

New Zealand Political Studies Association

**2018 Annual Conference  
Detailed Programme**

26-28 November

**Victoria University of Wellington  
Wellington, New Zealand**



**Representation and Responsibility**



## Table of Contents

3	<b>NZPSA President's Welcome</b>
4	<b>Conference Committee's Welcome</b>
5	<b>Conference Organising Committee</b>
8	<b>Conference Plenary Speaker</b>
9	<b>Conference Dinner Speakers</b>
10	<b>Public Panel Discussion 1</b>
13	<b>Public Panel Discussion 2</b>
15	<b>Detailed Conference Programme with Abstracts</b>
75	<b>Campus Map and Emergency Instructions</b>
78	<b>Wi-Fi Information</b>

## NZPSA President's Welcome

*Tēnā koutou katoa. Haere mai!* It is my very great pleasure to welcome you all to the New Zealand Political Studies Association's 2018 Conference. The first ever meeting of the NZPSA was here in Wellington, 42 years ago, launching a tradition of annual conferences. These annual meetings play a central role in fulfilling the primary goals of the NZPSA: to foster the study of political phenomena, especially that of interest to Aotearoa/New Zealand, and to provide a forum for the dissemination and discussion of research about politics among, as our Constitution states, 'interested persons, irrespective of occupation, party affiliation, or political opinion.' The NZPSA also seeks to support and encourage post-graduates in their study of political phenomena, and to be a collegial and democratic Association for those of us interested in studying politics. So, I particularly welcome all the post-graduates who will be presenting their research over the next few days, and look forward to enjoying the very collegial atmosphere that, in my experience, characterises NZPSA conferences.

Every NZPSA conference has happened as a result of the hard work of a number of volunteers. This year, the organising committee have done an amazing job of bringing us all together, and, through the public panels and speeches, of connecting us with those whose work we often study: politicians, journalists and diplomats. I know it has been a huge amount of work, so I would like to extend big thanks on behalf of the Association to Ayca Arkilic, Maria Bargh, Sarah Hendrica Bickerton, Chris Eichbaum, Xavier Márquez, Kate Schick, Ben Thirkell-White and Jack Vowles. Kia ora rawa atu.

This year's conference theme, 'Representation and Responsibility', provides us with an opportunity to reflect not only on the relevance of these themes for our own research, but also their relevance for our roles and responsibilities as political scientists. Events over the next three days provide delegates with multiple opportunities to become more involved with the discipline in New Zealand, and to contribute to the constructive role that political science can play in our public life. If you would like to play an active role on the NZPSA Executive, there are a number of vacancies - please come along to the **Annual General Meeting** on Monday and put your name forward. The AGM is also a forum where all NZPSA members have the opportunity to raise issues and vote on matters of importance to the discipline. I encourage you to attend. I draw your attention to the **Research Network** meetings, which will be held on Monday and Tuesday afternoons and are open to all. Currently there are the following Networks: Aotearoa/New Zealand Politics; Civics, Citizenship and Political Literacy; Environmental Politics and Policy; Gender and Politics; Interpretive Policy Analysis; Media and Political Communication; and Political Theory. If you would like to set up a new Research Network, please consult the NZPSA website for information on how to do this. There are also opportunities to learn about teaching innovations and practices within the discipline at the **Teaching Politics Roundtable** on Tuesday afternoon, and on Wednesday afternoon the **Women's Caucus** of the NZPSA will meet; again, all are welcome at that meeting.

Last, but definitely not least, the morning and afternoon teas, lunches, the **reception** on Monday night, hosted by the Taylor and Francis journal, *Political Science*, and the Conference Dinner at Parliament on Tuesday night, all provide opportunities for us to make new connections and strengthen existing ones. I hope you are able to take advantage of all that is on offer at the conference, and look forward to meeting as many as possible of you over the next three days.

*Ngā manaakitanga.*

NZPSA President,  
Kate McMillan

## Conference Committee's Welcome

*Tēnā koutou katoa. Nau mai haere mai ki te Whare Wānanga o te Ūpoko o te Ika a Māui*

Welcome to Victoria University of Wellington for the 2018 New Zealand Political Studies Association Conference. This year's theme addresses issues of representation and responsibility: Who speaks for whom? Who is responsible for what? How do we hold those who represent and govern us to their commitments? On the 125<sup>th</sup> anniversary of Women's Suffrage in New Zealand, these are very timely issues, which our public events and panels address from a multiplicity of perspectives.

On the 26<sup>th</sup> of November, in a public panel chaired by Emeritus Professor Margaret Clark, women MPs from different political parties, including Hon Margaret Wilson, Hon Ruth Dyson, Jo Hayes, Jenny Marcroft, Kiri Allan, and Golriz Ghahraman will reflect on "125 Years of Suffrage: Reflections on Women in New Zealand Politics - Past, Present and Future." On the same day Professor Sona Golder from Pennsylvania State University will deliver the keynote lecture on "Legislative Representation and Gender (Bias)." Finally, on the 28<sup>th</sup> of November, in our closing public panel, chaired by Dr Claire Timperley and with discussion by Professors Jennifer Curtin and Jonathan Boston, a distinguished group of former party leaders and ministers, including Hon Sir Michael Cullen, Hon Jeanette Fitzsimons, Doug Woolerton, and Rt Hon Wyatt Creech will discuss "Responsiveness and Responsibility in Coalition Government."

There are also more than 130 papers exploring various aspects of our conference theme. Paper presenters include academic staff and postgraduate students from around New Zealand and different parts of the world, including Africa, Asia, Europe, the Middle East, and the US. We take advantage of our Wellington location to hold our traditional Conference Dinner in Parliament, hosted by the Hon Grant Robertson, with speeches by H.E. Bernard Savage (EU Ambassador to New Zealand), Susan Niblock (Deputy Chief of Mission at the U.S. Embassy in Wellington, New Zealand), and Linda Clark (Former Political Journalist & Special Counsel at Kensington Swan).

We hope you enjoy your conference, and look forward to having stimulating conversations with you.

2018 NZPSA Organising Committee,  
Ayca Arkilic, Maria Bargh, Sarah Hendrica Bickerton, Chris Eichbaum, Xavier Márquez,  
Kate Schick, Ben Thirkell-White, and Jack Vowles

## Conference Organising Committee

Our thanks go to Sekhar Bandyopadhyay, Sam Bigwood, Jonette Crysell, Eric Jeunot, Ruben Kearney-Parata, Stephen Levine, Kaitlin Martin-Feek, Leonardo Milani, Adrienne Nolan, Christopher Rudd, and Claire Timperley for their help in organising the conference.

Conference Committee & Stream Convenors:



**Conference Chair** Ayca Arkilic is Lecturer in Comparative Politics at Victoria University of Wellington. She joined the university in 2017. Her research and teaching interests include immigration and diaspora studies, transnationalism, Turkish politics, and European politics.



Maria Bargh (Te Arawa, Ngāti Awa) is Head of School and Associate Professor in Te Kawa a Māui-School of Maori Studies at Victoria University of Wellington. She teaches and researches in the areas of Māori politics, and Indigenous resource management.



Sarah Hendrica Bickerton is a PhD candidate, sociologist, and research assistant in the School of Government at Victoria University of Wellington. Her research areas involve online social behaviour, gender, and identity. Her PhD research is on political participation construction amongst New Zealand women who use Twitter. She has taught in such areas as social theory, gender theory & analysis, and policy in both New Zealand and the United States.



Chris Eichbaum is Reader in Government and Associate Dean at Victoria University of Wellington. He joined Victoria in 2003 having previously held teaching positions at Canterbury, Auckland and Massey University. He has been employed in both the New Zealand and the Australian Commonwealth Public Service and has held positions as a Ministerial and Prime Ministerial Advisor. His principal area of research, in which he has collaborated with Professor Richard Shaw of Massey University, has focused on relationships between political and administrative actors in the core executive. He is presently

undertaking research on the nature of Public Administration, as an academic discipline in Aotearoa/New Zealand. Earlier in 2018 he was appointed for a second term as a non-Executive Director on the Board of the Reserve Bank of New Zealand.



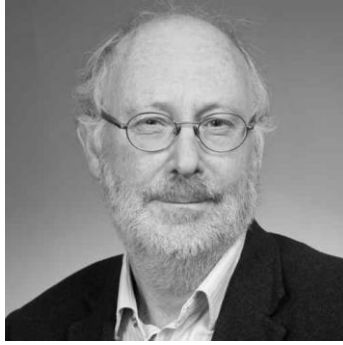
Xavier Márquez is Senior Lecturer in Political Theory and Political Science at Victoria University of Wellington. His recent research focuses on non-democratic politics, including authoritarianism, dictatorship, and non-democratic political thought. He is also interested in the history of democracy and democratic thought and has published on Michel Foucault, Hannah Arendt, John Rawls, and ancient Greek and Roman thought. He served as the Head of the Political Science and International Relations Programme in 2018, and will be the Head of the School of History, Philosophy, Political Science and International Relations starting in January 2019.



Kate Schick is Senior Lecturer in International Relations at Victoria University of Wellington. Her research lies at the intersection between critical theory and international ethics. She is particularly interested in the way critical theories highlight our mutual vulnerability and interdependence, and their countercultural critique of the pursuit of invulnerability and self-sufficiency. Kate is author of *Gillian Rose: A Good Enough Justice* and co-editor of *The Vulnerable Subject: Beyond Rationalism in International Relations and Recognition in Global Politics: Critical Encounters between State and World*.



Ben Thirkell-White is Associate Professor in International Relations at Victoria University of Wellington. His primary focus is the politics of global finance, particularly the IMF's relationship with emerging market countries. He is also interested in the global governance of development and the comparative political economy of East and Southeast Asia.



Jack Vowles is Professor of Comparative Politics at Victoria University of Wellington. His main interests are in comparative political behaviour, with a focus on elections, legislatures, referendums, election campaigns, public opinion, and the consequences of electoral systems. He is a Fellow of the Royal Society of New Zealand and is currently working a Marsden research grant project to analyse the dynamics of electoral turnout in New Zealand since 2014.

The committee would also like to particularly express our gratitude to Sue Rogers for her efforts across multiple aspects of the conference.



School Administrator  
School of History, Philosophy, Political Science and  
International Relations  
Victoria University of Wellington

The conference committee would additionally like to thank the following sponsors:

- School of History, Philosophy, Political Science & International Relations, Victoria University of Wellington
- School of Government, Victoria University of Wellington
- Political Science Journal
- The Delegation of the European Union to New Zealand
- The Embassy of the United States in Wellington
- Advancing Better Government
- BWB Bridget Williams Books
- Vic Books

## Conference Plenary Speaker

### Professor Sona Golder, Pennsylvania State University



Sona Golder is a Professor in the Department of Political Science at the Pennsylvania State University. Her expertise is in political institutions, with a particular interest in coalition formation. Her first book, *The Logic of Pre-Electoral Coalition Formation*, examines the determinants and consequences of electoral alliances in parliamentary democracies. Her most recent book is about Multi-level Electoral Politics. Her other work has appeared in the discipline's leading journals, including the *American Journal of Political Science*, the *British Journal of Political Science*, the *Journal of Politics*, and *Political Analysis*. In addition to being a co-editor for the *British Journal of Political Science*, an associate editor for *Research & Politics*, and serving on the editorial boards for the *American Political Science Review*, *Comparative Political Studies*, and *Political Science Research and Methods*, she is a co-editor for a new series, the *Oxford Politics of Institutions Series*, for Oxford University Press.

#### *Legislative Representation and Gender (Bias)*

Relative to their proportion in society, women are under-represented in national legislatures around the world. The proportion of women in parliaments has been growing over the years, but the rate of increase remains slow, suggesting that there is something hindering the proportion of female representatives. There are different stages to the representation process – women have to (i) choose to run, (ii) be chosen as candidates by political parties, and (iii) be chosen by voters. Scholars have examined these different stages of the representation process to identify exactly where barriers to women's representation arise. Most research has focused on the final 'electoral' stage of the representation process. The empirical evidence about whether voters are willing to support female, as opposed to male, candidates is mixed and context dependent. What seems clear, though, is that barriers at this 'electoral' stage of the representation process are not, on their own, sufficient to explain the extent to which women are under-represented in national legislatures.

On the whole, relatively little research has been conducted on the first stage of the representation process where women choose whether to run or not. What research there is, though, consistently shows that women are less likely than men to put themselves forward as candidates in the first place. As a result, the supply of women at this initial stage is nearly always lower than that of men. Explaining why women are less likely to run, and possibly less likely to be encouraged to run, is a challenge. A general problem for researchers interested in determining whether discrimination occurs is that it's often hidden, and it can be difficult to separate the effect of gender from the effect of other factors that matter for being elected. One way to sidestep some of these difficulties is to use experimental approaches. After discussing what we have been able to learn from experiments on gender bias in the representation process, I present an original analysis of New Zealand elected officials that sheds some light on whether informal recruitment behaviors differ based on the gender of the potential political aspirant.



## Conference Dinner Speakers

### **H. E. Bernard Savage, EU Ambassador to New Zealand**



H.E. Mr Bernard Savage is the Ambassador of the European Union to New Zealand. He was previously a high-ranking diplomat in the EU's flagship European External Action Service, directing relations between the EU and North Africa. Between 2009 and 2013 he served as the EU's Ambassador to Sri Lanka and the Maldives. Between 2004 and 2009 he was the EU's Ambassador in Saudi Arabia, Bahrain, Kuwait, Oman, Qatar and the UAE. He is fluent in Arabic, English, French, and Spanish.

### **Susan Niblock, Deputy Chief of Mission at the U.S. Embassy in Wellington, New Zealand**



Susan Niblock is the Deputy Chief of Mission at the U.S. Embassy in Wellington, New Zealand. She has been a career diplomat with the Department of State for more than 25 years, and is a member of the Senior Foreign Service, class of Minister-Counselor. Prior overseas postings include Management Counselor Amman, Jordan, Management Counselor Singapore, General Services Officer Brussels, Belgium and Addis Ababa, Ethiopia and Human Resources Officer Moscow, Russia. Prior domestic assignments in Washington DC include Philippines desk officer, Assignments Officer for Asia and Europe, and Post Management Officer for Europe.

### **Linda Clark, Former Political Journalist & Special Counsel at Kensington Swan**



Linda Clark is one of New Zealand's most respected journalists. With over 20 years in journalism Linda Clark had covered seven elections and won awards in print, television and radio, including the Qantas Award for Best Current Affairs Story, the Qantas Award for Best News Reporting and the Asia 2000 prize for journalism. She has held some of the most prestigious jobs in media, including being TVNZ's political editor for seven years. After a very successful career in media, in 2006 Linda Clark decided on a complete change of direction and went on to study Law. Currently she works as Special Counsel at Kensington

Swan, specialising in public law and is Deputy Chair of the Board of the New Zealand organisation for rare diseases.

## **Public Panel Discussion 1: 125 Years of Suffrage: Reflections on Women in New Zealand Politics – Past, Present, and Future**

Chair:

**Emeritus Professor Margaret Clark** (Victoria University of Wellington)

Emeritus Professor Margaret Clark became Professor of Political Science at Victoria University in 1978. Before that she had taught at universities in Australia, Malaysia and New York. She is still teaching Honours and Masters students, and maintains her Southeast Asian interests.

Speakers:

**Hon Margaret Wilson DCNZM**

Former speaker of the New Zealand House of Representatives, Professor of Law at the University of Waikato

Professor Margaret Wilson, DCNZM, Professor of Law and Public Policy, University of Waikato. Former Member of Parliament 1999 – 2008. Held several Ministerial appointments including Attorney-General, Minister of Labour and former Speaker New Zealand Parliament 2005 – 2008. Co-author Human Rights in NZ: Emerging Faultlines and currently has Law Foundation funding to research how Parliament deal with human rights issues with Professor Judy McGregor.

**Hon Ruth Dyson**

Labour MP

Ruth is determined to create and implement a plan to retain skilled and passionate people in the Canterbury region. She aims to include people, particularly young people, in the thinking and planning for the future to create a committed, passionate community in Canterbury. Ruth thrives on working with and for the diverse communities within her electorate of Port Hills.

- Involved in women's organisations, peace movement and environmental groups since early 1970s
- Campaigner for Kerry Burke 1981 & 1984
- Campaign worker for Fran Wilde on Homosexual Law Reform Bill 1984
- Women's Representative, New Zealand Council of the New Zealand Labour Party 1984
- Executive Member, New Zealand Labour Party 1986
- Senior Vice President, New Zealand Labour Party 1987
- Campaign organiser for Fran Wilde 1987
- President, Labour Party 1988-1993
- Member of Parliament 1993-present, including 9 years as a Minister.

**Jo Hayes**  
National MP

Jo Hayes' professional background includes the Health, Education and Social Services sectors in executive management, specifically funding and planning, business and financial planning, service auditing. She is a business service auditor and action researcher. Privately, she is in partnership and a director of a family sheep and beef farming enterprise, and director of her own private consultancy business (which is inactive at this time due to her parliamentary role). Experience in the National Party:

- National List MP based in Christchurch East – January 2014 – Current
- Third Government Whip – 2015/2016
- Chair of Social Services Select Committee – 2016/2017
- Co-chair Commonwealth Women Parliamentarians – 2014-current
- Maori Affairs Select Committee – 2014 – current
- Local Government and Environment – 2014/2016

**Jenny Marcroft**  
New Zealand First MP  
Ngapuhi

Ms Marcroft was elected to Parliament in September 2017, as a New Zealand First list MP based at Matakana, in Rodney district. She stood in the Tamaki electorate and was placed ninth on New Zealand First's party list. She is a former broadcaster with 30 years' experience working across a range of New Zealand media outlets and is a passionate defender of the role of public broadcasting in an ever-changing media landscape.

Of Ngapuhi descent, Ms Marcroft grew up in Rotorua. Her early life experiences there shaped her views, particularly with regard to social, family, and health issues. But it was only when she reconnected in later years with her Maori heritage in Northland and was confronted with the deprivation there, that she became politically active. Ms Marcroft is a member of the Maori Affairs and Environment select committees.

**Kiri Allan**  
Labour MP  
Pirirākau, Ngāti Ranginui, Ngāi  
Te Rangi, Ngāti Tūwharetoa

Kiri Allan is a Labour list MP, elected to the 52<sup>nd</sup> New Zealand Parliament in September 2017. Kiri is a member of the Regulations Review, Finance and Expenditure and Primary Productions select

committees and is the Junior Labour Party Whip. Kiri's background is in constitutional and commercial law. She has been engaged in social and environmental advocacy for almost 20 years and also has a business background working in the primary sector. Kiri is an advocate for her home electorate of the East Coast and believes that regional economic development is critical to New Zealand's success.

Kiri's desire is to see equity placed back at the heart of New Zealand and to use her platform to give voice to communities that often are not seen or heard in public policy debates.

**Golriz Ghahraman**  
Green Party MP

Before entering Parliament last year, Golriz worked as a lawyer in New Zealand and overseas. Her work for the United Nations focused on post-atrocity justice processes in the Tribunals for Rwanda, the former Yugoslavia and Cambodia. This work also included restoring communities after war and human rights atrocities, particularly empowering women engaged in peace and justice initiatives.

In New Zealand, she worked for over a decade in the criminal justice system, successfully advocating on rights issues before the Supreme Court, while maintaining active involvement in the NGO sector, as reflected by her board memberships of: Action for Children & Youth Aotearoa; NZ Criminal Bar Association; NZ Centre for Human Rights Law & Policy; and Super Diverse Women. Golriz holds a Masters Degree in International Human Rights Law from Oxford University.

## **Public Panel Discussion 2: Responsiveness and Responsibility in Coalition Government**

Chair:

**Dr Claire Timperley** (Victoria University of Wellington)

Claire Timperley is Lecturer in the Political Science and International Relations programme at Victoria University of Wellington. A graduate of the University of Virginia and the London School of Economics and Political Science, her teaching and research interests include settler colonialism and decolonisation, identity politics and multiculturalism, feminist political theory and New Zealand politics.

