**2015**

# NZPSA Conference
# *Disrupting the*
# *Discipline*

MASSEY UNIVERSITY
TE KUNENGA KI PUREHUROA
UNIVERSITY OF NEW ZEALAND

NZPSA
New Zealand Political Studies Association
Te Kāhui Tātai Tōrangapū o Aotearoa

# Contents

# A Message from the NZPSA President

Welcome to this year's NZPSA Conference at Massey University in Palmerston North. The Association owes a very large debt to Bethan Greener, Richard Shaw, Emily Beausoleil, Laura Pascall, Veronica Tawhai and Nigel Parsons in the Politics Programme for agreeing to host and organize the 2015 conference at very short notice. With the theme of disrupting the discipline, it is certain to generate considerable debate. I would also like to extend a special welcome to those of you who are attending the conference for the first time. As you are now a member of the NZPSA, you are entitled to attend the Annual General Meeting, move motions, and comment.

We are always looking for new input to help us move forward. The NZPSA has had another busy year as we emerged out of a state of nature by writing a new constitution and becoming an incorporated society. We also became a constituent member of the Royal Society of New Zealand Te Apārangi and we will be finishing our application to join IPSA shortly. Hopefully you have seen our new website design. Our research magazine, *Women Talking Politics*, has a new editorial team under the leadership of Lena Tan and the open access 2015 issue will be published on the website in December. The Canterbury-led NZPSA working party on Civics, Citizenship, and Political Literacy held a very successful 2 day workshop in August to explore the study of politics in secondary schools and will be holding a conference panel to report back to members.

We have continued to support our postgraduates on exchanges to the UK PSA conference, by funding the pre-conference workshop, and with our conference paper prizes to be announced at the Conference Dinner. We have also established a new undergraduate essay prize in Māori politics. As the Networks and other groups meet at the conference, you may wish to consider applying for the $2000 NZPSA Bi-Annual Grant due 30 June 2016. Details are available on the Grants and Awards page on the website.

This is my last year as President, so I would like to take this opportunity to extend my sincere appreciation to the two highly supportive and professional executives I have worked with and to the membership for providing me with this opportunity to contribute to the profession in NZ. I'm very grateful to have been able to get to know and work with many of you over the past 3 years and to see the NZPSA continue to grow as a vibrant and dynamic association thanks to the invaluable contributions of so many of our members. Please come along to the AGM and do enjoy what I'm sure will be a highly stimulating conference in Palmerston North.


Vicki Spencer

NZPSA President

# Welcome to the Conference

**Disrupting the Discipline**

We would very much like to welcome you to Massey University's Palmerston North campus, and to this year's NZPSA Annual Conference. The theme we've adopted for the conference, 'Disrupting the Discipline', signals current core challenges to Political Studies from within and without. Many recent developments in the discipline trouble long-established epistemological, normative, or methodological terms: growing attention to non-Western and Indigenous theory; interpretive, affective, aesthetic, and post-secular turns; the current 'end of theory?' debate in IR; and interdisciplinary scholarship that blurs lines and builds bridges to science, art, and practical sectors. These disruptions challenge, refine, and expand what counts as politics and Political Studies, and in doing so highlight that Politics, as a site of ongoing critique, is a 'discipline of disruption'. At the same time, the nature of Political Studies as a discipline of disruption has been increasingly challenged by neoliberal logics, values and policies which run up against and undermine the role of the university as both public sphere and 'critic and conscience.' We've designed this year's programme to provide as many opportunities as possible for you to engage in fruitful conversations about these sorts of challenges and developments. We look forward to your company over the next several days, and very much hope that you enjoy your time with us.

Laura Pascall, Emily Beausoleil, Beth Greener,
Nigel Parsons, Veronica Tawhai and Richard Shaw

# Your NZPSA Conference Committee

Emily Beausoleil has been a Lecturer of Politics at Massey University since 2013. As a political theorist, she explores the conditions, challenges, and creative possibilities for democratic engagement in diverse societies, with particular attention to the capacity for 'voice' and listening in conditions of inequality. She is an associate editor for the journal *Democratic Theory*, the recipient of the Canadian government's post-doctoral fellowship (SSHRC), and her work has been published in *Constellations*, *Contemporary Political Theory*, *Ethics & Global Politics*, *Conflict Resolution Quarterly*, as well as various books.

Beth Greener has worked for the Politics Programme, Massey University since 2003. Her research interests are particularly focused on international security related topics, and she has published articles and chapters on a range of security topics in with her most recent book (co-authored with Will Fish (2015)) examining the relationship between police and military actors in peace and stability operations. Other broad areas of interest include IR theory, gender, the UN and strategic relationships in the Asia Pacific.

Dr Nigel Parsons is Senior Lecturer in Politics at Massey University. His research focuses on Palestinian institutions. Dr Parsons teaches *Introduction to Politics*, *Middle Eastern Politics* and *Israel/Palestine and the Arab World*. His work has been published in the *Middle East Journal*, *Geopolitics* and *Social Theory and Practice*. His book, The Politics of the Palestinian Authority: From Oslo to al-Aqsa, is published by Routledge; a follow-up volume, Palestine: Evolution toward Statehood?, is scheduled for publication in 2016.

**Professor Richard Shaw** is a Professor of Politics at Massey University and the Director BA (External Connections). With Victoria University's Chris Eichbaum he is co-author of *Public Policy in New Zealand: Institutions, processes and outcomes*, and co-editor of *Partisan Appointees and Public Servants: An International Analysis of the Role of the Political Adviser*. His work on political advisers and public value management has been published in journals such as *Governance*, *Public Administration*, *Parliamentary Affairs* and *Public Management Review*. He teaches courses in public policy and New Zealand politics.

**Laura Pascall** is a Tutor in the Politics Programme at Massey University. This year she has also taken on the role of Conference Organiser to assist the Politics Programme with planning the NZPSA Conference. She has previously worked as a Research Assistant in the Politics Programme and assisted Defence Studies with marking. Graduating with a Master of Arts in Politics in 2014, Laura is particularly interested in International Relations and her thesis '*Are the US allies Japan and South Korea hedging China?*' focused on this. Laura also holds a Bachelor of Business which she completed alongside her Bachelor of Arts in 2009.
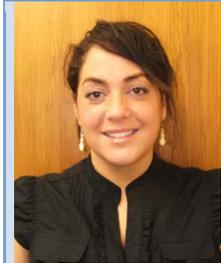
Veronica MH. Tawhai Veronica is a mother of two, community worker, academic mentor and Tiriti o Waitangi educator from Ngati Porou, Ngati Uepohatu. She currently lectures in policy and politics at Te Pūtahi a Toi, School of Māori Art, Knowledge and Education, and is a recent recipient of the Fulbright-Nga Pae o te Maramatanga scholar award to assist with her PhD research which looks at the discourse of indigeneity and its implications for citizenship education.

# Presenter Guidelines

The panel will be introduced by the chair, and each panel member will have 10/15 minutes to present. However, this will depend on the size of the panel, so 15/20 minutes if only 2 or 3; 10 if 4 panellists. This will be followed by Q&A.

Each room will have a computer and internet access, and each presenter should bring their presentation on a USB.

# Use of Massey Computers

Please do not log off Massey Computers after you've finished. If you do log off, please let a conference helper know so they can ensure it's active for the next presentation or user.

# Internet Access

**Guests visiting from other Universities:**

There are two ways you can access the internet from Massey:

The easiest may be to follow this link http://www.inspirefreewifi.co.nz/register.php to gain limited free access through a local provider.

Alternatively, please follow the below Massey University instructions:

For detailed instructions *for Staff and Students from other Universities* on how to access the internet whilst at Massey, please go to http://www.massey.ac.nz/eduroam

Massey University provides Internet access to all Eduroam participating institutions. The Massey Eduroam wireless security configuration is provided below:

| SSID: | EduRoam |
|---|---|
| Security Type: | WPA/WPA2-Enterprise |
| Encryption: | TKIP / AES |
| Proxy Configuration: | Automatically detect settings |

Make sure the connection settings on your software (ie Mozilla Firefox, Explorer) have you set to automatically detect proxy settings. This is a little more complicated for Apple, so instructions for Mac OS are:

Click the apple in the top left of your screen.
Choose System Preferences.
Click the Network icon.
Select the AirPort adapter.
Click the Advanced button.
Click the Proxies tab.

Once you have opened the site you will need to log in as per your institutions normal processes – i.e. enter your University user code and password. The example here is for Massey staff using Windows Vista / 7 when attending other institutions, simply change the institution to your own.

# Printing

To print during the conference please take your documents on a USB to Massey University Library (on concourse), and ask at the Information Desk for assistance.

Printing costs are:

**Black and White, A4 & A3**     5 cents per page or side (excluding GST)

**Colour, A4 & A3**                 40 cents per page or side (excluding GST)

<u>Note</u>: Double-sided printing and copying is charged per side of paper printed or copied.

# Buses

There is a very cheap bus service running from the Square, along Fitzherbert Rd where much accommodation is located and up to Massey University. The main bus stop is near the venue for the 2015 NZPSA conference – the AgHort Complex. The bus numbers that are relevant to getting to and from Massey University to town are Buses 12, 14 and 15. Additional information is to be found here:

http://www.horizons.govt.nz/getting-people-places/passenger-transport/bus-timetables-and-routes/palmerston-north-urban-services-2/massey-services/massey-hokowhitu/

Buses run very regularly and an adult fare is approximately $3.50 from University to town. Timetables are also included in your conference packs.

Note: If you think you are likely to use buses to access the conference the Committee does have a few temporary passes, removing the fare, for the conference dates. These will need to be returned to a member of the Committee before the end of Wednesday 2 December – if we don't receive them back we need to fork out $20 per pass! Please see one of the convenors if you would like to see if a temporary pass is available for your use.

Additional information relating to maps and other information is available here:

http://www.massey.ac.nz/massey/student-life/maps-and-parking/manawatu/maps-and-transport.cfm

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## PALMERSTON NORTH CBD



### Numbers = Bars

❶ Brewer's Apprentice
❷ Speight's Ale House
❸ The Grand
❹ Murphy's Law (Irish)
❺ The Office / Cobb and Co.
❻ Rosie O'Grady's (Irish)
❼ The Celtic / The Flying Fish / All Bar Three (up a side street next to the Regent Theatre)
❽ Barista

**Cafés**
Lots on George Street (runs between Cuba and Main);
French patisserie and café on Coleman's Mall (between George and Square);
Stage Door on King St;
The Coffee Club, Robert Harris, Verdict and Kuppa Café at points around the Square.

**Cheap (under $15 per main) places to eat.**
Lots on Broadway (esp. The Bean Café near the square and various noodle houses towards Princess Street);
Korean on Main opposite George St.
There are also a foodcourt in the Plaza

**Medium-range ($15-$25) places to eat.**
Lots on George Street, including Barista, Indian Indulgence and Café Cuba'
Roma (Italian) and Lone Star on the South-East corner of the Square;
Good Korean and three Thai places around corner of Ferguson and Fitzherbert;
The Gallery on corner of Church and Ashley;
Aquaba on Broadway.

**More expensive (over $25) places to eat.**
Neros on Amesbury (off Broadway);
Dejeune on Broadway near Princess Street
Bellas, Pompeii and Hana Mizuki on the North-East corner of the Square;
Spostato above Firecats on Cuba.

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# Bringing a Vehicle on Campus?

Most campus roads have 30kph maximum speed limit. Other road speeds are signposted accordingly. Casual parking is available in a number of locations on Manawatu campus, such as Orchard Road car park, Courtyard Complex, Library and sections of University Avenue. Parking at the Courtyard Complex, Library and sections of University Avenue are metered and costs vary, however please note that the machines in these locations accept coins only.

**The best place to park all day at the University is at the Orchard Road carpark at the top of the campus, near the University Recreation Centre (see Campus maps for details). Parking is graduated up to $4 a day.**

*Mobility Parking*
Massey University provides mobility parking spaces near all major buildings on campus. These are for the use of visitors, students, and part-time employees who are displaying a CCS mobility card.

If there are no mobility parking spaces available, persons displaying a CCS mobility card, may park on a time-limited parking zones for double the time indicated, or on metered car parks for double the stated time (please note that charges still apply on meters).

*Parking regulations*

Massey University parking and security staff regularly patrol the campus. Should you have any questions regarding parking or security please phone 06 350 5030. Take note of the following offences as it is not unusual for fines or clamping to occur on campus!

- Parking on broken yellow lines
- Parking on a time expired meter
- Parking in NP area
- Parking on Mobility Park without authority
- Parking/driving on lawns
- Parking in non-designated parking areas

- Parking in reserved areas without authority
- Parking for a period longer than the posted time limit
- Exiting 'pay per exit' car parks without paying
- Parking or stopping in breach of any posted advisory sign
- Exceeding the campus speed limit

*For further information regarding parking regulations please see the University's policy here:*
https://www.massey.ac.nz/massey/staffroom/campus-services/regional-facilities-management-manawatu/traffic-and-carparks/regulations.cfm

Another possible source of information or help is the Campus Constable
Phone = 06 350 5042.

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**MANAWATŪ:
TURITEA SITE**

OVER BRIDGE TO
HOKOWHITU SITE

These parking regulations apply
throughout the year including vacation
periods.

**Reserved:** 7.30am - 4.30pm, Mon - Fri
Available as general
parking outside these
hours, except where signs
posted to the contrary.

**User Pay** 7am - 10.30pm Mon - Fri

**Motorcycle**

**Bicycle**

**Time Restricted or User Pay**

**Loading Zone/Access**

**Note:** Mobility Parking
areas apply at all times.
Parking Enquiries Phone (06) 350 5888

**Accessible Toilets**

**Accessible Entrances**

**Information Centre**

**Main Roads & Public Parking**

**Minor Roads & Reserved Parking**

**Main Entrances/Directories**

**Bus Stops**

**Public Telephones**

**Mobility Parking**

**One Way System**

**Heritage Sites**

**Police**

**Directory**

**Dining Hall**

**AED (Defibrillator)**
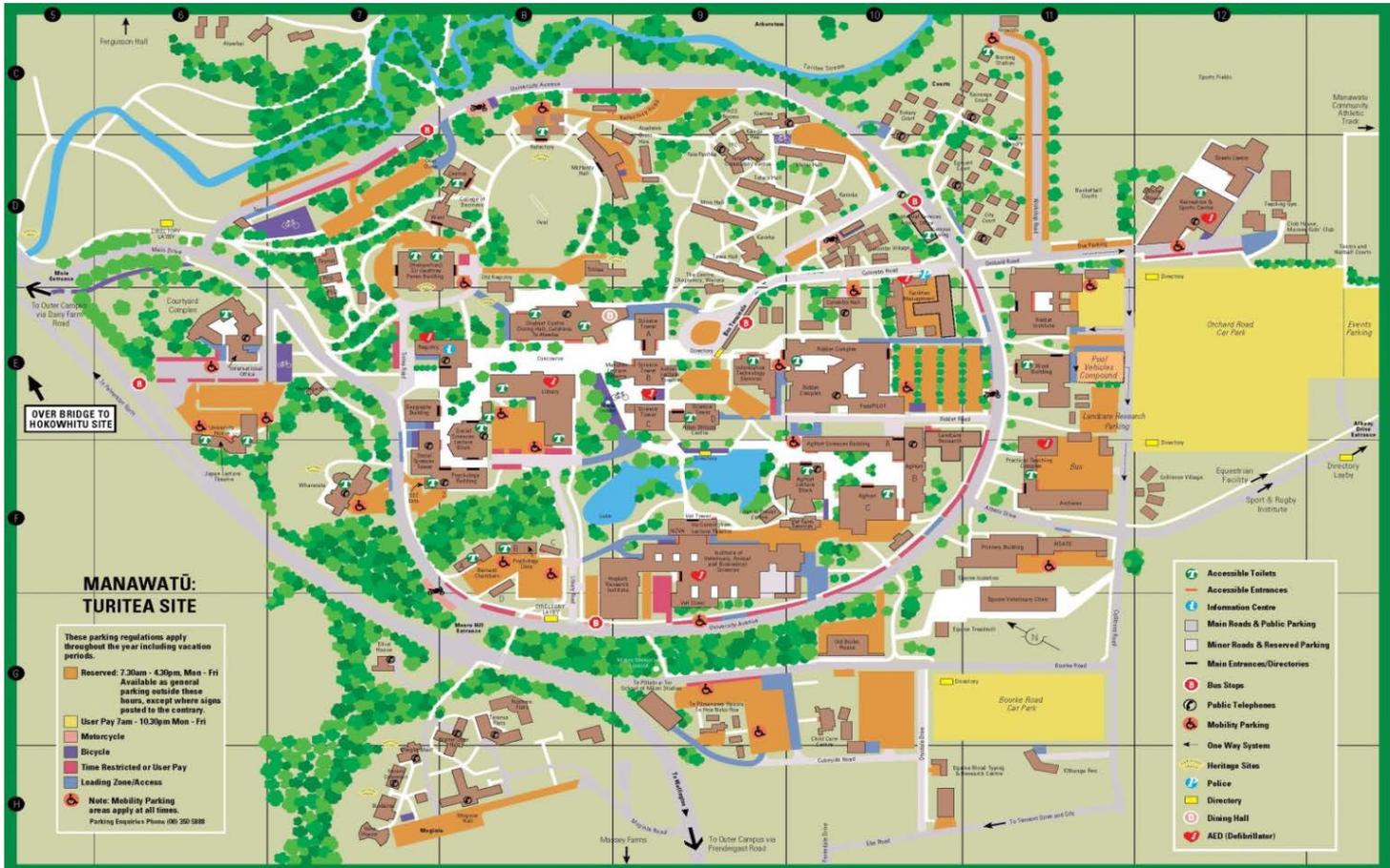
## Directory

See overleaf for General (continued), Halls of Residence, Research Centres,
College of Education and Hokowhitu site.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| **University House** | (University House) | E6 |

Office of the Vice-Chancellor
Offices of the Assistant Vice-Chancellors: (Māori and Pasifika;
University Registrar; Finance, IT, Strategy, Commercial; Academic and International;
Research and Enterprise: People and Organisational Development; External
Relations)

### General

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Academic Dress Hire | | D9 |
| After-School Care (Massey Kids' Club) | | D12 |
| Alumni Relations - Office | (Turitea House) | D8 |
| Alumni Relations - Shop | (Old Registry) | E8 |
| AgHort Lecture Block and Sciences Building | | F10 |
| Agricultural Services | (DCRU) at No.4 Dairy | |
| Archives | (PTC) | F11 |
| Aston Lecture Theatres I and II | (Science Tower B: L1) | E9 |
| Bernard Chambers A/B/C/D | | F8 |
| Boiler House | | G10 |
| Book Centre, Bennetts | (Student Centre) | E8 |
| Campus Information (Enquiries) | (Registry: L2) | E8 |
| Campus Living | | D10 |
| Campus Security | (FMM) | E10 |
| Careers Office | (Registry: L2) | E8 |
| CADEL | (Registry L4) | E7 |
| Chaplaincy | (The Centre, Waiora) | E9 |
| Child Care Centre | | G10 |
| Business Studies West/Central | | D8 |
| Commercial Operations and Events | (Registry: L2) | E8 |
| Concourse | | E8 |
| Conference Services | (Courtyard Complex) | E6 |
| Contracts and Risk Management | (Registry: L4) | E8 |
| Courtyard Complex | | E6 |
| Creche | | G10 |
| DairyNZ | | F10 |
| Deputy Vice-Chancellor | (University House) | E6 |
| Design Studio | (Printery Building: L2) | F11 |
| Dining Hall | (Student Centre) | E8 |
| Disability Services | (Student Centre) | E8 |
| Ecology Building | | D11 |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Equine Veterinary Clinic | | G11 |
| Equity and Ethics | (Courtyard Complex) | E6 |
| Events Centre | | D12 |
| External Relations | (Courtyard Complex) | E6 |
| Extramural Students' Society (EXMSS) | (Student Centre) | E8 |
| Facilities Management Manawatu (FMM) | | E10 |
| Finance and Asset Management | (Registry: L5 and BCA & D) | E8 |
| Fale Pasifika | | D9 |
| Geography Building | | E7 |
| Graduate Research School | (Courtyard Complex) | E6 |
| Grounds | | C11 |
| Heritage House | | E7 |
| POD | | D7 |
| POD | | D7 |
| Information Technology Services | | E9 |
| International Office | (Courtyard Complex) | E6 |
| International Community Centre | (YFC) | D9 |
| International Student Support Office | | E8 |
| Ira Cunningham Lecture Theatre | | F9 |
| Islamic Prayer Centre | | F9 |
| Japan Lecture Theatre | (University House) | F6 |
| Kāinga Rua | | D9 |
| Kōhanga Reo | | H11 |
| Landcare Research | | F10 |
| Liaison Office | (Registry: L2) | E8 |
| Library | (Main Entrance: L1) | E8 |
| McHardy Hall | | D8 |
| Mail Room | (Printery: L1) | F11 |
| Māori Visual Arts Workshops | (Boiler House Workshop) | G10 |
| Marsden Lecture Theatre | (Science Tower B: L1) | E9 |
| Massey Kids Club | | D12 |
| Massey University Foundation | (Turitea House) | D8 |
| Medical Centre (MUMC) | (Registry: L1) | E8 |
| Multi Laboratory Complex | (AgHort Building C) | F11 |
| MUSA | (Student Centre) | E8 |
| ANZ | (Student Centre) | E8 |
| New Zealand Veterinary Association | (NZVA - Vet Tower) | F9 |
| Options Café | (Courtyard Complex) | E6 |
| Orbit Travel | (Student Centre) | E8 |
| Payroll | | D7 |
| Police | (FMM) | E10 |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Practical Teaching Complex (PTC) | | F11 |
| Printery | (Printery Building: L1) | F11 |
| Psychology Building | | F8 |
| Psychology Clinic | (Bernard Chambers B) | F8 |
| Radio Massey (99.4FM) | (Student Centre) | E8 |
| Recreation and Sports Centre | | D12 |
| Recycling Centre | (Old Boiler House) | G10 |
| Registry | | E8 |
| Refectory | | D8 |
| Research Management Services | (Courtyard Complex) | E6 |
| Residential Services Admin. Office | | D10 |
| Riddet Complex | | E10 |
| Riddet Institute | | E11 |
| Sciences Towers A/B/C/D | | E9 |
| Security | (FMM) | E10 |
| Sir Geoffrey Peren Building | | D7 |
| Social Sciences Lecture Block | | E8 |
| Social Sciences Tower | | F7 |
| Sports Fields | | C12 |
| Student Centre (MUSA, Cafeteria, Bennetts, Orbit, ANZ | | |
| MUSA Shop, Residential Community Centre) | | E8 |
| Student Counselling | (Registry: L1) | E8 |
| Student Exchange Office | (Courtyard Complex) | E6 |
| Student Notes Distribution Centre (SNDC) | (Printery Building: L1) | F11 |
| Te Atawhai Manawatahi | | E8 |
| Te Hoe Nuku Roa | | G9 |
| Te Pūmanawa Hauora | | G9 |
| Teaching and Learning Manawatū | (Student Centre) | E7 |
| TEU | | F11 |
| Tiritea House (Alumni Relations Office) | | D8 |
| Traffic and Parking | (FMM) | E10 |
| Vet Clinic and Small Animal Reception | | G9 |
| Veterinary Teaching Hospital | | |
| Equine and Farm Services Reception | | F10 |
| Wharerata | | F7 |
| White House | | D12 |
| Wool Building | | E11 |

