and inter-subjective rationality. They argue that these deliberative ends are not only consistent with an ideal deliberative procedure but also produce stable collective decisions. I examine both ends under the context of a 'deliberation-then-aggregation' (DTA) institution of deliberative democracy. I argue that meta-consensus and inter-subjective rationality – as specified by Dryzek and Niemeyer – pave the way for the discursive dilemma, and hence may, contrary to their claim, generate unstable collective decisions. This problem may be avoided by redefining the notion of meta-consensus in a less general and more precise form, as in Christian List's (2002) meta-agreement which consists of demands such as single-peakedness and unidimensional alignment.</p> <p>Taking this theoretical issue seriously can avert the possible loopholes in institutionalising deliberative democracy in practice.</p>

Wright	Jeanette	Waikato	jmw6@students.waikato.ac.nz	<p><b>Conflicting Values in the Sustainable Dairying Debate in New Zealand: An Analysis of Competing Discourses</b></p> <p>This paper presents the findings from a Q-sort survey undertaken as a component of PhD research on sustainability and the dairy industry in New Zealand. The changes necessary for a transition to a sustainable society constitute a controversial and divisive public policy issue. The controversy is often about what values should guide decision-making, whose interests should benefit, and at what cost. More specifically, ideas about what is required to ensure a sustainable dairy industry are contentious in New Zealand, reflecting conflicting views about, amongst other things, what is necessary to ensure that dairy farmers reduce their impact on fresh water.</p> <p>Q-methodology is a participatory process particularly suited for the study of issues that are socially contested. The Q-sort survey I undertook provided a mechanism by which to ascertain what sustainability discourse shapes the subjectivity of different stakeholder groups concerned with sustainability and the dairy industry. The survey results demonstrated not only that there were five distinct discourses, but also that there were convergences and divergences across and between them. This paper presents the survey findings, and describes the beliefs, values and policy solutions supported by the different discourses to enable a more sustainable dairy industry.</p>
Younus	Aisha	The Australian National University	aisha.younus@anu.edu.au	<p><b>The U.S.-Pakistan Cooperation in the War on Terror: Security Implications for the Tribal Areas of Pakistan.</b></p> <p>The Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) of Pakistan have become an epicentre of jihadi militant activity (holy war) in the post-9/11 period. The dominant perspective states that the Pakistani state is responsible for creating jihadi militants in FATA. This perspective, as the only explanation, will be challenged. While addressing one major question, why has there been an upsurge of militancy in FATA, it will be argued that the Pakistan-U.S. cooperation in the war on terror has a significant impact on militancy in FATA. This study will be structured as a critical analysis aimed at explaining the context that eventually led towards militancy.</p>
Yurtbilir	M. Murat	University of New South Wales	yurtbilir@yahoo.com	<p><b>Mechanisms of Maintaining Legitimacy by the Karimov Autocracy in Post-Soviet Uzbekistan</b></p> <p>Uzbekistan acquired its independence in 1991, albeit not deliberately. Right after the collapse of the Soviet Union and the subsequent discrediting of the Soviet Marxism-Leninism as the ideology of legitimation, Islam Karimov, the then Uzbek Communist Party General Secretary, was among the first to feel the ideological vacuum and the urgent need to reinstall a novel narration to legitimate the new situation. The new ideology should have also incorporated Islam, but in a secular and local version and under strict state control. The paper maintains that the Ideology of National Independence, milliy mustaqillik g'oyasi, provided an effective tool to Karimov in order to sustain his autocratic rule more than two decades after independence.</p> <p>This paper also identifies the complementary mechanisms of legitimation of autocracy in Uzbekistan:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Ability of Karimov to uphold carefully the consensus amongst the clans and install himself as the superior Khan over the clan compromise</li> <li>Playing the game of facade democracy via fancy laws, fake elections and puppet parties</li> <li>Utmost marginalization of any real opposition</li> <li>Institutionalization of mahalla, the district or close neighborhood, as a tool of homogeneity and social control</li> <li>Creation of an understanding of spirituality serving to the stability of his regime</li> </ol>

# New Zealand Political Studies Association Annual Conference 2014

December 1-3, 2014



Yurtbilir	M. Murat	University of New South Wales	yurtbilir@yahoo.com	<p><b>Comparison of Ottomanisms: How New the Neo-Ottomanism of Turkey's Justice and Development Party?</b></p> <p>From the mid-19th century the ideological thread of Ottomanism, which aspired of creating one nation out of the numerous elements in the Ottoman Empire based on a non-ethnic and non-religious understanding of citizenship, had become popular among intellectuals as a recipe in preventing the dismantling of the Empire. The Ottoman homeland serving as a melting pot with a liberal constitution under a Sultan of limited power would prevent the separation of the increasingly nationalist ethnic subjects.</p> <p>Turkish Foreign Policy under the Justice and Development Party has been increasingly labeled as neo-Ottomanist with references to its increasingly active engagement to affairs of ex-Ottoman lands especially to the Middle Eastern region.</p> <p>The paper seeks to provide a comparison of two above-mentioned Ottomanisms and aims to delineate the similarities and differences. The paper considers the neo-Ottomanism of JDP as the continuation and extension of reactionary Turkish-Islamic synthesis which acquired a semi-official status in the post-1980 coup years and particularly under Özal governments between 1983-1989 rather than assessing it as inspired by 19th century version. In this vein, JDP's version of Ottomanism should be seen as part of its efforts to install a novel official hegemonic ideology via replacing secular/Turkish man with a Sunni/conservative man as the audience.</p>
Zheng	Lei	Fudan University	<a href="mailto:liddelz@gmail.com">liddelz@gmail.com</a>	<p><b>Innovations in Governance with IT in China</b></p> <p>The speech will introduce innovations in governance with mobile technologies, social media and big data in China, and discuss the opportunities and challenges that Chinese government are faced with in the Internet and information age with regard to policy making, government operation, public service delivery, public participation and administrative reform.</p>
Zirker	Dan	University of Waikato	dzirker@waikato.ac.nz	<p><b>Corruption vs Corruption Scandals in New Zealand: Bridging a Wide Gulf?</b></p> <p>New Zealand has experienced a plethora of political corruption scandals over the past several years. Newspapers have increasingly featured the term 'corruption' to describe a wide range of allegedly 'corrupt' activities. What are the long-term political implications of this trend, given that New Zealand has arguably been the least corrupt country in the world, according to such measures as Transparency International's Corruption Perception Index? This study will examine the impact of specific corruption scandals on public opinion, and public behaviour, with a view to unravelling this complex relation of perceptions and political behaviour.</p>

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Zuluaga Zuluaga	Diego	University of Antioquia	dazulzul@hotmail.com	<b>The state of the art of the Tea Party movement 2009- 2013</b>  This work aims to show the State of the Art of academic publications (journal articles, conference papers, transcripts, theses, books and book chapters) about the Tea Party during the period 2009-2013, analyzing more than 170 works developed by social scientists in more than 11 countries (Canada, Spain, Sweden, United Kingdom, Romania, etc.) and in 40 U.S. states. Quantitative analysis shows how about is investigated Tea Party and the elections to the U.S. Congress in 2010.