Discussants:

**Professor Jonathan Boston**  
Victoria University of Wellington

Professor Jonathan Boston works in Victoria University's School of Government. His DPhil is from Oxford University. He has served as Director of the Institute for Governance and Policy Studies and Director of the Institute of Policy Studies. Earlier in his career he worked briefly for the New Zealand Treasury. During 2000-01 he was a member of the Tertiary Education Advisory Commission, and later helped to design, implement and evaluate the Performance-Based Research Fund. More recently he served as Co-Chair of the Expert Advisory Group on Solutions to Child Poverty, established by the Children's Commissioner.

**Professor Jennifer Curtin**  
University of Auckland

Jennifer Curtin is Professor of Politics and Director of the Public Policy Institute at the University of Auckland. Her research and publications focus on Australian and New Zealand electoral politics, trans-Tasman policy innovations, sport, and gender politics and policy. She is currently engaged in funded comparative research projects aimed at developing sustainable strategies for gender budgeting and women's wellbeing, the policy impact of women political leaders at the subnational level, and surveying citizens views on complex policy problems. Jennifer also works on the New Zealand Election Study with colleagues from Victoria University of Wellington and the University of Otago. Jennifer is the academic director of Auckland's Master of Public Policy Programme and teaches comparative public policy, lesson drawing and the politics of policy. She also runs an internship course for postgraduate students, working with a range of government agencies, policy consultancies and non-profit organisations. She was a NZ-Fulbright Senior Research Scholar in 2012 and

regularly speaks about issues connected with her research to national and international media outlets.

Speakers:

**Hon Sir Michael Cullen KNZM**  
Former Deputy Prime Minister

Sir Michael Cullen served as Deputy Prime Minister of New Zealand between 2002 and 2008, and as Minister of Finance, Minister of Tertiary Education, and Attorney-General. Before entering Parliament, he taught social history at the University of Otago. He was the Deputy Leader of the Labour Party from 1996 until November 2008, deputy chairman of *New Zealand Post* from 1 November 2009 and chairman from 1 November 2010. He currently chairs the Government's Tax Working Group.

**Hon Jeanette Fitzsimons**  
Former Co-leader of the Green Party

Jeanette Fitzsimons was the co-leader of the Green Party of Aotearoa New Zealand from 1995 to 2009, and a Member of Parliament from 1996 to 2010. Before entering Parliament, she taught environmental studies at the University of Auckland. She was rated the most trustworthy political party leader in a One News-Colmar-Brunton poll in 2007.

**Doug Woolerton**  
Former New Zealand First MP and Leader

Doug Woolerton is a founder member and first President of the New Zealand First Party, serving in that role for 12 years from 1993 to 2005. He was a Member of Parliament between 1996 and 2008. Before entering Parliament, he was a dairy farmer and director and deputy chairman of the Waikato Milk Company.

**Rt Hon Wyatt Creech CNZM**  
Former Deputy Prime Minister

Wyatt Creech was Deputy Prime Minister in 1998-1999, and served as Minister of Education and Minister of Health among other portfolios in the National Government of 1990-1999. He is a graduate of Victoria University of Wellington in Political Science and International Relations. He is the current Chair of the Heritage New Zealand Pouhere Toanga. He also serves as the Chair of two private sector companies.

## Detailed Conference Programme with Abstracts

**Day 1: Monday November 26<sup>th</sup> 2018**

**10:00am-10.30am Mihi Whakatau and Welcome Speech**

Participants:

- **Paul Meredith** (Executive Officer of the Office of the Deputy Vice-Chancellor Māori, Victoria University of Wellington)
- **Professor Jennifer Windsor** (Pro-Vice-Chancellor and Dean, Victoria University of Wellington)
- **Dr Kate McMillan** (NZPSA President, Victoria University of Wellington)

**10.30am-11.00am**

**Morning Tea**

**11.00am-12.30pm Public Panel**

**125 Years of Suffrage: Reflections on Women in New Zealand Politics - Past, Present and Future**

**Chair: Emeritus Professor Margaret Clark (Victoria University of Wellington)**

Participants:

- **Hon Margaret Wilson DCNZM** (Former Speaker of the New Zealand House of Representatives, Professor of Law at the University of Waikato)
- **Hon Ruth Dyson** (Labour MP)
- **Jo Hayes** (National MP)
- **Jenny Marcroft** (New Zealand First MP) Kiri Allan (Labour MP)
- **Golriz Ghahraman** (Green Party MP)

**12.30pm-1.30pm**

**Lunch**

**1.00pm-1.30pm**

**Network Meetings**

1. Aotearoa New Zealand Politics Network
2. Civics, Citizenship and Political Literacy Network
3. Environmental Politics and Policy

**1.30pm-3.00pm**

**Panel Sessions One**

**Session 1A**

**The 2017 Election and Populism: Findings from the NZES – 1 (New Zealand Politics)**

**Chair: Matt Golder (Pennsylvania State University)**

*Fiona Barker (Victoria University of Wellington) - Populism in Theory and Practice*

Current theories of populism are increasingly shaped by the forms of authoritarian populism emerging in Europe and North America, although there is some dissent from those who argue

that populism is neither exclusively right-wing nor necessarily undemocratic. This paper outlines the New Zealand experience with populism, an ideology that has profoundly shaped New Zealand political thought. It argues that while populism has been a form of appeal in various parties that have challenged the dominance of the National and Labour Parties since the 1930s, the National Party and one its forerunners, the Liberal Party, have also been vehicles for populism, all the way up to the present.

*Jack Vowles (Victoria University of Wellington) - Unpacking the 2017 Election*

This paper describes a descriptive and analytic account of the main parameters of the 2017 general election. It outlines the flows of the votes, the salient issues, the economic context, and compares the nature of the party system to those of other developed democracies. It goes on to explore the alignment of the party system across class and urban-rural cleavages, and the social and demographic correlates of party choices. It uncovers a picture of relative stability, albeit one marked by a shift to the left in party and in issue preferences.

*Jennifer Curtin (University of Auckland) - Gender, Populism and the Vote in the 2017 New Zealand*

Gender gaps in party preferences are not new, and there has long been interest amongst scholars in what determines voting differences between women and men (Inglehart and Norris, 2000). From comparative studies we know that gender gaps in voting behaviour vary across countries, although there is some similarity with respect to populist right parties, with men more than women likely to support the radical right (Immerzeel et al 2015). Common scholarly explanations focus on gender differences in structural characteristics (such as occupation) and attitudes (degree of social conservatism). However, we know less about the gendered nature of the populist vote in New Zealand, in part because our history is one of both right and left populism, and also because the vote for the most notable contemporary populist right party (New Zealand First), has not been comparatively high. It was anticipated that the 2017 election might provide a different result given the advent of a “global populist moment”, named as such by those focused on the rise of European populist right parties, the Brexit vote and the election of Trump as US President (Albertazzi and McDonnell 2015). To this end, I investigate whether NZ experienced a heightened populist vote, what might explain its presence or absence, and its gender dimensions. In addition to relying on traditional explanatory variables, this paper draws on populist scholars’ who argue for the importance of leaders’ performance. Specifically I explore the possibility that Jacinda Ardern’s ‘political style’ (Moffit, 2016) and her refusal to engage in the “flaunting of the low in politics” (Ostiguy and Roberts 2016) suppressed support from both sexes for parties of the populist right.

## **Session 1B**

### **Political Participation and Social Media (Media, Internet, and Politics)**

**Chair: Karl Lofgren (Victoria University of Wellington)**

*Wahyutana Wahyutama (Victoria University of Wellington) - Social Media and Youth Participation in Indonesia*

There is a general trend of decline in the level of youth political participation worldwide, especially in terms of voting. However, in Indonesia, the level of youth political participation (in terms of voting) is found to be relatively high, even though its predictors such as the level of political trust is low. This had intrigued the researcher to further explore the phenomenon of youth political participation in Indonesia. Considering the fact that social media plays a central role in the lives of youth today, this research also investigated the roles of social



media in affecting it. Thus, this research posed four research questions: 1) How politics is constructed by youth in Indonesia?; 2) what explain the tendency of youth in participating in different types of political activities in Indonesia?; 3) how social media is used by Indonesian youth to engage with political activities?; 4) What are the roles of social media in affecting youth political participation in Indonesia? This research used mixed methods in which quantitative data from survey and qualitative data from interview are simultaneously used to propose a substantive-level theory that explains the trend of youth political participation and the roles of social media in affecting it within the research's specific contexts. Participants and respondents of this research are students from three universities in Jakarta.

*Sereyvicheth Chunly (University of Auckland) - Liberation Technology? Measuring the Impact of Facebook on Political Participation in Cambodia*

Does social media facilitate political participation in Cambodia? While analysts of Cambodia's politics have argued that the recent explosive growth of social media, particularly Facebook, has indeed widened citizens' political engagement in the country, such observation has been either impressionistic or anecdotal. Empirical analysis of the relationship between social media and participation in politically repressive Cambodia remain scarce. This paper seeks to systemically identify the extent, forms and predictors of political participation facilitated by the online platform Facebook. Through analysis of data gathered from a face-to-face, random survey of 500 respondents in Cambodia, the study finds that Facebook has played a role in facilitating the expansion of civic and political engagement and has contributed to the emergence of various new modes of political engagement in the capital city. Data generated through the survey also makes it possible to statistically determine predictors of political participation facilitated by Facebook, such as identifying individuals who are more likely to be politically active on this platform. While the findings from this study may not be generalizable across the whole of the Cambodian population (given the urban focus of this survey), it does offer critical insights into the potential of such platforms in raising political participation particularly in authoritarian political settings. It also has practical implications for organizations and groups working to promote civic and political engagement in Cambodia.

*Sarah Hendrica Bickerton (Victoria University of Wellington) - Women & #NZPol: New Zealand Women Twitter Users & Political Participation Construction*

This presentation is based on the preliminary results from my PhD research. Twenty-five unstructured interviews were conducted with New Zealand based self-identified women, who use Twitter, on their construction of political participation, with a particular focus on their use of online technologies. A snow-ball sampling methodology was used, starting with women prominent in New Zealand political twitter circles (though not politicians, nor journalists, in order to retain the bottom-up citizen-focus of the research). The preliminary results involve confirmation of international trends of political participation along consumptive, rather than traditional organisational-based, lines around so-called 'issue shopping'. However, there are indeed some particularly New Zealand characteristics, involving a sense of size and 'e-whakawhanaungatanga' that incorporates social science theory around primary relationship formation and Gemeinschaft as engendering a sense of meaningfulness in political participation articulation, as well as management. Furthermore, my participants constructed more complex and nuanced understandings around social media 'bubbles' than has been present in mainstream technology discussions. This is evidenced both in an online/offline juxtaposition, but further into the presence online of a multiplicity of diverse 'voices' and perspectives, and 'listening' as a political act. This also extends into privileging personal experience as expertise, as well as a destabilisation of traditional

narratives around the rationality/emotion binary in regard to political speech. Additionally, my participants were highly aware of a gendered nature to political participation, both offline and online, and had developed management strategies to deal with such, as well as online negativity more generally.

## **Session 1C**

### **Religion and Politics (Comparative Politics)**

**Chair: Pavithra Jayawardena (Victoria University of Wellington)**

*Hanlie Booysen (Victoria University of Wellington) - Moderate Islamists- Nature versus Nurture*

In my paper, I will briefly outline a key challenge in the study of moderate Islamism: How can researchers/policy makers determine whether moderate Islamists are really moderate? It would also be relevant to ask: How do we hold them to their commitments? These questions refer to the fear that moderate Islamists will use free and fair elections to obtain power, and once in power will destroy the very democracy that empowered them. I will then explain that the suspicion of moderate Islamists is based on the differences in meaning between their democratic rhetoric and the principles employed in liberal democracies. My key argument is that it is impossible to accurately pin down whether moderate Islamists have a democratic or authoritarian “ethos”, and that it is more productive to consider the political environment and its influence on the choices that moderate Islamists make as rational political actors. Thus, I will show that the political environment, as opposed to moderate Islamists’ so-called true intentions, influence their behaviour. I will use the Syrian Muslim Brotherhood (SMB) as case study.

*Nilay Saiya (Nanyang Technological University) - Rethinking Repression and Terrorism in the Muslim World*

One of the most important policy-relevant questions terrorism researchers have attempted to address is the relationship between repression and terrorism in the Muslim world. Do policies of repression increase or decrease the incidents of terrorism? Some argue that repression has worked to dampen terrorism; others that it has exacerbated it. This debate mirrors a larger debate on the relationship between democracy and terrorism in general. In this paper we argue for the differential effects of repression based on the goal structure of the terrorist group. We argue that repression is more likely to work against “strategic” groups seeking national liberation or regime change and less likely to work against “abstract/universalist” groups seeking less concrete/achievable ambitions. The reason for this divergence, we argue, is that because abstract/universalist groups claim to be acting on orders from God and therefore have non-negotiable goals, they are less likely to be deterred by government repression. My statistical analysis finds strong support for this claim.

*Michael Magcamit (Musashi University) - The Persistence of Nation-States: Security, Religion, and Nationalism in Contemporary Southeast Asia*

This paper examines the three-way linkages between security, religion, and nationalism by in explaining the persistence of nation-states in Southeast Asia. By comparing the predominantly Catholic Philippines, Islamic Indonesia, and Buddhist Myanmar, I am: (1) analyzing how religions influence the formulation and implementation of state security policies and strategies, and how state-sponsored nationalisms contribute to the institutionalization and legitimization of these security instruments; and (2) examining how security threats and issues shape the utility and status of a majoritarian religion with respect to the construction and continuation of the dominant nation, and how these dynamics impact

the minorities with their own versions of the nation. The paper's central thesis is that the persistence of nation-states can be attributed to the existing security superstructures which consist of, and are reinforced by crisscrossing religious infrastructures and nationalist narratives. In particular, the amalgamation of security interests, religious motives, and nationalist aspirations as imagined and conceived by the dominant groups within specific territories, triggers a sequence of events – securitization of religion, rise of religious nationalism, and creation of confessional national security –which are all aimed at strengthening the conceptual cohesion and reinforcing the material integrity of the nation-states at the minorities' expense.

*Eric Jeunot (Victoria University of Wellington) - Huddud Wa Suma't: Why Absence of Conflict in Yemen Does Not Mean Peace?*

The paper argues that the tribal system of Yemen will remain a constraint to domestic peace until the central government perceives its sovereignty as a matter of internal borders under the honour of the tribal leaders. Even if a peace agreement is signed between the Yemeni government and the Huthi leaders, Yemen will not witness domestic peace, at best temporary stability. The sovereignty struggle that exist in Yemen for centuries will remain an obstacle to peace until acknowledged, recognised and the state sovereignty abandoned in favour of a “tiered sovereignty”. For a century leaders of Yemen followed a state-building process to develop a homogenous national identity over the state. In this process they have directly or indirectly marginalised the Yemeni tribes. First the marginalisation of the tribes greatly contributed to increase civil unrests and conflicts, dividing even more the Yemeni domestic constituency. Indeed, the sovereignty struggle between tribal governance and central government creates an unstable, divided and prone to conflict environment. Second the history of Yemen showed that any stability brought under foreign interference ended in violent uprising of the tribes to defend their sovereignty. Third, the attempt of Yemen unity in 1990 that de facto lasted until September 2014 provided a new map of Yemen but never unified Yemen socially or politically, and failed the creation of a nation-state. Civil unrests and wars were constant features of the Yemeni environment over the 1990s and 2000s, as a reminder that central power cannot remove centuries of local governance. Because governing Yemen is “dancing on the heads of snakes” (Ali Abdullah Saleh, 2011), this paper argues that peace is not a term that resonates in Yemeni society. But rather the expression “borders and honour” would describe better the state of no-conflict in Yemen.

## **Session 1D**

### **Technologies of Warfare (International Relations)**

**Chair: Ben Thirkell-White (Victoria University of Wellington)**

*Francis Okpaleke (University of Waikato) - Machines at War: Implications of Drone Use for Civilian Safety*

Recent development and increasing sophistication in military technology is changing the nature and dynamics of war by enabling the enactment and use of ‘mundane’ and regular violence of military forces to be further separated from human emotions. Drones with increased levels of autonomy are increasingly replacing soldiers in battlefields. Advocates of this argue that these programmed machines are more capable of operating precisely and flexibly under stressful battle conditions than are human actors in the field, and are less likely to shoot non-combatants or unidentified targets, thereby reducing the danger of human losses and possible violations of war. However, recent events involving the use of drones by the United States in Pakistan, Yemen and Syria suggests the contrary, evidenced by the glaring figures of civilian deaths left following coordinated drone strikes. This paper makes the case

that pro-drone advocates must confront an empirical record of increasing deaths from drones, and implores critical consideration of its implication for civilian safety in non-designated battlefields. Drawing from recent events, this paper will examine how current drone use by the US is altering the perception of modern warfare and challenging the notion of civilian safety.

*Reuben Steff (University of Waikato) - Artificial Intelligence and the Challenge to New Zealand's Sovereignty and Military*

Thus far, the bulk of analysis and commentary on AI has focused on how large powerful states are adjusting to it. The implications of AI for small states like New Zealand, their security interests and military forces, is largely missing. On one hand, the challenges to harnessing AI are greater for small states relative to their larger peers. On the other, AI may 'level the playing field', offering capital-rich small states asymmetric potential if they make proactive strategic decisions to position themselves as 'AI-powers,' and come up with innovative ways of using it. After all, advantages of past technological revolutions have not always gone to states that obtained novel technologies first or even had the best technology, but to states that figured out how best to use them. If small states are unable to harness AI, the prospects of a world of AI 'haves' v 'have nots' will increase, with negative consequences for small state sovereignty and independence. This paper considers these issues and examines the opportunities and constraints facing New Zealand and its defence force in an age of AI power.

*Paul Winter (University of Otago) - When Do Sanctions Slow the Spread of Nuclear Weapons?*

Conventional wisdom, reflected in a strand of the scholarly literature, suggests that economic sanctions cannot stop a determined state from acquiring nuclear weapons. In this paper, I challenge this conventional wisdom. The paper is structured in four parts. First, I draw a clear distinction between supply-side and demand-side economic sanctions. Supply-side sanctions are designed to stop the target from importing the necessary technology for a nuclear weapons programme. Demand-side sanctions fall on the states' economy more broadly, in the form of trade embargoes or reductions in development aid. Having drawn this distinction, I next develop a series of event history models. These models test the causes of nuclear weapons acquisition with reference to a dataset including all nuclear weapons programmes from 1945 to 2000. Together the models reveal that while demand-side sanctions have no effect on the likelihood of acquisition, supply-side sanctions substantially reduce the likelihood that a target state will acquire nuclear weapons. Several different iterations of these models are tested to ensure that these findings are not model-dependent. In the third part of this paper, I assess the causal importance of supply-side sanctions by process tracing three cases of supply-side sanctions: South Korea, Libya, and South Africa. These cases support my quantitative research and provide insights into the conditions under which sanctions are most effective. The final part of the paper applies the lessons from the empirical parts of the chapter to provide insights for today's most pressing proliferation challenges.

**Session 1E**  
**Theories of Representation (Political Theory)**  
**Chair: Vicki Spencer (University of Otago)**

*Astrid Simonsen (University of Canterbury) - What If Representation Fails? Pacifist Theory and the Nonviolent Rebellion*

Theories of rebellion typically portray rebels as breakers of the peace, or instigators of violence. This is one of the factors that contribute to rebellion being seen as inherently undemocratic and illegitimate in liberal democratic societies, even if the rebels feel that representative institutions will not recognise their needs. This idea is further strengthened when the use of violence is described as a defining characteristic of rebellion. This is based on a narrow definition of violence as direct, physical harm, and ignores arguments about a multitude of less noticed forms of violence, or forms of violence that have been deemed 'legitimate'. In this paper, I argue that theories which see rebellions as initiating violence place disproportionate focus on non-state violence. I contrast this with other theorists who include, for example, situations of structural repression and inequality as also violent – leading to an idea that rebellion is not necessarily a violent event, or, at least, not the start of violence. I illustrate how a pacifist critique of all forms of violence can contribute to this argument. The second part of the paper advances an argument against the idea that violence is a defining characteristic of rebellion; that is, I explore the idea of a nonviolent rebellion. Although this paper does not seek to necessarily undermine arguments about the legitimacy of violent rebellions in certain circumstances, it does seek to advance a theory of rebellion which is not centred around violence, as a potential democratic process if representational systems fail.