### College of Business

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| MBA Office | (Business Studies West: L3) | D8 |
| School of Accountancy | (Social Sciences Tower: L1) | F7 |
| School of Communication, Journalism | | |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| and Marketing | (Social Sciences Tower: L2) | F7 |

School of Economics and Finance,

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Manawatū and Wellington | (Refectory + SST L4) | C8 |

School of Management

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Manawatu and Wellington | (Business Studies Central: L2) | D8 |
| Executive Education | (Business Studies West: L3) | D8 |
| School of Aviation | (Social Sciences Tower: L8) | F7 |
| Office of the Pro Vice-Chancellor | (Business Studies West: L3) | D8 |

### College of Health

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| School of Health and Social Services | (Social Sciences Tower: L6 & L7) | F7 |
| Institute of Food, Nutrition and Human Health | (Riddet Complex) | E10 |
| School of Sport and Exercise | (PTC) | F11 |

### College of Humanities and Social Sciences

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Institute of Education | (NSATS Building) | F11 |
| Office of the Pro Vice-Chancellor | (SST Extn: L5) | F7 |
| School of English and Media Studies | (Colombo Village) | D10 |
| School of Humanities | (Colombo Village) | D10 |
| School of Māori Studies (Te Pūtahi-a-Toi) | (Tennent Drive Monro Hill) | G9 |
| School of People, Environment and Planning | (Social Sciences Tower: L3 & L4) | F7 |
| | (Geography Building: L1, L2 & L3) | E7 |
| School of Psychology | (Psychology Building) | F8 |
| Centre for Defence Studies | (SST L5) | F7 |
| New Zealand Centre for Ecological Economics | (SST L6) | F7 |

Research Centre for Māori Health

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| and Development | (Research Building 2, Bourke Rd) | G9 |

### College of Sciences

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Office of the Pro Vice-Chancellor | (Science Tower B: L2) | E9 |
| Academic Services - all student enquiries | (Science Tower B: L2) | E9 |
| Allan Wilson Centre | (Science Tower D: L2) | E9 |

Institute of Veterinary, Animal and

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Biomedical Sciences | (Vet Tower: L3) | F9 |
| Institute of Molecular BioSciences | (Science Tower C: L4) | E9 |

Institute of Information Sciences

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| and Technology | (AgHort Building A: L3) | E10 |
| Institute of Fundamental Sciences | (Science Tower B: L3) | E9 |
| Institute of Agriculture and Environment | (AgHort Building B: L2) | E10 |
| School of Engineering and Technology | (Riddet Complex) | E10 |

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## Directory

1. Registry
2. Sir Geoffrey Peren Building — SGP
3. Business Studies West — BSW
3a. Business Studies Central — BSC
4. Refectory
5. External Relations (Alumni Shop)
6. Student Centre
7. Science Tower A — SCA
8. Science Tower B — SCB
9. Science Tower C — SCC
10. Science Tower D — SCD
11. Information Technology Services
12. Riddet Complex — RCA, RCB, RCC
13. Food Pilot Plant
14. Facilities Management
15. Landcare Research
16. Aghort Building B — AHB
17. Aghort Building A — AHA
18. Aghort Building C — AHC
19. Aghort Lecture Block — AH
20. Vet Farm Services
21. Institute of Veterinary, Animal and Biomedical Sciences
22. Vet Tower — VET
23. Vet Clinic
24. Hopkirk Research Institute
25. Psychology Unit
26. Bernard Chambers
27. Psychology Building — PLB
28. Social Sciences Lecture Block — SSLB
29. Social Sciences Tower — SST
30. Geography Building — GLB
31. Library
32. Events Centre
33. Recreation Centre
34. Colombo Village
35. Riddet Institute
36. Wool Building — WB
37. Practical Teaching Complex — PTC
38. Institute of Education
39. Printery
40. Equine Treadmill
41. Kohanga Reo
42. Childcare Centre
43. Te Pūtahi-a-Toi School of Māori Studies — MS
44. Eliot House
45. Wharerata
46. University House
47. Courtyard Complex
48. Sport and Rugby Institute
49. Collinson Village
50. Teaching Gym

## Accommodation

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | Fergusson Hall | 13 | Rotary Court |
| 2 | Atawhai | 14 | Kairanga Court |
| 3 | McHardy Hall | 15 | Egmont Court |
| 4 | Turitea House | 16 | City Court |
| 5 | Miro Hall | 17 | Ruahine Units |
| 6 | Kowhea Hall | 18 | Tararua Units |
| 7 | Totara Hall | 19 | Moginie Hall |
| 8 | Karaka | 20 | Walter Dyer Hall |
| 9 | Tawa Hall | 21 | Craiglockhart |
| 10 | Matai Hall | 22 | Monro Commons |
| 11 | Kanoka | 23 | Bindaloe |
| 12 | Colombo Hall | 24 | Vale House |
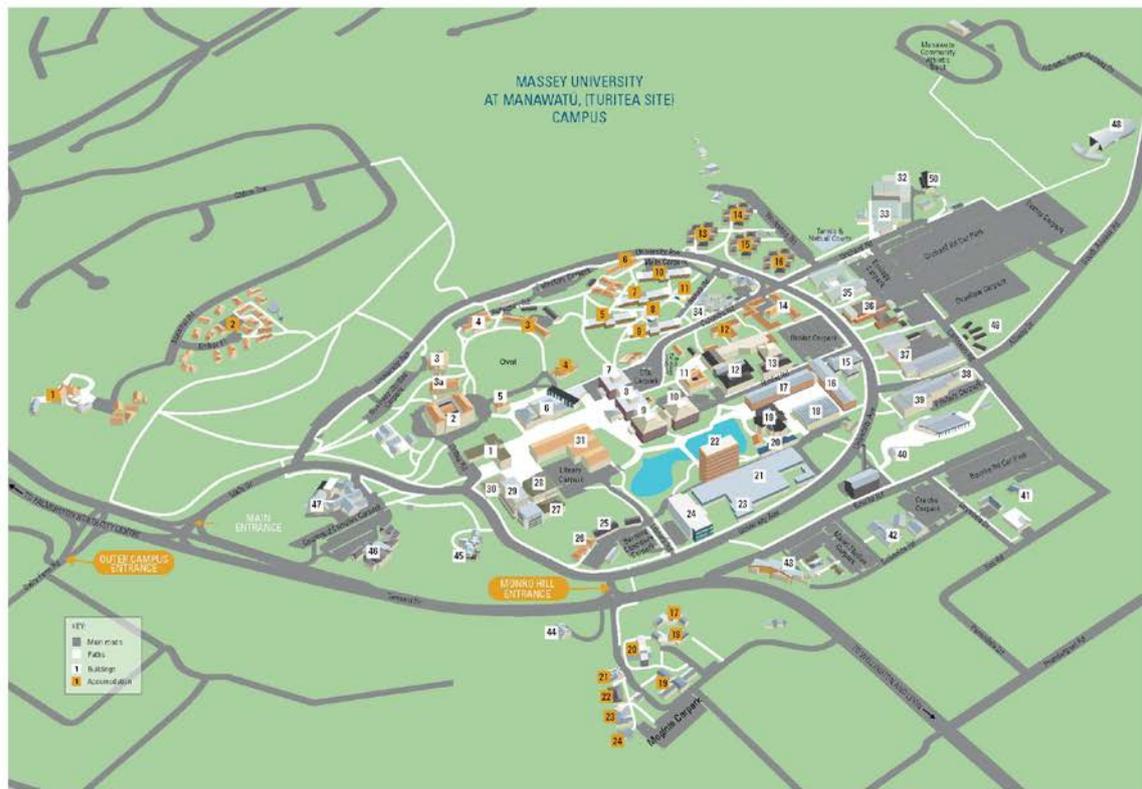


MASSEY UNIVERSITY AT MANAWATŪ (TURITEA SITE) CAMPUS

## Map: JLT to Wharerata

Vehicle Access
Foot traffic

| Event | Time | Location |
|---|---|---|
| **Postgraduate Workshop** | 29 November **12.30-5.30** | **Wharerata** |
| **Registration** | Postgraduates 29 November **12.30-1.15pm** | **Wharerata** |
| | All delegates Monday 30th November **8-9am** | **AH Foyer** |
| **Powhiri** | Monday 30th November **9.00-10am** | **AH1** |
| **NZPSA Team Welcome** | Monday 30th November **10.30-11am** | **AH1** |
| **Plenaries**<br>Plenary: Disrupting the Discipline | Monday 30th November **11.00-12.30pm** | **AH1** |
| Plenary: Islamic State: Disruption, Destruction and Disorder in the Middle East | Wednesday 2nd December **9.00-10.30am** | **AH1** |
| **AGM** | Monday 30th November **5-6:30pm** | **AH1** |
| **PEP Public Lecture on 21st Century Citizenship:**<br>'Critic and Conscience of Society'? The Neoliberal Present and the Uncertain Future of Universities in Aotearoa New Zealand | Tuesday 1st December **5-6pm**<br><br>Followed by Drinks/Nibbles **6-7pm** | **JLT** |
| **Conference Dinner** | Tuesday 1st December **7pm** | **Wharerata** |

# Network Meetings

| Date and Time | Network | Location |
|---|---|---|
| **Monday 30th November** <br> **12.30-1.30** | Environmental Politics & Policy | **AH2** |
| | Media & Political Communication | **AH1.40A** |
| | Political Theory | **AH5** |
| | Women's Network | **AH1.40B** |
| | Torangapu Maori | **AH4** |
| **Tuesday 1st December** <br> **12.00-1.00** | Aotearoa/New Zealand Politics | **AH1.40A** |
| | Closed Meeting (Prizes) | **AH1.39** |
| | Interpretative Policy Analysis | **AH1.40B** |
| | Gender and Politics | **AH2** |

| Time | Event | Location |
|---|---|---|
| **12.30-1.15** | **LUNCH & REGISTRATION** (Postgraduates only) | |
| 1.15-3.00 | Welcome and 'Academic and Non-Academic Careers' Panel | **Wharerata, Massey University Campus, Palmerston North** |
| **3.00-3.30** | **BREAK** | |
| 3.30-5.00 | 'Applying for Work – CV and Cover Letter Development' Workshop | |
| 5.00-5.30 | Postgraduate Network Discussion | |
| 6.30 | Bus into city for dinner | **Barista, George Street, Palmerston North** |
| 7.00-9.30 | Postgraduate dinner | |
| 9.30 | Bus leaves Barista for Massey | |

# NZPSA Conference
## Monday 30th November

| | IR | Disrupting the Discipline | Comp Pols | NZ Pols | | Political Theory | Public Policy |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **8.00-9.00** | **Registration** | | | | | | |
| **9.00-10.00** | Powhiri | | | | | | |
| **10.00-10.30** | **BREAK** | | | | | | |
| **10.30-11.00** | NZPSA Conference welcome | | | | | | |
| **11.00-12.30** | **Plenary: Decolonising Politics** | | | | | | |
| **12.30-1.30** | **LUNCH** **Network meetings:** Media & Political Communication, Environmental Politics & Policy, Political Theory, Women's Network, Torangapu Maori | | | | | | |
| **Concurrent Panel Slot 1 1.30-3.00** | Disrupting IR Theory | Disrupting National Identity & Law in Settler Societies | Colonialism, Development & Liberalism | | Invoking the Spirit of Maui | State & Society: Uneasy Allegiances | Collaboration, Participation, Marginalisation |
| **3.00-3.30** | **BREAK** | | | | | | |
| **Concurrent Panel Slot 2 3.30-5.00** | Identity & Armed Forces | Disrupting the Commons: Global Responsibilities | Advocacy in Comparative Contexts | Voting, Elections & Electoral Systems | Critical Collaborations | Islamic Politics: Law, Citizenship & Collective Action | |
| **5.00-6.30** | **AGM** | | | | | | |

| | IR | Disrupting the Discipline | Comp Pols | NZ Pols | | Political Theory | Public Policy |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Concurrent Panel Slot 3 8.30-10.00** | Providing Security: Private & Public | Disrupting Economics | Contemporary Asian Politics I | | The Politics of Governance & Representation | Resistance & Recognition | Policy-Making in Complex Conditions |
| **10.00-10.30** | BREAK | | | | | | |
| **Concurrent Panel Slot 4 10.30-12.00** | Conflict & Post-Conflict | | African Politics & Economy | Activism & Subversion | The Politics of Conscientisation | Cults of Personality: Charisma & Leadership | Environment & Sustainability |
| **12.00-1.00** | LUNCH **Network meetings:** Interpretative Policy Analysis, Gender and Politics, Aotearoa/New Zealand Politics & Closed Meeting (prizes) | | | | | | |
| **Concurrent Panel Slot 5 1.00-2.30** | Asian Futures | | Democratic Consolidation in Africa & Beyond | | Constitutional Transformations | Questions of Participation | |

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| 2.30-3.00 | BREAK | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Concurrent Panel Slot 6 3.00-4.30** | Pacifism | | Contemporary Asian Politics II | Ideals & Realities of New Zealand Governance | Disrupting Post-Settlement Decision-Making | Persistent Eurocentrisms | |
| 5.00-6.00 | **Public Lecture: Hosted by the School of People, Environment and Planning** 'Critic and Conscience of Society'? The Neoliberal Present and the Uncertain Future of Universities in Aotearoa New Zealand | | | | | | |
| 6.00-7.00 | **Drinks/Nibbles** | | | | | | |
| 7.00 Onwards | **Conference Dinner** | | | | | | |

|  | IR | Disrupting the Discipline | Comp Pols | NZ Pols | | Political Theory | Public Policy |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **9.00-10.30** | **Plenary:  Islamic State: Disruption, destruction & disorder in the Middle East** | | | | | | |
| **10.30-11.00** | | | | **BREAK** | | | |
| **Concurrent Panel Slot 7 11.00-12.30** | Strategy Power & Choice in World Politics | | | NZPSA Working Group on Civics, Citizenship & Political Literacy in NCEA | Reclaiming the Centre | | |
| **12.30-1.30** | | | | **LUNCH** | | | |
| | Conference End | | | | | | |

| International Relations Stream | Panellists | Room |
|---|---|---|
| **Panel Slot 1: Disrupting IR Theory**<br><br>*Chair: Ben Thirkell-White* | 1. **Mehmet Evren Eken** 'Governmentality, Geopolitics and Procedural Rhetoric in Video Games: A Practice-Based Methodological Toolkit for Everyday Lives'<br>2. **Lucas Knotter** 'Geopolitical Anomalies: Exceptionality and Regularity in International Politics' | AH2 |
| **Panel Slot 2: Identity and Armed Forces**<br><br>*Chair: Beth Greener* | 1. **Maike Guesgen** 'The Tension of Academic Study as Part of Officer Training in the NZ Army'<br>2. **Kiri Stevens** 'Winning Hearts and Minds'? An Exploration of NZ Peacekeeping, Masculinities and Identity in the Solomon Islands'<br>3. **Samantha Morris** 'Identity as a Force Multiplier: Development Work and the New Zealand Soldier' | AH2 |
| **Panel Slot 3: Providing Security: Public and Private**<br><br>*Chair: Damien Rogers* | 1. **Beth Greener & Maria Bargh** 'Private Security: Issues at Play in NZ'<br>2. **Maria Bargh & Quentin Whanau** 'Māori in the Private Military Industry'<br>3. **Anna Powles** 'Private Security: The Dynamics of PSCs in Post-Conflict Environments in the Pacific and Timor Leste'<br>4. **Del Carlini** 'The Inevitability of 'Mission Creep' in Conflict' | AH2 |

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| International Relations Stream | Panellists | Room |
|---|---|---|
| **Panel Slot 4: <u>Conflict and Post Conflict</u>**<br><br>*Chair: Anne-Marie Brady* | 1. **Marcus Boomen** 'Databasing War Crimes – Problems, Importance and Possibilities: A Case Study of the Bougainville Conflict'<br>2. **Nathalie Blakely** 'Conflicting (A)Genders: Women in Pre Conflict and Post Conflict Situations'<br>3. **Jon Frankel** 'The Teleology and Romance of State Building in Solomon Islands'<br>4. **Ajirapa Peinkhuntod** 'Social capital and Peacebuilding in a Conflict Setting: Investigating Contributions of Local Religious Leaders in the Deep South of Thailand' | **AH2** |
| **Panel Slot 5: <u>Asian Futures</u>**<br><br>*Chair: Richard Jackson* | 1. **Anne-Marie Brady** 'China as a Polar Great Power'<br>2. **Ashok Sharma** 'India's Foreign Policy under the Modi Government: An Insight into India's Foreign Policy Trends and Likely Posture'<br>3. **Atena Feraru** 'Decision Making within ASEAN: Then and Now | **AH2** |

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| International Relations Stream | Panellists | Room |
|---|---|---|
| **Panel Slot 6: Pacifism**<br><br>*Chair: Beth Greener* | 1. **Jeremy Moses** 'Is a Pacifist International Law Possible?'<br>2. **Richard Jackson** 'Disrupting IR: Pacifism and the Anatomy of a Subjugated Knowledge'<br>3. **Charles Butcher** 'To Arms or to the Streets? The Choice of Nonviolent and Violent Resistance Strategies by Religious Groups 1989-2014' | AH2 |
| **Panel Slot 7: Strategy, Power and Choice in World Politics**<br><br>*Chair: Peter Greener* | 1. **Robert Patman** 'Historical Analogies, Globalisation and US-Russian Rivalry in the Ukraine'<br>2. **David Belgrave** 'The Old ANZAC Dilemma and the New Asian Dilemma: The Defence White Papers of the 1960s and New Zealand Strategy in the 21st Century'<br>3. **Joo Han Lee** 'A Comparative Analysis of the Foreign Policy Discourse of the Islamic Republic of Iran and the A.S.A. the Syrian civil war' | AH2 |

| Disrupting the Discipline Stream | Panellists | Room |
|---|---|---|
| **Panel Slot 1: <u>Disrupting National Identity and Law in Settler Societies</u>**<br><br>*Chair: Maria Bargh* | 1. **Malcolm Mulholland** 'The Flag and Identity'<br>2. **Guy Charlton** 'The Impact of Indigenous Groups on New Zealand and American Constitutionalism and Law'<br>3. **Janine Hayward** 'Treaty of Waitangi Principles and the Rule of Incorporation' | **AH1.40a** |
| **Panel Slot 2: <u>Disrupting the 'Commons': Global Responsibilities</u>**<br><br>*Chair: Emily Beausoleil* | 1. **Ben Thirkell-White** 'Rethinking the Global Public Sphere: Fraser, Habermas and Systems Theory'<br>2. **Paul Kramer** 'The Queer Common: Disrupting Politics of Identity'<br>3. **Timothy Fadgen** 'Citizen Game: Preferential Citizenship in the 21$^{st}$ Century' | **AH1.40a** |
| **Panel Slot 3: <u>Disrupting Economics</u>**<br><br>*Chair: Richard Shaw* | 1. **Kenneth Jackson** 'A Consideration of Neoliberalism and Economic Thought'<br>2. **Can Ciar** 'You Have To Pay Debt Yourself': Disrupting the Meaning of Debt'<br>3. **Geoff Ford** 'Rethinking Lay Theories of the Economy'<br>4. **Max Lin** 'Tax Schemes or Tax Scams: Addressing Tax Avoidance in the 21$^{st}$ C' | **AH1.40a** |