*Xavier Márquez (Victoria University of Wellington) - Charismatic Representation*

The history of political thought has long identified demagogic leadership as one of the key pathologies of democracy. Yet demagoguery and related phenomena appear to be endemic in democratic societies both ancient and modern. I argue in this paper that one reason for the apparent affinity between demagogic leadership and democracy is that what Max Weber called 'charismatic authority' can be understood as a form of political representation. This conceptualization of charismatic authority as representation can also help us make sense of Weber's unusual and ambiguous appropriation of 'demagoguery' for democratic thought. Contrary to the main currents of Western political thought, Weber saw a way to appropriate demagogic leadership by charismatic leaders for democracy, at least when properly confined within certain structures of accountability. The paradoxical figure of the 'responsible charismatic demagogue' is at the centre of Weber's attempt to understand the value of democratic politics under modern social conditions. I suggest that Weber's thought provides useful resources to understand and evaluate charismatic claims to authority within modern democratic societies.

*Michael Hemmingsen (University of Guam) - Representing Ourselves: Ecological Truth Claims and the Ontology of Deliberation*

In a democracy, it is important to consider the relationship between citizens and their representatives. However, equally as important, even (or perhaps especially) in a representative democracy, are the opportunities citizens have for representing themselves. The ability for citizens to discuss and think through issues collectively – to give and exchange reasons – and the procedures that allow the results of this deliberation to be considered just, are the focus of theorists of deliberative democracy. However, deliberative mechanisms, in practice, fail to treat everyone with equal consideration. In this view, public

institutions are sites of privilege that embody institutional biases. Various analyses of the non-neutrality of deliberative procedures have been proposed by theorists such as Iris Marion Young, James Bohman and Avigail Eisenberg. However, these approaches exclusively emphasise what we might refer to as “epistemological” problems of deliberation. But this approach, while valuable, misses the “ontological” dimension of deliberative processes, e.g. our understanding and categorisation of the very kinds of reasons that are acceptable in discourse to begin with. Since this has implications for the ability of citizens to represent themselves in public deliberation, deliberative ontology is an important, but currently undertheorised, aspect of deliberation. In this paper, I suggest and defend a kind of reason – what I call “ecological truth claims” – that is not typically accepted in public deliberation. In doing so, I aim to show that the standard categories of reason – claims of truth, normative validity, and self-expression – don’t necessarily exhaust the kinds of valid, independently-grounded reasons available to deliberators, thereby illustrating the potential for future research on the ontology of deliberation.

**3.00pm-3.30pm**

**Afternoon Tea**

**3.30pm-5.00pm**

**Panel Sessions Two**

**Session 2A**

**Public Opinion, Culture and Climate Change (Environmental Politics)**

**Chair: Laura Hetherington (University of Waikato)**

*Sam Crawley (Victoria University of Wellington) - Understanding Public Opinion on Climate Change: a Multidimensional Approach*

Public beliefs about climate change are complex, with individuals having different levels of belief in and concern about climate change, views of its importance relative to other issues (salience) and support for government action. Yet few studies examining climate change public opinion move beyond the basic “denier-believer” dichotomy. In this study, we investigate four dimensions of climate change views (belief/concern, issue salience, support for government action and certainty of beliefs), examining how these dimensions intersect at the individual level using latent class analysis. Using data from a recent online survey conducted in the United Kingdom (N = 797), preliminary results suggest there are five distinct climate change opinion groups. Three groups, with a combined prevalence of 0.78, could be considered “believers”, but differ on other aspects of their views. The smallest group of believers (prevalence 0.15) is very likely to believe climate change is a high priority issue, while the two larger groups both tend to rank it as low or medium priority. The first of the larger groups (prevalence 0.32) broadly supports government action and is generally willing to pay higher taxes. The second (prevalence 0.3) is slightly less supportive of government action, and is less likely to see climate change as a personal issue. We also investigate sociopolitical covariates of each class. By providing a more comprehensive examination of public opinion on climate change, and particularly the diversity of views among believers, these findings can help us to better understand the relationship between public opinion and climate policy.

*Matthew Scadden (University of Otago) - Environmental Activism: Using Moral Foundations Theory to Examine the Politicisation of International Environmental Issues*

Humanity faces environmental threats of a historic magnitude. Efforts to counter these threats have been hindered by political polarisation between the Left and the Right, regarding the severity of these threats and appropriate responses to them. Polarisation in public opinion limits the ability of democracies to effectively deal with environmental challenges. This could be exacerbated by environmental activism on the Left. Using a moral foundations theoretical framework, coupled with survey results, this study assesses whether or not environmental activism has a polarising effect and, if so, what are the psychological mechanisms driving it. Empirical data was generated by a self-report survey experiment, testing the relationship between political orientation and a range of other variables including moral foundation score and support for different kinds of activism. I find that moral foundations theory provides a convincing explanation for much of the polarisation, and shows that some kinds of activism indeed exacerbate this. There is evidence of a polarisation cycle, involving activists, legislators and public opinion, where political orientation, basic moral beliefs, and historical processes play an important role. Because the Left and Right rely on different moral foundations, some forms of activism have the potential to alienate the Right. This occurs through three main channels - framing, method and identity. The results suggest that activists can avoid polarisation by framing their actions to appeal to the full moral and ideological spectrum.

*Karen Hytten (Massey University) - What Is and Is Not Said? Exploring Representation and Responsibility within the Australian Climate Change Debate*

Climate change is widely recognized as one of the most complex and challenging issues of our time, and what should be done to address it is widely debated. However, there are significant silences and omissions within the Australian climate change debate. This study uses critical discourse analysis to explore some of these omissions. All the articles and editorials referring to climate change published in *The Age* and *The Australian* in 2016 were analysed to identify key discourses and how they represent the impacts of climate change and those who will be worst affected. While it is widely recognised that the impacts of climate change will fall disproportionately on the poorest countries of the world, poor people within all countries, indigenous communities, small island developing states, future generations, and other species, it was found that these impacts and actors were rarely mentioned in the Australian media. Despite Australia being one of the highest per capita emitters in the world, there was a widespread tendency to represent Australia and Australians as the victims of climate change rather than perpetrators of the problem and therefore responsible for taking action. Conversely, the most marginalized and vulnerable to the impacts of climate change were often completely invisible within the Australian climate change debate. The way climate change is represented has significant implications for the actions taken to address it. It is argued that as long as those who will be worst affected by climate change remain invisible, Australia's response will continue to remain inadequate.

*Priya Kurian (University of Waikato), Debashish Munshi (University of Waikato), Sandra Morrison (University of Waikato), and Lyn Kathlene (Spark Policy Institute, Denver) - Centring Culture in Climate Change Governance: A Case Study Analysis of Climate Change Adaptation in Aotearoa New Zealand*

Climate change adaptation is a significant challenge facing Aotearoa New Zealand, marked by competing priorities, values, and perspectives amongst community members, grassroots environmental and social activists, political leaders, and industry representatives among others. Our project develops a culture-based framework of climate governance that

recognises the centrality of cultural values in facilitating adaptation strategies across a range of groups. We ask: In what ways can the findings of climate change impacts and implications be brought into conversation with different cultural values for stakeholder engagement on climate adaptation? This paper offers an analysis of systems-change mapping undertaken with the tourism sector in Aotearoa New Zealand and explores the implications of the findings for climate change adaptation. The research contributes to new understandings on climate governance that offers a culture-centred perspective on adapting to climate change.

## **Session 2B**

### **Culture, Identity, and Representation (Media, Internet, and Politics)**

**Chair: Sarah Hendrica Bickerton (Victoria University of Wellington)**

*Kaitlin Martin-Feek (Victoria University of Wellington) - Rugby as a Terrain of Resistance? Narratives of National Identity in the New Zealand All Blacks and Black Ferns*

Observing how a nation engages with sport reveals much about various aspects of the nation's national identity. In New Zealand, the sport of rugby union makes up a significant part of the narrative, mythology, and symbolism of nation; the sport was and remains utilized by the New Zealand state to build a sense of national pride, a distinct political and cultural identity for the community to see itself, and for others to recognize the nation. However, the meaning of rugby to Aotearoa, and in turn how the sport has been understood as having helped define and shape the nation, is neither homogenous nor static. Rugby is a critical site of resistance for understandings of national identity in many arenas, most significantly understandings of race and colonialism, and gender/masculinity in New Zealand national identity. Utilizing post-structuralism, and drawing significantly on critical geopolitical thought, this research examines the case study of rugby in New Zealand through the lens of intersectionality and the multiplicity of identity, exploring the diverse ways in which the national identity is narrated, contested, and displayed through sport, and the role that the national rugby players of New Zealand understand themselves to have in the writing of the narratives of the nation.

*Yafei Lyu (University of Canterbury) - The Cultural Policies of Importing Hollywood Films to Chinese Film Market*

In this paper, I will discuss the cultural policies Hollywood will encounter when being introduced to Chinese film market on a revenue-sharing basis. The first is the quota system. In 1994, China decided to introduce ten foreign films to Chinese film market on a revenue-sharing basis each year, most of which from Hollywood. Since then, the quota system of importing foreign films has been established. In the following years, due to China's accession to WTO in 2001 and China-US Memorandum of Understanding regarding theatrical release in 2012, the quota has been enlarged to 34 films. The second is the censorship system. There is not a film rating system in China, so all the films need to be censored by censorship committee of Chinese government before distribution. The third is the not self-decided release schedule. Chinese state-owned film importation corporations have control over the release schedule of Hollywood productions in China. Meanwhile, China is the second largest film market in the world currently. Hence, restricted by Chinese cultural policies but attracted by the enormous market profit in China, Hollywood has tried various methods to get access to Chinese film market. This paper will make case studies to analyse how those cultural policies are applied to Hollywood. I contend importing Hollywood films on a revenue-sharing basis is China's compromise to marketization and globalisation. Chinese cultural policies and Hollywood trying to open Chinese film market is the interplay between Chinese and American governments in terms of politics, economy and culture.



*Maria Armoudian (University of Auckland) - Myth, Memory, and Lost History*

This paper explores the Armenian Genocide over time through New Zealand media and politics and how memory entrepreneurs have engineered—whether intentional or not—the forgetting of Turkey’s genocide of its indigenous Christian population. New Zealand’s engagement with the plight of Armenians began long before the Anzacs entered Gallipoli. In the decades before the atrocities of 1915-16, for example, New Zealanders understood through comprehensive newspaper coverage Armenians’ struggle to survive amid ongoing slaughters, pillaging, extortion, and a lack of any meaningful official protection. The papers covered Britain’s demands for reform in Ottoman Turkey, and the Porte’s refusal to do so. During the late 1800s, the country’s newspapers covered the attempted elimination of Armenians with headlines of “bloodshed and pillage.” Coverage of slaughters and Turkey’s extermination of Armenians continued into the twentieth century while New Zealand soldiers rescued Armenians and humanitarians organized aid. But in the modern era, atrocities against Armenians and the link to New Zealand were mostly forgotten, including on significant anniversaries. As Anzac Day, which honours the Gallipoli Campaign, built up over the decades into a national day, the plight of Armenians subsided from public view, despite the connection to the two events. Simultaneously, New Zealand has given active diplomatic aid to Turkey, the modern version of the country responsible for the genocide supporting its continued denial by erecting monuments to Turkish leader Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, and incorporating Turkey as a fundamental part of Anzac memorial services. The window of the 100<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the two events offered a revisit of the Armenian Genocide and its connection to Anzac Day. But while a handful of media covered the issues, the government continued to enable and embolden genocide denial.

## **Session 2C**

### **Diaspora Engagement and Citizenship Policies (Comparative Politics)**

**Chair: Eric Jeunot (Victoria University of Wellington)**

*Axel Malecki (Massey University) - Diasporic Sites of Re-Politicization and Contestation? Interrogating the Unintentional Side Effects of Diaspora Strategies*

Diaspora networks are actors that straddle boundaries of state institutions and other policy actors alike, sitting at the intersection of multiple and often conflicting interests. The key premise of this paper suggests that diasporic expressions of dissent require an untangling as to what constitutes ‘politics’ vs ‘the political’ to better understand how the outcome of mobilization processes is not necessarily an inevitable product of emigration, but occurs in response to critical events in the home country. This paper then, attempts to engage with, and advance conceptualisations of diasporic politicisation and contestation in the context of Chile. By exploring the work, associations and the productive dimension of the ‘politics of expansion’ of the Chilean diaspora initiative ChileGlobal, this presentation provides insights into the unintentional and perhaps undesired effects that are produced through practices of diasporic enrolment. This paper furthermore demonstrates how the partial transformation of an ostensibly economic actor to a political agent generated new opportunities and spaces for political participation in Chile. This transformation occurred in conjunction with the emergence and integration of globally dispersed, yet locally embedded diaspora networks committed to shaping and influencing public policy formation in Chile. In this sense then, the diaspora community assembled around ChileGlobal is indicative of the malleability and ambiguity of diaspora networks as well as their potential to challenge existing public policy orthodoxy and dominant discourses of economic imperatives in contemporary Chile.

*James To (Asia New Zealand Foundation) and Ayca Arkilic (Victoria University of Wellington) - The Next Generations Matter: Turkey's and China's Outreach to Diaspora Youth*

Various countries across the world, including China and Turkey have developed diaspora engagement policies targeting young people. For example, since 2010, the Turkish government has strived to cultivate closer ties with young members of the Turkish diaspora through various programs, such as the Turkish Citizens Abroad Scholarship Program, the Youth Bridges Program, the Young Leaders Program, and state-led homeland camps and tours. The government of the Peoples Republic of China also conducts similar programmes through its Overseas Chinese Affairs Office. Our goal is to explain why China and Turkey have initiated youth-oriented diaspora programs and what these programs seek to achieve. This paper will detail these programs by looking at their issue focus and motivations. We will focus on five major themes: 1) national identity, 2) language, 3) leadership and empowerment, 4) media, and 5) social media.

*Pavithra Jayawardena (Victoria University of Wellington) - An Analysis of Sri Lankan Dual Citizenship Policies*

Citizenship and political loyalty to a state meant to be inseparable. Sending countries therefore traditionally maintained strict policies towards their emigrants. Yet, during the last few decades, sending countries showed an increase of their acceptance towards their emigrants who once chose to leave the country. However, Sri Lankan case shows the opposite. Sri Lanka is a sending country with over 1 million permanent emigrants. While other sending countries increasingly show a relaxation in emigrant policies, Sri Lankan policies towards Sri Lankan emigrants are getting stricter. This research aims at resolving this puzzle in a deductive form. In other words, this research aims at understanding the motivations behind the dual citizenship policies compared with the general trends of other sending countries in the world. The main research question is “why does Sri Lanka allow dual citizenship?; what are the motives behind the policies?”. This research uses a qualitative and an interpretivist design. Acts, government decisions, justifications for decisions and related academic articles are used as data sources.

*C. K. Ashwati (Jawaharlal Nehru University) - Post-Colonial Anxieties: Interpreting Modern India's Changing Patterns of Citizenship Dilemma*

Tumultuous phase of transition from colonial administration to independent sovereign state in the middle of the twentieth century was inaugurated with hopes as cherished in India's constitution. The newly independent state was committed to break shackles of communal attitudes in the political behavior, nevertheless the post-colonial moment came with partition. Punjab and Bengal were divided to form constituent units of India and Pakistan, this process entailed mass exodus of refugee movement across newly curated borders. This paper takes the plight of movement of people across India and Bangladesh borders through three stages forming new political nomenclatures or categorical identities namely, refugee movement, migration fearing persecution, infiltration involving crime and terror. Aforementioned three stages in a historical timeline has produced new dimensions to politics of recognition and representation. They have remained marginalized in their socio-economic engagements with the state of origin as well as in the both voluntary and non-voluntary host state. Hence, investigation through human security approach will enhance an in-depth knowledge development of the population who have become transnational subject and a source of crisis between India and Bangladesh (earlier East Pakistan).

## Session 2D

### Post-Conflict Interventions (International Relations)

Chair: Jeremy Moses (University of Canterbury)

*Jovanie Espesor (University of Canterbury) - Building Peace Outside Europe: Demonstration of Normative Power Europe in the Southern Philippines*

Although seemingly absent from the current agenda of the international media, Mindanao remains a conflict-ridden predominately Muslim community in the southern Philippines. Since 2010, the European Union, plus its member states such as Germany, Sweden and recently Spain, has been involved in the peace operations in Mindanao working along other international actors such as the United States, Australia and Japan as well as international, intermediate and local NGOs. This article argues that the involvement and interaction of the EU in the southern Philippines is a unique reflection of the EU's projection of its normative power that is promoting notions of peace, liberty, democracy, rule of law, human rights, good governance and development. Drawing on the findings of open-ended, in-depth interviews with key actors in the Mindanao peace process, this article argues that not only the EU's involvement demonstrative of its interest to extend normative power internationally, particularly in communities marred with violent armed conflicts, but the EU's engagement in Mindanao reflects a new kind of power previously not considered through the channelling of financial incentives to both liberal and illiberal agents on the ground, where actual conflict unfolds. These agents are then mobilised to act on the EU's behalf in the process of norm diffusion.

*Suzanne Loughlin (University of Auckland) - The New Zealand Provincial Reconstruction Team in Afghanistan: 'New' Means for 'New' Wars or Old Wine in a New Bottle?*

In 2003 the Labour/Alliance coalition government deployed regular military forces to lead a provincial reconstruction team (PRT) in the Central Highlands of Afghanistan. PRTs, the United States' alternative to expanding the Security Council-mandated International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) beyond Kabul, were mandated to support the newly established interim Afghan government to extend security and its authority across the country by facilitating reconstruction and development. Despite a spiralling insurgency and mounting civilian casualties, the PRT model was presented as a success and one to be emulated in the future. This paper employs discourse analytic method to explore how political elites justified and legitimised the deployment of the NZ PRT and its continuation despite the deteriorating situation in Afghanistan.

*Theo Neethling (University of the Free State) - China's Evolving Role and Approach to International Peacekeeping: The Cases of Mali and South Sudan*

China's expanded involvement in post-Cold War United Nations (UN) peacekeeping operations coincided with Beijing's efforts in the early 2000s to expand its economic and diplomatic influence globally through trade and diplomatic links. Towards the mid-2000s, China was involved in all seven UN peacekeeping operations on the African continent. At the same time, Beijing's views on peacekeeping have consistently been premised on state sovereignty and the associated principle of non-intervention and non-interference in the affairs of other states. However, as China's strategic and material interests have become more integrated with the African continent, Beijing has been compelled more and more to consider its national (economic) interests and to protect those interests. Consequently, China's growing involvement in peacekeeping has evolved and become increasingly more difficult to reconcile with the country's historical commitment to non-interventionism, as specifically witnessed in recent Chinese peacekeeping involvement in Mali and South Sudan. In this

regard, a change – even watershed – in China’s approach became evident when Beijing decided to send combat soldiers to two UN peacekeeping operations on African soil: first in Mali (2013) and, thereafter, South Sudan (2014). In view of the above, a central argument in this paper is that China’s emerging role on the African continent is part of a pragmatic reorientation and reassessment in Chinese policy-making circles, specifically where Beijing’s political interests and related investments are at stake.

## **Session 2E**

### **Civic Virtues (Political Theory)**

**Chair: Xavier Márquez (Victoria University of Wellington)**

*Grant Duncan (Massey University) - The Problem of Political Trust: A Conceptual Reformulation*

Political trust is ‘in decline,’ according to surveys from numerous countries – although in New Zealand and Norway it appears to have ‘grown.’ But how does trust, originally a quality of interpersonal conduct, become applicable to the political domain? There appear to be two closely connected philosophical roots: a Lockean trust – given by the people to those who govern them – and a Burkean concept of representation as a trust. Definitions of trust in contemporary social and political sciences have significant shortcomings, however. It is often defined narrowly in terms of individuals’ beliefs, decisions or interests, overlooking the actively reciprocated quality of trust and underestimating the role of uncertainty. Hence, we should interpret social surveys of ‘trust’ with caution. All the same, I argue that ‘political trust’ is a valid construct, if regarded performatively, and that we can discern (at least) a conditional and an unconditional version.

*Vicki Spencer (University of Otago) - Integrity*

The New Zealand Local Government Act 2002 states that a CEO ‘must maintain appropriate standards of integrity and conduct among the employees of the local authority’ (Section 7 33e). But what does it mean to act with integrity? The original meaning of integrity relates to wholeness. This meaning is evident in the idea, for instance, of bodily integrity. It also relates to consistency. So the person who states she believes in a certain principle and acts in an entirely contradictory way would be seen to lack integrity. Here integrity is the opposite of hypocrisy. The whistleblower who reveals to the public what she considers unethical behaviour in local government in acting according to her principles can therefore be said to possess integrity. Similarly, the neo-Nazi who acts according to her principles would, however, be seen according to this definition to possess integrity. It is also difficult to imagine the Local Government Act is purposively designed to encourage employees to act according to their own principles if they contradict a local authority’s policies. So perhaps the drafters of the law instead had the more recent meaning of integrity as openness and transparency in mind. Integrity could then be seen as an integral part of responsible government. This paper explores the meaning(s) of integrity in light of two cases in which local government in New Zealand failed to disclose important information to ratepayers concerning their properties. It is argued that such non-disclosure fails the test of integrity central to responsible government.

*Elaine Peng (Victoria University of Wellington)- Transition from Absolutism to Representative Democracy: Zhang Dongsun’s Philosophy of the Politics of Good Men*  
Zhang Dongsun (1886-1973), a Chinese philosopher, proposed a theory of politics of good men in the 1910s with a view to converting China from absolutism to a representative democracy. Zhang held that specific Chinese conditions did not allow China to establish

immediately a representative democracy. In the transitional stage, the politics of good men would prepare China for democracy. This type of politics, though combining the strengths of a republic as a form of government and Platonistic Aristocracy as a form of society, gave full play to the virtues and abilities of good men as the driving force for the progress of China, at the time experimenting with democracy under conditions of warlordism, a backward economy, and a low literacy rate. To be exact, the government under Zhang's politics of good men was a government of the people, for the people, and by the best of the people. In terms of concrete institutions, this political philosophy was underpinned by a dual institution: a parliamentary system and the politics of expertise. Parliamentary politics was suitable for China to pursue an ideal of democracy whose fundamental principles should be liberty and equality of opportunities. But democracy in practice was prone to ochlocracy, a perversion of politics. Given this tendency, democracy must be complemented by an institution consisting of the good men of a society. Those good men were superior to others in terms of talent, intelligence, and integrity. Though good men were elected, they were not representatives of the people. Recognising individuality and free personality, good men delivered independent judgement about right and wrong. Goodness rather than numbers counted in the judgement. This being said, Zhang's theory of the politics of good men was not pure Platonistic Aristocracy because it was not a caste system and the positions of good men were not hereditary. Nor was it a mixed regime of aristocracy and democracy since he considered aristocracy and dictatorship as only forms of society.

**5.00pm-5.30pm**

**Annual General Meeting**

**6.00pm-7.00pm**

**Plenary Speech**

Introduction: **Professor Jack Vowles** (Victoria University of Wellington)

Speaker: **Professor Sona Golder** (Pennsylvania State University)

**7.00pm**

**Reception**

**Day 2: Tuesday 27 November 2018**

**9.00am-10.30am**

**Panel Sessions Three**

**Session 3A**

**Elections and Referendums in New Zealand (New Zealand Politics)**

**Chair: Janine Hayward (University of Otago)**

*Josh Van Veen (Independent Scholar) - Is the Labour-NZ First Coalition a 'Transformative' Government?*

The 2017 general election represents the first time since 1928 that the largest party did not form a government. This outcome had been long anticipated under the Mixed Member Proportional (MMP) system. However, the decision of New Zealand First to form a minority coalition with the Labour Party came at a time when nearly five out of ten people voted for the incumbent National-led government. In view of this, the paper examines the cyclical nature of New Zealand politics, and develops an analytical framework based on Stephen

Skowronek's (1993, 2008) contextual theory of 'political time'. Skowronek conceptualises American presidential politics as a recurrent cycle oscillating between periods of change and stability. The theory has previously been modified and applied to a Westminster context in Australasia (Laing & McCaffrie 2013; Johansson 2009). The theory locates a leader in terms of their relation to the existing policy consensus and institutional arrangements, i.e. regime. Those leaders who are elected in opposition to a vulnerable regime order are afforded the greatest opportunity to make political change. Using this theory, the paper will critically examine claims that the Labour-NZ First Coalition is a 'transformative' government.

*Lara M. Greaves (AUT University ) and Barry J. Milne (University of Auckland) - Public Support for Referenda in New Zealand: Change Over One Year in a National Survey*

The number of referenda taking place in established democracies has been increasing, but this has not been without controversy. This paper utilises two New Zealand national probability mail surveys collected before (2015;  $n=901$ ) and after (2016;  $n=1,350$ ) many well-publicised referenda, including the flag change referendums. On the one hand, support may have increased for those who feel disempowered by or disconnected from traditional models of democracy, as referenda may provide an opportunity for them to feel "heard" (the political disaffection hypothesis). On the other hand, referenda may be less popular as there was considerable negative press and controversy over referendum results, and their financial cost. However, we found that support for referenda increased from 54.5% in 2015 to 70.7% in 2016. We also examined how demographic and political attitude variables related to changes in support. We found that those with higher household incomes and those with higher education had lower levels of support for referenda. Across years, the oldest age group (76+) had a smaller relative increase than younger age groups. Those with moderate levels of education had significantly larger increases in support when compared with other education levels. In summary, the results of this paper show that despite controversy, referenda have become more popular, and have support among groups who may feel politically disaffected.

*Kate McMillan (Victoria University of Wellington) and Fiona Barker (Victoria University of Wellington) - Political Coverage in the 'Ethnic' Media during the 2017 New Zealand General Election Campaign*

International and New Zealand evidence suggests that the 'ethnic' news media – that made by and for ethnic minorities – is a major source of political news for many ethnic and linguistic minority populations. Media effects research, meanwhile, shows the news media can influence voters' electoral behavior in a range of ways. To the extent that the media consumed by ethnic minority New Zealanders play a role in shaping their electoral decisions – whether to vote, and if so for whom – then the ethnic media are likely to have a growing influence on New Zealand's electoral outcomes as the proportion of voters belonging to ethnic minorities increases. Such influences may be felt, in particular, on levels of turnout and partisanship. In this paper we present findings from our survey of the political news content in high-circulation Chinese, Indian, Korean and Filipino media publications during the six weeks leading up to the New Zealand 2017 general election. Specifically, we ask which issues, parties and candidates gained most coverage in these publications? Were particular parties and candidates favoured over others? Were party policies, leaders and candidates exposed to critical scrutiny, and what efforts were made to encourage target audiences to enrol and vote?

### **Session 3B**

#### **Polar Politics (International Relations)**

**Chair: Eric Jeunot (Victoria University of Wellington)**

*Patrick Flamm (Victoria University of Wellington) - Assessing South-Korea New Zealand Cooperation in Antarctica: Logistics, Policy and Science*

While the Antarctic Treaty System (ATS) intended to keep Antarctica an area of international cooperation and science free from politics and militarization, it is not protected from global and regional power transformations today. Among the emerging players from Asia, South Korea has been identified as an actor with polar interests that could potentially challenge the status-quo of Antarctic governance. This raises questions about what South Korea wants from its presence in Antarctica and how challenging Seoul's demands are perceived to be for the existing Antarctic order. This paper is an assessment of Antarctic cooperation between South Korea and New Zealand which is crucial for South Korea not only with regard to the logistics for the newly established (2014) Jang Bogo research station in Terra Nova Bay, but also regarding the cooperation between New Zealand Antarctic scientists and the Korean Polar Research Institute (KOPRI) as well as Antarctic policy-coordination. How was this cooperation experienced so far and how is it valued especially in context of an increasingly less engaged US Antarctic program and a growing Chinese polar presence? How do the NZ government and Antarctica New Zealand perceive South Korea scientific and policy interests? The main sources for this paper consist of textual analyses as well as interviews with government officials from the respective foreign ministries, embassies, as well as polar scientists in South Korea and New Zealand.

*Danita Catherine Burke (University of Southern Denmark) - Club Diplomacy and the Arctic Council*

Despite some disruptions, the Ukraine conflict did not sever Arctic cooperation. Cooperation continued within the Arctic Council, despite the fact that bilateral relations with Russia, as well as multilateral relations within other forums and institutions, suffered substantially from the fallout of the conflict. In order to understand why this was the case, it is important to contextualize the conflict within the broader practices of Arctic cooperation, and to consider why Arctic states have chosen to come together in the region in the way in which they have. Drawing upon the literature on hierarchies, pecking orders, status, and diplomacy, this book argues that of the club structures the Arctic Council and the daily practices that occur within those structures, can explain why the forum is able to weather the storm of major international political events involving its core membership, like the Ukraine conflict pitting NATO alliance and partner states against Russian. The Arctic states and indigenous peoples organizations at the heart of the forum have the mutual objective to have the Arctic Council be the preeminent forum for Arctic cooperation, and therefore at the top of the regional forum and institutional hierarchy. This shared goal amongst the core club members also influences how challenges to the forum are identified and addressed in the daily practices of the forum, which includes navigating diplomatically sensitive situations like the Crimea conflict.

*Germana Nicklin (Massey University) - Lifting the Fog on New Zealand's Bordering Responsibilities for Antarctica*

The New Zealand government is responsible for multiple activities in Antarctica, both sovereign and on behalf of the collective that is the Antarctic Treaty System. Full of national symbolism, these activities evoke national pride and 'ownership', but the associated responsibilities are not always clear or explicit. Responsibilities are particularly opaque for the border functions relating to flows of goods, people and craft moving to and from

Antarctica. Clarity around managing border flows becomes important in a context of growing levels of human activity in and around the Antarctic and the effects of climate change - a context that is putting increasing pressure on Antarctica and the Antarctic Treaty System. This paper examines the question “why is clarity around Antarctic bordering responsibilities important for New Zealand?” Using data from the field, from New Zealand official documents and legislation, and from the Antarctic Treaty System, this paper unpacks New Zealand’s bordering activities – what they are, who or what they are being carried out for, by whom, and in what locations. The paper examines the value of making bordering responsibilities explicit, and the effects from the absence of border considerations in policy discussions. It reveals unrecognised potential for New Zealand to take a leadership role in border protections for Antarctica.

### **Session 3C**

#### **Indonesian Politics (Comparative Politics)**

**Chair: Kaitlin Martin-Feek (Victoria University of Wellington)**

*Budi Annisa Sidi (University of Otago) - Perceptions on Multiculturalism and National Identity among University Students in Different Regions of Indonesia*

In adherence to Indonesia’s national motto, ‘Unity in Diversity’, the country maintains a narrative of a culturally plural but unified nation. This government represents a people of over 1,000 ethnic groups within six nationally recognised religions, spread across more than 17,000 islands. Within the context of the national motto, people are expected to share a similar Indonesian national identity, in which ethnic groups are seen as a sub-nation to the larger Indonesian nation. However, Indonesia’s multicultural policies extend different degrees of recognition, accommodation, toleration and even discrimination towards different socio-cultural groups. In conjunction with different ethnographic landscapes across regions in Indonesia, this approach leads to a varied experience and understanding of national identity and multiculturalism among the people. Religion adds another dimension to the people’s identity. A comparative study using questionnaires and focus group discussions on university students in Ambon, Banda Aceh, Bandung and Jakarta highlights the influence of one’s surroundings on their perception on multiculturalism and national identity. Students in more heterogeneous, central areas such as Bandung and Jakarta show more experience with and acceptance towards diversity. On the other hand, students in more homogeneous and remote areas such as Ambon and Banda Aceh claim a higher national identity and sense of belonging to the state. In addition, students in different areas hold different ideas of what constitutes an ideal Indonesian national identity. These findings counter the notion of a uniform national identity and pose a challenge to the way identity and multiculturalism is run by the state.

*Diego Fossati, (Griffith University) Edward Aspinall (Australian National University), Burhanuddin Muhtadi (Lembaga Survei Indonesia), and Eve Warburton (ISEAS-Yusof Ishak Institute) - Representation Beneath the Surface: Political Islam, Party Competition, and Citizen-Political Linkages in Indonesia*

Indonesia is often portrayed as a political system in which parties do not offer significant alternatives to voters, as its policy is dominated by predatory elites and clientelistic linkages between citizens and politicians. Our analysis of an original survey of about 500 Indonesian legislators challenges this perspective. While all parties support similar positions on economic policy (income redistribution and role of the state in the economy), they are highly differentiated in their views of the role of Islam in public affairs. By matching these data with a mass survey of Indonesian voters, we further explore the implications of this ideological cleavage for voting behavior. Data analysis indicates a high degree of ideological congruence



between voters and politicians on political Islam, as voters of more Islamist leanings are significantly more likely to vote for parties supporting a larger role for Islam. This suggests that, despite the persistence in this country of features typical of an unconsolidated democracy, political representation in Indonesia is more meaningful than existing research typically appreciates, and that political parties are fulfilling an important democratic function. The relevance of the findings is discussed for Indonesian politics and political representation in young democracies.

*Ronny Basista (Victoria University of Wellington) - In the Hands of God: The Intricacies of the Indonesian Electoral Reforms in the Post- Authoritarian Era*

The paper traces the process of the Indonesian electoral system reforms since the restoration of democracy in 1998. Within the framework of a proportional electoral system, Indonesia's post-authoritarian multi-party system is shaped by a secular/religious cleavage combined with a large ethnically-diverse population, distributed across a vast archipelago. The reforms have been designed to generate a higher degree of proportional representation. The present paper seeks to explain how the reforms that have followed successive elections since 1998 have shaped the Indonesian democracy. To this end, the paper addresses two primary enquiries: first, to identify primary stakeholders essential in initiating and conducting the reform process, and such stakeholders' objectives for pursuing such a goal; and second, to outline the decision-making cycle and the policy process involved, especially in terms of methods of debating the proposed policies in the parliament and the decision-making process. Pertinent to such enquiries, the paper shall illuminate the inner dynamics of electoral reforms in Indonesia, the state's party system fragmentation and its consequences for the future of Indonesian democracy. Furthermore, and critically, the paper outlines the scrimmage of interests among the most decisive stakeholders in the Indonesian political ecosystem, the so-called 'Gods'. In particular, the paper addresses the role played by political elites whose efforts to reform the system have been motivated by the desire to improve governability but also by the need to maintain and protect their own interests.

### **Session 3D**

#### **Public Policy: Governance and Governing (Public Policy and Administration)**

**Chair: Chris Eichbaum (Victoria University of Wellington)**

*Flavia Donadelli (Victoria University of Wellington) - An Initial Exploration of the Drivers and 'Knowledge-base' of the 2018 New Zealand Amendments to the Crown Entities Act 2004 and to the State Sector Act 1988*

This paper is an initial exploration of the nature and drivers of the currently ongoing reforms of the NZ Crown Entities Act 2004 and State Sector Act 1988. It investigates the reform process through the analysis of documents such as the 'State Sector and Crown Entities Reform Bill', public engagement initiatives such as the 'Ipanz ministerial presentations' and a set of interviews and informal conversations pursued with experts and civil servants of the State Services Commission. Following Christensen & Lægreid (2001, 2007) the article proposes to examine whether these reforms are predominantly following an 'instrumental perspective' – meaning a conscious reorganisation of government in order to make it work better; a 'cultural-institutional perspective' – according to which the development of public organisations and reforms are evolutionary, bound by path dependency, history and cultural compatibility; or a 'myth perspective' according to which reforms are mainly constituted by myths, symbols and fashions, 'sold' by reform entrepreneurs and largely based on rhetoric. The first approach would refer to reforms which arise directly from the disappointment with previous reforms, in an attempt to improve what is clearly perceived as dysfunctional. The

second would put emphasis on the role of national politics, culture and institutions as the main drivers of recent reforms, whereas the third would stress the role of international organisations and epistemic communities in ‘selling’ ideas in order for countries to gain political legitimacy and international credibility (Sahlin-Andersson, 2001). In order to achieve this goal, the article will look at the main types of evidence, information and arguments used by politicians and civil servants in their justification process of the proposed reforms. Although it might be difficult to clearly differentiate between drivers by only looking at the information-base of proposed reforms, the article intends to contribute to broader debates on the reasons for New Zealand’s distinguishable entrepreneurial nature when it comes to administrative reforms (Boston et al. 1996; Lodge & Gill, 2014).

*Barbara Allen (Victoria University of Wellington) and Pauline Jas (Victoria University of Wellington) - Commissioners, Public Services and Social Impact Bonds – the missing link?* Social Impact Bonds (SIBs) attract global interest as tool for financing welfare services using investment from outside the public sector. They aim to incentivise innovative services that prevent future needs, reducing the future demand on services, and thus make savings. The literature on the practice of SIBs is still scarce and this paper provides new insights into the role of commissioners, based on in-depth interviews. It concludes that although the prevention of future needs through innovative approaches are welcome, commissioners are cautious about this leading to cashable savings. This paper crosses over two areas of public service practice; commissioning is well established, with its complexity often expressed in the schematic representation of the commissioning cycle. This cycle is used in widespread discussions on commissioning, and is a crucial tool in the training and professional development of commissioners. The next section discusses relevant commissioning practices and the commissioning cycle. SIBs on the other hand, are still very much in development, and thus contested as to what the main issues are and what approach to take to analysing SIBs related material. There is a slowly expanding literature, which is also explored in the next section, with the aim to come up with an overview of the main issues and concerns identified so far, which can then be used to guide the analysis of our interview data. The subsequent section explains the methods and approach to the data. The findings are discussed separately for commissioning and for SIBs, before being brought together to start exploring commissioners’ insights into the why and wherefores of SIBs.

*Steve Voisey (Massey University) and Andy Asquith (Massey University) - Who’s in Charge? After Twenty- Nine Years of Tomorrow’s Schools, Are Decisions Really Being Made by the Community?*

This paper examines the roles and relationships within New Zealand school Boards of Trustees (BOT). Specifically, the paper explores the dynamic between school principals and elected community representatives. Major reform in 1989 created a mode of operation designed to empower communities of parents at the expense of educators. Using data from a survey of South Island schools, we show that far from achieving the objectives underpinning the reforms, decision making within many schools still resides within the office of the principal, with elected BoTs having little, if any say in strategic decision making. Alongside this, evidence emerged that BoTs continue to be inadequately equipped with the skillset required for them to competently fulfil their governance role.

### Session 3E

#### Indigenous Politics

Chair: Maria Bargh (Victoria University of Wellington)

*Priya Dixit (Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University) - Who Speaks for Us?: Reflections on Doing Research Among Soldiers of/from the Global South*

Recent scholarship on global security includes calls for decolonizing security studies, and including non-Western perspectives. Historically, actors from the Global South have had their experiences narrated *for* them, thus denying them of voice and agency. This paper heeds the call to decolonize security studies through prioritizing experiences of Global South participants—specifically Nepali Gurkhas—in global security. Gurkhas have been part of global security practices for the past 200 years, mostly as part of imperial fighting forces. In this paper, experiences of Gurkhas in post-9/11 wars in Iraq and Afghanistan are critically examined in order to interrogate methods of understanding security that often sideline experiences of Global South soldiers. Drawing on fieldwork experiences in Nepal and on interviews with Gurkha soldiers and their communities, this paper illustrates how their narratives show complicated justifications for military participation that go beyond conventional economic explanations. By doing so, this paper outlines an approach to doing research regarding security issues of the Global South that prioritizes indigenous concerns and knowledges. It utilizes self-representations of Gurkha soldiers and their communities to discuss “epistemic disobedience” (Mignolo) and outline local meanings of war and security. Overall, this paper fits into pioneering work regarding decolonizing methodologies and attempts to address ongoing power imbalance regarding fieldwork in and among Global South communities.