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| Comparative Politics Stream | Panellists | Room |
|---|---|---|
| **Panel Slot 1: <u>Colonialism, development and liberalism</u>**<br><br>*Chair: Nigel Parsons* | 1. **Tian He** 'The Decline of the Developmental State in Taiwan'<br>2. **Luca J Uberti** 'Colonial Legacies and the Developmental State: a Critique of AJR' | **AH3** |
| **Panel Slot 2<u>: Advocacy in Comparative Context</u>**<br><br>*Chair: Katherine Beauregard* | 1. **Ai-Nhi Thi Truong** 'The Vietnamese Government's Response to the Problem of Agent Orange: A Study of Domestic Policy-Making, Mobilisation of NGO's, and International Lobbying of the United States'<br>2. **Parisa Kooshesh** 'Two Movements, Two Outcomes: How Women's Movements Define their Borders with Politics in Iran and New Zealand'<br>3. **Gauri Nandedkar** 'Citizenship and Empowerment: A Third World Feminist Framework for Adolescent Girls' | **AH3** |
| **Panel Slot 3: <u>Contemporary Asian Politics</u>**<br><br>*Chair: Nigel Parsons* | 1. **Bengu Celenk** 'How Turkey is Branded by the Turkish Association in London'<br>2. **Mamadou Diouma Bah** 'Contrasting Similarities: the Military and Political Transition in Egypt and Indonesia'<br>3. **Arya Budi** 'The Survival of Defeated Coalition in a Presidential System: Case of Indonesia'<br>4. **Pahi Saikia and Aniruddha Kumar Baro** 'Asymmetrical Autonomy and its Discontents: Experiences from India' | **AH3** |

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| Comparative Politics Stream | Panellists | Room |
|---|---|---|
| **Panel Slot 4: <u>African Politics and Economy</u>**<br><br>*Chair: Luca J Uberti* | 1. **Gerard Prinsen** 'When Cows go to Town'<br>2. **Philip Nel** 'Redistribution in Sub-Saharan Africa'<br>3. **Daniel Zirker and Thomas Stubbs** 'Conflict and Ethnicity: Internationalized Military Identity and Uganda's Wars at Home and Abroad' | AH3 |
| **Panel Slot 5: <u>Democratic Consolidation in Africa and Beyond</u>**<br><br>*Chair: Philip Nel* | 1.  **Peter Osinakachukwu Nwokeke** 'African Ruling Elites and Democracy Consolidation: The Case of Ghana and Nigeria'<br>2.  **Ibikunle Adeakin and Daniel Zirker** 'Democracy vs Populism: The Transformation of Politics in Nigeria'<br>3.  **Katrine Beauregard** 'Does Direct Democracy Affect Gender Differences in Political Participation?'<br>4.  **Francesco Veri** 'Explaining Resistance to Minority Rights in the Context of Direct Democracy: A Fuzzy Set QCA of Referenda ' | AH3 |

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| New Zealand Politics Stream | Panellists | Room |
|---|---|---|
| **Panel Slot 1: <u>Invoking the Spirit of Maui</u>**<br><br>*Chair: Te Rina Warren* | 1. **Sacha McMeeking** 'Institutional Dissonance and Transformation'<br>2. **Hamuera Kahi** 'The Hīnaki: Dynamics of the Christchurch Rebuild in the Neighbourhood'<br>3. **Phil Borell** 'Politicised and Polarised: The 'Dark' Side of New Zealand Sport'<br>4. **Garrick Cooper** 'Prophetic Interventions: Secular and Divine in Māori Politics' | **AH4** |
| **Panel Slot 2:** **<u>Voting, elections and electoral systems</u>**<br><br>*Chair: Janine Hayward* | 1. **Margie Comrie and Susan Fountaine** 'Reading the Lines: Political Cartoons in the 2014 General Election'<br>2. **Lara Greaves** 'Predicting the Party Vote: Demographics and Psychological Variables Inform Voter Preference in Two Large, National Datasets'<br>3. **Liam Kernaghan** 'Public Engagement and Electoral Reform: A Comparative Discussion'<br>4. **Celestyna Galicki** 'Secondary Effects of Non-Traditional Voting Methods' | **AH1.40b** |
| **<u>Critical Collaborations</u>**<br><br>*Chair: Malcolm Mulholland* | 1. **Catherine Delahunty** 'Indigenous and Allies disrupting the Colonised Political Norms'<br>2. **Marama Davidson** 'Indigenous and Allies disrupting the Colonised Political Norms'<br>3. **Jack McDonald** 'Indigenous and Allies disrupting the Colonised Political Norms' | **AH4** |

| New Zealand Politics Stream | | Panellists | Room |
|---|---|---|---|
| | **Panel Slot 3:** <br> **The Politics of Governance and Representation** <br><br> *Chair: Jacob Tapiata* | 1. **Peter Meihana** 'Privilege: Native Policy and Politics in Aotearoa New Zealand' <br> 2. **Jacqui Poutu** 'Just be Yourself' | **AH4** |
| **Panel Slot 4:** | **The Politics of Conscientisation** <br><br> *Chair: Peter Meihana* | 1. **Tina Ngata** 'Māori Philosophy as a Guide to Sustainable Futures' <br> 2. **Hona Black** 'Ka whitingia e te rā, ka ngahoro!' <br> 3. **Jo Waitoa** 'Tino Rangatiratanga 2.0: Social Media and Indigenous Political Activism' <br> 4. **Ngaarauuira Puumanawawhiti** 'Kaupapa-informed Politics Education' | **AH4** |
| | **Activism and Subversion** <br><br> *Chair: Andy Asquith* | 4. **Sylvia Nissen** 'Student Political Agency and the Market University' <br> 5. **James Gluck** 'Political Identity on the Left' <br> 6. **Sue Bradford** 'A New Trajectory of Subversion: Building a Critical Think Tank' | **AH1.40a** |

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| New Zealand Politics Stream | Panellists | Room |
|---|---|---|
| **Panel Slot 5: <u>Constitutional Transformations</u>**<br><br>*Chair: JJ Carberry* | 1. **Margaret Mutu** 'Matike Mai Aotearoa! The Independent Working Group on Constitutional Transformation'<br>2. **Veronica Tawhai** 'Youth Disrupting the Discipline: Lessons from the Matike Mai Aotearoa Rangatahi project'<br>3. **Kiriana Hakopa** 'Matike Mai Aotearoa Rangatahi: Youth for Constitutional Transformation - Project Findings'<br>4. **Kelly Harrison** 'Matike Mai Aotearoa Rangatahi: Youth for Constitutional Transformation - Project Findings' | **AH4** |

| New Zealand Politics Stream | | Panellists | Room |
|---|---|---|---|
| **Panel Slot 6:** | **Disrupting Post-Settlement Decision-Making**<br><br>*Chair: Tina Ngata* | 1. **Jacob Tapiata** 'Navigating Tribal Cultural Revitalisation in a Sea of Settlement Distractions'<br>2. **Margaret Forster** 'The Politics of Kaitiakitanga'<br>3. **Karena Karauria** 'Mana Whakahaere I A Wai? Ongoing Tension over Māori Land Governance'<br>4. **Hemopereki Simon** 'Te arewhana kei roto i te ruma: Settler Society, Race War, Nullifying Te Tiriti and Natural Resources in Tūwharetoa' | **AH4** |
| | **Ideals and Realities of NZ Governance**<br><br>*Chair: Richard Shaw* | 1. **Yanshu Huang** 'Differences in Support for Elective and Traumatic Abortion by Political Party Support in New Zealand'<br>2. **Andy Asquith** 'Auckland: Super-City or Super Cock-up?' | **AH1.40a** |

| New Zealand Politics Stream | | Panellists | Room |
|---|---|---|---|
| **Panel Slot 7** | <u>**Reclaiming the Centre**</u><br><br>*Chair: Veronica Tawhai* | 1. **Talia Ellison** 'Indigenous Peace'<br>2. **JJ Carberry** 'Hapū Demography: Escaping the Deficit'<br>3. **Felicity Ware** 'The Politics of Supporting Young Māori Parents'<br>4. **Te Rina Warren** 'Ipurangi: Engaging the Digital Space' | **AH4** |
| | <u>**NZPSA working group on civics, citizenship and political literacy at NCEA**</u><br><br>*Chair: Bronwyn Hayward* | 1. **Bronwyn Hayward**<br>2. **Patrick Barrett**<br>3. **Nathalie Blakely**<br>4. **Nigel Parsons**<br><br>This workshop engages with the NZPSA initiative bringing together teachers, educators and organisations working on related issues of civics, citizenship and political literacy and thinking about how we could best support the citizenship threads of the NZ curriculum. | **AH3** |

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| Political Theory Stream | Panellists | Room |
|---|---|---|
| **Panel Slot 1: <u>State and Society: Uneasy Allegiances</u>**<br><br>*Chair: Xavier Marquez* | 1. **Stuart Weierter** 'John Dewey's Insecure Leviathan'<br>2. **Grant Duncan** 'Trusting in Leviathan: The Political Conditions of an Intersubjective Practice'<br>3. **Robert Patman** 'New Zealand's Surveillance Controversy'<br>4. **Daniel Zirker and Patrick Barrett** 'Corruption Scandal Clusters in a Non-Corrupt Country: Transforming New Zealand's Clean, Green Image?' | AH5 |
| **Panel Slot 2: <u>Islamic Politics: Law, Citizenship, Collective Action</u>**<br><br>*Chair: Hossein Aghapouri* | 1. **Chris Van der Krogt** 'How Islamic is the Islamic state?'<br>2. **Saeideh Adampira** 'Women and Social Movements in Rentier-States: The Case of UAE' | AH5 |
| **Panel Slot 3: <u>Resistance and Recognition</u>**<br><br>*Chair: Emily Beausoleil* | 1. **Vicki Spencer** 'Recognition, Humility and Gay Pride'<br>2. **Nicolas Pirsoul** 'Understanding the Struggle for Recognition as a Struggle Against Subordination'<br>3. **Chris Siver** 'A Habermasian Account of Justifiable Civil Disobedience'<br>4. **Didier Chabanet** 'The Political Dimension of Riots' | AH5 |

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| Political Theory Stream | Panellists | Room |
|---|---|---|
| **Panel Slot 4: <u>Cults of Personality: Charisma and Leadership</u>**<br><br>*Chair: Grant Duncan* | 1. **Alex Stone** 'The Dual Process of Model of Ideology and Prejudice.<br>2. **Xavier Marquez** 'Charismatic Authority and Democratic Justification'<br>3. **Michael Macaulay** 'If you can fake sincerity…. empathy, authenticity and manipulation' | **AH5** |
| **Panel Slot 5: <u>Questions of Participation</u>**<br><br>*Chair: Vicki Spencer* | 1. **Hossein Aghapouri** 'An Imagined Kurdistan Online: Case of Kurdish Diaspora on Social Media'<br>2. **Matthew Beveridge** 'Social Media: The Unreported Engagement'<br>3. **Samira Ghoreshi** 'Iranian Feminism in the Shadow of the Green Movement: A Practical Leap Forward or a Step Back for Sustainable Critical Civil Society?'<br>4. **Luke Oldfield** 'Vested Interest and Public Action in a Climate of Participatory Democracy – Water Fluoridation Decisions in Australasian local government' | **AH5** |
| **Panel Slot 6: <u>Persistent Eurocentrisms</u>**<br><br>*Chair: Daniel Zirker* | 1. Indi Akurugoda 'NGOs as Imperial Agents in Post-Colonial Contexts: The Sri Lankan Experience'<br>2. Takashi Shogimen 'The Problem of Eurocentrism in Comparative Political Theory'<br>3. Pasan Jayasinghe 'The 'Democracy' in Democracy Promotion' | **AH5** |

| Public Policy Stream | Panellists | Room |
|---|---|---|
| **Panel Slot 1: Collaboration, Engagement and Marginalisation**<br><br>*Chair: Margie Comrie* | 1. **Karl Lofgren** 'Assessing the Quality of Democracy in Local Collaborative Planning'<br>2. **Julie MacArthur** 'Community Energy in Aotearoa New Zealand'<br>3. **Phyllis Anscombe** 'Marginalised Models of Representation'<br>4. **Andrew Mycock** 'Lowering the Voting Age and the 'politics of enfranchisement' in the United Kingdom' | **AH1.40b** |
| **Panel slot 2: Policy-Making in Complex Conditions**<br><br>*Chair: Michael Macaulay* | 1. **Heath Whiley** 'Towards a Comparative Future: New Zealand and Australian Post-Disaster Reviews'<br>2. **Patrick Barrett** 'Statistical Argument and Depoliticisation: Decision-Making in the Christchurch Education Renewal Plan'<br>3. **Fadris Idris** 'The GAF Three Lenses: Towards Alternative Analytical Tool of Policy Process' | **AH1.40b** |
| **Panel Slot 3: Environment and Sustainability**<br><br>*Chair: Patrick Barrett* | 1. **Erick Lachapelle** 'Political Cleavages over Hydraulic Fracturing Policy in Canada'<br>2. **Ton Buhrs** 'Challenging Contexts – Addressing Obstacles to Environmental Integration'<br>3. **Jeanette Wright** 'Sustainability in Regional Council Environmental Management'<br>4. **Lucy Cowie** 'Ethnic Group Differences in Environmental Attitudes: Socio-Political Consciousness Predicts Increased Environmental Concern for Maori' | **AH1.40b** |

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# Public Lecture on 21st Century Citizenship - *Chair: Richard Shaw*

## 'Critic and Conscience of Society'?
## The Neoliberal Present and Uncertain Future of Universities in Aotearoa New Zealand

This panel brings together leading figures to discuss and debate the future of the university in New Zealand as 'critic and conscience of society' in the context of neoliberalism. Steve Maharey, the Vice Chancellor of Massey University, will address the future relationship between universities and the state; Sandra Grey, President of TEU, will speak to the implications of neoliberalism for academic freedom, particularly *vis a vis* research; and Professor Jonathan Boston of Victoria University will comment on the implications of current tertiary policy settings for the teaching function of the university. Following panellists' presentations the floor will be opened for a bracing, constructive discussion on the nature of and responses to the present and future challenges we face in the university sector.

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## Panellists

### Public Lecture



Steve Maharey is the Vice-Chancellor of Massey University. Prior to taking up the position of Vice–Chancellor, he was the Member of Parliament for Palmerston North and a Senior Minister in the New Zealand Government. His portfolios included Education, Tertiary Education, Social Development, Research Science and Technology, Employment, Housing, Child Youth and Family, and Broadcasting. His main academic interests include government and the public sector, social policy (particularly social development), education, social change and politics. He is currently Chair of the Committee for University Academic Programmes, a Deputy Chair of Asia New Zealand, Deputy Chair of Universities NZ, member of the Territorial Force Employers Support Council, a Board member of FoodHQ, AgriOne, Massey University Foundation, the BCC, the Riddet Institute and the Manawatu Cancer Society.

| Panellists | |
|---|---|
| | **Public Lecture** |
|  | Dr Sandra Grey is currently serving her second term as the president of the Tertiary Education Union **Te** Hautū Kahurangi o Aotearoa. TEU is the union that speaks for people working in universities, whananga, polytechnics and other tertiary education institutions around New Zealand. Sandra is a political scientist at Victoria University teaching in social policy and sociology. She has published on a range of topics centred on civil society and citizen engagement in democracy, including the role of academics in public debate. Sandra's most recent work includes 'Activist academics: What future?' *Policy Futures in Education* (2013); 'Interest Groups and Policy' in *New Zealand Government and Politics* (2015); and *Outcomes Plus* with Brent Neilson and Charles Sedgwick, a research report commissioned by the New Zealand Council of Christian Social Services (2015). Sandra is a founding member of Academic Freedom Aotearoa and is currently serving on the Living Wage Movement Aotearoa board. |

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## Panellists

### Public Lecture

Jonathan Boston is Professor of Public Policy and Director of the Institute for Governance and Policy Studies in the School of Government at Victoria University of Wellington, New Zealand. He has published widely on a range of matters including public management, social policy, climate change policy, tertiary education policy, comparative government and New Zealand politics. He was a member of the New Zealand Political Change Project from 1995-2002, which explored the behavioural, institutional and policy implications of MMP. During 2000-01, he served as a member of the New Zealand Tertiary Education Advisory Commission, and later helped to design, implement and evaluate the Performance-Based Research Fund in the tertiary education sector. More recently he has served as Director of the Institute of Policy Studies (2008-11) and as Co-Chair of the Expert Advisory Group on Solutions to Child Poverty, established by the Children's Commissioner in early 2012. He was awarded a Fulbright Fellowship in early 2014 to undertake research on "Governing for the Future: Bringing Long-Term Policy Issues into Short-Term Political Focus". His most recent books include *Child Poverty in New Zealand* (with Simon Chapple, Bridget Williams Books, 2014) and *Future Proofing the State* (co-edited with John Wanna et al., ANU Press, 2014).

# Decolonising Politics  - *Chair: Veronica Tawhai*

One of the most pressing, productive, and active disruptions in the study of Politics today is that of decolonisation: address of colonial legacies and contemporary realities, as they present in both the world we study and the means through which we study it. This panel brings together leading scholars and educators on indigenous/settler politics to explore ideals and practicalities entailed in the question, "What is required to decolonise Politics as a discipline, and the university more broadly? What would decolonised research/teaching look like?"

Maria Bargh: **Contexts of (De)colonisation**
Maria Bargh (Te Arawa, Ngāti Awa) is a Senior Lecturer in Māori Studies at Victoria University. Her PhD was in Political Science and International Relations from the Australian National University. Her research has covered neoliberal policies in the Pacific, Māori politics and resource management and her latest publication is a book: "A Hidden Economy: Māori in the Privatised Military Industry".

Lindsey Te Ata o Tu MacDonald: **Decolonising Political Science Research of Indigenous Peoples**
Since my undergraduate days, I have worked on variously, machinery of government issues, indigenous rights, the political theory of property, and governance in a variety of positions in government, and a University.  I currently teach political theory and research the politics of property and indigenous (and non-indigenous) political views. I am Ngai Tahu.

**Avril Bell:** **The Responsibilities of settler educators**
Avril Bell is Pakeha and a senior lecturer in Sociology at the University of Auckland. Her research interests centre on settler colonialism, indigenous-settler relations and possibilities for decolonization. She is the author of a number of papers on these topics and her book,*Relating Indigenous and Settler Identities: Beyond Domination*, addresses these issues in four settler societies – Australia, Canada, New Zealand and the United States of America.

**Dominic O'Sullivan:** **Political theory and the non-colonial rights of indigenous peoples**
Dominic O'Sullivan (Te Rarawa and Ngati Kahu) is Associate Professor in political science and Associate Head of the School of Humanities and Social Sciences at Charles Sturt University. He has over 50 publications in comparative indigenous politics and public policy and is the author of four books: 'Faith, Politics and Reconciliation: Catholicism and the politics of indigeneity' (Wellington: Huia Publishers and Adelaide: the Australasian Theological Forum, 2005), 'Beyond Biculturalism: the politics of an indigenous minority' (Wellington: Huia Publishers, 2007), 'Indigenous health: power, politics and citizenship' (Melbourne: Australian Scholarly Publishing, 2015) and with Russell Bishop and Mere Berryman, 'Scaling up education reform: addressing the politics of disparity' (Wellington: NZCER Press, 2010).

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# Islamic State (IS) - *Chair: Nigel Parsons*

The Islamic State looms large in news headlines, disrupting societies and politics across the Middle East and North Africa; furthermore, this disruption, and indeed destruction, now stretches beyond Iraqi and Syrian origins to reach an increasingly international stage. This plenary session explores multiple dimensions of Islamic State, ranging from ideological composition and appeal to the impact on local societies plus regional and international responses to the challenge.

Richard Jackson: **IS and symbiosis with Western foreign policy in the region**
Richard Jackson is Professor of Peace Studies at the National centre for Peace and Conflict Studies, University of Otago. He is the editor-in-chief of the journal, *Critical Studies on Terrorism*, and has published widely on critical terrorism studies, the war on terror, international conflict resolution, and pacifism. His latest book is a novel entitled *Confessions of a Terrorist* (Zed, 2014) which explores the mind and motivation of a 'terrorist'.

Robert Patman: **US responses to IS**
Professor Robert G Patman is HOD of Politics, University of Otago. He is the author or editor of 11 books. He is a Fulbright Senior Scholar, an Honorary Professor of the NZ Defence Command and Staff College, and provides regular contributions to the national and international media on global issues.

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**Gerard Prinsen: Understanding American and European jihadi volunteers through images and music**
Gerard Prinsen has worked with development programmes in Africa for about 25 years. Development programmes have a strong element of 'internationalism', which has motivated many people in the West (including Gerard) to engage with development work. Gerard wonders to what extent the motivations of European *Jihadi* volunteers differ.

**Negar Partow: Gender and IS**
Dr Negar Partow is a senior lecturer in the Centre for Defence and Security Studies at Massey University, Wellington. She received her Masters' degrees from Iran and New Zealand and completed her PhD at Victoria University of Wellington. Negar has studied Middle East languages, politics, religions, human rights and international security as well as political philosophy and religious studies. Negar is a regular media commentator on Middle East security issues and an enthusiastic human rights activist.

**Christ van der Krogt: Islam and IS**
Christopher van der Krogt teaches religious history at Massey University. His most recent publications include discussions of governance and religious pluralism in New Zealand, "fundamentalist" movements including al-Qaʿida, freedom of speech in Islam, teaching about Islam in Western universities, and the meaning of *jihād*.

## Post graduate Workshop Panellists

Dr. Peter Greener is a Senior Fellow at the Centre for Strategic Studies, Victoria University of Wellington and an Honorary Professor at the Command and Staff College of the New Zealand Defence Force, where he was previously Academic Dean and has taught since 2008. Peter is also an Adjunct Professor in the Faculty of Health and Environmental Sciences at AUT University. He was Head of the School of Public Health and Psychosocial Studies at AUT from 2003 - 2007, and Head of the Department of Psychotherapy and Applied Psychology from 1998 - 2003. He has a Masters degree in Public Policy and his PhD is in Political Studies with a focus on New Zealand defence acquisition decision making. Peter's research interests include international peacekeeping and the aetiology, management and resolution of conflict; capability development; and the politics of defence decision-making. He brings to these interests the perspective of his many years experience as a psychoanalytic psychotherapist.