*Jovanie Camacho Espesor (University of Canterbury) - Perpetual Exclusion and Second-Order Minorities in Theatres of Civil Wars*

This article is a departure from a mainstream inquiry of giving too much credence to ethnic minorities that have the agency to mobilize revolutionary armies against the state. There is a need to pay attention to the plight of second-order minorities who do not have the capacity for rebellion, but are usually victims of violence and displacement. The knowledge is sparse about the plight of subaltern communities that are in constant struggle for recognition of their rights and demands for representation in conflictual societies. Therefore, this paper aims to answer the question of why second-order minorities in conflict-ridden communities are subjects of marginalisation, exclusion and deprivation. Using two case studies of Aceh, Indonesia and Bangsamoro, Philippines, it seeks to contribute to the limited state of knowledge about considerably powerless second-order ethnic minorities in communities that are theatres of domestic wars. These case studies are based on ethnographic field research in Indonesia and the Philippines. From 2016 to 2017, I travelled to Jakarta and Aceh in Indonesia and to different conflict-prone localities in the southern Philippines. In both countries, I interviewed government officials, rebel commanders, university professors, civil society representatives and tribal leaders. This paper concludes that weaker groups who constitute the second-order minorities are facing repression and their demands for recognition of their identity and territorial domains are often undermined or subordinated to the wishes of dominant ethnic minorities who went into negotiating tables with governments.

*Mei-Fang Fan (National Yang-Ming University) - Indigenous Grassroots Participation and the Coevolution of Deliberative Systems*

Research on deliberative systems with detailed discussions on indigenous democracy and the deliberative features of indigenous activism is limited. The heterogeneous and ambivalent

complexity of colonial history and geographical contexts has had a considerable effect on indigenous representatives and indigenous forms of deliberation. Indigenous movement and environmental protests against the dominance of the state are traditionally regarded as nondeliberative. The systemic approach of deliberative democracy argues that protests constitute an integral part of public deliberation, which helps us to make indigenous spheres of deliberation more visible as democratic and knowledge practises and to recognise their contribution to policy-making and wider deliberative systems. Drawing on two case studies of indigenous sphere deliberation on environmental controversy in Taiwan, this study explored how indigenous activism and civil organization facilitate space for deliberation and improve both the democratising quality of deliberative systems and the implications of indigenous deliberation. In both cases, tribesmen transcended their original boundaries and closed space to engage in communication and activate plural deliberative spaces when facing conflicting new challenges and the government's dominant policy positions with limited discursive space. Tribal civic organisations and young tribal activists play crucial roles in shaping tribal voices and in the transmission and utilisation of methods to increase their legitimacy. Indigenous grassroots participation facilitates knowledge coproduction and reshapes tribal political subjectivities, which reveals the coevolution of tribal deliberative systems and their interaction with the State, intertwined with deliberative systems.

*Simon Jovanovic (Macquarie University) - Unmasking Institutional Racism within NSW Public Sector Aboriginal Employment Policies*

From the mid-1970's, the NSW government has taken full responsibility for leading Aboriginal employment policies and initiatives for Aboriginal citizens. These policies have been a PR exercise to provide equal employment opportunities for Aboriginal people in the NSW public sector. In introducing these policies, the NSW government established the moral basis and leadership to design, develop, and administer employment initiatives for Aboriginal citizens. These policies are 'paternalistic top-down approaches' based on the 'moral responsibility' of government to address the 'problems' and 'disadvantages' that Aboriginal people experience due to failed policies under previous governments. The policies have positioned Aboriginal people as 'problems' and as being 'in deficit' in the qualities possessed by non-Aboriginal people. These problems are framed as 'issues' within the policies which then require intervention through special initiatives. These 'problem representations' have emerged as a continuous pattern of institutional racism embedded in bureaucratic employment policies towards Aboriginal people since the mid-70s. This presentation will unmask these deficit representations of Aboriginal people and the mechanisms of power used by the NSW government to take full responsibility for all Aboriginal employment policies and issues. One of these problem representations has been the 'racialisation of Aboriginality' through which a new employment classification was established, that of 'Aboriginality', which reinforced hierarchical power relationships in the bureaucracy between non-Aboriginal and Aboriginal people. This act of exclusion precludes Aboriginal people from occupying positions across the full range of levels and classifications of government.

**10.30am-11.00am**  
**Morning Tea**

**11.00am-12.30am**  
**Panel Sessions Four**

## **Session 4A**

### **The 2017 Election and Populism: Findings from the NZES – 2 (New Zealand Politics) Chair: Jennifer Curtin (University of Auckland)**

*Jack Vowles (Victoria University of Wellington) - The Unexpected Coalition: Challenging the Norms of Government Formation*

This paper investigates the normative foundations of a new government by scrutiny of the perceptions and behaviour of respondents to the 2017 New Zealand Election Study. It examines their preferences for the party to lead the government, their evaluations of the parties more generally, their leadership preferences, their evaluations of leaders, their issue and policy positions, and how these apparently lined up with the positions of the actual and alternative government coalitions that might have formed. This chapter goes on to investigate the consequences by way of general preferences for and against coalition government, and the implications for perceptions of legitimacy in the context of the persistence of majoritarian norms in New Zealand political culture.

*Lara Greaves (AUT University) and Janine Hayward (University of Otago) - Māori, Populism, and the 2017 General Election*

The 2017 general election had significant consequences for Māori representation. In particular, the Māori Party, which had been represented in Parliament since 2004 and had supported the National-led government since 2008, failed to have any MPs elected to Parliament. Instead, Labour Party MPs were elected in all seven of the Māori electorates. Drawing on data from the New Zealand Election Survey, this paper reviews the electoral fortunes of the Māori Party since its establishment in 2004 to better understand and explain its defeat in 2017. It also looks broadly at the voting and participation of Māori – both on and off the Māori roll – in the 2017 election, and public opinion of the Māori electorates since 2002.

*Lara Greaves (AUT University) and Charles Crothers (AUT University) - Populism and the 2017 Election: The Components, Correlates and Prevalence of Populism*

As part of the Comparative Study of Electoral Systems, the 2017 New Zealand Election Study ran a module on populism. These questions covered attitudes towards elites, attitudes towards out-groups (such as immigrants), and attitudes towards majority rule and representative democracy. This paper presents NZES data on responses to these questions, demographic differences and voter differences in support for these aspects of populism.

## **Session 4B**

### **Sub-State Actors and Environmental Challenges (Environmental Politics)**

**Chair: Priya Kurian (University of Waikato)**

*Mannu Singh (University of Delhi) - Climate Change and the Existential Question for the Dalit and Adivasis Women in India*

Climate change affects all human beings, across the globe, irrespective of their caste, class, gender, religion, race, ethnicity and nationality but some communities are more vulnerable due to their disadvantageous socio-cultural position in the society. And similarly, in India, Dalit and Adivasi women are the direct victims of the negative harsh impacts of the climate change. The proposed paper is a humble attempt to explore how does climate change harm the basic socio-economic human rights of the Dalit and Adivasis women in India. It will explore into the dimensions of the basic socio-economic human right like, right to health, right to fodder and fuel, right to food, right to shelter, and right to safe drinking water being

violated by the climate change. To enquire into how climate change is a threat to the minimum decent survival of the Dalit and Adivasis women, I will be arguing from the viewpoints of the feminist environmentalism. Admitting the fact that the role of Panchayati Raj Extension to Scheduled Areas (PESA) and Joint Forest Management Committee (JFMC) is very crucial, I will also be engaging with some of the policy initiatives done by the government of India in this regard.

*Yadira Ixchel Martínez Pantoja (University of Auckland) - Political Consumerism: the Global NGO Movement against GM Foods*

Current lifestyles are influenced by neoliberal values that promote globalization, industrialization, consumerism, and transnational supply chains. However, some societies have a resistance to these global trends and some organizations from the civil society are increasing their participation in politics to respond to the trends imposed by multinational corporations. Furthermore, non-government organizations (NGOs) are promoting alternative forms of participation such as political consumerism to influence the political environment domestically or overseas. Political consumerism is a non-traditional way of political participation in which citizens act as consumers by making specific product choices in order to exercise pressure for an ethical or political change of already established market practices. For example, the global March Against Monsanto denounces the practices of the company, urges people to boycott and demands governments to be more transparent. This paper presents a survey of the literature about the practices of political consumerism that environmental NGOs have utilized to raise awareness and demote GM foods in countries such as Mexico, United States, New Zealand, United Kingdom, Canada, Germany, France, Spain, and India. This paper contributes to the discussion of what political consumerism is, what forms of participation are relevant to political consumerism, and the role that NGOs play in political consumerism to address a global complex issue: resistance to GM foods adoption.

*Briar Topp (University of Otago) - Can the Circular Economy Create More Sustainable Resource Use?*

China has recently been turning away boatloads of contaminated recyclables, which has acted as yet another wake up call to the world's waste crisis. My research will aim to answer the question, "Is the concept of the Circular Economy a viable solution to practice more sustainable resource use? If so, how should it be implemented?" The concept of the Circular Economy aims to change the linear nature of our throw-away culture into a closed cyclical system where waste is reused, remanufactured, or recycled into new products. Circular Economy principles can be implemented at a local, regional or global level, and it has already been taken up energetically in the business sector, but less so by political bodies. It is essential to explore the opportunities and limitations of the concept of the Circular Economy in its goal of creating a more sustainable future in order to assess its usefulness as a potential political and economic principle. Among others, it brings up tensions about responsibility, public policy versus economic controls, and global versus local initiatives.

*Laura Hetherington (University of Waikato) - Food Waste in Hamilton: an Analysis of the Council's Waste Management and Minimisation Plan*

This paper will present initial results from an analysis of the Hamilton City Council's measures to address the issue of food waste. Food waste is estimated to cost \$872 million each year in New Zealand, with the majority being produced in the household. Much of the waste could be disposed of sustainably through composting, or used as animal feed or biofuel production. The paper examines past and present patterns of food waste in New Zealand,

with a particular focus on Hamilton. It proceeds to evaluate the food waste management provisions within the 2012-2018 Hamilton City Waste Management and Minimisation Plan in terms of its normative values, and its use of economic instruments and communication strategies. While local initiatives and private sector kerbside green waste collection services exist in Hamilton, the volume of food waste has continued to grow, with an estimated 33 per cent increase between 2012 and 2018. Thus, while food waste is recognised as a waste management issue by the Hamilton City Council, the increasing levels of food waste suggests its current approach is ineffective. It is my hope that this study will encourage the national Waste Minimisation Act to propel local councils to review their food waste policies and will propel Hamilton City Council to implement the critical adjustments necessary for a more effective food waste policy.

#### **Session 4C**

#### **Democratic Representation and Responsibility (Comparative Politics)**

**Chair: Alexander Bukh (Victoria University of Wellington)**

*Dan Zirker (University of Waikato) - An Active-Passive-Negative- Positive President?*

*Donald J. Trump and the Unwinding of Behavioral Analyses of the US Presidency*

Behavioural analyses of US presidential performance have addressed relatively narrow patterns parameters and influences on performance. Richard E. Neustadt's *Presidential Power; The Politics of Leadership*, James David Barber's 1972 work, *The Presidential Character; Predicting Performance in the White House*, and George E. Reedy's *The Twilight of the Presidency; An Examination of Power and Isolation in the White House*, established landmark and widely-cited, if subjective, psycho-biographical analyses of (mostly) Twentieth-Century US presidents. Neustadt's analysis of the behavioural challenges facing a president, Barber's positing of four discrete presidential types, active-positive, active-negative, passive-positive and passive-negative 'types', and Reedy's analysis of the psychological challenges and likely behavioural outcomes confronting represented rich, if largely ex post facto, insights into presidential requisites and behavioural performances. It is increasingly clear that none of these analyses could have offered very much insight into the presidential behaviour of Donald J. Trump, however.

*Amalia Sustikarini (University of Canterbury) - Representing Populism: The Economic Grievance of Islamic Populism in Indonesia*

The world has seen unprecedented rise of populism in the past few decades. The populist leaders are gaining foothold around the globe. In Europe, left wing populist political parties that exploit the fear of massive migration and economic stagnation have been attracting anxious voters. Asia is also influenced by this renaissance of populism. However, while ultra nationalist populism has been dominating Europe and US political landscape, populism in Indonesia is characterized by its intertwining with religious affairs. Started from the electoral-discourse of the rejection of non-Muslim leader, this movement—known as movement to mark their massive rally in Jakarta's main streets on December 2, 2016—is incorporating the similar discontentment with its counterpart elsewhere: economic marginalization, the domination of "foreign force" wealthy groups and disagreement over pluralism and liberal values. More particularly on economic realm, this Islamic populism movement has gone beyond protesting: they set up 212 cooperation as an attempt to empower Indonesian Muslim economy. Against this backdrop, this paper will focus on economic grievance factor of Islamist populism in Indonesia. How is the historical trajectory of economic grievance of the Islamic populism in Indonesia? Who do they perceive as "foreign forces"? Which Indonesian Muslim do they (perceive to) represent? Where is the position of

Indonesian Islamic capitalist groups in this discourse? As in the literature of social movement, separatism and populism, economic grievance has always been present as successful mobilizing factor, this paper will investigate the abovementioned questions by employing concept of relative deprivation.

*Juan Pablo Bohórquez (Universidad Santo Tomás Bogotá Colombia) and Ingrid Delgadillo Cely (Universidad Francisco José de Caldas) - Transnational Articulation of Rural Social Movements*

Transformations in the International sphere, in a general sense blanketed by the term globalization, have fomented the emergence of a series of social movements termed globalist, alter-globalist or transnationalist. Included among them are some rural-based social movements, however in the literature on the subject, the social sectors connected to rural social movements are generally considered immobile in spatial terms, they are considered to be conservative in social and political matters and in the process of disappearing (Blokland, 1995; Hobsbawm, 1995). Research on transnational social movements has focused predominantly on labour markets (transnational workers) or on themes that have become important for the so-called middle-classes, such as peace, the environment or cultural and ethnic issues, among others. This has prompted scholars to emphasize the extent of continuity between old and new social movements (Edelman, 2001; Scott, 1990). Furthermore, transnational social movements are generally studied in terms of mechanisms for coordination, frameworks for action and the formation of agendas. It is problematic that rural social movements that have assumed a transnational character have received little attention in the scholarly literature on transnationalism. This lack of attention discounts the impact of rural social movements on the configuration of transnational social space and their particular forms of articulation within this space.

#### **Session 4D**

#### **4D. Pakistan and International Politics (International Relations)**

**Chair: Patrick Flamm (Victoria University of Wellington)**

*Arshad Ali (University of Otago) - Explaining Pakistan's Strategic Deficits: Structural Issues in Islamabad's Security State*

The paper seeks to explore the paradox of a Pakistani state so fixated on improving its security, has led to greater insecurity. It locates limitation of the Pakistan's military-centred national security approach in which the Pakistani military became dominant force in the country. Within this security framework, military competition with India was prioritized over nation building since its independence in 1947. Pakistan spent more than 50 percent of the government expenditure on defence during the Cold War period. However, a post-Cold War transformation in the regional and international strategic environment has exposed futility of the continuation of this security approach. For instance, Islamabad relied on Islamist militancy to protect its strategic interests in South Asia. However, it has radicalized the whole society and the country became more insecure than ever before due to frequent terrorist attacks from the Islamist militant outfits in the post-9/11 terror attacks. Also, the Pakistani military has maintained functional dominance over civilian leadership and used the most contentious constitutional articles such as Article 58 (2-b) in dismissing three elected governments during 1990s. It has created political instability in Pakistan and the military took its advantage to exercise their influence over the civilian leadership and set the direction of the state in their favour. As a result, democracy has not been nurtured in Pakistan where political leadership became weak to deal with mired security challenges.



*Muhammad Karim (University of Waikato) - International and Regional Power Politics Shaping Pakistan's Internal Security*

The British Empire in the nineteenth century annexed two regions in the subcontinent that became part of Pakistan in 1947. It annexed Afghanistan and a whole of Balochistan; both inhibited by primitive and tribal ethnic societies; on whom the British were not able to exercise control and so they created princely states and tribal agencies and handed them over to princes or tribal elders. These areas were a buffer zone between the British Empire and Union of Soviet Socialist Republic (USSR). When the British left, that too in a hurry, they left the newborn south Asian countries (India and Pakistan) to fight over the princely state of Kashmir. The role of British Empire in creating conflicting borders and of USSR and United States (US) in exploiting those ethnio-religio-political margins in these border areas fuels Pakistan's national security. These two super powers utilized regional allies like Iran, Saudi Arabia, Afghanistan and India to make the conflict situation in Pakistan more complicated by fostering their own national interests in Pakistan. Pakistan's internal security has a strong and deep link with the interests of its allies and adversaries in the region. Pakistan should focus on having a directed state and foreign policy before internal chaos in Pakistan worsens and spills over in the entire region.

*Bilal Bin Liaqat (Government College University) - SAARC without India: Prospects for Regional Connectivity from Pakistan's Perspective*

In the international arena, a nation tries to augment its power capabilities in terms of political and economic means by developing her links at regional & global level. In this regard, Pakistan should make an every effort for South Asian connectivity without India's participation into SAARC due to its efforts to undermine this organization for her nefarious designs. Like, New Delhi's belligerent postures towards its arch rival Pakistan, akin to opposing CPEC project under 'One Belt One Road Initiative' by China and shows hesitation to accept Beijing's inclusion into this forum for strengthening regional integration. However, in that context, the edgy relations with other neighbouring countries like uneasy relationship with Sri-Lanka from the decade of 1980's, carrot and stick policy with its small neighbours, especially Bhutan, anti-India sentiments for decades in Nepal creates hindrance for political and economic cooperation under the umbrella of this troubled regional organization. Moreover, India's negative overtures towards SAARC's connectivity give rise to compel the other states to make alternative arrangements for making this fragile organization into a successful story. In this regard, this paper assesses the possible options for making this regional club fully operational for regional connectivity without India's involvement. Furthermore, this piece of work also shed a light on India's much focus on BIMSTEC (Bay of Bengal Initiative for Multi-Sectoral, Technical and Economic Cooperation) to make alternative arrangements to set aside SAARC and exclude Pakistan from regional connectivity.

**Session 4E**

**Thinking/Acting Differently with Gillian Rose: Relationality, Vulnerability and Utopia (Feminist Theory and Gender Politics)**

**Chair: Amalia Louisson (Victoria University of Wellington)**

*Jenny Ombler (University of Otago) - Love's Work: Emancipating Politics*

The overarching mode of relation to others in politics and in international relations is as self-assured beings that encompass certainty of conviction and identity. Ambiguity and agility are feared as garnering instability and uncertainty. Yet many of the challenges upon us are unpredictable and require an ability to be flexible, yet will also require consistent values in

order to meet the demands of social and environmental justice. A steadfast and unchanging ideological position will struggle to respond to challenges that we do not yet understand. Premising our politics upon the current and known order fails to anticipate unexpected changes in that order. I propose an ethical approach to relationality in politics, beginning and persisting in love. 'Love's work' is an emancipatory and transformative approach to politics. Rather than advocating a utopian outcome or a dystopian view of human relations, love's work accepts the fragmented and imperfect complexity of beings, and pushes us to embrace vulnerability and uncertainty. It is emancipatory because it frees us from the bounds of perfection and despair, and it is transformative as it does not recognise a static end-point but acknowledges that recognition is always moving in relation to the state of beings as they experience the world and each other. Love takes for granted that we do not exist in isolation, and that we are in a constant upheaval of inter-relationality with other beings. Love is the constant, yet it is only able to be so if we understand that by engaging in love we must be malleable, responsive, and active to the ever-changing nature of the world.

*Sasha Francis (Victoria University of Wellington) - How Do We Sustain Our Emotional Commitment to Utopia?*

How do we sustain our emotional commitment to utopia? This question asks after a sense of sustainable and radical politics within the everyday, with each other, as found in every moment. On this basis, I take utopia to be a processual practice and sense of belief that reflects, enacts and births possibility: following Ruth Levitas' Blochian framework, it is a 'method'. Utopia is the 'doing' rather than in the 'arrival,' a verb rather than as a (proper) noun. For this reason, I explore utopia with an eye to subjective experience, as if an 'emotional commitment'. As a method, however, it is an 'emotional commitment' towards a world that is more ethical than the present: specifically, such an ethics is understood as the attempt to honour and tend to the actuality of interdependence that makes up the very fabric of our world, in both its specificity and its universality. By speaking with seven activist-philosophers from Te Whanganui-A-Tara (Wellington), I intentionally grounded myself in an answer to this question that reflects the particular geographical place from which this research was conducted, and at which we meet and speak for this conference. To further ground my methodology, this research drew upon the practice of speculative sociology, 'low theory' and art-based research, in combination with a philosophical framework that weaves together the work of Gillian Rose and Ernst Bloch with questions of relationality and speculativity. In this presentation, I will introduce the seven activist-philosophers, before exploring and reflecting on the five key modes of everyday politics offered to me in conversation. These five modes are: not knowing, trust, care, embodiment and imagining. Together, I argue that these relational practices remind us of an everyday sense of acting and thinking that is both materialistic and speculative, as it straddles present and possible futures, with an eye to the past. Importantly, I suggest, these five offerings lead us to the difficult yet necessary path of relationality that combines actuality with speculativity towards the active, on-going, and ever-present demands of struggle towards otherwise.

*Kate Schick (Victoria University of Wellington) - The Tree is Really Rooted in the Sky: Beside Difficulty in Gillian Rose's Political Theory*

It is easy for Rose's notion of recognition to seem demanding and austere or 'joyless and difficult'. In this paper, I argue that while Rose's oeuvre is both difficult and demanding, it is neither joyless nor austere. The difficult *and* joyful aspects of Rose's thought are rooted in her radical Hegelianism and her insistence on a fundamentally different orientation to

knowing and acting. Rose's speculative philosophy unsettles the confident epistemology of moral rationalism and advocates a slower, more difficult journey towards comprehension that starts with 'what is'. She maintains that we must be willing both to *know again* and to *act again*, claiming that knowledge and action are 'fallible and precarious, but risk-able'. Rose's deeply relational approach to knowing and acting is unsettling and countercultural; however, life lived relationally and vulnerably opens us not only to uncertainty and the pain of coming to know but also to love, beauty, and grace. The dance of recognition is 'full of surprises': it juxtaposes misrecognition and loss with joy and 'overwhelming plenitude'. Seen and unseen bounties return Rose always to 'the vocation of the everyday', which starts with *what is* and eschews messianic escapism; they accompany and sustain love's work on its imperfect journey towards a 'good enough justice'.

**12.30pm-1.30pm**

**Lunch**

**1.00pm-1.30pm**

**Network Meetings**

1. Gender and Politics Network
2. Interpretive Policy Analysis Network
3. Media and Political Communication Network
4. Political Theory Network

**1.30pm-3.00pm**

**Panel Sessions Five**

**Session 5A**

**EU and European Politics (Comparative Politics)**

**Chair: Fiona Barker (Victoria University of Wellington)**

*James Headley (University of Otago) - Brexit as Secession*

Brexiters, for their own reasons, celebrate 29 March as UK Independence Day. But is it useful for analysts to consider Brexit as a secession? In this paper I discuss whether this even makes sense and then explore some of the issues raised. I argue that formally, the UK's withdrawal from the EU entails the ending of an international treaty and the signing of a new one. Nevertheless, the degree of integration within the EU and the level of supranationalism means that the first Article 50 withdrawal from the EU in significant respects echoes the secession of an entity from a state. I begin by considering the Brexit referendum and the process of withdrawal in comparative perspective, looking at the cases of South Sudan and the break-up of Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union. I then examine the issues raised during the withdrawal negotiations, and analyse the relationship between the UK's withdrawal from the EU and secession claims within EU states and wider Europe (Kosovo, Northern Cyprus, Catalonia). I conclude by comparing the implications of the UK's secession for its own territorial integrity with similar issues in secessionist situations.

*Kate McMillan (Victoria University of Wellington) - Comparing Approaches to*

*'Responsibility-sharing' for Refugees and Asylum-seekers in the ASEAN and EU Context*

The concept of 'responsibility-sharing' for the protection of refugees and asylum seekers implies that such responsibility should be shared among the world's states, rather than falling, as it often does, to states proximate to refugee-generating countries. It is a concept with a

long heritage, underlying both the 1951 Refugee Convention and the 2018 Global Compact on Refugees. But, even as the term gains currency in a number of international and regional fora, the basis on which responsibility might be assigned to different states, and the mechanisms for distributing such responsibility remain deeply contested. In the South East Asian context, which has received a large number of locally- and externally-generated forced migrants, there appears to be widespread acceptance that greater regional cooperation is required in order to manage the responsibilities associated with forced migrants, and the term ‘responsibility-sharing’ has begun appearing frequently in regional and national statements. Yet, there is no consensus and, indeed, very little formal discussion at the governmental level, about how responsibility might be shared within the countries that make up the Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN), where only two out of ten Member States are signatories to the 1951 Convention. In this paper I compare proposals for models of responsibility-sharing within the ASEAN countries with those emanating from the EU, where such proposals are much further developed, yet no less contentious.

*Anna Berka (University of Auckland) - The Institutional Foundations of Orchestrated Socio-Technical Transitions: Learning from Comparative Governance of Civic Renewable Energy*

Civic engagement in the energy sector is increasingly credited as facilitating public buy-in and policy stability required for effective renewable energy transitions. However, in all but a few European countries, civic energy represents a marginal proportion of installed renewable energy assets. This study explores a tentative relationship between the speed at which socio-technical transitions occur, their redistributive properties, and their occurrence in relation to distinct ‘welfare capitalisms’, focussing on two Liberalised Market Economies (the UK and New Zealand), two Centralised Market Economies (Germany and Denmark) and a “competitive corporatist” economy (Spain). Drawing on literature, it reviews necessary and sufficient policy requirements for civic energy, and sets out a theory-based narrative of how structural institutional arrangements and complementarities might affect possibilities for institutional change and stability around these key policy frameworks. These institutional change pathways are then compared and contrasted in context of prevailing structural institutional arrangements across the five selected case study countries. Policy instruments shaping local and community energy in any given country span across energy, planning, finance and social policy domains, the combined dynamics of which creates or does not create opportunities for civic energy to take hold; each subject to its own path dependencies and political struggles. Inclusive energy policy is associated with countries that did not nationalise the energy market prior to deregulation, resulting in electricity sectors with more diverse actors and lower market concentration. It is also associated with policy regimes in which policy stability is enabled through coalition politics and high degrees of decentralisation.

*Kate Nicholls (AUT University) - Farming Interests and the Debate over Climate Change Policy in Ireland and New Zealand*

Aotearoa/New Zealand and the Republic of Ireland share a distinct similarity in being two of the most highly developed countries in which agriculture contributes the highest share of total carbon emission output. Yet in terms of interest group intermediation, which theoretically should have a strong influence on policy outcomes, the two countries have very different recent histories. Irish farmers have been party to highly formalised “social partnership” arrangements through which political agreements are forged between major interest groups, whereas the relationship between interest groups and the political system in New Zealand has been arguably much more partisan and much less prone to compromise. This paper looks at similarities and differences between the two national cases in terms of recent policy decisions

regarding strategies to combat climate change, focussing first on these institutional variations before considering contrasts in the policy discourse employed by farming interests. Farming organizations in both countries have been successful at underlining the structural importance of agriculture, particularly the dairy sector, but have drawn on quite different ideological frames to do so. Irish farming interests, for instance, tend to emphasize themes of food security and the role of agriculture in maintaining Irish pastoral heritage, while New Zealand farming interests do a remarkably good job at convincing the public that national economic well-being is dependent on the industry's success.

## **Session 5B**

### **Media Manipulation (Media, Internet, and Politics)**

**Chair: Sarah Hendrica Bickerton (Victoria University of Wellington)**

*Rafael San José Iglesias (AUT University) - AMLO's Presidential Campaign: Message and Media Strategies*

The most recent political campaigns include the design of new strategies and use of new technologies in the building and management of candidates and political parties' brands. Andrés Manuel López Obrador (AMLO) was the leading candidate in the 2006, 2012, and 2018 presidential elections in Mexico, representing the most progressivist agenda in both elections in relation to political, social, and economic issues including gender political representation, same sex marriage, abortion, unions representation, and worker rights. In these presidential campaigns, the governments in functions portrayed him as a threat for the country and their neoliberal agenda, with the risk of implementing failed state-centered policies of the 1970s. These governments also tried to influence the issues and image toward their candidates delivered by the media through an increasing budget allocated to buy advertising spaces in these media. However, recent technological advances in telecommunications have irrupted political campaigns and many candidates communicate through social media. In Mexico's 2018 presidential election, these new spaces of social interaction allowed AMLO and his recently founded party, Movimiento de Regeneración Nacional (Morena) to share their ideas, political agenda issues, and emotional content related to personal memories, critical moments in his political career, as well as to interact with celebrities, opinion leaders, influencers, and followers. The central role of social media in the communication campaign strategy of AMLO and the engagement of grassroots movements during the campaign were determinant in his triumph.

*Brett Murphy (Polintell, Global Partnership and Development) - The Fourth Estate: Can We Still Trust the Mainstream Media?*

The face of journalism has changed with the rise of social media that caused one of the biggest shock waves in political history two years ago. In 2016 the world media were left confounded when President Donald Trump defied the odds to thrash Hilary Clinton in the American election. President Trump won 37 out of a possible 50 States despite facing overwhelmingly negative news coverage in the mainstream media. However his campaign team waged a successful ground offensive through the use of social media to propel himself to victory. The same shock wave was felt in Great Britain when British voters elected to leave the European Union, despite opinion polls suggesting otherwise in the lead up to the vote. How could the mainstream media get these results so badly wrong? Why did the general public go in the opposite direction rather than complete a seemly self-fulfilling prophecy. Do we still have fair and balanced media reporting or have news rooms become propaganda tools of competing ideologies based on the owner of the networks world view? This question will be examined through looking at media coverage of this campaign to see if

theirs was an overt prejudice that the general public were able to see past. The importance of this research cannot be underestimated in examining why people appear to be growing more distrustful of mainstream media and looking to alternative news sources.

*Dylan Stent (Victoria University of Wellington) - The Manipulation of Public Opinion in the Republic of Korea*

South Korea has been rocked by numerous political scandals. All former democratically elected presidents have been suspected of corruption: Park Guen-hye was impeached and imprisoned; and Lee Myung-bak looks set to follow suit. However, little is known or written about the systemic issues of manipulation in hyper-connected Korea. One area that is understudied in English is how public opinion has been manipulated during elections, and especially how social networking services (SNS) has been used by numerous actors to sway public opinion. This study explores the prevalence of digital manipulation of public opinion in Korea by numerous actors including political parties, the Ministry of Defence, the National Intelligence Service (NIS) and the police. Using the 2012 Presidential Election, the so-called first “SNS Election,” as a starting point I provide examples of partisan political party efforts to manipulate opinion through automated twitter software, smear campaigns on SNS websites by the NIS and how the police also influenced public opinion after the conservative Saenuri Party was elected. I will also introduce more recent scandals including the “Druking Scandal” which has tarnished the current president’s reputation. I then explore how social media has been a double edged sword. On the one hand it has permitted diverging voices, which is much needed in traditionally conservative Korea. On the other hand it has allowed the proliferation of fake news and the manipulation of opinion in the hyper-connected state. I conclude by explaining the various techniques being employed to try and stamp out manipulation in contemporary Korea.

## **Session 5C**

### **Political Economy 1 (Political Economy)**

**Chair: Ben Thirkell-White (Victoria University of Wellington)**

*Lauren Tooker (University of Warwick) - Futures in Foreclosure?: Debt Resistance as Democratic Resource in Austerity Britain*

Debt activism has become a lightning rod for anti-capitalist mobilisation since the global financial crisis, but scholars of International Political Economy have yet to substantively study this activism as a site of potential democratic renewal in finance. In this paper I examine citizen-led debt auditing in the United Kingdom as a key tactic of debt resistance intended to achieve greater transparency in state and local government finance. Political economists commonly criticise transparency as a politically limiting imaginary of liberal financial governance (e.g. Best 2005, Vestergaard 2009). In contrast to this criticism, I draw on the moral philosopher Stanley Cavell’s concept of ‘passionate utterances’ (understood within his wider theory of democratic moral perfectionism) to argue that debt auditors are reconstructing transparency to engender greater democratic responsiveness in finance. I further argue that Cavell’s perfectionism provides a useful way to understand the emergence of a broader project of redemptive critique in financial resistance, wherein citizens are reworking liberal financial imaginaries such as transparency, resilience and liability in radical terms. Finding solutions to today’s democratic deficits in finance, I conclude, requires going beyond regulatory debates that pit states against markets to draw upon the democratic ethics of political action by ordinary people.

*Judy Hemming (University of Canberra) and Michael McKinley (Australian National University) - Prosecuting the Neoliberal University: Specifically, Those Responsible and/or Guilty for its Decline*

In those countries which have adopted, and then enthusiastically advanced the globalised political-economic doctrine of neoliberalism the rationale proclaimed by public policymakers was that universities needed revolutionary reform in order to become more accountable, more relevant, more agile, and generally more attuned to the behaviour of a corporation in a hostile and brutally competitive world economy. One reaction has been that countless obituaries have been published recording not so much the reform, but the demise of these very university systems. Parsed for detail, the claim is that a way of life for both faculty and students, at all levels, in the pursuit of research and education, has been either extinguished or changed radically so that its successor states defy comparison with the past. They proclaim nothing less than that the university systems they refer to have been subject to a hostile takeover which has imposed conditions which are fundamentally inimical to learning and the search for knowledge and thus a threat to the body politic. In those areas of scholarship which relating to national security the consequences of this transformation are both deadly and dangerous. Accordingly, since democratic norms demand accountability, the next logical steps should include public inquiries and judicial investigations with a view to ensuring that public policymakers are held responsible for egregious offences against national security in particular and the national interest in general

*Hongtao Song (Victoria University of Wellington) - How and When Did New Zealand Become Developed?*

A fundamental real world challenge is that more countries are making the critical transition from developing to developed countries. This highlights the importance of examining experiences of the successes. However, booming literature, both research on the so-called middle-income trap and multi-disciplinary development studies, has not provided a full-tested theory on the transition process. In addition, for existing developed countries, academics present little sound explanations for how and when they became developed. My PhD project explores a systematic solution for a country to make the critical transition through an induction based on a full range of successful examples, taking all 32 non-small high-income OECD/EU members as successes and 18 selected major developing countries as contrasts. The project develops a general framework of measuring developed in political, legal, economic, and societal dimensions and establishes a database covering historical development in each of the 50 countries over periods 1689-2018. Based on the data and rigorous logic of causality, the project identifies the necessary and sufficient conditions and patterns of becoming developed. New Zealand is among the 50 countries. As a successful pioneering country, it contributes leading practices in several domains, although it confronted difficulties along the liberal way. The study has implications for the OECD membership and immigration and foreign aid policies of NZ. Echoing the conference theme, the successes attribute to the representation and responsibility of practitioners, academics, and in particular the public.

## Session 5D

### Political Principals and Advisory Agents (Public Policy and Administration)

Chair: Chris Eichbaum (Victoria University of Wellington)

*Rose Cole (Victoria University of Wellington) - Bernard in the Purple Zone - Private Secretaries and Political Neutrality in Ministers' Offices*

In September 2018 the New Zealand Minister for State Services opened consultation on the reform of the State Sector Act 1988. The consultation document affirms that the integrity and professionalism of the Public Service is vitally important to New Zealand's democracy, with political neutrality as the cornerstone of the Public Service. Private Secretaries located in the most political of environments, Ministers' offices, are confronted by the challenge of maintaining neutrality every day while fulfilling their duties. The risk of Private Secretaries becoming functionally politicised (Aberbach, Putnam, & Rockman, 1981) by undertaking political tasks, or behaviourally politicised (Badie, Berg-Schlusser, & Morlino (2011) by being responsive to politicians rather than maintaining neutrality, is ever present. This paper will discuss themes about political neutrality from interviews with Private Secretaries who have worked in Ministers' offices during the period of 1997 to the present day.

*David Bromell (Environment Canterbury) - Interpersonal Skills and Ethical Competencies for Public Policy*

Francis Fukuyama (Stanford) has argued in a recent essay (August 2018) that the focus of public policy education needs to shift from training policy analysts to training change-makers: people who have the competencies to bring about policy change in the real world. Indeed, the hardest part of my work in the public service is not doing policy analysis. It is providing policy advice and shaping and implementing strategy that works. This challenges me to keep developing my interpersonal skills and political savvy. I cannot separate my professional performance from my ongoing personal development. My current writing project is another practical guide for fellow practitioners – on interpersonal skills for public service in contexts where people want and value different things and have conflicting interests. I set these 'hard soft skills' within a framework of ethical competencies for public service, to inform and encourage a principled pragmatism. My project thus aims to 'think together' the contemporary focus on competency frameworks for public policy and my longstanding interest in ethics and public policy. My presentation will share this work in progress and the framework I propose.

*Richard Shaw (Massey University) and Chris Eichbaum (Victoria University of Wellington) - Still Allies? Revisiting New Zealand Public Servants' Perceptions of Ministerial Advisors*

A decade ago we published an article in Political Science that reported on public servants' perceptions of the actions, activities and impacts of political advisers in Aotearoa New Zealand. At the time ministerial advisers, as they are known here, were a relatively recent arrival on the stage of core executive government: a fair amount of commotion had attended their advent but empirical insights into the nature and consequences of their activity were scant (and theoretical reflections more or less non-existent). A core finding from our research in the mid-2000s was that relations between permanent and partisan advisers were, in the main, in good health. But much has since happened and a reassessment of the state of relations between the respective cadres of permanent and partisan advisers is overdue. The central aim of this paper, then, is to juxtapose the views expressed by officials in 2005 with those conveyed through a second round of data collection undertaken in 2017, with an eye to assessing whether or not the relationship between the cadres can still reasonably be characterized as one of amity.



## Session 5E

### Settler Responsibilities and Responses (Political Theory)

Chair: Kate Schick (Victoria University of Wellington)

*Emily Beausoleil (Massey University) - Gather Your People: Pre- Encounter Responsibilities in a Post-Encounter Settler Society*

In the context of settler-Indigenous politics, the burgeoning field of listening studies across disciplines draws attention to the long-neglected responsibilities and resistances of settler communities. Yet without a sense of what settlers should be listening to, this runs the risk shared by recognition and inclusion scholarship of forgetting the necessity of attending to not simply those from marginalised or struggling positions, but also the broader systems that produce such penalty and one's own position within them. Research on white fragility and anti-racist pedagogy holds that white people have profound epistemic and affective difficulty in identifying as part of this social group. Whether due to the normalisation of present inequalities or erasure of the historical taking that undergirds them, social advantage is largely invisible for those who have it. This means that for those who inhabit such positions, it proves particularly difficult to explain both one's experiences and perspective through anything other than an individualist lens. In light of recent work with Māori educators regarding protocols of encounter, this paper explores the necessity of developing a sense of collective identity as precursor to meeting in settler-Indigenous politics. In tikanga Māori, before one can even initiate an encounter with another, one must 'gather at the gate': develop a sense of who they are as a people, and why they have come. What would it look like to learn to 'listen intergenerationally' like this, as settlers? What would be required to 'gather our people' in order to be ready to meet?

*Amalia Louisson (Victoria University of Wellington) - Karen Barad's Intra-active Responsibility: Disrupting the Nature-culture Divide in Conservation Practices*

Because of ecological abuses committed by early European settlers in New Zealand—not only reckless, extensive industrial deforestation, but ecological annihilation motivated by the drive to wipe out indigeneity—Pākehā today have a responsibility to care for and conserve our indigenous species. However, while today's government expends considerable resources and energy into ecological conservation, since the establishment of conservation practices in the early twentieth century, conservation problematically remains rooted in Victorian assumptions that natural and human spheres are intrinsically distinct, and that humans stand above nature, with the right, even the responsibility, to manage 'lesser' nonhuman spheres. Addressing eco-colonial injustices in a way that sustains a nature-culture dualism not only shrinks and compartmentalises Pākehā responsibility, but attempts to address ongoing colonial wrongs in a way that actually perpetuates a central feature of coloniality—the severance of human and nonhuman spheres. On one hand, it fails to acknowledge and address ongoing injustices inflicted on iwi by separating them from their whenua, and the way nature-reserve conservation stands in the way of re-establishing that connection. On the other hand, by limiting environmental responsibility to conserving indigenous species in nature reserves, the New Zealand government allows itself at the same time to justify endeavours that threaten the existence of some indigenous species, such as allowing ongoing, under-regulated agricultural growth. This paper asserts that moving forward in a way that holistically acknowledges the ongoing effects of eco-colonial wrongs requires Pākehā to rethink the way they separate human and nonhuman spheres. It suggests the work of Karen Barad as a valuable starting point for Pākehā self-re-evaluation, an entangled understanding of responsibility, and a posthuman ethics that would place Pākehā in a better position to constructively collaborate with kaitiaki.