Richard Shaw is a NZPSA Conference Committee member Workshop. His biography can be found in '*Your NZPSA Conference Committee'.*

**Katherine Lyons.** Since graduating with an MA in politics, I have worked as a research assistant in the School of People, Environment and Planning, a phlebotomist at Medlab Central, and a possum hunter in Taranaki(!) I've edited books, written articles on social insurance, set up Stream pages, and even taught some Middle Eastern politics. Now I'm pretty entrenched at Massey - for the last five years I've taught academic writing to first year students, as a tutor in the School of English and Media Studies, and a writing consultant for the Centre for Teaching and Learning.

**Ben Morton** began a Bachelor of Science and Technology at Victoria University, but switched to a Bachelor of Defence Studies at Massey in 2003, including papers in Tactics, Logistics, Command, Military Law, International Relations, History, Philosophy and Politics. He began a Masters of Arts in Defence and Strategic Studies in 2006 and started work as an Future Concepts Analyst with Force Development, Capability Branch, New Zealand Army in 2007 while completing my Masters. In 2011, after an OE/long honeymoon, he started work developing a training simulation system for cyber warfare with the Canadian Royal Military College in Kingston, Ontario. In 2012 he returned to New Zealand Defence Force, working for Capability Branch Programme Management Office as a Business Case Analyst. He has since moved into a Requirements Manager position with a Navy project to procure a diving and hydrography ship. He is married with two young children and lives on the Kapiti Coast.

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<u>Amy Thomson</u> is an analyst in the International Team at the New Zealand Treasury leading its engagement with the Asian Development Bank and the bilateral relationship with Indonesia. Amy also monitors the financial and strategic performance of New Zealand's Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade. Amy joined the Treasury in 2014 as a graduate in their Macroeconomic and Fiscal Policy Team. She also interned at the Council for International Development. She graduated with Distinction with a Master of Arts in Politics in 2012. She also holds a Bachelor of Science in Zoology.

## Postgraduate Workshop
## 'Applying for Work – CV and Cover Letter Development'

<u>John Ross</u> is Glasgow born and bred, he has been working in the tertiary sector in England and New Zealand for around thirty years. Almost all of this work has been as a Careers Counsellor/Consultant. He moved from England to NZ twelve years ago, and spent the first two years in Christchurch before taking up my current, Careers Consultant role, with Massey's Palmerston North campus almost a decade ago. A B.A. graduate (Economics and Politics), he is passionate about the worth of Arts study and qualifications. He followed his degree with postgraduate qualifications in Human Resource Management and Careers Guidance and has particular interests in career counselling and career education; information and guidance provision to individuals and groups. Also, digital career literacy; creative job search; distance learning and diversity.

# Conference Paper Abstracts

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| Adampira, Saeideh<br><br>and<br><br>Khoeizadeh, Farshad<br><br>Korea Development Institute | **Women and Social Movements in Rentier-States: The case of UAE**<br>Michael Ross in Oil, Islam, and women (2008) argues that the problem of Muslim women inferiority in their societies stems from oil not Islam. In our paper, we show how Rentier-Sate -UAE- increases the cost of collective action for women by combining cultural peculiarities (like Islamic values) and certain social structure of a Rentier economy. While women in UAE are fighting for their rights, they are not that much successful because the state has polarized the society into variety of interest groups. For different interest groups, government has different distributional plan. They carry this policy through religious and educational institutions, manipulated NGOs, and the body of government administrating public organizations. These all institutions are under umbrella of distributed petrodollars either directly and indirectly. Destructive effect of this situation is less social trust in addition to impaired social networks conducive to collective action. |
| Adeakin, Ibikunle<br><br>and<br><br>Zirker, Daniel<br><br>University of Waikato | **Democracy vs Populism: The Transformation of Politics in Nigeria**<br>Since the return of electoral democracy to Nigeria in 1999, two of the four elected presidents have been former military dictators who have stressed anti-corruption and national security policies in their frankly populist campaigns. As dictators, they had instigated regimes that practiced stern military discipline; as 'democrats' or populists they have leaned toward these two undemocratic policies. Reactions to civilian corruption and threats to national security have represented the primary military rationales for military intervention in the past. While corruption has been rampant in Nigeria, and national security has been deeply threatened by such groups as Boko Haram in the North, and while the post-1999 civilian presidential interlude, 2007-2015, did not focus on either of these concerns, a popular vote in 2015 for former military dictator Muhammadu Buhari seems at first glance to represent a preference for populism over democracy. We will examine the new populism in Nigeria, complicated as it is by questions of ethnicity, religion and military identity, with a view to explaining the likely outcome of the first peaceful transference of power from one political party to another in Africa's most populous country. |

| Aghapouri, Hossein<br><br>University of Auckland | **An Imagined Kurdistan Online: Case of Kurdish Diaspora on Social Media**<br>It is argued that the Kurds have used the Internet, e-mail and social networking sites, for organizing protests, meetings, and 'nationalist projects. The use of the Internet by the Kurdish diaspora and those in the Middle East in favour of their nationalistic aspirations represents what Benedict Anderson has called 'imagined community' and 'long-distance nationalism.' Easy access to the Internet has allowed the Kurdish diaspora, and some in the homeland to perpetuate the 'imagined community' that is Kurdistan; it allows disparate groups to imagine themselves as nations and provides a voice to those who otherwise would not have one. Essentially, the Internet has diminished the importance of time and space by offering the Kurds a sort of 'social media' wherein they can express their identity and reinforce Kurdish nationalism.   In discussing political and sociological observations on Kurdish diaspora communities through the lens of the Social Media, specifically Facebook as a leading social network, the paper tries to find out how Kurdish diasporic members have been creating (if so) a virtual nation, defined as community that communicates in the whose collective discourse and actions are aimed toward the building, binding, maintaining, rebuilding or rebinding of a Kurdish national identity. |
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| Akurugoda, Indi<br><br>University of Waikato | **NGOs as Imperial Agents in Post-Colonial Contexts: The Sri Lankan Experience**<br>There is a significant connection between the complexities of post-colonial Sri Lanka and the growing role of NGOs. Colonialism has changed the politico-economic and socio-cultural structures of many colonised countries. Sri Lanka was under colonial rule for more than four centuries. Following independence in 1948, the multiple layers of colonial and pre-colonial structures left the post-independence rulers facing many difficulties. Their inability to govern Sri Lanka effectively and promote positive development has been interpreted by anti-colonial nationalists as a consequence of the earlier period of colonialism. Post-independence rulers have had to continue to depend on their former colonial masters, especially in the area of the economy. This dependency has provided a path for NGOs to become involved in tackling the development problems facing Sri Lanka. The growing involvement of NGOs has, however, been criticised by anti-colonial nationalists who have argued that NGO delivery of aid and assistance represents new forms of imperialism. This paper examines such criticism through investigating NGO activity at the local government level in Sri Lanka's southern and eastern provinces, and in understanding the potential for NGOs to contribute to the positive development of local community needs. |

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| **Anscombe, Phyllis**<br><br>University of Auckland | **Marginalised Models of Representation**<br>New Zealand's not-for-profit sector contains an intimate yet open form of politics. It represents the concerns of the communities in which we live and is open to anyone to create a structure for collective action or service delivery. Not-for-profit politics are often marginalised by national and regional policies, ideology and economic forces which ignore their latent political power and significant economic power. Such power can develop into lobbying (political advocacy) or channelled into public policy (policy advocacy).   A sample of 201 registered charities providing quasi-public social services was compared on the extent of their market-focus and their policy advocacy capacity. Quantitative analysis found that the percentage of income from the government does not affect organisations' interest in policy advocacy but does increase market-focus. Analysis of 23 organisations from that sample revealed that budget size is relevant to policy advocacy activity, however all organisations were sensitive to the potential adverse effect of advocacy on their income.  Coercive influences include legal limitations that advocacy must be an ancillary activity rather than a primary activity and advocacy networks that engage in corporatist practices. Balancing service provision that yields a social profit with contributing grassroots voices to public policy is an everyday dilemma. |
| **Asquith, Andy**<br><br>Massey University | **Auckland: Super City or Super Cock-up?**<br>This paper assesses the first 5 years of the new Auckland Council. It argues that overall the two primary criteria of the Royal Commission into Auckland Governance have been partly achieved. Whilst there has been considerable progress towards creating strategic leadership for Auckland, work still needs to be done in reconnecting institutions of governance and the governed. The paper further argues that there have been considerable successes for the council despite hurdles repeatedly being put in place by the National Government. |
| **Bah, Mamadou Diouma**<br><br>**and**<br><br>**Abott, Anita**<br><br>University of Waikato | **Contrasting Similarities: The Military and Political Transition in Egypt and Indonesia**<br>The military establishment has been heavily involved in the politics of both Egypt and Indonesia over many decades during which time it has exhibited similar political behaviour that led to popular protest against its political role. Both protests led to post-military democratic transition to a religiously based political organization. Yet, while democratic consolidation has been sustained in Indonesia, there has been a relapse to civilianized-military rule in Egypt. Drawing on distinctive military periods in Egypt and Indonesia, this paper examines the underlining causes of such divergent outcome. |

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| **Bargh,** **Maria** **and** **Whanau,** **Quentin** Massey University | **Māori in the Private Military Industry** In this presentation we examine how the ideas of Maori as 'warriors' and 'locals' are articulated in the private military industry. We start by outlining how these ideas are commonly used, particularly in the New Zealand Defence Force where they are most commonly used. We suggest that unlike other peoples described as 'warrior peoples' or 'martial races', Māori are not predominantly seen as, and do not predominantly speak about themselves as, 'warriors' in the private military industry. We suggest this is a result of the image of Māori as warriors being historically qualified by the accompanying image of Māori as a 'noble savage' who was allegedly capable of being civilized and assimilated. We suggest Māori do not describe themselves as 'warriors'/'a martial race' in the industry because there are other peoples who are labelled, and label themselves in that way. Secondly, we examine the idea of Māori being experts at engaging with 'locals' in other countries. We discover that while this is the perception of Māori in the New Zealand Defence Force, in the private military industry it is viewed by non-New Zealanders as a 'Kiwi' trait and not specifically a Māori trait. Māori in the private military industry describe their abilities to engage well with locals as both a 'Kiwi' trait that they share with some of their Pākehā compatriots but also as a uniquely Māori way of conducting themselves. We suggest that the sense of being good at engaging with locals as a 'Kiwi' trait is a result of the Māori influences on Pākehā who have served together in the NZDF. We suggest that the Māori perceptions of their engagement with locals is bound up with Māori values around fostering successful diplomatic and working relationships by actively making connections with other peoples. |

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| Barrett,<br>Patrick<br><br>University of<br>Waikato | **Statistical Argument and De-politicisation: Decision-making in the Christchurch Education Renewal Plan**<br>Statistical argument is a key definitional strategy in government decision-making, one that typically portrays decisions in terms of economics of necessity and, therefore, 'above politics'. It serves as both 'an evidentiary tool in the empirical sciences and a tool of government' in the sense of 'governmentality' (Desrosières 2008). This paper explores statistical reasoning as a tool of government and seeks to understand how it works as a strategy in depoliticization processes. It does so through reference to classification processes behind the Christchurch Education Renewal Plan, and draws attention to a regime of rationality that was established. It focuses on the small, local case of Phillipstown school and its closure. Phillipstown was a social hub in an economically disadvantaged suburb, but its contribution to that area was transformed through a classification that once established was not open to question or negotiation. This case illustrates statistical reasoning in the production of 'truth' in the everyday of 'the political'. It also illustrates that when the contingent nature of such 'truth' is exposed, and an alternative view advanced, situations are open to repoliticization. This case is a basis for reflecting on the nature of 'the political' and the role of statistical argument within that. |
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| Beauregard,<br>Katrine<br><br>Australian<br>National<br>University | **Does Direct Democracy affect Gender Differences in Political Participation? A Cross-National Investigation**<br>The paper investigates how institutional arrangements, namely the use of direct democracy measures, can be used to integrate past marginalized groups in the political process. It has been found, mainly in the United States, that the use of referendums, ballot initiatives, and/or popular consultations can have important consequences on citizens' levels of political participation and that this effect can be stronger for groups with a lower socio-economic status (Tolbert, Bowen and Donovan, 2009). Using the Comparative Study of Electoral System (CSES), I assess the extent to which gender differences in political participation are influenced by the use of direct democracy measures. Such measures can create incentives for political actors to mobilise women to a greater extent than men because the former is an "undertapped market" (Kittilson and Schwindt-Bayer, 2012). The increase use of direct democracy may mean that political actors have greater opportunities to recruit citizens in the political process, which in turn, may lead them to recruit groups that are traditionally not involved in politics Additionally, since women tend to have lower levels of political resources necessary for political participation, measures that provide greater information and appeals to the electorate may have a greater impact of them. |

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| Belgrave, David<br><br>Victoria University of Wellington | **The Old ANZAC Dilemma and the New Asian Dilemma: The Defence White Papers of the 1960s and New Zealand Strategy in the 21st Century.**<br>As China rises and the US pivots towards Asia, New Zealand has to assess how it will engage with new security challenges in the Asia-Pacific. New Zealand defence policy has long been attached to various forms of collective security. In the 1950s and 1960s New Zealand utilised British and American security frameworks to support the containment of China from South East-Asia. Maintaining western influence in the region was the primary security objective and arrangements like SEATO provided a framework for New Zealand to apply its limited means to that goal. The British and American pivots away from Asia and rapprochement with Beijing caused a loss of focus for New Zealand's defence policy makers in the later Cold War. Today there are lessons that can be learnt from the experience of containment. As competition in the Asia-Pacific continues to increase, New Zealand faces major choices for its defence and foreign policy as it seeks to maintain its economic interests in Asia. How should New Zealand respond to the rising power of China and the relative decline of the US? What kind of regional architecture would best serve New Zealand's interests? And how can the history of containment inform our choices? |
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| Beveridge, Matthew<br><br>Massey University | **Social Media: The Unreported Engagement**<br>The question of methodology in the study of social media has been widely debated in a number of fields, with scholars such as Moe and Larrson arguing for consensus around methods of data collection. However that article has not adequately addressed the issue of how social media platforms display levels of engagement. This paper will explore the differences between publicly displayed levels of engagement and the levels of engagement displayed to account administrators. Specifically, my paper will look at differences between displayed comments, likes and shares on Facebook, and the figures shown to account administrators, as well as similar elements on Twitter, in order to show that there is still engagement going unreported despite the wealth of information about engagement available to researches. |

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| **Black,**<br>**Hona**<br><br>Massey<br>University | **Ka Whitingia e te rā, ka ngahoro!**<br>Currently there is a need to increase the recognition that the solutions to multi-faceted problems within society already exist within te ao Māori. An example is knowledge contained within traditional mōteatea (chants) and whakataukī (proverbs). However, Māori knowledge depositories are often devalued in lieu of Eurocentric frameworks. This paper presents research that drew upon Māori knowledge depositories as a foundation for political and citizenship education within New Zealand secondary schools. Specifically traditional Māori philosophies emanating from mōteatea and whakataukī are emphasised as sources of critical political education indigenous to Aotearoa. Four key threads, indigeneity, resistance to colonisation, harmonious relationships, and education are argued to be the foundation to guide Aotearoa New Zealand into a future where citizens can enjoy peace and social cohesion in the midst of cultural, ethnic, and religious diversity. |
| **Blakely,**<br>**Nathalie**<br><br>University of<br>Canterbury | **Conflicting (A)Genders: Women in Pre-Conflict and Post-Conflict Situations**<br>Women have an important role to play in both pre-conflict prevention, and post-conflict resolution. Local women, women in the defence forces, and women as peacekeepers all have perspectives and capacities which can prove essential when undertaking such strategies. This can be seen at both the structural, and the operational levels. Further, the links, dynamics, and relationships between these women, as well as with other members in their communities, are unique and effective. Despite this, there has been minimal implementation of such objectives. In this paper/presentation, I am considering the Australian and New Zealand approaches to advocating women – local women, women in the defence forces, and women as peacekeepers – when looking at pre-conflict and post-conflict situations in our part of the world. Those approaches, I argue, have political, security, legal, and economic impacts which relate both to development and defence outcomes. The case of Bougainville will be discussed to illustrate these points, focusing on New Zealand and Australia's pre-conflict prevention and post-conflict involvement in that autonomous region. |

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| **Boomen, Marcus**<br><br>University of Canterbury | **Databasing War Crimes, its Problems, Importance and Possibilities: A Case Study of the Bougainville Conflict**<br>The purpose of this paper is to assess the feasibility, value and academic potential of collating existing war crimes reports into one centralised database. A case study of the Bougainville civil war (1988-1998) will be used to evaluate the extent to which this can be achieved. To do this I intend to consolidate all accessible data of alleged war crimes which have be recorded during that conflict into one dataset. This will be used to analyse the challenges of the data collection process its self and additionally, to act as the example from which to demonstrate the future research potential that such dataset can offer. From my preliminary results I argue that, despite the limitations of only being able to collect incomplete data on conflicts the collection of such data is still a worthwhile pursuit. A database of this type could act as a valuable research tool on a wide range of topics. Above all however I intend to highlight the fact that, of all the data that is compiled on conflicts and crime we have failed to do the same when it comes to arguably the worst expression of these, war time atrocities. |
| **Borell, Phil**<br><br>University of Canterbury | **Politicized and Polarised: The 'dark' Side of New Zealand Sport**<br>Sport around the world is highly politicized. From governing officials, administration and management, through to the players on the field and the spectators on the side-lines, politics play a major role in the landscape of New Zealand sport. Another contributing, yet less productive, feature of the New Zealand sporting psyche is racism.<br>Focussing on particular sporting events from within New Zealand over the past 5 years, this paper will discuss the nuances of racial politics in the realm of New Zealand sport. In keeping with the theme of the conference this paper will look to disrupt some commonly accepted, or tolerated, ways in which we view New Zealand sport. |

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| **Bradford, Sue**<br><br>Left Think Tank project | **A New Trajectory of Subversion: Building a Radical Left Think Tank in Aotearoa**<br>Between 2010 and 2013 I undertook doctoral research investigating why it was that we on the left had never been able to develop a major think tank to counter those of the right, and what it might take to establish such an entity. Using political activist ethnography as a methodological framework I interviewed 51 participants from across the activist and academic left. Since graduating in mid-2014 I have been working with others on a national project to establish a radical left think tank aimed at turning the PhD findings into reality. In this presentation, I briefly describe my key research findings and the ways in which this has become a grassroots project aimed at providing left activists and academics with an intellectual armoury with which to better subvert, challenge and move beyond neoliberal capitalism in Aotearoa. This will include discussion of some of the practical ways in which we can move beyond the academic-activist divide which has traditionally separated our two worlds. |
| **Brady, Anne-Marie**<br><br>University of Canterbury | **China as a Polar Great Power**<br>China is now a member of a unique club of nations, the polar states: those few countries that are powerful at the Arctic and the Antarctic. Polar states are the global giants, strong in military, scientific, and economic power. The concept of a polar great power is relatively unknown in international relations studies. China has global interests and is well on the way to becoming a global great power. In order to succeed in this evolution it must be dominant in the new geopolitical Heartland: the Polar Regions. |
| **Budi, Arya**<br><br>Australian National University | **The Survival of Defeated Coalition in A Presidential System: Case of Indonesia**<br>Indonesia has been experiencing direct presidential election every five years since 2004 in which political parties should organize a coalition for presidential candidacy. Different with political coalition and stable opposition in parliamentary system, the breakdown of defeated coalition after election is apparent in presidential systems. Capitalizing Indonesian case of the politics of post-presidential election in 2014, this paper however contends the survival of Red-and-White Coalition as the defeated coalition. The survival of such an "opposition coalition" in post-election politics contributes to the elite consolidation in gaining political incentives in parliament compared with the weak, unstable governmental or winning coalition. By analyzing the prerequisite conditions of such a survival of defeated coalition in a given electoral democracy and the intra-party politics of the coalition members, this paper argues that maintaining the power structure of the incumbents in each party organization and formulation of interdependent pact among party leaders are principal determinants in the coalition survival and advancements taking place in a presidential system. |

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| **Buhrs,**<br>**Ton**<br><br>Lincoln<br>University | **Challenging Contexts - Addressing Obstacles to Environmental Integration**<br>Environmental integration (EI) denotes the incorporation of environmental considerations into cognitive systems, policies and institutions with the aim of resolving and preventing environmental problems. From the 1960s, governments have promoted environmental integration by a variety of approaches and means, however, to limited effect. Although, at different times, some countries appeared to lead to way in EI, many of these efforts have stagnated. In part, environmental pressures have been shifted rather than resolved, while continuing to build on a global level.  This paper looks at some of the obstacles to environmental integration in a comparative perspective. The main argument is that governments usually follow the path of least resistance to EI, depending on the particular political-institutional context of their country. Arguably, government approaches in all countries are more or less skewed related to the political-institutional framework within which they operate. Overcoming the obstacles to more effective approaches to EI requires changing political institutions and the underlying socio-cultural and political-economic systems, which evolve in the context of growing global interdependence. However, national-level political-institutional change still is the lynchpin to significantly advancing EI, a challenge that does not receive the degree of attention among political scientists, notably in New Zealand, that it deserves. |
| **Butcher,**<br>**Charles**<br><br>**and**<br><br>**Svensson, Isak**<br><br>University of<br>Otago | **To Arms or to the Streets? The Choice of Non-violent and Violent Resistance Strategies by Religious Groups, 1989-2014.**<br>Why do religious groups rebel? And why do some religious groups choose to nonviolent tactics, whereas others take up arms? We take a new look at the question of the 'ambivalence of the sacred' using a dataset of religious groups in all states from 1989-2013 and new data on the participation of religious groups in violent or nonviolent conflicts. We empirically assess two theories of tactical choice: resource mobilization and political theology. We first examine how state favouritism and discrimination make nonviolent or violent tactics more or less feasible. Second, we test whether the content of religious beliefs, in particular beliefs about the role of women in society influence this choice, using existing survey data. Our findings point to a number of countervailing effects. Government favouritism towards religious groups increases the probability that their collective dissent will take a nonviolent form and reduces the probability that it will be violent. Intolerant social attitudes towards women increase the probability of violent conflict. As the first study to conduct a global analysis of violent and nonviolent conflict initiation at the group level, this study is an important step towards understanding the general causes of religious dissent. |