*Claire Timperley (Victoria University of Wellington) - Centring Indigeneity in Theories of Historic Rectification*

Liberal theories of historic injustice often draw on indigenous peoples as their referent community of interest, but fail to distinguish between indigenous and other nondominant groups. Because these theories do not seriously consider the ways in which indigeneity, in and of itself, might affect entitlements, I argue that they fail to accurately recognize who the recipient of rectification should be and what kinds of redress should be provided. In this article, I interrogate the ways that liberal accounts of justice in rectification fail to address at least two continuing sources of injustice for Māori. Considering each source of injustice in turn, I argue that contemporary liberal accounts of historic rectification, as exemplified by Jeremy Waldron and Chandran Kukathas, fail to adequately respond to these concerns. I conclude that sensitivity to indigeneity is necessary for more nuanced responses to past injustices.

**3.00pm-3.30pm**

**Afternoon Tea**

**3.30pm-5.00pm**

**Panel Sessions Six**

**Session 6A**

**Housing Policy (New Zealand Politics)**

**Chair: Grant Duncan (Massey University)**

*Ryan Jones (University of Otago) - In Search of Subsidiarity: A New Approach to Public Housing in New Zealand*

New Zealand's current public housing market is highly centralised, overseen by the Housing New Zealand Corporation, a central government entity/agent. The current model is not fit to address the interregional character of New Zealand's current housing crisis, where the challenges of Auckland contrast heavily to those of Queenstown. The crisis has placed significant pressure on the demand for public housing and a new approach to how we deliver public housing is required. By sharing greater responsibility for public housing with local government, New Zealand could provide a more targeted response to the housing crisis. This study will examine the advantages and disadvantages of a subsidiarity approach to public housing policy in New Zealand. In practice, this would transfer decision-making powers to the level of government closest to those affected. This approach to public housing would empower local communities, provide more responsive public housing governance, and embrace localism and democracy over centralisation and efficiency.

*Gauri Nandedkar (University of Waikato) and Iain White (University of Waikato) - The Politics of Issue Framing in Housing in Aotearoa New Zealand: How Discourses Drive Potential Policy Outcomes*

Planners, developers, politicians and others grapple with the complex issue of housing in New Zealand. Issues such as land supply, regulatory frameworks and the Kiwi Dream of homeownership fall into various framing categories within housing discourse. Policy initiatives and outcomes reveal translations of discourses that demonstrate dominant, secondary or hidden messages as a means of understanding and addressing the current housing crisis in New Zealand. This paper examines the way that housing discourse in New Zealand has developed over time, to eventually becoming acknowledged as a crisis – but a

crisis for whom and why? This is important as the framing of the housing debate could potentially determine how resources are deployed, which sections of society are privileged, and whose influence leaves a mark on the built environment. This paper presents findings from a detailed discourse analysis of Hansard speeches from 2008-2017. It aims to illuminate the issue of problem framing within New Zealand politics and provides important context for understanding nuances and subtleties in the housing debate. The paper demonstrates that housing issues – although often siloed in attempts to find solutions to the housing crisis – are integrated into wider themes of infrastructure and transport and building strong and thriving communities.

*Milena Petrovic (Victoria University of Wellington) - Taking Responsibility for the Least Advantaged: the Continued Inadequacy of Liberal Strategies for Solving the Homelessness Crisis*

The homeless exist on the fringes of New Zealand society, and with their rising number (the highest percentage in the OECD) present a problem of increasing concern for the government. It is nevertheless difficult to hold leaders accountable for serving the interests of the least advantaged, when the general population does not consider homelessness to be an issue of collective concern. This paper will advance the argument that state levels of homelessness are influenced by structural determinants more than individual factors, and in particular by the institutional configurations of the welfare regimes to which states belong. Specifically, New Zealand's liberal welfare regime severely limits the effectiveness of preventative and remedial strategies for mitigating the spread of homelessness. Despite increases in housing provision (the "Housing First" approach), a lack of integration between housing policy and general welfare services, low public support for the expenditure necessary for providing effective support to the long-term homeless, and a dearth of formal frameworks of cooperation between public bodies and private stakeholders in managing these efforts severely hamper resolution of the homelessness crisis. As a new addition to the welfare modelling literature, this paper thus seeks to elucidate the impact of levels of decommodification and social stratification in welfare regimes on the context, motivations and effectiveness of state approaches to homelessness.

## **Session 6B**

### **Environment, Institutions and Public Policy (Environmental Politics)**

**Chair: Sam Crawley (Victoria University of Wellington)**

*Darren Botello-Samson (Pittsburgh State University) - Administrative Law and the US National Park Service*

This paper addresses the effect of neoliberal reforms in the area of administrative law on the development and implementation of management plans within the National Parks Service of the United States. While much warranted attention is paid to the substantive policy decisions made through efforts to preserve natural areas, the procedural elements of such rulemaking also needs attention. Given that park management plans frequently engage actors, interests, and agencies that are both internal and external to the park, the process by which management plans are developed can affect outcomes more than the policy preferences of bureaucratic decision-makers or stated statutory goals. This paper identifies how ongoing changes to administrative law which emphasize values of efficiency, emulate corporate structure, and reconfigure ideas of democratic participation can affect the pursuit of conservationist, preservationist, and recreationalist policy efforts. A focus on the United States takes advantage of the existence of a fragmented executive branch and a layered federalist system to identify areas where valuable comparisons of differences can be made.

To this end, special attention is paid to the creation of management plans within federal agencies charged with the preservation and management of wild and scenic rivers, highlighting the interactions between multiple federal agencies as well as federal, state, and local jurisdictions.

*Kate Avery (University of Otago) - Adaptation to Sea Level Rise in Unitary System of Government: A Comparative Case Study of the United Kingdom and New Zealand*

This paper considers the distribution of responsibility between central and local government in adapting to sea level rise through a comparative analysis of two unitary systems of government: New Zealand and the United Kingdom. Adaptation policy in the United Kingdom has been noted by New Zealand's Climate Change Commissioner and Technical Working Group as a point of reference in the development of our own national policies. My study shows that in the United Kingdom, Great Yarmouth has benefitted from the installation of protective flood defences under national legislation. However, these benefits have been undermined by the failure of central government to consider the specific needs of local authorities and communities. In South Dunedin, New Zealand, adaptation has been led by local government, although this localism is forced by a lack of central government policy requirements and is often ad hoc. Ultimately, neither community is fully supported, raising the question of how the relationship between central and local government should best function in regard to climate change adaptation. The findings of this paper support the creation of a more centralised adaptation framework in New Zealand, similar to that established in the United Kingdom. However, analysis also highlights pitfalls of the UK framework, and allows us to consider the case of unitary system of government more generally; highlighting that countries with unitary systems of government are likely to require the support of central government in adapting to climate change because of the very nature of their constitutional arrangements.

*Patrick Barrett (University of Waikato) and Priya Kurian (University of Waikato) - Exploring Multiple Understandings of 'Success' in Participatory Decision-making Processes: A Discursive Institutional Analysis*

This paper analyses participatory processes in the development of an estuary restoration initiative through a discursive institutionalist lens. Discursive institutionalism recognises the interaction between discourses and institutions, particularly the way new discourses become institutionalised in planning processes and regulations, leading to the reorganisation of interactions among policy actors, the reformulation of problem definitions, and possibilities for new solutions. The analysis of an archive of historical policy, planning and technical documents, and 25 in-depth interviews with participants representing different groups involved in the estuary restoration initiative illustrates that the 'success' of participatory processes in this case can be understood as an outcome of changes in the discursive and institutional context over time. We draw on the notion of a 'discursive institutionalist spiral' proposed by den Besten, Arts and Verkooijen (2014) as a way of capturing the evolution of discourses and institutions that shape deliberative processes, particularly the exclusion and inclusion of actors and ideas. Principles and practices for successful, even if it is antagonistic, participation occur within the context of these evolving institutional contexts.

*Ismaël Tall (University of Neuchâtel) - Agri-environmental Governance in the New Zealand Dairy Sector: Exploring Farmers' Resistance to Local Government-led Policies*

In the past decades, dairy farming in New Zealand has become a powerful industry that has changed the environmental, social, cultural and economic realities of the country. In parallel, growing concerns regarding water quality have emerged; numerous voices have criticised

dairy intensification and hence asked for a stronger handling of environmental issues by the qualified authorities. Today, agri-environmental governance in the New Zealand dairy sector operates as a decentralised set of public, private and semi-private institutions that aim to mitigate the effects of intensive food production. At the public level, in the absence of a central agricultural policy, regional councils control natural resources management under the Resource Management Act 1991 framework. This paper explores the creation and development of one new regional policy (Southland's Water and Land 2020 & Beyond regional plan, which modifies the current resource consent regime), and focuses on the implementation of such a plan by defined target groups. Thus, the paper gives a voice to those mostly impacted by the new rules: dairy farmers who are at the centre of the environmental debate and are said to be reluctant to engage with new environmental practices. By using data gathered through both qualitative interviews with farmers and key stakeholders in the region of Southland and document analysis, this paper aims to analyse the transformative potential of regional environmental policies by assessing and deconstructing farmers' resistance to those schemes.

## **Session 6C**

### **Nigerian Politics (Comparative Politics)**

**Chair: Ayca Arkilic (Victoria University of Wellington)**

*George Genyi (Federal University Lafia-Nigeria) - Empirical Evaluation of Democratic Representation and Responsibility in Nigeria: Post 1999*

The return to democratic governance in Nigeria in 1999 held the promise that citizens would leverage elections to choose candidates and political parties with policy proposals that would appeal to the broad aspirations of the public. This idea resonated with the traditional sense of democratic representation which is predicated on campaign promises by candidates and parties that are designed to lure voters to conferring representative mandate on politicians. Upon being elected, representatives are then bound to actualize the promises made and in turn are responsible to citizens for effective governance. This process is activated by normative persuasion. Thus, representatives are invariably answerable over what policies are implemented or have failed to implement in the interest of the nation. In a number of cases, in spite of campaign promises, representatives may act responsibly in governance in the overall interest of the public. Given this representative-citizen contract, elections are therefore leveraged by voters to achieve representation and responsibility in governance as well as to sanction or reward incumbents on the quality of performance. Result of empirical studies in reveal that electoral campaigns are hardly driven by policy articulations by candidates and parties suggesting that voters and politicians' interest do not necessarily coincide. This means that elected politicians are not motivated by the desire to be reelected based on the quality of representation and responsibility tendered hence less concerned about the credibility of their future promises. Under these conditions, democratic representation and responsibility are at their lowest nadir more so that compromised elections have continuously vitiated democratic accountability in Nigeria. Citizens' vigilance enhanced by public engagement by a virile civil society on the essence of elections promises to strengthen electoral processes for democratic accountability, representation and responsibility in governance.

*Wisdom Iyemekpolo (University of Auckland) - Insurgency Onset in Nigeria's Fourth Republic*

Over the past 15 years, Nigeria has experienced two insurgencies of extremely violent proportion. In the north-east zone, Boko Haram has waged a guerrilla war along primarily religious lines while in the south-south zone, the Niger Delta militants have waged a violent

campaign driven by resource and class-based concerns. However, such insurgency did not erupt with the Indigenous People of Biafra (IPOB) in the south-east zone. What explains the eruption of these insurgencies in some regions and not others in Nigeria's fourth republic? The theoretical literature on insurgency has not sufficiently accounted for the emergence of these insurgencies because of its focus on either motivation or opportunity for insurgency onset at the expense of a more holistic approach. Building on the political process approach to collective movements, this paper presents the 'Political Relevance' model which incorporates the roles of motivation, opportunity, and the relationship among political agents in the emergence an insurgency. I contend that these insurgencies emerged in the north-east and south-south regions after mutually beneficial relationships between local political elites and politically relevant groups turned sour. The absence of such process in the south-east explains why a violent insurgency failed to emerge with IPOB.

*Abdul Rauf Ambali (Kwara State University Malete) - Predicting Youths' Voting Intention in the Nigerian 2019 General Elections*

There is a need to understand that the issue of voting in an election is a psychological behaviour which is stimulated by intention and also influenced by some underlying beliefs or factors. Attempt to understand these fundamental factors is a closer step to understanding why youth might develop the tendency to participate or not in voting exercise during the elections. In the Nigerian democratic elections, youths' intention towards voting exercise, the psychological and non-psychological antecedences have been neglected in the literature by political scientists and researchers despite the important contributions of youth to the success and victory of any elected parties and their candidates into power. The objective of this paper is to investigate the underlying factors that affect youth intention to vote by placing some notable factors in the literature into a derived theoretical model using a quantitative approach. Significantly, the findings of this paper will contribute to knowledge of politics and democratic system and add new dimensional values into the theories of election, not only in Nigeria but in the other African countries and the world at large.

## **Session 6D**

### **International Security (International Relations)**

**Chair: Beth Greener (Massey University)**

*Minh Tuan (University of Canterbury) - Resisting a Magic Weapon: Vietnam, China and the South China Sea Disputes*

Since 2009, China's assertive foreign policy with regard to the South China Sea disputes has led to the greatest deterioration in China-Vietnam relations since the 1979 border war. In response, top-ranking Vietnamese leaders have been outspoken in denouncing China's action. Yet despite this rhetoric, so far Hanoi's approach for resolving the disputes with China has been moderate: seeking to mend fences with China. Why was there such an ambivalent in Vietnam's policy toward China? Many studies have been focusing on analyzing the factors that drive Vietnam's strategic ambivalence toward China. However, little attention has been given to the correspondence between Beijing's political influence activities in Vietnam and Vietnam's China policy. To fill this gap, this thesis will explore the inter-relationship between China's political influence activities and Vietnam's China policy. To do so, it seeks to answer the following questions: To what extent does Beijing's political influence activities in Vietnam impact Vietnam's strategic ambivalence toward China and its China policy? By employing various Vietnamese, English, and Chinese-language primary and secondary source materials including informal interviews with officials, this thesis argues that Beijing has expanded its political influence activities in Vietnam recently that has had an

impact on Vietnam's China policy. There are various actors within Vietnam's domestic politics that react differently to Beijing's interference activities. This leads to a wide range in Vietnam's policy response from outrage to fear of antagonizing China.

*Sirous Amerian (Massey University) - Balancing Strategies of the UAE and Saudi Arabia against Iran: A Dynamic Balancing Model Perspective*

Dynamic Balancing proposed by Kai He in 2009 is quite a new tool to look at balancing behaviour amongst states by predicting specific outcomes for different situations in the system, and has not been studied widely. The model predicts that under unipolarity states threatened by non-hegemonic states would select external balancing with the Pole at first but then move away from it and towards internal balancing. This research studies the balancing efforts of the United Arab Emirates and the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia from 2014 to date to see if such a pattern exists in their grand strategies. It was observed that during the last years of the Obama administration and its policy of resolving issues with Iran, the aforementioned Arab states started to feel that uncomfortable sense that Kai He talks about and moved towards Internally balancing against Iran and relying less on their alliance relations with the US as the hegemon and taking things in their own hands. Boosting their military capabilities, moving away from being passive actors in the Middle East to more active ones.

*Lawrence Edet (University of Uyo) - US-North Korea Hostile Relations and Global Peace under President Trump's Administration*

No issue has attracted the attention of the International Community in recent times than the hostile relations between the US and North Korea. In recent years, the relations between US and North Korea have been largely defined by North Korea's six test of nuclear weapons, its development of long range missiles capable of striking target miles away as well as its threats to strike the US and South Korea. The first nuclear test was carried out in 2006, then in 2009, 2013, twice in 2016 and in 2017. However, President Trump's administration has responded by threatening to unleash "fire and fury", against North Korea if it endangers the US, as tension escalates into most serious foreign policy challenge. Available evidence showed that the wrangling between US and North Korea posed a serious threat to global peace for a number of reasons: the erratic and aggressive nature of both governments, lack of adherence to Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) by North Korea and the threat by North Korea to attack the US and South Korea. In order to achieve the objectives of the study, the study posed the following questions: Do hostile relations between US and North Korea a threat to global peace? What has been the impact of the hostile relations within the neighboring countries of Japan, China, South Korea and Russia? What has been the impact of various sanctions against North Korea for developing and testing nuclear weapons? The study adopts ex post facto research design, where available data on the subject matter will be sourced. The research relied on Realism theory by Hans Morgenthau. The study revealed among others, that the growing tension between US and North Korea may escalate into a nuclear war that may engulf the Asian region. The study recommended, among others, US should sign a non-aggression treaty with North Korea as well as ending US-South Korea/US-Japan joint military exercises

## Session 6E

### **Women's Political Participation: New Zealand, Jamaica and Nigeria (Feminist Theory and Gender Politics)**

**Chair: Sarah Hendrica Bickerton (Victoria University of Wellington)**

*Elizabeth Ward (Massey University) - Don't Forget Ladies You Are Electors: Women and the Reform Party*

Once women obtained the vote in 1893, there was debate about who women should cast their ballot for, with Kate Shepherd reminding women to lay aside any previous ideas of partisanship, and choose a candidate based on 'the moral benefit of the community at large'. Although the promoters of women's suffrage may have hoped that women would rise above the party divisions, the parties themselves were eager to court women voters. However, there has been no examination of women's involvement in the two main parties of the pre-First World War era. This paper plans to investigate women's interactions with one of those parties, Reform. The Political Reform League, the organising body for the party, welcomed women members from its foundation in 1905. The first women's Political Reform League was formed in 1909 and by 1915 there were five strong branches, mostly based in urban areas. Women were also able to join the general Political Reform League and held offices in local branches. They attended the national conferences as delegates and held places on the National Executive Committee. By considering women's involvement in an established political organisation, this paper will explain why the Party was so interested in involving women. Furthermore, it will also assess what benefits women gained from being involved in a political party, including how Reform dealt with increasing calls for greater female representation on elected bodies.

*Tracy-Ann Johnson-Myers (University of the West Indies (Mona) - Obstacles to Female Parliamentary Representation in Jamaica*

Jamaica is touted as a progressive national space for women because 70% of its university students are females. Moreover, Jamaica has more female managers in the workforce when compared to some developed countries, and has had one female Prime Minister to date, Portia Simpson-Miller. Although women have entered many domains of public life in the country, they remain seriously underrepresented in the country's Parliament. The central objective of this paper is to examine barriers to women entering representational politics in Jamaica. To this end, a qualitative research methodology was employed. The eleven (11) female Members of Parliament, and five (5) Senators currently serving in the House of Representatives were interviewed about the challenges they faced in becoming members of the legislatures, and what can be done to mitigate those challenges. The findings highlight the obstacles the women faced such as familial and domestic obligations, insufficient support from the major political parties, political and institutional barriers as well as psychological barriers, where women perceive politics as a dirty game, played only by men. Double standards and stereotypes about gender roles and norms are also major psychological factors that many women experienced in their quest to be elected to Parliament. The paper concludes with the importance of challenging the obstacles faced by female parliamentarians in order to increase their presence in representational politics.

*Linda Kwon-Ndung (Federal University Lafia) - Gender Inequality in Electoral Representation in Nigeria: Issues for National Development*

Nigeria transitioned from a prolonged military rule to fairly stable democratic governance in 1999. It is quite sad to note that women are yet to take up to 15 per cent of the elective positions even though the voting population in Nigeria is adjudged to be almost equal for



both men and women. The current statistics clearly reveal that there has been no record of any woman elected as President, Vice president or a Governor, in these uninterrupted 19 years of democratic rule. The National Population Commission (NPC) in April 2018 estimates a population of about 193 million people in Nigeria with approximately 51 per cent males and 49 per cent females. The women have however never enjoyed this numerical strength in elective positions. The 2015 general elections recorded only 6.2 per cent (seven female senators) of seats in the Senate in that year's election while men constituted 93.8 per cent. Only six women emerged as deputy governors in the 36 states of the country and no single woman was elected a governor. This paper reviewed some of the factors responsible for the low under-representation and involvement among the female folks to include cultural restrictions, financial empowerment, religious restrictions, low consciousness and low political motivation and awareness, the structure of the party system among others. There are currently, 469 legislators in the National Assembly: 109 and 360 in the Senate and House of Representatives respectively. Only 7 women are in Senate while only 22 are in the Federal House of Representatives. While female lawmakers are 6.2%, their male counterparts are 93.8%. In the State Houses of Assembly, there are 51 women out of 990 members constituting 5.2% representation. This paper discusses the challenges of this under-representation to future quest for electoral mandate in the 2019 general elections in Nigeria, amidst the critical role of women in the contributions to the advancement of gender based development in Nigeria.