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| **Carberry, JJ**<br><br>Massey University | **Hapū demography - Escaping the deficit**<br>Invariably, disparity and inequality have become dominant descriptors through which to understand the health of tangata whenua, the implication being that to improve Māori health is to reduce the disparity between the two. Although the politic of inequality has provided some leverage for indigenous political resistance, we should be mindful that the findings that ensue seldom facilitate or encourage the expression of independence and autonomy beyond that which is consistent with the polity of a central New Zealand government. Assessing wellbeing using hapū whakapapa eliminates the need for complex identity scales while also providing a context within which to identify the longitudinal characteristics of various indices related to wellbeing. The need for comparative analyses between Maori and non-Maori are also avoided as the measurement of wellbeing is interpreted through index variation across generation. This approach restores the historical and cultural reference points that give meaning to the wellbeing of tangata whenua, avoiding deficit based constructions and their associated discourses. Two main assumptions in this research are that despite urbanisation, hapu whakapapa can be traced and that intergenerational variations in wellbeing correlate with external changes. |
| **Carlini, Del**<br><br>University of Otago | **The Inevitability of 'Mission Creep' in Conflict**<br>When nations enter conflict as either an antagonist or peacekeeper, an often prolonged planning process takes place to develop strategy and identify needs of the force being deployed. However there is a tension between static political goals of becoming involved in conflict and bureaucratic oversight of forces and the dynamic nature of war which is co-evolutionary. War is constantly changing form and moving on to something else. Over time conflicts tend to evolve way from the original objectives and it is not long before the phrase 'mission creep' creeps into political discourse. A key understanding of modern warfare is the need for armed forces to be adaptive in the face of irregular and insurgent combatants and rapidly co-evolving conflict. This paper explores the literature around military adaptation as a foundation for asking questions about the role of bureaucracies and political leadership when a nation's armed forces are deployed in conflict zones. |

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| **Celenk, Bengu**<br><br>Ahi Evran University (Turkey) | **How Turkey is Branded by Turkish Association in London**<br>Branding of nations has become an important aspect of cultural and national representation in contemporary times. Countries are eager to attract tourists, students, and workers, stimulate inward investment, and enhance exports. In order to achieve these goals, countries engage in nation branding. Some key factors that impact upon nation branding: historical and economic conditions of the country, people of the country and their culture, values, identity, and the general conduct of the country's citizens overseas. 'Nation Branding' as a concept has been widely debated in public diplomacy and management studies. In this study, I will focus on the latter, namely Turkish Londoners who are members of Turkish associations in London. I will do this by focusing on the how Turkey is branded by the members of Turkish associations in London and at the end of the paper I will try to bring a sociological perspective to bear on this concept through a qualitative analysis of Turkish associations' activities in London. The main purpose of the study is to discover the ability of Turkish associations to generate positive public knowledge about Turkey and to assess the socio-political consequences of this. |
| **Chabanet, Didier**<br><br>Sciences Po (France) | **The political dimension of Riots: Britain and France in Comparative Perspective**<br>Our paper is an attempt to disclose the key political dimension of riots. In general, many observers agree on three main readings. A first reading puts emphasis on the irrationality of committed crimes. A second reading is based on the notion of deviance and the breakdown of social order. A third reading considers that the riots are especially the result of social inequalities that can no longer be tolerated. No consideration is given to the fact that the rioters may be capable to deliver a political message. We argue that this political dimension is due to the fact that an interaction is always taking place between the riots are and the public authorities. Taking the riots in France and Britain, in 2005 and 2011 respectively, as two particular interesting events, we show how in both cases public authorities try to impose their own readings. To do that, we proceed to a systematic analysis of the discourses they pronounced during the riots. On the other side, speeches from the rioters themselves are extremely rare. In fact, it is often necessary to engage with a sociological understanding of their actions. |

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| **Charlton, Guy**<br><br>**And**<br><br>**Gao, Xiang**<br><br>Curtin University Law School | **The Impact of Indigenous Groups on New Zealand and American Constitutionalism and Law**<br>Embedded within the New Zealand and the American legal systems are a series of rules concerning the peoples who inhabited the area prior to colonisation. These rules involve the establishment of European sovereignty, the relationship between the settler government and indigenous peoples, the ongoing status of indigenous lands and the use of those lands before and after the extension of imperial or national jurisdiction, indigenous political institutions, the interpretation of treaties, and fiduciary obligations. The development of these rules, however, did not occur in a vacuum; but evolved as part of, and influenced, the general constitutional development of the each state. This paper discusses how the indigenous presence impacted the constitutional development of New Zealand and the United States. It argues that in the United States the status of the Native Americans and their relationship to the Federal and state governments under the 1789 Constitution allowed for a more pluralist constitutional development; while in New Zealand the political and military threat from Maori resulted in a more unitary constitutional system. |
| **Cinar,**<br>**Can**<br><br>University of Otago | **You Have to Pay Your Debt Yourself!**<br>JPMorgan's Q4 2012 report showed that the total derivative exposure was over $63 trillion. Let us consider this: only one banks' derivative contracts worth, i.e. $63 trillion, stacked in 100 dollar bills, would weigh approximately 1071 million kilograms and piled on top of each other, this stack would be roughly 1090 kilometres high. These surreal amounts only exist in computer generated environments, and the line between the real and surreal is becoming blurry in finance. |

| Comrie, Margie and Fountaine, Susan Massey University | **Reading the Lines: Political Cartoons in the 2014 General Election** In New Zealand, political cartooning has a long tradition which has perhaps surprisingly survived visual changes in newspapers and the advent of online journalism.  While political satire has had a chequered history in this country, cartoons have remained a constant, and a small number of newspaper cartoonists continue to make a living even in the era of shared content.  The humour in cartoons frequently allows the artist to make a far sharper point than would be tolerated in a news or comment column.  Politicians need to be seen as 'good sports' and not take offence in public – in fact many display personal cartoons in their offices as badges of honour.  Political cartoonists therefore have a special place and arguably some greater licence than others in the media.  This paper examines the political cartoons in the major New Zealand papers during the during the 2014 election campaign.  It reports on what cartoonists saw as important during the campaign, how they made controversy visual and to what extent they presented a view of how politicians should behave and what they should offer New Zealanders. |
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| Cooper, Garrick University of Canterbury | **Prophetic Interventions: Secular and Divine in Māori Politics** 19th century Māori prophets and prophetic movements are fascinating in that they developed a set of politics through biblical texts, and not, I would argue, from these texts. From this position then the relationship between Māori and colonial power is not simply one of domination or submission: it is more complex.  Drawing from the political thought of Māori prophets and early 20th century Māori leaders I want to theorise a set of indigenous politics that transcends binary understandings of the coloniser/colonised relationship. |

| Cowie, Lucy | **Ethnic Group Differences in Environmental Attitudes: Socio-Political Consciousness Predicts Increased Environmental Concern for Maori.** |
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| University of Auckland | Climate change and environmental degradation are two increasingly pressing political issues. The current study uses data from the New Zealand Attitudes and Values Study to investigate cultural variation in environmental concern, with special focus on Maori regard for the environment. In our first model, we examine ethnic group differences in environmental concern. Our analyses suggest that Maori express the highest levels of concern for the environment, followed by Asian people, then Pacific Islanders, and lastly Pakeha. A number of further demographic features are also included as predictors, including parenthood, socio-economic status, and religious affiliation. In our second model, we specifically analyse levels of value for the environment amongst Maori. We use a Maori-specific model to investigate which dimensions of Maori identity are driving high levels of value for the environment. We provide evidence that socio-political consciousness, or the extent to which participants recognise the importance of Maori rights in the context of the Treaty of Waitangi, significantly predicts value for the environment for Maori. The implications of our results will be discussed. |
| Delahunty, Catherine; McDonald, Jack; and Davidson, Marama | **Indigenous and Allies Disrupting the Colonised Political Norms** |
| | The abstract is a summary of the conversation we wish to lead on how indigenous activists in formal and informal politics work with allies to disrupt the colonised political norms. There are both opportunities and pitfalls in this collaborative effort to challenge the assumptions of the dominant group. The three speakers wish to share their analysis of speaking truth to power in diverse colonised environments and how ally accountability to tino rangatiratanga requires a process of critical reflection. The experiences in both street politics and Parliamentary politics reveal similarities in terms of the dominant group "forgetting" their colonial privilege and obligations to Te Tiriti O Waitangi. The challenge when individuals of good will attempt to act as allies in a colonised context in relationship to indigenous activists will also be explored. The speakers will also reflect on issues of tokenism, racism and hope. |
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| **Duncan, Grant**<br><br>Massey University | **Trusting in Leviathan: The Political Conditions of an Inter-Subjective Practice**<br>Trust and distrust are foundational for political theory and practice. But common definitions of trust in contemporary political and sociological literatures are inadequate, as they reify it and reduce it to a self-interested transaction or calculation, or to a survey item for statistical purposes. The present project began by returning to two foundational texts in English political theory (Hobbes's Leviathan and Locke's Second Treatise) to examine the emergence of trust as a political factor. It finds that trust, seen in the context of interpersonal relations and political institutions, operates in significantly different ways in these two texts, and that this basic grammatical and theoretical divergence continues to trouble contemporary debates. To make some progress, speech-act theory is adopted. Rather than ask when ought one to trust, this approach asks, 'What is one doing when one says, "I trust you"?' But, who (or what) can properly be the subject or object of the verb 'to trust'? For instance, in what sense do people 'trust' a government? The uses of 'trust' in political theory, it is proposed, need to be critically re-examined. |
| **Eken, Evren**<br><br>Royal Holloway, University of London | **Governmentality, Geopolitics and Procedural Rhetoric in Video Games: A Practice Based Methodological Toolkit for Everyday Lives**<br>One of the recent significant turns within IR and Critical Geopolitics has been towards the close scrutiny of everyday life, popular culture, and affect. Still, despite the conceptual interventions made through the Foucauldian literature, the absence of a clear methodological approach is yet to be addressed. In order to fill this lacuna, the paper suggests the deployment of Ian Bogost`s "procedural rhetoric" to devise a "visual rhetorical analysis" as a methodological approach designed to elicit the traces of affect and governmentality in everyday life through the experience of the subject. In this aim, by pinpointing the methodological flaws in the literature as "preliminary analyses", first, the paper will show how the concepts of power, governmentality and affect are mainly focusing on the "king`s head" and his mastermind, rather than "chopping of" his head, and second, through an FPS game play example, possibilities of a practice based methodological approach which encompasses the subject and its experiences will be discussed through the concept of *technologies of the self*. In this regard, the main aim of the paper is an attempt to provoke a methodological debate to trace the ways in which popular culture is governmentalized and to offer an analytical framework for further analyses. |

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| Ellison, Talia<br><br>University of Otago | **Indigenous Peace**<br>The purpose of this paper is to challenge IR theorists and in particular Peace and Conflict theorists to redefine peace so as to include Indigenous conceptualizations of peace. Indigenous Peace is a new concept within Peace and Conflict studies as well as International Relations that challenges theorists to engage with Indigenous communities especially during the peace building and peace keeping processes so as not to re-institutionalize structural violence. My argument is that by defining peace in a way that includes Indigenous views, not only will the peace building and keeping processes be easier to implement, but the structures themselves are less likely to create structural violence. The benefits of this include a broader conceptualization of violence, war and of course peace which in combination with holistic frameworks could lead to societies that are truly more peaceful. The Global Peace Index 2014 will be the data set used in this paper and New Zealand as the 4th most peaceful country will be the example in which I will compare the way that an Indigenous understanding would change New Zealand's ranking on the Global Peace Index and challenge for alternative data sets and frameworks that could lead to truly peaceful societies. |
| Fadgen, Tim<br><br>and<br><br>Charlton, Guy<br><br>University of Auckland<br><br>and<br><br>Curtin University Law School | **Citizen Game: Preferential Citizenship in the 21st Century**<br>Definitions of who can (and by implication, who cannot) be included in a particular political community in the modern post-industrial state have become increasingly preferential of either high-skill or high net-worth individuals in recent years. Candidates for inclusion within the political communities of many states now must have attained certain educational skills, specialist qualifications or training within the labour market of these states in addition to possessing a certain minimum level of physical and mental fitness. These qualifications have supplanted the preference for the familial relationships and humanitarian concerns of past decades. These qualification preferences provide a window into understanding what constitutes the normative ideal of citizenship; a standard that most of the natural born populations of these states would fail to meet. This paper will compare the legal definitions of migrant categories in Canada, Australia and France in both contemporary and historical perspective. At the same time, the analysis will consider why humanitarian and familial relationships have declined in importance in migration law across these selected nations over the last half-century. What do such trends tell us about other state policies such as in the area of education and social policy? Are such categories employed by states seeking a competitive advantage over other states or are they rather the logical outcome of neglect in national education systems? This paper will explore these questions and posit that migration policy changes tend to lag behind structural changes rather than anticipate them. |

| **Feraru,** **Atena** Taichung University, Republic of China (Taiwan). | **Decision-Making within ASEAN: Then and Now** ASEAN's sui generis decision-making process is designed to build confidence and consensus among member states with divergent, often clashing, political, economic and security interests. It shapes the evolution of regional norms and institutions and it has been credited or blamed for both successes and failures of the regional grouping. Notwithstanding its widely recognized importance to Southeast Asian regionalism, researchers seldom go beyond noting the informal, consensus-based character of the process. |
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| **Ford,** **Geoff** University of Canterbury | **Rethinking Lay Theories of the Economy** The "It's the economy, stupid" cliché illustrates a general expectation among politicians, commentators and academics that shared beliefs about the economy influence people's political behaviour. In this paper I examine various strands of research that provide insights into lay people's theories related to the economy and address two problematic tendencies in this work. First, economics is uncritically assigned as the reference point for lay people's beliefs. Second, the importance of the political nature, context, and use of economic knowledge is overlooked. Taking these issues into account and drawing theoretically from Michael Billig's rhetorical psychology (1987), I reconceptualise lay people's thinking about the economy, contending that lay theories emerge from and reflect the rhetoric of ongoing public political debates. Furthermore, rather than merely collecting dust, people use lay theories to think and argue about politics. Findings from the existing literature can be re-interpreted from this perspective. This shift in focus also suggests a methodological requirement to contextualise lay people's thinking against public political rhetoric and to explore lay theories in settings that allow debate. With this in mind, I outline the rationale of two studies and some preliminary findings. |

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| **Forster, Margaret**<br><br>Massey University | **The Politics of Kaitiakitanga**<br>Practising kaitiakitanga - resource management framed by Māori cultural values, involves engaging in the state resource management system. Participation therefore is governed by the Resource Management Act 1991 (RMA) and essentially controlled by 'the state.' Only a limited range of opportunities for addressing Māori environmental interests have emerged after almost 25 years of practice under the RMA. This presentation draws on research exploring the experiences of Māori involved in wetland and waterway restoration to make visible how Māori participation in resource management is regulated and constrained. It also considers how to disrupt state control over the practice of kaitiakitanga. It is argued that the 'most productive disruptions' in this area occur from without – particular as a consequence of networking and Treaty settlements. These findings remind us of the importance of being vigilant and critical of the political environment that regulates resource management to ensure the advancement of Māori political agendas. |
| **Fraenkel, Jon**<br><br>Victoria University of Wellington | **The Teleology and Romance of State-Building in Solomon Islands**<br>The 2003-13 Regional Assistance Mission to Solomon Islands (RAMSI) is widely depicted as an ambitious 'state-building' project in the mould of interventions in Bosnia, Iraq, East Timor and Kosovo. Yet no new constitution was put in place in Solomon Islands, and in practice the core Australian military and police components of the mission initially largely substituted for their local counterparts. Unlike most state-building missions, RAMSI did not assume executive authority, and the critical relationship with the indigenous government soon deteriorated, particularly after the election-related riots of April 2006. The teleological framing of RAMSI as a state-building mission largely draws on heroic claims made during the early phase of the mission whereas – after the crises of 2006-7 – RAMSI officials were mostly engaged in playing down expectations, narrowing the mission's objectives, and preparing an exit strategy. |

| Galicki,<br>Celestyna<br><br>University of<br>Auckland | **Secondary Effects of Non-Traditional Voting Methods**<br>Research on non-traditional voting methods and changes in electoral procedures has tended to focus on effects on turnout and electorate composition. However, procedural changes can also have indirect informational, social and habit-forming effects on voters and on campaign activities (Gronke et al. 2008). This paper reviews hypotheses and evidence presented in a range of secondary analyses of the indirect effects of changes in voting procedures. Data is collected from empirical studies that examine postal voting, advance voting and vote centres. I ask whether easy access to early voting changes the intensity or focus of voter mobilization by parties and whether concerns that e-voting or postal voting will harm the civic culture are justified. The paper concludes that there is sufficient evidence of indirect or secondary effects and that these effects should be more explicitly recognised by scholars and policymakers when evaluating electoral administrative reforms. From this I construct a continuum of the degree of influence of these secondary effects on long-term voter engagement and consider how it applies to the case of advance voting in New Zealand. I conclude with an assessment of how such a continuum could be used to inform future policy reforms as well as future research. |
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| Ghoreishi,<br>Samira<br><br>University of<br>Auckland | **Iranian Feminism in the Shadow of the Green Movement: a Practical Leap Forward or a Step Back for Sustainable Critical Civil Society?**<br>Although the Green Movement after the 2009 presidential election in Iran appeared to be cohesive, in actuality it reflected women of different backgrounds, espousing different forms of feminism. Following the presidential election in Iran in 2009, thousands of people poured onto the streets to peacefully protest the results of the election. One of the most exciting aspects of this was the diversity of feminist groups involved. Divisions between secular and religious groups seemed to disappear and, for a brief moment, there seemed to be some form of consensus. Although this consensus was short-lived, this brief moment gives an opportunity to think about a deliberative civil society in Iran. In this paper, I will argue that despite the distinctions between Islamic and secular feminism, and the differences among social groups, the Green Movement showed that Iranian feminists and a majority of intersectional groups are inclined towards communication, not conflict, to build civil society for democratic reform. Re-reading Habermas' work from a critical, feminist perspective, the current research provides feminist discourses and intersectional groups with a theoretical foundation in order to reach a long-term consensus on building a pluralist-deliberative civil society capable of engaging in processes of democratic reform in Post-revolutionary Iran. |

**Gluck,**
**James**

Victoria
University of
Wellington

**Reformists, Radicals or Revolutionaries? Studying Ideologies of the Left**

Political identity on the Left is a deep, difficult, and long-running inquiry for many theorists. Both politically and academically, the term 'ideology' is used within this inquiry as a slur and accusation, which often creates difficulty in understanding the viewpoints actually held by people. This Master's project aims at pushing for an answer in a small part of this inquiry: the 'actually held ideologies' of people who identify as being on the Left. Unlike other empirical studies, this project has not begun with a concrete definition of ideological groupings, instead allowing such groupings (and thus ideological labels) to emerge from the data itself. These data are drawn from an online survey of over 300 individuals, which measured the participants professed agreement with a series of statements representing essentially contested concepts. The participant's responses were measured on a 5-point Likert-scale. In addition, the project involved a series of focus groups to more deeply examine the ideologies of specific groups. This presentation will focus on the survey results and ask what conclusions can be drawn for constructing a Left identity which corresponds to the beliefs that people actually hold.

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| **Greaves, Lara;** <br><br> **Robertson, Andrew** <br><br> **Osborne, Danny** <br><br> **and** <br><br> **Sibley, Chris G.** <br><br> University of Auckland | **Predicting the Party Vote: Demographics and Psychological Variables Inform Voter Preference in Two Large, National Datasets** <br> We like to talk about how certain demographic groups voting for certain parties is a forgone conclusion, however empirical models in New Zealand are rare. This paper presents two models using demographics and social psychological variables as predictors of voting behaviour in two large datasets collected in the lead up to the 2014 New Zealand general election. The first model uses data from the robust random sample digit-dial One News Colmar 2014 polls (N=7,830) to look at the demographics that predict voter preferences. The second model utilises data from the New Zealand Attitudes and Values Study (NZAVS), a national probability longitudinal postal panel survey (N=10,735) to explore not only important demographic factors, but the social psychological variables that predict voter preference. Important predictor variables, including personality, ethnicity, gender, education, income, and sexual orientation will be discussed. |
| **Greener, Beth** <br><br> **and** <br><br> **Bargh, Maria** <br><br> Massey University | **Private Security: Issues at Play in NZ** <br> New Zealand may not be a country we automatically associate with Private Military and Security Companies. However, individual personnel from New Zealand have been attracted to private security contracting, and a few PMSCs are based in New Zealand (typically focusing on close protection, static guards and maritime security roles). Recent interest in how to constrain and enable the private security industry in New Zealand is demonstrated by the passing of the Mercenary Activities (Prohibition) Act 2004, the Policing Review Act (2008), the Private Security Personnel and Private Investigators Act (2010) and in mention of private actors in a recent State Services Commission review of the New Zealand Police (2012). Private security has also been in the media spotlight – both in terms of controversy around the work of a militarily focused organisation (Onix International) – and the alleged failures of private multinational corrections company, Serco. This latter event has prompted increased public debate about the complexity of issues surrounding the privatisation of security in New Zealand. In this paper we examine the workings of such PMSCs in both an international and domestic setting. |

| Guesgen, Maike | **Identity and the Armed Forces: The Tension of Academic Study as Part of Officer Training in the New Zealand Army** |
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| Massey University | What happens when a young adult, indoctrinated in a military way of thinking, is thrust into the academic, free-thinking environment of the university social sphere? For my thesis I studied a group of New Zealand Army officers in training under the Kippenberger scheme, who undertook university study after their initial training. For the officer cadets fresh from a rigorous training course of regimentalilty and collectivized identity, integrating into a new social environment was challenging. Some were able to succeed in the university environment whilst still adhering to the social and cultural expectations developed through their military training. However, I found that my informants struggled to maintain their rigid military identity in a liberal academic environment that focused on the individual. Using Nairn, Higgins and Sligo's (2012) concept of the neoliberal generation, this paper explores the clash in identities that occurred in my informants, and discusses how the enactment and performance of identity can define who an individual seeks to be. In this way we can gain an appreciation of how the military identity responds to the challenge of a liberal environment. |
| **Hakopa, Kiriana** **and** **Harrison, Kelly** Auckland University | **Matike Mai Aotearoa Rangatahi, Youth for Constitutional Transformation – Project findings** Matike Mai Aotearoa Rangatahi is the youth arm of the Independent Working Group on Constitutional Transformation, tasked with engaging other rangatahi nationwide in sharing our values, hopes and aspirations for a future constitution in Aotearoa. This year, as a part of the 175th anniversary commemorations of the signing of Te Tiriti o Waitangi at Waitangi, representatives of the national Matike Mai Aotearoa Rangatahi project team submitted to the Independent Working Group our findings. This presentation shares some of those findings, including our aspirations for constitutional recognition and protection of: The health and wellbeing of Ranginui and Papatuanuku; Mana motuhake of tangata whenua through He Whakaputanga, Te Tiriti, and the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples; the knowledges, systems, and institutions of our tipuna, such as kawa, tikanga and te reo and matauranga; The rights of all people, based on peace and mutual respect, 'kotahi aroha', and; All peoples' access to education and health care. |

**Hayward , Janine**

**and**

**Wheen, Nicola**

University of Otago

**Treaty of Waitangi Principles and the Rule of Incorporation**
The principles of the Treaty of Waitangi are incorporated into many New Zealand laws. How the principles are incorporated has evolved through time, the number of Acts incorporating the principles has waxed and waned, and the type of legislation incorporating Treaty principles has continued to change. The earliest examples of incorporation referred to Māori rights (such as 1877 fisheries rights), not Treaty principles at all. The 'high-point' of incorporation, in terms of the numbers of Acts affected and the potential breadth and effect of incorporations, was from 1986 to 1996, especially in relation to environmental legislation. More recently, incorporations in the Crown Minerals Act 1991, Climate Change Response Act 2002 and Exclusive Economic Zone and Continental Shelf (Environmental Effects) Act 2012 appear to determine specifically what the relevant Treaty principles are and how these can be fulfilled. This paper analyses this evolution with particular focus on the relationship it creates between the legislature and the courts in defining what compliance with Treaty principles means.

**He, Tian**

University of Canterbury

**The Decline of the Developmental State in Taiwan**
The effectiveness of state policy-making process is central to the post-war developmental state model. Whether the industrial policy-making of the state remains effective in the new global environment and political context has been a subject of great interest. Drawing insights from the developmental state literature, the paper first discusses the political features and origins of the statist institutional arrangements for industrial policy in East Asia. Using Taiwan as a case, the paper then assesses the effect of democratic transition on three crucial aspects of the state policy process: (a) state-business collaboration; (b) state-labour relations; (c) state policy consensus. Evidences from Taiwan show that the political and economic reconstructing of the country since the 1990s had forced a declining influence of the state and an end to the effective policy-making in Taiwan.

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| **Huang, Yanshu**<br><br>**Osborne, Danny**<br><br>**and**<br><br>**Sibley, Chris G.**<br><br>University of Auckland | **Differences in Support for Elective and Traumatic Abortion by Political Party Support in New Zealand**<br><br>Support for abortion differs between 'elective abortion' (support under any circumstances, but especially including social reasons) and 'traumatic abortion' (support in the cases of physical/mental health endangerment, rape, and/or incest). The vast majority of abortions conducted in New Zealand are approved under mental health reasons (Abortion Supervisory Committee, 2014). Further, there have recent efforts proposed by the Green Party to decriminalise abortion in New Zealand. Despite this, it is unclear the degree to which New Zealanders support abortion depending on varying circumstances under which they are sought. In this study, we examined the differences in the levels of abortion support by supporters for various political parties in New Zealand using data from the New Zealand Attitudes and Values Study, a national probability sample of New Zealanders (N = 14,581) while adjusting for a variety of demographic variables. While differences in support for abortion depending on the severity of circumstances were observed, there were few differences between voters by party—the only exception being the Conservative Party. Relative to the other parties assessed, the Conservative Party had significantly lower levels of support for both types of abortion. |
| **Idris, Farid**<br><br>University of Canterbury | **The GAF Three Lenses: Towards Alternative Analytical Tool of Policy Process**<br>Governance concerns with creating the conditions to rule and to create collective action by adopting norms and rules. In policy research, policy process has been a particular attention because it involves various forms and actors. However, there are still differences of opinion concerning how the policy process is studied if it consists of international phenomena and multiple actors. The present article argues that the policy formulation and implementation need to be applied into governance analytical framework in order to evaluate the policy process. This study intends to propose Governance Analytical Framework (GAF) Three Lenses as an analytical framework. It attempts to analyse a policy through three main themes in political science: the realm of International Relations at the policy formulation, Governance perspective in the policy implementation, and both themes are combined in Public Policy research. The study found that the influences of the actors start of a two-stage process the policy formulation and implementation. Therefore, GAF analytical tools can also be divided into two groups, namely: problems, norms and actors in the formulation group, as well as nodal points and process at the level of implementation. The paper provides example to apply the GAF Three Lenses in a case study. |

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| **Jackson, Kenneth**<br><br>University of Auckland and Auckland Institute of Studies | **A Consideration of Neo-Liberalism and Economic Thought**<br>The paper starts by considering the contestation as to meanings of the term neo-liberalism and its virtual absence in the standard economics literature. The ancient, but important Alfred Marshall's dire warning against leaving ethics out of economics (Preface to the Principles 1st edition) sets the tone of thinking behind the paper, which then moves through Keynes' views and motivations and on to the current thinking behind the work of Tony Thirlwall, A. K. Sen and John Williamson. Williamson's critique of the mis-appropriation of his earlier formulation of the Washington consensus is included as an introduction to the concluding part of the paper with its rejection of the idea of any blind imposition on developing countries of IMF type restructuring and a big bang approach of rapid privatisation, use of markets and openness without contextual, culture and institutional considerations. |
| **Jackson, Richard**<br><br>University of Otago | **Disrupting International Relations: Pacifism and the Anatomy of a Subjugated Knowledge**<br>This paper reports on the results of a critical discourse analysis (CDA) of 'pacifism' and 'nonviolence' within the primary discursive sites of the international relations discipline. Based on a detailed empirical analysis of the leading IR journals, textbooks, conference programmes, university teaching programmes and normative theory texts, the paper describes the primary silences, narratives, and discursive renderings of pacifist theory in these texts. It finds that pacifism fits the definition of a 'subjugated knowledge' within IR, in that it has been treated as one of those "knowledges that have been disqualified as nonconceptual knowledges, as insufficiently elaborated knowledges: naive knowledges, hierarchically inferior knowledges, knowledges that are below the required level of erudition or scientificity" (Foucault 1997). The paper argues that the subjugation of pacifism within IR is moreover, functional to the operation of current forms of hegemonic power, and is maintained through a series of disciplinary practices, including scholarly self-censorship, silencing and exclusion mechanisms, and disciplining myths, assumptions, metaphors and cultural repertoires. The paper concludes with some suggestions for de-subjugating pacifism within the discipline by, for example, contesting the naïve understanding of violence on which most normative IR theory rests and asserting the moral and practical superiority of nonviolence. |

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| **Jayasinghe, Pasan**<br><br>University of Auckland | **The 'Democracy' in Democracy Promotion: Decoding the Nature and Effects of a Universal Norm**<br>In the post-Cold War international climate, the widespread global adoption of democracy and its acceptance as the de facto governance option for new states has fostered the idea of democracy as an uncontested and universal norm. Consequently, democracy promotion has assumed a central place within the contemporary international development agenda. Despite this, the actual nature of the democracy that is being promoted receives relatively less attention in discourse and literature on democratisation compared to the mechanics of its implementation.   This paper interrogates this imbalance by first contextualising universal democracy as a particularly recent phenomenon, and then by examining the theoretical and popular narrative of democracy's historical development leading up to it from a postcolonial theoretical perspective. Such an examination shows that the conceptual character of universal democracy prioritises Western histories and understandings of democracy whilst ignoring democratic histories from elsewhere in the world. The paper then elaborates on these understandings by applying them to the United Nations, as a key agent in international democracy promotion efforts, and Tunisia, as a significant site of modern democracy promotion efforts. This ultimately provides a more nuanced appreciation of the conceptual implications of democracy promotion in postcolonial contexts. |

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| Kahi, Hamuera<br><br>University of Canterbury | **The Hīnaki: Dynamics of the Christchurch Rebuild in the Neighbourhood**<br>A labyrinthian trail of orange cones dot the streets. The clangs of construction provide a soundscape of activity. The rebuild is in full swing. However, the rebuild also represents on-going ruptures to the rhythms and routines of the Aranui community. In this paper I draw from mobilities and community resilience discourse to argue that education, housing policy and other civil developments offer an observable platform that confirm the political ontology of Aranui as a marginalised community. |
| Karauria, Karena<br><br>Massey University | **Mana whakahaere i a wai? Ongoing tension over Māori land governance**<br>Crown-land policies are perhaps the greatest breach of Te Tiriti o Waitangi. As such Māori whānau and hapū struggle to govern their whānau lands in accordance with their fundamental values and beliefs. Though the Crown has regularly attempted to alleviate these struggles, there are ongoing mismatches between their objectives and the aspirations of Māori land owners. This is seen in the recent review of Te Ture Whenua Māori 1993, and the subsequent draft of Te Ture Whenua Reform Bill. Though both documents are promising, they are still Crown-led. As such, the Crown continues to make decisions for Māori, despite the Tiriti o Waitangi promise that Maori will have absolute 'tino rangatiratanga' over their 'taonga', including their ancestral lands. This presentation will discuss this further and how we might move beyond the Crown-Maori mismatch, drawing upon research which examined one of my whānau landblocks as a Maori land governance case study, Tokomaru B4B2B in the East Coast of Te Ika a Maui, the North Island of Aotearoa. Specifically findings will be shared from the interviews conducted with three expert groups: hau kaenga (home people), pakeke/kaumātua (elders) and specialists in land governance in the wider Te Tairawhiti East Coast region/Ngati Porou iwi. |

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| Kernaghan, Liam<br><br>University of Otago | **Public Engagement and Electoral Reform; A Comparative Discussion.**<br>Recent elections in Canada and the United Kingdom show a growing discrepancy between what the public are voting for and what the first-past-the-post (FPTP) voting system delivers. In both countries there are active public campaigns to change the electoral system, so far no success. New Zealand's experience with electoral reform in the late 1980s and early 1990s indicates the impetus for successful electoral reform came from public distrust in politicians and in the larger political parties, the under-representation of minorities and smaller parties, and the cultural, economic and social shifts occurring within the New Zealand political fabric at the time. Similar public distrust exists today within both Canada and the United Kingdom, and yet change within those two jurisdictions has proven almost impossible. This paper will outline how public distrust contributed to successful electoral reform in New Zealand. It will then analyse the United Kingdom and Canada today in order to predict whether voters in these countries are likely to have a similar impact on electoral reform in the future. |
| Knotter, Lucas<br><br>University of Canterbury | **Geopolitical Anomalies: Exceptionality and Regularity in International Politics**<br>Events in Ukraine, as well as in Iraq and Syria, have in the last year-and-a-half reminded us of the persistence of unrecognized polities claiming a semblance of statehood in international politics. Traditional international political thinking has often portrayed these kinds of entities as exceptions to the regularities of international relations, yet the abundance, tenacity, and repetitiveness of these polities suggests a reconsideration of that portrayal. In this presentation, therefore, I focus on geopolitical anomalies (McConnell, 2009) and argue that they are in fact permanent phenomena of international relations, meaning that we will somehow have to come to terms with their existence. By specifically emphasizing on the differences between juridical (de jure) and material (de facto) conceptualizations of sovereignty, I will contend that geopolitical anomalies not only help us to better understand polities that reside outside the traditional elements of international relations, but perhaps even more so, help us to better conceptualize these traditional elements themselves. In particular, I will focus on the de facto state of Somaliland; by analysing this case, I will expose some of the inconsistencies in viewing sovereignty as a purely legal concept, and demonstrate that International Relations cannot avoid dealing with de facto sovereignty manifestations. |

| Kooshesh, Parisa<br><br>Massey University | **Two Movements, Two Outcomes: How Women's Movements Define Their Borders with Politics in Iran and New Zealand**<br>This paper discusses how two different women's movements have shaped their relations with political institutions. It explores how these relations can enable or hinder women in achieving their goals, as seen by comparing the women's movements in Iran and New Zealand. The women's movement in New Zealand has an international reputation for successfully advancing the status of women over the past century. Iran has also had a widely supported movement for women's equality for more than one hundred years. This movement, however, has been far less successful in achieving its goals. Clearly, the different roles of religion and the political contexts in these two countries are major factors in the success of their women's movements. However, we should also consider the differences in strategy adopted by these two movements. In Iran, women have usually organized in alliance with various other political interests or factions. The New Zealand women's movement, in contrast, has remained largely independent of any particular political organization. This paper will argue that the dependence or independence of women's movements towards political or class interests plays a significant role in the success of those movements. |
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| Kramer, Paul<br><br>University of Auckland | **The Queer Common: Disrupting Politics of Identity and Space**<br>The intent of this paper is to destabilize our status-quo thinking regarding "publics" in Politics and IR. Since the 1990s, academics have used the notion of the public and the counterpublic to delineate political formations across queer spaces and discourses. Yet recent scholarship argues usage of the public in this way is problematic. Namely, queer publics themselves depend upon processes of normalization and exclusion: they must adhere to membership criteria, they define particular modes of circulation in preference over others, and they proclaim a unified voice at the expense of intersectional subjectivities. Queer publics therefore become static and complicit with the power relations of dominant regimes rather than subverting them. In the footsteps of Hardt and Negri, I argue that a reappraisal of the public/private binary and a new perspective on "the common" can help us move beyond these concerns. I propose that "the queer common" is a useful theoretical lens for contemplating non-normative sexualities from local to international levels of politics. By exposing productions, encounters, and antagonisms as processes integral to queer organizing, the queer common makes internal power dynamics explicit. I provide a framework for identifying the queer common, including examples from my own research within international relations. |

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| **Lachapelle, Erick**<br><br>**and**<br><br>**Montpetit, Eric**<br><br>Université de Montréal (Canada) | **Political Cleavages over Hydraulic Fracturing Policy in Canada**<br>Through a comparative analysis of Quebec and British Columbia, this paper will address the extent to which the Advocacy Coalition Framework (ACF) can help shed light on patterns of mobilization for and against the issue of hydraulic fracturing in Canada. While British Columbia has been permissive of hydraulic fracturing, resulting in the drilling of several thousands of shale gas wells, Quebec has been restrictive, effectively putting in place a moratorium on the drilling of such wells. Are these differences the result of distinct perceptions of the risks involved in Hydraulic Fracturing by the actors involved in policy-making debates in the two provinces or more fundamentally the result of differences in their political values? The comparison will draw from actor surveys and a content analysis of the main print media of the two provinces. |
| **Lee, Joo Han**<br><br>Massey University | **A Comparative Analysis of the Foreign Policy Discourse of the Islamic Republic of Iran and the United States of America Regarding the Syrian Civil War**<br>This paper explores the foreign policy discourse of the Islamic Republic of Iran and the United States of America regarding the Syrian civil war. The main research question is: *How do Iran and the United States take advantage of discourse in their foreign policies regarding the Syrian civil war?* The paper examines the different diplomatic thinking, rhetoric and action of Washington and Tehran using poststructuralism as a conceptual framework and CDA as an analytical tool. Although Iran and the United States are on the same side in the fight against the Islamic State (IS), these two countries basically have contrasting positions in relation to the Syrian crisis. These contrasting positions will be considered through analysis of foreign policy discourse in English and Persian. The significance of the study lies in its capacity to explain and to track the social and political changes rippling through the Middle East as a consequence of the Syrian civil war, for instance as witnessed recently in the spread of the Islamic State (IS) from Syria to Iraq and back again. |

| Lin, Max<br><br>University of Auckland | **Tax Schemes or Tax Scams: Addressing Tax Avoidance in the 21st Century**<br>Globalisation and the fragmentation of tax jurisdictions has contributed to an increase in tax noncompliance as corporations grow beyond the size of states, and their multinational operations begin blurring lines of accountability and transparency. There has been a recent and renewed focus on tax avoidance after the latest media attention on multinational corporations such as Apple, Starbucks, Amazon and Google using legal mechanisms to eliminate their tax liability. This research paper has been produced to look at the rational and normative dimensions of international tax avoidance.    The first part of this paper defines the problem and the nature of tax noncompliance. The second part evaluates the role of market incentives, and analyses the extent which tax avoidance is 'rational' and caused by market failure. The next section discusses how norms such as tax morale and governance can complement or counteract the rational elements of tax avoidance. In the last section, we look at possible solutions such as formulary apportionment, transaction taxes, and general anti-avoidance rules; and conclude with a number of creative recommendations for governments to address this growing collective action problem. |
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| Lofgren, Karl<br><br>**and**<br><br>Agger, Annika<br><br>Victoria University of Wellington<br><br>and<br><br>Roskilde University (Denmark) | **Assessing the Quality of Democracy in Local Collaborative Planning - A Review of Frameworks**<br>Ever since the shift to more collaborative forms of urban planning in the 1970 and 80s there have been an underlying aspiration of enhancing democratic values – both among academics and within practitioner circles. Although often seen as subordinated to the prime policy objective of ensuring better planning outcomes; ideals of increasing public engagement, participation, empowerment, inclusion, citizen/resident/stakeholder dialogue and community-building have all been considered as positive side-effects. Still, until now this has not been undertaken in a systematic way. There is a growing literature on how to assess the democratic quality of local collaborative processes and we will in this paper review that. The questions we ask are: a) which democratic norms and criteria applied? b) what is the philosophical base for them? b) How do the different frameworks seek to operationalise them? c) what are the empirical experiences of the frameworks? d) what kind of knowledge do these frameworks produce? |

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| **MacArthur, Julie**<br><br>University of Auckland | **Community Energy in Aotearoa/New Zealand**<br>Political challenges—and not technological ones—explain the persistent failure globally to address complex environmental problems like climate change. Perverse incentives, institutional sclerosis, regulatory capture and a lack of public engagement in democratic governance each play their part in impeding vital innovations in sustainable energy. Fossil fuel use for electricity and transport sectors—a major contributor to climate change—persists at high levels in developed countries despite widespread public concern, the technological and financial capacity for alternate energy systems, and clear evidence that global warming is caused by human activity. The literature suggests that local level collective action may play a key role in the transition toward more sustainable systems, particularly in the face of climate inaction by central government. In New Zealand, a wide range of local energy projects have been proposed, but with comparatively little policy support. This paper investigates the status of community energy systems in Aotearoa/New Zealand. It looks at the types of actors, projects and policy supports that exist in 2015 with a view to assessing the potential of local initiatives to contribute to more sustainable energy practices in the country. |
| **Macaulay, Michael**<br><br>Victoria University of Wellington | **If You Can Fake Sincerity…. Empathy, Authenticity and Manipulation**<br>Research soundly demonstrates that empathy is an efficacious way to develop trust in a relationship, which is essential to leadership.  We also know that leaders who are authentic in their dealings with people are reputed to get the best out of them.  Conversely we know that some of the most successful manipulators are those who lack empathy or authenticity of any kind.  In fact psychopaths and sociopaths are supremely good at getting people to do things for them. This discussion seeks to tease out these questions by looking at the importance of dishonesty and trust, as well as the creation of false empathy as means of manipulation.  It explores the notion of leadership as a moral force, and which is the most appropriate ethical framework for political leaders to adopt. |

**Marquez, Xavier**

Victoria University of Wellington

**Charismatic Authority and Democratic Justification**

The 1930s and 1940s were perhaps the last time in which European political thinkers attempted to justify political authority without appealing solely to "democratic" concepts. These attempts are no longer credible today, yet there is still much to be learned from their failure. In this paper, I trace the use of the Weberian idea of "charismatic" authority in the thought of the only political thinker of any consequence in the regime of the Spanish dictator Francisco Franco, Francisco Javier Conde. Conde, who was a student of Max Weber and Carl Schmitt, developed a normative theory of charismatic authority to justify Franco's rule in the immediate post-Civil War years. Though ultimately a failure both as propaganda (Franco apparently didn't care for it) and as theory, Conde's work still raises important questions for us about the place of charisma within democratic societies. Democratic theorists, I argue, need a better way of understanding the normative appeal of charismatic modes of justification and their recurrent emergence in modern societies; and Conde's approach to the problem of charismatic authority can help us understand both.

| McMeeking, Sacha<br><br>University of Canterbury | **Institutional Dissonance & Transformation**<br>Māori political engagement has two distinct faces: concerted efforts to transform the institutional outlook and machinery of the Crown and second, the establishment of tribal governance authorities responsible for realising intergenerational aspirations for tribal development and autonomy. This paper argues that, counterintuitively, Iwi appear to be achieving greater institutional disruption within the Crown than within their own political institutions, creating a dissonance between tribal communities and tribal organisations. In conclusion, this presentation will offer some future pathways for consolidating and charting institutional disruption from within and without of Māori political institutions. |
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| Meihana, Peter<br><br>Massey University | **Privilege, Native policy and politics in Aotearoa New Zealand**<br>Over the last four decades there has been a proliferation of texts that espouse the idea of Maori privilege. Election years also see claims of privilege ramped up. While this can be understood as a response, by some, to the increasing presence of the Treaty of Waitangi in public discourse, notions of Maori privilege are not confined to the late 20th and early 21st centuries. This paper briefly traces the idea of Maori privilege from 1840 to 1940. It argues that the idea of Maori privilege was by 1940 a well-established discourse in New Zealand. Furthermore, it argues that oscillations in native policy were precipitated by claims of privilege that in the end would result in land loss and marginalisation. |
| Morris, Samantha<br><br>Victoria University of Wellington | **Identity as a Force Multiplier: Development Work and the New Zealand Soldier**<br>As the New Zealand Defence Force (NZDF) moves more concertedly into non-war-fighting deployments (Solomon Islands, Timor-Leste, Afghanistan) the question of how to best prepare personnel for these deployments becomes increasingly important. In balancing the traditional and non-traditional aspects of the military profession a New Zealand-military identity or a 'Kiwi way' is often drawn upon as a means by which to explain how personnel are able to simultaneously play the peacekeeper, war fighter, humanitarian, and development practitioner. |

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| **Moses, Jeremy**<br><br>University of Canterbury | **Is a Pacifist International Law Possible?**<br>In debates over the validity or usefulness of pacifism in international relations it is frequently argued that a consistent pacifism could only accord with anarchism, as the establishment and enforcement of any sovereign legal order necessitates the use of violence that is anathema to pacifist ethics. On the other hand, current international law rests heavily upon putatively pacifist arguments, suggesting that law represents the peaceful alternative to untamed interstate anarchy. The purpose of this paper is to explore this proposition in relation to international law through an examination of Realist claims regarding the role of violence in law. It will consider the Realist critiques of international law put forward by (amongst others) Schmitt and Morgenthau, as well as the Realist-based normative proposition of 'weak pacifism' offered by Danilo Zolo. The tentative argument will be advanced that despite the false pacifism of existing international law, perhaps it is the anarchical condition of international politics that might allow the development of a pacifist international law in the future. Such law would necessarily remain 'weak and decentralized', as Morgenthau put it, but might also avoid the pitfalls of great power exploitation inherent in current international law. |
| **Mulholland, Malcolm**<br><br>Massey University | **The Flag and Identity**<br>This paper will focus upon the New Zealand flag and questions surrounding identity. The author is currently serving as one of the 12 member, government-appointed, Flag Consideration Panel, and has written on the history of the New Zealand flag. The paper will look at the historical context in which the flag came into being, with a particular focus upon Maori. It will then track debate over the years with larger questions about New Zealand's relationship with 'Mother Britain'. It will conclude with the current debate on whether or not New Zealand will change the flag, the political climate, and will analyse the feedback received as a result of the panel's "Stand For" website whereby people were asked to articulate what values and principles they believed the country stood for. |
| **Mutu, Margaret**<br><br>University of Auckland | **Matike Mai Aotearoa! The Independent Working Group on Constitutional Transformation**<br>At an Iwi Leaders Forum meeting in Hopuhopu 2009, the Independent Working Group on Constitutional Transformation was formed and tasked with developing a constitution for Aotearoa reflective of our kawa and tikanga (laws and customs), 1835 He Whakaputanga (Declaration of Independence), 1840 Te Tiriti o Waitangi (Treaty of Waitangi, Māori texts) and the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples. In 2014 the mandate of the Working Group was extended to include an Independent Monitoring Mechanism, to monitor the implementation of the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples by the New Zealand Government. This presentation will discuss the background to these initiatives, key developments to date, and the potential 'disruptions' to future politics in Aotearoa New Zealand. 91 |

| Mycock, Andrew<br><br>University of Huddersfield (UK) | **Lowering the Voting Age and the 'politics of enfranchisement' in the United Kingdom**<br>There has been a lack of precision from political parties either supporting or opposing voting age reform in the UK beyond speculative assertions on its potential impact on youth political engagement. A number of governmental and non-governmental reports have however raised concerns regarding potential that voting age reform could problematize how the political, economic and social rights and responsibilities of youth and adult citizenship are correlated and realized. This paper will explore the conceptual and empirical manifestations of the fledgling 'politics of enfranchisement', assessing arguments advanced by political parties in the UK for or against lowering the voting age from 18 to 16. It will analyse how youth citizenship is framed by protagonists, exploring whether party divergence on the voting age issue means political ideology is an influential factor. It will also consider if decentralisation of political power to devolved national parliaments has encouraged diversity in debates about the voting age and youth citizenship across the UK. |
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| Nandedkar, Gauri<br><br>University of Waikato | **Citizenship and Empowerment: A Third World Feminist Framework for Adolescent Girls**<br>Local NGOs, intergovernmental organisations and adolescent girls are re-shaping ideas around meanings of empowerment grounded in local culture and linking into broader concepts of development and citizenship. While there is a large body of scholarship around women's empowerment, adolescent girls remain on the fringes of academic study. Third World Feminism, like most feminist theories, is blind to adolescent girls and their struggles. Extending a Third World Feminist framework to include the particular social, economic and political circumstances of adolescent girls acknowledges their location and repositions these young women as active citizens. This paper, drawing on field research in rural Maharashtra, India and selected scholarship, explores Millennium Development Goal 3 – 'to promote gender equality and empower women'. Drawing on Kabeer's (1999) articulation of the three dimensions of women's empowerment 'Resources, Agency and Achievements', I argue that feminist and citizenship frameworks are not mutually exclusive but may be enhanced by capturing a new perspective on the position of adolescent girls, citizenship and the transformational changes they lead within their communities. |
| Nel, Phillip<br><br>University of Otago | **Redistribution in Sub-Saharan Africa**<br>Despite common perceptions, a considerable degree of economic redistribution takes place even in the poorest of countries of sub-Saharan Africa. However, not all of this redistribution is necessarily beneficial from an egalitarian point of view. This paper distinguishes between the various redistributive regimes and reviews the evidence concerning their effectiveness in reducing inequality and poverty. |

| Ngata, Tina<br><br>Te Wananga o Aotearoa | **Māori Philosophy as a Guide to Sustainable Futures**<br>It has been said that addressing the global ecological crisis calls for a paradigm shift at all level of society. Education for Sustainable Development (ESD) is an emerging learning and practice model which seeks to embed within humanity a baseline of principles for sustainable practice from political decision making through to the classroom and households. ESD calls for participatory, holistic, collaborative, and innovative approaches in order to produce a generation of global ecological custodians. Achieving this requires introspection, authentic connection to the cause of sustainability, and an experiential approach. There is currently very little indigenous discourse on ESD, even though indigenous communities hold the longest history of sustainable practice and many indigenous cultures operate in participatory, holistic, collaborative ways. Within Aotearoa, indigenous practice features models for learning and engagement at a deep, authentic level and enshrines nature, spirituality, social and emotional understanding as fundamental tools of learning and decision making. The use of arts to engage and communicate is a natural space within the Maori world. This paper will discuss the gaps in current ESD discourse, the contributions of Maori models to ESD, and the barriers to potentiating our arts and cultural practices to facilitate engagement and improve decision making. |
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| Nissen, Sylvia<br><br>University of Canterbury | **Student Political Agency and the Market University**<br>This paper examines how the modern university environment shapes the political agency of New Zealand university students – defined as the ways in which students imagine and effect change. Universities shape how students think and act politically both in the present and further along, and over the past two decades universities have gone through rapid change in their organisation, meaning and mission. Given this change, I examine how political agency is practiced and expressed by students, and explore how modern university environments shape or direct their political agency. The research is based on participant observation of student-led events and 70 in-depth semi-structured interviews with students at all of New Zealand's universities. |

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| Nwokeke, Peter Osinakachukwu<br><br>University of Canterbury | **African Ruling Elites and Democratic Consolidation: The Case of Ghana and Nigeria**.<br>This paper debunks scholarly claims that civil society and foreign influences play huge roles in the consolidation of democracy in Sub-Saharan Africa. However, domestic and external democratizing factors cannot be isolated in attempts for country's transitions, but this effort is minimal in the long run as the pacesetters of consolidation mount formidable authority in determining democratic outcomes. The giant strides on democratic consolidation in few countries have raised fresh hope and re-echoed the elite theory propounded by Mosca and other elite theorists. On this backdrop, the liberal pluralist version and the critical elite version are used to explain as they apply to African continent. Ghana and Nigeria represent contrasting cases. Elites in Nigeria have resemblance of the critical model, whereas the ones in Ghana represent a pluralist model of governing approach. This explains why democratization has not been as successful in the Nigerian case. The fact that the Nigerian elites have not responded to pressure to consolidation is partly due to the fact that, civil society has been co-opted to support the actions of the elites rather than perform a watch dog role. In Ghana on the other hand, civil society has been allowed to perform this watch dog role. |
| Oldfield, Luke<br><br>University of Waikato | **Vested Interest and Public Action in a Climate of Participatory Democracy: Water Fluoridation Decisions in Australasian Local Government**<br>Over the last decade a more 'participatory' style of public engagement has been preferred in policy decisions at all levels of government in Australia and New Zealand.[1] Participatory democracy, as has been evidenced elsewhere, was intended to assist decision makers in the development of a stance more closely aligned with the views of their constituency.[2] This paper draws on an examination of publicly-available submission data and subsequent interviews of Hamilton City Councillors during the 2013 'Water Fluoridation Tribunal': a tribunal that resulted in the cessation of fluoridation in the city. The data is examined through the lens of contemporary political science literature with the aim of explaining why a tribunal regarding the continuation of community water fluoridation produced an outcome that was strikingly different to the underlying community sentiment as reflected in subsequent referenda. Finally the merits of tribunal-like processes in the future health related decision-making are discussed, with consideration of the vulnerability of such democratic processors to manipulation by special interest groups. |

| Osborne, Danny | **Recognizing the Diversity of Political Activism: Using Latent Class Analysis to Identify Distinct Types of (Non)Activists** |
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| Eady, Gregory | Political activism can manifest in various ways. People can write letters to the newspaper, sign petitions, and/or engage in public demonstrations. Whereas research has assessed the predictors of pursuing these forms of activism in isolation, studies that aim to identify distinct types of activists have been rare. We address this oversight by using Latent Class Analysis—a type of mixture modelling used to identify subgroups of people—to identify distinct types of political (non)activists. Specifically, we analyse participants' (N = 11,244) self-reported engagement in the following activities from the Vote Compass dataset: signed a petition, boycotted a product, volunteered for a political party, contacted the news, publicly displayed their views, donated to a political party, attended a meeting, publicly demonstrated, and/or protested. Results indicated that participants belonged to one of four latent classes: Apolitical (disinclined to activism), Normative Activists (inclined to pursue publicly-sanctioned activities), Radicals (inclined to pursue disruptive activities), and Devoted Activists (inclined to pursue all forms of activism). Subsequent analyses used socio-psychological variables to predict membership in each of the latent classes. Our findings demonstrate the diversity in the activist label and highlight the various ways in which people engage in political activism. |
| Lees-Marshment, Jennifer | |
| van der Linden, Cliff | |
| and | |
| Vowles, Jack | |
| University of Auckland | |
| Patman, Robert | **Historical Analogies, Globalization, and US-Russian Rivalry in the Ukraine** |
| University of Otago | Trying to learn from history is both necessary and difficult. It is necessary because the past is the only data we have to deal with new events and challenges.  But it is very difficult to apply lessons of history to contemporary situations because the entire process depends on the effective use of reasoning by analogy. And such reasoning can be flawed. This has been highlighted by the recent experience of renewed rivalry between the U.S. and Russia over the Ukraine. For some commentators and scholars in the West, this crisis signalled a new Cold War. It is contended, amongst other things, a 'weak' American foreign policy - based more on how President Obama thinks the world should operate rather than on reality – largely caused Putin's assertiveness in the Ukraine. However, it will be argued that this reading of history seriously obscures two key points about the current global landscape. First, the option of America acting like a Cold War great power is over. Second, the constraints of globalization apply not only to the U.S. but also to prospective rival powers like Russia and China. |

| Patman, Robert | **New Zealand's Surveillance Controversy: The Impact of the GCSB Amendment Bill and the Snowden Revelations** |
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| **and** | In New Zealand, Edward Snowden's revelations about the extraordinary scope of the National Security Agency's (NSA's) surveillance capabilities and the facilitating role of the Five Eyes alliance converged with increasing public concerns about the Government Communications Security Bureau (GCSB) |
| **Southgate, Laura** | |
| University of Otago | Amendment and Related Legislation Bill in 2013. This generated an intense and sustained debate in the country about surveillance policy. It was a debate in which the Prime Minister John Key has featured prominently. A conceptual model developed by Michelle Hale Williams is outlined to help define, understand and measure the impact factor in New Zealand. While apparently unable to clearly refute Snowden's claims concerning mass surveillance in New Zealand, John Key's vigorous public interventions helped counter the short-term political and diplomatic fallout. However, the long-term impact of public concerns over the surveillance policies of the Key government may be much harder to predict in what is a small democracy, and the prospect of substantial political blowback cannot be ruled out. |

| Pienkhuntod, Ajirapa  National Centre for Peace and Conflict Studies | **Social Capital and Peacebuilding in a Conflict Setting: Investigating Contributions of Local Religious Leaders in the Deep South of Thailand** <br> The importance of local actors is well established within the peacebuilding literature. As a source of contextual knowledge and understanding of local needs, their initiatives for peace can be useful in conflict settings where international intervention is restricted. To date, most studies on local peacebuilding have broadly focused on civil society and non-governmental organisations, and only a handful of studies have explored the potential contributions of other actors such as religious leaders. In the protracted conflict in the Deep South of Thailand, religion has heavily influenced the conflict dynamics, though the contributions of local religious leaders to peacebuilding have yet to be examined. This paper aims to investigate the peacebuilding efforts of Buddhist-Thai and Muslim-Malay leaders in the conflict area. It highlights the significance of social capital identifying that bridging social capital established within inclusive social networks such as civil society and government networks encourage the engagement of religious leaders in peacebuilding activities. In contrast, I find that bonding social capital existed in exclusive social networks, for instance in intra-religious circles, may hinder peacebuilding behaviour. |
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| Pirsoul, Nicolas  University of Auckland | **Understanding the Struggle for Recognition as a Struggle Against Subordination.** <br> The question of indigenous rights and self-determination is usually framed in the language of a "politics of recognition". Yet the meaning of the term recognition and what such a concept implies politically is a matter of scholarly dispute. Here, I propose to analyse different models of the "politics of recognition" in order to show that a genuine understanding of recognition cannot be reduced to cultural recognition. Drawing from Honneth, Tully, Fanon and contemporary French critical theory, I argue that the struggle for recognition is not a struggle for limited collective rights waged within an institutional framework designed by a dominant group but instead promotes radical institutional shifts towards increased social equality, the abolition of relations of domination and, in the case of indigenous people, increased self-determination. I use this theoretical framework to question the current implementation of "the politics of recognition" in contemporary settler states which promotes indigenous collective rights policies. |

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| **Poutu, Jacqualene**<br><br>Victoria University of Wellington | **Just be Yourself**<br>What would it take to be a selfless person in an environment full of prejudice? A place where party lines exist and no one should cross them? How good should one be at 'hedging comments' and playing the game? The main source of currency is 'information' and that information is likely to matter when it is palatable to the 'majority' of the day.   Is there a space for an educated population because we would be a more just society? Are we thinking about at least six generations in advance with our law, policy and review infrastructure or are we still teaching from the book of ironies and calling it good faith, contestable policy, or one law for all?   Imagine a place where equal outcomes were measured through the wellbeing of the people. A place where no one should go without food, shelter and water. A place where 'people' were the centre of all financial decisions and policies of blame were transformed into policies of liberation. A place where good governance has a better succession plan and people are excited to vote because they understand their responsibilities to future generations. |
| **Powles, Anna**<br><br>Massey University | **Private Security: The Dynamics of PSCs in Post-Conflict Environments in the Pacific and Timor Leste**<br>While much attention has been given to the role of global private military and security companies in post-conflict reconstruction in Iraq and Afghanistan, far less attention has been paid to PSCs operating in post-conflict environments closer home in the Solomon Islands and Timor Leste. Of particular interest here are the dynamics created by international and local PSCs operating within a statebuilding context where reform and development of the security sector and the economy are core mandates. Research in the Solomon Islands and Timor Leste reveals the symbiotic and occasionally blurred relationship between the private and state security sectors, the importance of integrating the formal and informal security sectors into SSR/SSD planning, the role of local PSCs in post-conflict recovery, and the impact of privatised security on peace processes. This presentation argues that PSCs can play a complementary, complex, and at times contradictory role within post-conflict and statebuilding contexts. |

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| **Prinsen,**<br>**Gerard**<br><br>Massey University | **When Cows Go to Town**<br>In an urbanizing Africa, wealthier city dwellers tend to buy their meat at supermarkets, but most urban consumers buy their meat at local markets. Supermarkets - still - offer mostly imported meat, while local markets present locally produced meat. Over the last few years, meat consumption in the urban areas has been increasing, as does local meat production. On the one hand, this dynamic offers economic opportunity for Africa's rural meat producers, but on the other hand it is associated with increasing risks in terms of food safety and public health (e.g. Salmonella). A 2015-2018 research by a multi-disciplinary team from Tanzania, the UK, the US and New Zealand investigates the implications of the growing meat consumption and meat production in Tanzania. This presentation lists some of the commercial and regulatory aspects that will be investigated. |
| **Puumanawawhiti,**<br>**Ngaa Rauuira**<br><br>**and**<br><br>**Collier,**<br>**Hohaia**<br><br>Te Wānanga-o-<br>Raukawa | **Kaupapa-informed politics education**<br>Te Wānanga-o-Raukawa is a kaupapa-informed Māori institution in Otaki. These kaupapa help to inform and guide everything at Te Wānanga-o-Raukawa, from the way in which the organisation is governed at the decision-making level, to everyday operations and management, as well as teaching and learning on campus and in our marae-based studies. Kaupapa at Te Wānanga-o-Raukawa flow out from the realm of Māori theory and philosophy, with practical expression of these constantly sought and the view that all our decisions and actions should be informed by kaupapa. This presentation will focus on how political science and the teaching of politics is approached at Te Wānanga-o-Raukawa, and some of the practical implementations this takes immediately in the lives of educators and learners. We invite further discussion around how kaupapa might be reflected further in the realm of political education and implications for governance in this country from a constitutional point of view. |

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| Saikia, Pahi<br><br>and<br><br>Baro, Aniruddha Kumar<br><br>Indian Institute of Technology Guwahati | **Asymmetrical Autonomy and its Discontents: Experiences from India**<br>Asymmetrical autonomy is used to mitigate ethnopolitical conflicts in deeply divided societies. It provides asymmetrical powers to sub-national units based on cultural distinctiveness of ethnic groups. Countries like Turkey, Cyprus, New Zealand, India and Indonesia contained ethnic violence by providing asymmetrical autonomy to ethnopolitical groups demanding separatism. Despite few success stories, there are instances where symmetrical autonomy led to unintended outcomes, particularly violence in the newly created autonomous territories. For example, India's north-eastern region and Sri Lanka where asymmetrical autonomy produced adverse outcomes. Instead of preventing conflict, asymmetrical autonomy fostered the conditions for ethnic violence in these regions. Why and under what conditions asymmetrical autonomy leads to ethnic violence? The paper aims to address this question with the help of established literature on conflict prevention and its effects on ethnic violence. Empirical evidence will be drawn from India, particularly Assam, Mizoram and Tripura with peripheral reference from Chittagong Hill Tracts. The paper argues that asymmetrical autonomy provides recognition to aggrieved ethnic groups. However, it fails to create conditions for complete reduction of violence. Changes in inter-group relations, intensive intra-elite struggle for resources and majoritarian tendencies are some of the conditions identified in this paper that leads to discontent and violence. |
| Sharma, Ashok<br><br>University of Melbourne | **India's Foreign Policy under Modi Government: An Insight into India's Foreign Policy Trends and the Likely Posture**<br>India, with its rising economic and military profile, has taken resolute steps to reformulate its foreign policy in the last two decades. But in recent years India has suffered from an ineffective foreign policy and a meek response to the external security challenges. But, India's new Prime Minister Narendra Modi has been among the most active leaders on the international stage. His high profile nineteen foreign visits within a year are marked by the symbolism of a deep personal rapport with foreign leaders, connecting with the Indian Diaspora and business communities, celebration of 'International Yoga Day', and the signing of economic deals and strategic agreements need to be seen in the context of broad framework of India's foreign policy under Modi government. This paper will examine the factors that are driving India's much more active and visible foreign policy and strategic engagement under Modi government in the context of India's domestic politics and economic environment, its security concerns, its quest for global player and its strategic posture in the great power game in the Asia-Pacific region. |

| Shogimen, Takashi<br><br>University of Otago | **The Problem of Eurocentrism in Comparative Political Theory**<br>Practitioners of comparative political theory, a rapidly growing sub-field of political theory, typically characterize their work as a project of anti-Eurocentrism in the sense that they are combatting the hegemony of political categories of European (and American) origin. The reverse side of this is that they search for an indigenous, non-European tradition of political thinking in order to reframe their political thinking in the non-European terms. This entails a tacit assumption that, if it were not for the European influence, non-European cultures are (and ought to be) autonomous. However this is problematic because there are cultures that can claim their individuality by assimilating other cultures. One such example is the Japanese political tradition. For Japanese political thinkers in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Sinocentrism was a dominant intellectual paradigm; from the mid-nineteenth century, Eurocentrism remains axiomatic. The paper argues that there are political cultures, for which borrowing other cultures is normal and essential, and not pathological. Thus, the paper shows that comparative political theory, which emphasizes cross-cultural learning through dialogue in order to combat Eurocentrism, is predicated on a flawed understanding of non-European political cultures. |
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| Simon, Hemopereki Hōani<br><br>University of Wollongong | **Te Arewhana Kei Roto Te Ruma: Settler Society, Race War, Nullifing Te Tiriti and Natural Resources in Tūwharetoa**<br>With a focus on Tūwharetoa this paper seeks to discuss and explore the obvious in relation to indigenous rights in Aotearoa. That is Te Tiriti does not apply to all iwi and hapu. Drawing on international indigenous studies literature and the work of Aileen Moreton-Robinson to uncover the underlying race war brought to this country by British colonisation. It aims to outline how this is fuelled by the position of New Zealand as a resource colony for the British empire and now in the era of globalisation, the world. By doing so the paper will Illustrate the experiences of Tūwharetoa in colonial and modern times in regards to natural resource issues. This paper will conclude by questioning the wisdom that despite a recent decision by the Waitangi Tribunal to recognise the mana mōtuhake of those that did sign Te Tiriti the reaction of the Rt. Hon. John Key does not give hope to the aspirations of Tūwharetoa despite the expected shift in power relations in the so-called "post-settlement" political environment. |

| Siver,<br>Chris<br><br>University of<br>Auckland | **A Habermasian Account of Justifiable Civil Disobedience.**<br>When engaging in acts of civil disobedience, citizens tend to have clear and explicit reasons for doing so. However those that disagree with these acts accuse those engaging in them as going too far, or claim that the acts are unjustified. I address this by providing a Habermasian framework for the justification of a range of acts of civil disobedience. Jürgen Habermas provides a historical conception of political legitimacy, and a method for evaluating laws. Combined, these two aspects of his theory define fine grained criteria for evaluating state actions which in turn can be developed into a framework that justifies various acts of civil disobedience. As such, it is possible to define a broad and contextual threshold of what acts of disobedience may —and may not— be justifiable. |
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| Spencer,<br>Vicki<br><br>University of Otago | **Recognition, Humility and Gay Pride**<br>Generally humility is seen as a virtue opposed to the vice of pride. Although the traditional sense of humility as having a low opinion of oneself is rejected in contemporary moral philosophy, many recent formulations of humility/modesty remain tied to the notion of making oneself small due to this humility–pride dichotomy. The political consequence is to delegitimize oppressed groups seeking public recognition and movements like gay pride for their lack of virtuous behaviour. One response could be to reject humility as an outmoded 'virtue' entirely inappropriate to modern democratic politics. The cost of doing so, however, is significant as humility acts as an important counterfoil to arrogance that is generated by seeing oneself as more important than others and is a form of dominative behaviour towards others. This paper argues that pride is neither a vice nor the opposite of humility and redefines humility as non-arrogance. With this redefinition, it is entirely possible for a person to be both humble and to have the desire to look fabulous for a day whilst displaying one's pride in one's sexuality at a Gay Mardi Gras parade; but, at the very least, such a public display of fabulosity is no vice. |

| Stevens, Kiri<br><br>Victoria University of Wellington | **"Winning Hearts and Minds"? An Exploration of New Zealand Peacekeeping, Masculinities, and Identity in the Solomon Islands**<br>Is involvement in peacekeeping is producing new gender and identity experiences for New Zealand soldiers? This paper explores the perceptions of two Reserve Force soldiers who participated in the Regional Assistance Mission to the Solomon Islands and seven Solomon Islanders, to understand the impacts that new experiences of gender and identity have for conflict resolution and gender equality in a post-conflict environment. I suggest that the practices that soldiers value and consider most useful to successful soldiering are changing as a result of their involvement in peacekeeping. New ideas about masculinity in the armed forces are being engendered by the need for soldiers to express a sense of equality and respect towards local people, offering alternatives and/or challenging hegemonic and racialized militarized masculinities more traditionally valued in the armed forces. The Solomon Islanders interviewed interpreted participating soldiers' behaviours through broader historical-cultural narratives about different countries perceived cultural sensitivity and Soldiers' everyday resistances to racial narratives and militarized masculinities proved important for creating a sense of trust and respect with local residents. However, while some Solomon Islanders welcomed the sense of security that soldiers produced, some viewed their carrying of weapons was viewed as undermining local conflict resolution practices. |
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| Stone, Alex<br><br>Sibley, Chris<br><br>and<br><br>Duckitt, John<br><br>University of Auckland | **The Dual Process Model of Ideology and Prejudice: A Full Cross-Lagged Panel Test**<br>Right Wing Authoritarianism, the desire for social order enforced by strict leadership, and Social Dominance Orientation, the belief that society should be arranged in an unequal hierarchy, are ideological attitudinal variables which have been linked to a host of political outcomes. The Dual Process Model implicates trait personality, through the mediator of social worldviews, as an important factor in the development of these ideologies. This paper provides the strongest support to date for the model. We have analysed data from a large nationally representative survey, overcoming many of the limitations of previous longitudinal studies of the Dual Process Model. Our results support the hypotheses of the model, that two distinct but related pathways exist between certain personality traits and the two ideological attitudes. |

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| Tapiata, Jacob | **Navigating Tribal Cultural Revitalisation in a sea of Settlement Distractions** |
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| Massey University | Te Pākira marae is situated in the Whakarewarewa Village, Rotorua. Marae driven initiatives over the last 5 years has seen a transformation in positive marae engagement & a renewed focus on future planning & development. This has required balancing, challenging and sometimes ignoring long held beliefs - disrupting the status quo, to bring about positive change. This paper presents the journey of tribal cultural revitalisation in a post-settlement environment. |
| Tawhai, Veronica | **Youth 'Disrupting the Discipline': Lessons from the Matike Mai Aotearoa Rangatahi project**. |
| Massey University | Increasingly in Aotearoa the political attitudes, behaviours and aspirations of our young people are significantly disrupting our understanding of politics, challenging us to rethink our approach to issues such as youth political engagement. Through workshops utilising digital media, spoken word performance, audience participatory drama and small-to-large group activities, the Matike Mai Aotearoa Rangatahi project involved Māori youth nationwide engaging their peers in thinking about politics and their political values, hopes and aspirations for the future. This presentation explores the lessons to be learnt from the Matike Mai Rangatahi project for improving our youth engagement efforts, by examining the design and development of the rangatahi workshop, the formation and training of the national rangatahi team, the project's implementation and final reporting of results. |
| Thirkell - White, Ben | **Rethinking the Global Public Sphere Again: Fraser, Habermas and Systems Theory** |
| Victoria University of Wellington | Nancy Fraser argues that public sphere theory is no longer fit for purpose in a globalised world. Nation states are no longer able to command the kind of unilateral authority assumed by traditional public sphere theory. National public spheres have thus lost their efficacy, raising important questions of inclusion (who should be involved in global public spheres) and efficacy (how can global public spheres find an institutional addressee capable of implementing decisions?). I argue that Fraser neglects an additional and highly important change that the onset of global governance has introduced and that forms a central theme in Habermas's Between Facts and Norms (BFN). Global governance is increasingly fragmented so that different institutions have jurisdiction over different issue areas. Habermas emphasises the public sphere's role in integrating fragmented systems thinking into a more holistic vision of the 'lifeworld'. Fraser has nothing to say about how this function might be performed at the global level. After revisiting the account of the public sphere in BFN, I outline why the question of systems integration cannot be ignored in theorising the global public sphere and briefly sketch how some key extant theories might deal with the problems raised. |

| Truong,<br>Ai-Nhi Thi | **The Vietnamese Government's Response to the Problem of Agent Orange: A Study of Domestic Policy-Making, Mobilisation of NGO's, and International Lobbying of the United States** |
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| University of Auckland | From 1961 to 1971 the US military sprayed approximately 72 million liters of chemical defoliants over one-fourth of the South Vietnam area. Contaminated with dioxin, the most toxic chemical known to human beings, Agent Orange has devastated not only the ecological environment in Vietnam but also turned millions of Vietnamese people and their descendants into victims of serious illnesses and birth defects. Even today Agent Orange dioxin is still highly concentrated in some "hot spots" and continues to threaten the health of residents as well as fauna and flora. The Government of Vietnam (GOV) has recognized the problem and has established institutions to address it. But with limited resources to deploy against this widespread and deep-seated health threat, Hanoi has also turned to diplomacy abroad in search of other sources of assistance from other governments. However diplomatic appeals to the United States have so far failed in the face of Washington's denial of responsibility for the health threats posed by Agent Orange and refusal to enter into negotiations on compensation for illnesses and deformities. Consequently, the GOV has directed a policy of establishing Vietnamese Nongovernmental Organisations (NGOs) which have been able to network with American NGOs in accordance with Keck and Sikkink's 'boomerang' concept. These Vietnamese NGOs have had some success in inducing American NGOs to lobby Washington decision-maker and also to provide some resources to Vietnam. This paper describes the institutional and policy responses of the GOV both domestically and internationally and assesses the prospects for a change of policy in Washington leading to future US assistance to mitigate the consequences of Agent Orange. |

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| Uberti, Luca J.<br><br>University of Otago | **Colonial Legacies and the Developmental State: A Critique of AJR**<br>In a famous defence of the importance of "inclusive" political institutions for economic development, Acemoglu, Johnson and Robinson employ an instrumental-variable approach to show that "inclusive" institutions lead to higher incomes. In the regions where European colonists settled in large numbers (Chile, South Africa), "inclusive" institutions that protected property rights were established; in the non-settler colonies (Uganda, DRC), "extractive" institutions remained prevalent. Variation in institutional quality persisted after independence and explains today's income differentials between the former colonies. In this paper, I challenge this colonial-origins account of comparative development, and claim that AJR's assumption of institutional continuity is misguided. While "extractive" institutions persisted after independence in the non-settler colonies, the settler colonies had a higher probability of morphing into "developmental states" incorporating significant elements of "extraction" and rent creation. These less-than-inclusive institutions enabled the former settler colonies to grow and subsequently revert back to more inclusive regimes. To test this account, I develop an index of the "developmental state" (DV), and show that once the index is included as a control in the two-stage equation, AJR's instrument for institutional quality loses statistical significance. I also show that the DV index can function as a valid instrument for current institutions. |
| van der Krogt, Christopher<br><br>Massey University | **How Islamic is "The Islamic State"?**<br>Declarations by anxious politicians and embarrassed Muslims that the movement calling itself "The Islamic State" (IS) is not genuinely Islamic owe more to normative assumptions about what constitutes Islam than to disinterested empirical observation of Islam as a historical phenomenon. The organization would not exist without the historic religion in which it is firmly rooted, nor can it reasonably be said to have departed from Islam. Rather, IS is a manifestation of a particular kind of Islam, namely Jihadi-Salafism. Assertions that it is merely a cypher for some other kind of movement taking the guise of religion rely on a misunderstanding of religion in general and Islam in particular as somehow incompatible with ordinary human aspirations and motivations. The very features of IS that most bemuse and horrify observers, such as the declaration of a restored caliphate, war on dissidents and unbelievers, and the sexual enslavement of non-Muslim women, express values and ideals accepted as normative through most of Islamic history. |

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| **Veri, Francesco**<br><br>University of Lucerne (Switzerland) | **Explaining Resistance to Minority Rights in the Context of Direct Democracy: A Fuzzy Set of QCA Referenda.**<br>Measuring the effects of direct democracy on the extension of rights to minorities is a complex task. Based on normative elements - such as the effect of propaganda - it appears difficult to assess how referenda might affect the position of minorities in different societies. In other words normative approaches to the causes that lead to the extension or reduction of minority rights do not provide clear explanations. On the other hand, specific empirical studies relating to the extension of minority rights in direct democratic contexts individuate at least 5 distinctive necessary causal conditions that will result in a negative referendum outcome. However these empirical findings do not apply to a broader population of cases and imply a linear reality in which causal attributes have only one causal pattern at one time. Using fuzzy Qualitative Comparative Analysis (fsQCA) (a case-sensitive technique based on formal logic Boolean algebra), we tested these five deterministic necessary conditions on 50 referenda around the world which questioned the extension of minority rights. The results suggest that all 5 conditions behave in different ways creating conjunctural causation and different solution formulas (equifinality); therefore the failure of referenda cannot be explained only through one single necessary condition. |
| **Waitoa, Joanne**<br><br>Massey University | **Tino Rangatiratanga 2.0: Social Media and Indigenous Political Activism**<br>Indigenous communities worldwide including Aotearoa New Zealand, experience increasing challenges to their sovereignty brought by outside forces of colonialism historically and neo-liberalism currently. For the most part these communities have struggled separately against such forces with varying degrees of success. In recent times however, opportunities for indigenous groups to organise and mobilise collective action on a global scale have increased due to the growth of social media. By promoting information sharing, participation and collaboration, social media have revolutionised resistance. Campaigns on Facebook and Twitter like #IdleNoMore in Canada and #SOSBlakAustralia in Australia have highlighted violations of indigenous sovereignty from their respective governments. Such social movements have raised awareness around the world and created solidarity with indigenous and non-indigenous people alike. Most importantly, social media allows more influence over sharing these stories of injustice from an indigenous perspective. While mainstream media choose to ignore peaceful indigenous activism, millions of Facebook and Twitter feeds are engaging with these campaigns. This paper will explore recent examples of indigenous collective action that have been most prolific on social media. It will also explore the wider implications – positive and negative – of these platforms as spaces of resistance. |

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| **Ware, Felicity**<br><br>Massey University | **The Politics of 'Supporting' Young Maori Parents**<br>Despite the consequences of early childbearing increasingly found to be equivocal, there remains a persistent pathology of teen sexuality, pregnancy and parenting, which structures government response. This presentation provides a Foucauldian analysis deconstructing dominant discourses and frames of knowledge, which produce regulatory power relations surrounding young parenthood for Māori in Aotearoa. Historical and political processes such as the ongoing effects of colonisation and racism and normalising discourses of judgement, risk, and deference to experts, continue to influence contemporary conceptions of young parenthood for Māori. Those who deviate from the preferred life course trajectory of completing secondary school, gaining employment, forming a stable relationship, and most importantly being financially independent before having children are stigmatised by the dominant discourse of the 'good' and 'right' parent being derived from white, married, middle class expectations. This analysis enables us to challenge deeply entrenched assumptions guiding teen pregnancy prevention efforts and supports for young Māori parents. It explores government rhetoric and policy compliance and surveillance that reinforces and reproduces the stigmatization, regulation and existing health and social inequalities with notions of the young Māori parent being an underlying cause of societal problems, particularly long-term welfare dependency and anti-social behaviour. |
| **Warren, Krystal Te Rina**<br><br>Massey University | **Ipurangi – Engaging the digital space**<br>History tells us Māori have always engaged extensively with new technologies, examples from initial European contact including metal tools and new types of clothing, to writing apparatuses and photography. However with the adoption of modern tools, the adaptation of tikanga Māori (Māori cultural process, protocols, and values) has occurred. This presentation is based on a current doctoral study that examines current approaches to Māori and digital spaces such as the internet. One such approach is 'e-colonisation', or the view that posits the internet as a tool of assimilation into western culture. As a counter-narrative, this research examines the internet from the perspective of a Māori digital citizen of the world, and investigates: how is tikanga Māori maintained in virtual environments? Furthermore, how does the enduring tenets of tikanga Māori assist Māori engagement as digital citizens of the world? |

| Weierter, Stuart<br><br>University of New South Wales | **John Dewey's Insecure Leviathan**<br>John Dewey is perhaps the political philosopher most at home in our times. Political debates turn on what government has been unable to do, and what future governments will do to remedy the mess in which we've found ourselves. The public, meanwhile, increasingly looks to the state for solutions and berates the government of the day when these are not forthcoming. Moreover, much of the counsel for this somewhat troubled marriage follows in Dewey's footsteps: what is required is a unification of the fracture between the public and the executive – this through social inclusion, public deliberation, direct democracy etc. The problem or that which legitimates the solution is, in short, one of public and private disunity. And so what makes Dewey the most contemporary of political philosophers is, as I argue, the unintended success of his political project. This project which began with the introduction into political life of the spirit of poetic craftsmanship necessarily ends in its own division: a poetics of desire on one side and its fulfilment in statecraft on the other. As I argue, this success and failure has, subterraneously as it were, actualised in an insecure form the Hobbesian state of sovereignty. |
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| Whiley, Heath<br><br>University of Tasmania | **Towards A Comparative future: New Zealand and Australian post-disaster reviews**<br>New Zealand and Australia share similarities in culture, geography, history, settlement and political structures, but there are key differences in the ways that they are governed. Despite being ideally suited for comparison, there is a lack of comparative case studies between the two jurisdictions. This paper addresses this by looking at the differing results of government-led post-disaster reviews and responses in New Zealand and Australia. Australia's federal system, when compared to New Zealand's unitary system creates debates over responsibility and accountability. Despite this difference in structure, both New Zealand and Australian jurisdictions adopt a similar institution to conduct their reviews. Westminster traditions have seen both adopt the use of public inquiries and royal commissions for ad-hoc reviews. The paper demonstrates a need for comparative studies between Australia and New Zealand, but also illustrates the opportunities for policy learning from the occurrences of disaster, so as to be better prepared for future occurrences. The paper argues that policy learning is under-utilised, but that it can be an important cross-jurisdictional tool for policymakers. New Zealand and Australia's similarities and shared experiences mean that both can learn from and share responses to disasters. |

**Wright, Jeanette**

University of Waikato

**Sustainability in Regional Council Environmental Management: A Comparative Analysis**

Through a case study of the dairy industry the research examines how sustainability has been socially constructed within New Zealand's environmental policy and practices. The overarching question was why despite seemingly having world leading legislation for sustainability the Resource Management Act 1991 environmental indicators have demonstrated significant and continuing deterioration. This paper presents a component of the research which compares two examples of the implementation of the Resource Management Act. It evaluates what sustainability discourse has shaped the variations to planning rules in the Central North Island Lakes catchments and compares this with the dominant approach to environmental management of the agricultural sector. The findings demonstrate the dominant approach is underpinned by the ecological modernisation discourse. It is shaped by an effects based and non-spatial approach to environmental management. In contrast the lakes variations were characterised by a bottom-up-approach where environmental risk management required multiple perspectives, participatory processes and the integration of environmental, economic, and socio/cultural concerns. Through the combination of these three pillars the lakes variations emulated a sustainable development discursive approach. The research demonstrates that the choice of what sustainability discourse frames institutional practice has stronger or weaker ecological sustainability outcomes.

| Zirker, Daniel and Stubbs, Thomas University of Waikato and Cambridge University | **Conflict and Ethnicity: Internationalized Military Identity and Uganda's Wars at Home and Abroad** For the past two decades, the Central/East African region has been a hot-zone of geo-political instability. Conflict in Uganda, Rwanda, the DRC, and now Burundi has repeatedly threatened peace and stability in the region. Uganda, in particular, has acted as a flashpoint in numerous internal and external wars, including participation in the overthrow of Rwandan and DRC governments. To what extent has the periodic and alternating appointment of internationalized military identities—that is, the use of martial races or privileged ethnicities that are, in large part, extra-territorial in origin—formed the antecedent for civil war and external military engagement? Tracing the historical development of Uganda's ethno-political military calculus, we suspect that the propensity for internal and external conflict has been conditioned by constructed military identities with an international flavour, including the close relationship with Tanzania under Milton Obote, the inclusion of Sudanese and Palestinians under Idi Amin, and the Western Ugandan-Rwandan combination under Yoweri Museveni. These findings may have important implications for Central and East Africa, given Uganda's pivotal role in the overthrow of governments in Rwanda and Zaire/ Democratic Republic of the Congo, and the extent to which its many recent civil wars have bled into Sudan and Kenya. |
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| Zirker, Daniel and Barrett, Patrick University of Waikato | **Corruption Scandal Clusters in a Non-Corrupt Country: Transforming New Zealand's Clean, Green Image?** Over the past several years, incidents of major corruption scandals in New Zealand, arguably the least corrupt country, have increased dramatically. Scandals are poor indicators of the pervasiveness of corruption, although they do impact the perception of corruption in a given country, as well as the character of phenomena that are related to it in specific cases. In New Zealand, a country long regarded as a clean, green and egalitarian country, the scandal clusters have resonated loudly and continuously, and have focused national attention on basic industries (e.g., dairy, livestock), the environment (e.g., water quality, irreplaceable resources), and even democratic practices (e.g., campaign finance laws). Additionally, those in powerful positions who have been investigated for, and found not guilty for lack of evidence of, corrupt practices have increasingly made a point of affirming this as 'proof' of their 'innocence', further complicating public trust. In 2014 New Zealand slipped from first to second place in Transparency International's Corruption Perception Index. It seems likely to slip further. We will examine the wider implications of growing perceptions that the country is succumbing to lax standards, and thereby losing its privileged position as a widely perceived clean, green and non-corrupt treasure. |

# Participant directory

**Adampira, Saeideh** Korea Development Institute

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**Butcher, Charles** University of Otago

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2015

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TE KUNENGA KI PŪREHUROA
UNIVERSITY OF NEW ZEALAND

NZPSA
New Zealand Political Studies Association
Te Kāhui Tātai Tōrangapū o Aotearoa

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**Delahunty, Catherine** NZ Parliament

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