*Adejumo Abdulhakeen (Federal University Dutse) - Women, Politics and Cultural Barriers in Nigeria*

Despite their proven abilities as effective leaders and efficient agent of change, the space for women participation in Nigerian politics keeps shrinking and they remain seriously underrepresented in the country's decision-making positions. Despite elaborate public enlightenment campaign for greater women representation in political offices, socio-cultural norms and the country strong patriarchal structure keeps impeding on their political participation especially as deduced from the last general election of 2015. This paper seeks to find out the pattern of women's political participation, traditional obstacles to women political rise and the role played by men in enhancing gender equality in the politics of Northern Nigeria. It intends to analyse relevant studies, reports, policy documents and also conduct chain-referral sampling interviews. The analysis will be informed by the developmental theory of gender gap that posited that traditional societies are characterised by clearly differentiated gender roles. The findings of the study will guide the government and its agencies on the appropriate public sensitization programme to promote gender equality and how to remove all cultural barriers to the Nigerian women full participation in politics. The paper is expected to find out that socio-cultural norms are the greatest barriers to women participation in politics and also, that northern Nigerian men are culturally averse to gender equality in political spheres.

**5.00pm-6.30pm**

**Roundtable 'Teaching Politics'**

Participants:

- **Dr James Headley** (University of Otago)
- **Dr Christopher Rudd** (University of Otago)
- **Joshua James** (University of Otago, MA student)
- **Dr Kate Schick** (Victoria University of Wellington)

- **Dr Claire Timperley** (Victoria University of Wellington)
- **Dr Chris Eichbaum** (Victoria University of Wellington)
- **Ruben Kearney-Parata** (Victoria University of Wellington, MPOLS student)

**6.00pm-6.30pm**  
**HODs Meeting**

**7.00pm**

**Conference Dinner at New Zealand Parliament**

**Host: Hon Grant Robertson**

**Introduction: Dr Chris Eichbaum (School of Government, Victoria University of Wellington)**

Speakers:

- **H. E. Bernard Savage** (EU Ambassador to New Zealand)
- **Susan Niblock** (Deputy Chief of Mission at the U.S. Embassy in Wellington, New Zealand)
- **Linda Clark** (Former Political Journalist & Special Counsel at Kensington Swan)

**Day 3: Wednesday 28 November 2018**

**9.00am-10.30am**

**Panel Sessions Seven**

**Session 7A**

**Local Government (New Zealand Politics)**

**Chair: Nigel S. Roberts (Victoria University of Wellington)**

*Andy Asquith (Massey University) and Julienne Molineaux (University of Auckland) - Using a Silver Bullet to Shoot the Elephant in the Room? Online Voting Trials and New Zealand Local Body Elections*

In 2016 a trial of online voting in the local body elections was called off, after a group of concerned IT professionals lobbied councils to withdraw from it. They argued that the security weaknesses of the proposed voting system would compromise the legitimacy of the vote. Given online voting is enthusiastically supported by senior managers in the local government sphere in New Zealand, it is unsurprising the trial is back on the table for the 2019 local body elections. Support for online voting includes worthy arguments around falling turnout and the need to engage more with young voters; security concerns are batted away with the fact that what will happen is a *trial* during which issues can be identified and ironed out. The key issue here, which is conveniently ignored, is whether online voting will actually solve declining turnout. What if it distracts from the real elephant in the room: the engagement and representation problems at the heart of local body politics in New Zealand? We argue that online voting represents a fundamental change in the way elections are conducted, and if extended to general elections, important democratic principles such as the secret ballot will be put at risk. In the local body sphere, the move seeks to further remove politics from local government in the name of efficiency, and will hand increasing power to non-elected managers – the very people driving the e-vote initiative. Ultimately, the 2019 trial has potential knock-on effects for elections at a national level – something we should all

be concerned about. We argue that political scientists should become involved in this issue and not leave it to bureaucrats to determine.

*Shirin Brown (AUT University) - Representation and Responsibility – Uh... What about the Rights of People who Represent Us?*

Elected representatives to New Zealand local government are expected to be accountable to the people who elect them. The responsibilities of local authorities are framed in the Local Government Act 2002. Codes of Conduct developed by these authorities suggest the qualities which should guide the behaviour of elected representatives, and a complaints process to be followed if the Code of Conduct is breached. Missing from this, however, is a consideration of elected members' rights and the responsibility of the state in protecting them from negative behaviour; sometimes thinly veiled as the cut and thrust of politics. This research explores the Local Board member lived experience of Auckland Council through responses to semi-structured interviews using a critical diversity lens (Zanoni & Janssens, 2015). Candidates were sampled to provide a balance of ethnicities, ages, genders and life experience. There is a particular focus on elected members from non-majority backgrounds. This research presents the preliminary findings, based on a pilot study of five people, suggesting that local board members can feel isolated and vulnerable in their workplace. This raises the question of how workplace rights can be exercised and protected in a situation where elected representatives are not considered employees, and are only protected by expectations framed by a Code of Conduct and protections offered under the New Zealand Bill of Rights Act 1990.

*Mike Reid (Local Government New Zealand) - Centralisation and Its Discontent: the Progressive and Conservative Cases for Distributing Power and Authority in New Zealand*

New Zealand is one of the most fiscally centralised states within the OECD with central government responsible for the allocation of approximately 11 per cent of all public spending. Legislative change to diminish the role and autonomy of local government over recent years has conversely strengthened the authority of the state by also increasing administrative and political centralisation. Our centralised model has performed poorly with relatively low rates of economic growth, high levels of inequality and poor social outcomes ranging from incarceration rates to suicides numbers. And centralised polities are unlikely to be well placed to meet the expectations of an increasingly plural and diverse society or the emerging challenges of this century. Concentrating power and decision-making in the hands of a small number of senior ministers assisted by a bureaucracy lacking the independence and competency envisaged by the architects of the Westminster model exposes New Zealand to constitutional and policy risk and is unlikely to provide long term sustainable outcomes, either political, socially or economically. A decentralisation agenda is one that should appeal to both the left and right. This paper/presentation will:

- Provide a comparative assessment of the level of centralisation within New Zealand, with reference to international practice;
- Critically review arguments in favour of decentralisation and centralisation
- Consider opportunities for developing a new decentralisation narrative and how it might be implemented; and
- Show how a decentralisation agenda fits well within the political discourses of both left and right.

*Karen Webster (AUT University) - Women, Minorities and Local Electoral Success in Auckland, New Zealand*

As Auckland becomes increasingly super-diverse, the question of fair and effective representation becomes increasingly relevant. This paper explores who stood, and who was elected, in the Auckland 2013 and 2016 local elections, to address the question: how representative of the diverse population they serve are electoral candidates and elected members of local government in Auckland? A quantitative analysis of gender and ethnicity of the Auckland Council candidates and elected members in the 2013 and 2016 local elections was undertaken to compare these characteristics with the Auckland population. Data sourced from candidate information booklets and public sources provided a statistical context for comparison with the local population census data. Our findings show that under the two-tiered shared governance model established by the Local Government Act (Auckland Council) 2009, electoral candidates are have become more ethnically and gender diverse at the local level, while at the regional level, divergence from predominantly New Zealand European, male local representatives is slower. These findings warrant further investigation, but overall, the research presents a cautiously optimistic picture of Auckland local democracy, in terms of increasing gender, ethnicity and age diversity. We conclude that the Local Electoral Act 2001, which permits local councils to choose between First Past the Post and Single transferable Vote as the local electoral system, is a barrier to achieving fair and effective representation in Auckland.

## **Session 7B**

### **Rethinking Peace and Security (International Relations)**

**Chair: Kate Schick (Victoria University of Wellington)**

*Jeremy Moses (University of Canterbury) - A Pacifist Ethos for an Imperfect World: Responding to Reinhold Niebuhr's Critique of Pacifism*

In early 2017, footage of American white nationalist leader Richard Spencer being punched in the head during a TV interview rekindled global debates over whether it is right to use physical violence in response to emergent fascism. The debates highlight a key issue for anyone advocating pacifist values in times of immediate political crisis: is it sometimes both necessary and acceptable to use physical violence to potentially derail a much greater violence? Reinhold Niebuhr's affirmative response to this question in the context of World War Two, leading him to shift away from his previously espoused pacifism, represents the personal and theoretical challenges posed when personal morality is confronted by real-world politics. Niebuhr's subsequent criticisms of pacifist thought and practice, particularly in their Gandhian and Christian manifestations, are therefore of particular interest for anyone wishing to espouse pacifism and non-violence in contemporary politics. Was Niebuhr right to label Christian pacifism as 'heretical', for its failure to adequately engage with the evils bearing down on humanity? And are there any avenues by which a pacifist ethos can be usefully sustained in tension with Niebuhr's realist ethics, without rendering pacifism meaningless? This article will examine this challenge for the normative ambitions of pacifism and consider what it might mean to attenuate the moral universalism of non-violence generally associated with pacifist thought.

*Lucas Knotter (Massey University) - Observing the Ritual: Why Unrecognised States Continue to Declare Independence*

The majority of unrecognised states in international politics (Caspersen, 2012) strive for fully recognised sovereign statehood under international law. Recent independence referendums

and declarations in Catalunya and Iraqi Kurdistan have underscored this desire, as movements around the globe continue to declare their independent statehood. However, the efficacy of such referendums and declarations as a means towards independence is disputed in both international legal and political theory and conduct. This begs the question why unrecognised states persist in this practice. This paper calls for a reframing of declarations of independence as a ritual in international relations. Drawing from thinkers such as Jean Baudrillard, Catherine Bell, Jeffrey Alexander, and Victor Turner, it argues that for unrecognised states the status and legal-normative significance of such declarations is actually ancillary to their performative significance. 'Acting' in abidance to the ritual of statehood declaration constitutes an attempt to 'fuse' the unrecognised state's political performance with international legal recognition, serves to express a belief in and a promise of redemption through the ascension into the 'celestial' existence of legally recognised statehood, and offers unrecognised states an opportunity to bolster a hyper-reality of 'stateness' through political performance and rehearsal (McConnell, 2016). Therefore, a reconsideration of the ritualistic nature of independence declarations helps us to provide an understanding for unrecognised states' declarative habit.

*Beth Greener (Massey University) - We are the (WPS) Champions? New Zealand and the Gender Agenda*

This paper outlines the nature and value of the WPS agenda. It then notes New Zealand's rhetorical commitment to the WPS agenda before investigating how, in what ways, government agencies have delivered on that agenda. Finding that there is much smoke but little fire, the paper suggests ways in which current commitments to the WPS agenda might be better supported.

*Tooba Ahmed (COMSATS University Islamabad) - Global Climate Change and World Politics: A Challenge to International Security*

Drastic changes in climatic conditions have profound impact on International security. The non-traditional nature of these threats has altered the conventional security paradigm. Today, climate change has become a crucial global priority as it affects national and global security of the nation states. Incidents like a melting Arctic, sea level rise in different parts of the globe, unprecedented precipitation or exceptional droughts, extra ordinary flooding, intense wildfires are just a few examples that how this climate phenomenon will threaten societies. Climate change security implications in the form of: water scarcity, food shortage, natural resources depletion can not only cause war, but also accelerate instability and make scenarios worse. Politics of resentment will increase between different regions. The Arab Spring, Pakistan-India water conflict, competition over resources in Middle East, situation of conflict and fragility in South China Sea, Russian-American tussle over Arctic's energy reserves are some prime examples to predict what future may look like. The states' interests and security is shared and not independent any longer, therefore, the responses of the world governments to increased instability will define whether wars and military conflicts will happen or not. States needs to move towards collective security because the policy options for such non-traditional security threats are not militaries, weapons and ammunition. The only way to address this issue is by dialogue and negotiation on reducing carbon emissions by mankind. There is a long list of ineffective climate protocols and treaties latest of which is The Paris Agreement, but what this world needs is a binding and highly effective climate treaty to mitigate international climate change threats. The US withdrawal from UNFCCC and The Paris Agreement will cause destabilization, jeopardizing global security to a higher level. It will also provide China with multiple opportunities to gain soft power status using climate politics. If the world governments fail to combat this challenge, they will be unable to get

through any other security challenge of this century. If not halted, solving any multilateral and bilateral conflict would be practically impossible.

### **Session 7C**

#### **Immigration Politics in Australia (Comparative Politics)**

**Chair: Axel Malecki (Massey University)**

*Luke Mansillo (University of Sydney) - The Tide of Votes: A Political Geography of Xenophobia and Swing Votes at the 2016 Australian Federal Election*

When an electoral system enforces compulsory voting parties must persuade voters rather than mobilise its core voters to build voter coalitions. When an electoral system employs multiple single-member constituencies parties attempt to maximise seats rather than votes. These two features of Australian electoral law create a logic for the Liberal-National Coalition to seek the most persuadable votes in the most marginal constituencies. Affective political issues organised by a latent dimension of xenophobia within Australian political ideology are consequential for the Coalition's vote share. Vote transfers from the Coalition in the 2016 federal election are estimated by electoral geography using Vote Compass data with multi-level modelling and post-stratification. Attitudes towards asylum seeker boat turn backs and deficit reduction are used to predict Coalition transfer votes by geography.

*Luke Oldfield (University of Auckland) - Mount Isa to Mainstream: The Salient Nature of Australian Populism in the Post-Howard Era*

References to 'African gang crime' by Australian Federal Minister Peter Dutton and a speech by Australian Senator Fraser Anning calling for a 'final solution' on immigration matters, suggest that populist language uses remain ubiquitous in Australian federal politics. This paper draws from the recent press releases and media statements of Australian federal politicians to determine if they can be neatly codified within the minimalist (Akkerman et al. 2013) and exclusionary (Mudde & Kaltwasser, 2012) definitions of populism. It then revisits the 'mainstreaming' discourses on populism (Sawer & Laycock, 2008; Moffitt & Snow; 2009) pertinent to Australian politics in consideration of how populist right wing radical parties (Mudde, 2013) might have adapted their message in an increasingly crowded marketplace.

*Gabriela Karakas (RMIT University) - Pathways and Barriers to Mental Health Utilization by Croatian and Bosnian Immigrants in Melbourne, Australia*

International and national research has been conducted regarding perceived and actual barriers to mental health support utilization by migrants, such as potential hindrances at patient level (age, gender, marital status, stigma, dominant discourses etc.) and potential barriers at provider level (program orientation and ethnic matching, skills, communication style etc.). However, there is no available empirical data inferring whether such barriers identified by other migrant groups in previous research are also hindering the utilization of mental health services by Croatian and Bosnian migrants in Australia. This proposed study is designed to address deficits in knowledge regarding the adaptation of Croatian and Bosnian immigrants in Australia, and the possible ramifications this may have on their ability and willingness to access the currently available mental health services. In depth, semi-structured interviews will be conducted with 30 participants- 24 Croatian or Bosnian first generation migrants with varying migration trajectories who have/have not accessed mental health services, and six service providers. This qualitative study will utilize thematic analysis driven by a grounded theory approach in order to identify reoccurring themes and patterns regarding

barriers to mental health service utilization by Croatia and Bosnia-born migrants within Melbourne. Findings will help to promote the understanding of limitations to access of mental health support to migrant community groups, making it relevant to academics, mental health organizations, policy makers and the general public - who are increasingly concerned and aware of the importance of inclusion and mental health care accessibility. This study aims to work towards overcoming the barriers to mental health service utilization identified by the research participants by suggesting practical, structural and systematic initiatives that can improve the accessibility and effectiveness of current mental health services.

## **Session 7D**

### **Public Policy: Framing and Futures (Public Policy and Administration)**

**Chair: Chris Eichbaum (Victoria University of Wellington)**

*Nicola Ngawati (Ministry of Foreign Affairs) - Diplomatic Symbolism, Architectural Diplomacy, and Representation: The Case of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade of Aotearoa/New Zealand*

The network of diplomatic posts operated by the New Zealand Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade (the Ministry) represent New Zealand's face to the world. A small proportion of the diplomatic staff are of Māori descent. Māori art and imagery are used extensively throughout these posts. My research examines the use of Māori (people, images and practices) in New Zealand's diplomacy. In particular, how these aspects of New Zealand's diplomatic practice are used and what is intended or understood by the symbolism inherent in their use. In the context of the wider physical environment utilized by New Zealand's offshore presence, these issues are considered through the theoretical lenses of diplomatic symbolism, architectural diplomacy, representation and the use of works of art as image building diplomacy. The key research interest is in how New Zealand's bicultural heritage is represented internationally. In addition to document analysis and qualitative material my research is informed by my own position as an insider researcher (as a Māori diplomat currently working at the Ministry). The research contribution will be to knowledge about New Zealand's diplomatic thought and practice (in particular to address the gap in the literature of how New Zealand has used diplomatic symbolism in relation to Māori to express a collective identity as part of New Zealand's diplomacy). My presentation would focus on the interplay of how New Zealand (and Māori in particular) are represented internationally (as part of New Zealand's diplomatic practice) and the consequent and parallel responsibilities that accompany this practice.

*Karl Lofgren (Victoria University of Wellington) and Sarah Hendrica Bickerton (Victoria University of Wellington) - Converting Academic Knowledge to Policy – A Sectoral Study of New Zealand Housing Policy*

The point of departure for this paper is a paradox. On the one hand, there is a strong movement around the world, including New Zealand, to build closer relationship between the academic world, and the world of policy-makers. We can enhance the quality of policy by applying principles around 'knowledge transfer' and 'evidence-based (or at least evidence-informed) policy' thereby allowing for more 'informed decisions'. On the other hand, and despite boundless attempts to 'build bridges' between 'the crown and the gown', this has proven to be more challenging than anticipated. There seems to be a gulf (in terms of utility, time horizons, language, communication etc.) between two separate 'communities' (Caplan, 1979), and the two groups have different interests, commitments, incentives, and obligations. The consequences include missed opportunities and uninformed policies. While this hypothesis is not without merit, it is also a bit simplistic (Newman 2014; Newman et al.,

2016). This qualitative study is based on focus groups and interviews with a broad group of ‘stakeholders’ in New Zealand housing policy (commissioned by Building Research Association New Zealand). In our search for themes and questions we have borrowed from an earlier survey conducted in 2015 with a broad range of respondents from the New Zealand public sector with the term ‘policy’ in their title (Lofgren & Cavagnoli, 2015). These questions, in turn, have been inspired by the so-called ‘Sir Humphrey and the professors’ study from the UK (Talbot and Talbot, 2014), and an American study on national security decision-makers (Avey and Desch, 2014). The themes we studied were:

1. Importance and relevance of academic output for policy ‘work’
2. Access and use of academic outputs among stakeholders
3. Preferred methods/disciplines among stakeholders
4. Enabling/constraining factors for using academic output

*Bronwyn Hayward (University of Otago) - Understanding the Policy Implications of The Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change Special Report: Global Warming of 1.5°C*

The recently released Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) special report on 1.5 Warming, informs governments meeting in Poland in December 2018 and underscores the importance of their commitments to deep and rapid cuts in global greenhouse gas emissions over the next 10 years. The report also has far-reaching implications for lifestyles, social and economic policy, sustainable development, and efforts to eradicate poverty. The report is also clear that the technology required to remove greenhouse gases does not yet exist at scale, nor is it assured that communities will accept the risks of new technological interventions. While the IPCC is policy neutral, (its role is to outline pathways rather than advocate policy options), Bronwyn Hayward, as a political scientist and lead author of the report will discuss some of the most significant challenges and opportunities confronting governments and communities if they wish to achieve a more ‘climate resilient development’ future.

*Yoji Ishii (Embassy of Japan in New Zealand) - Forestry Employment in the Future*

The present government has a goal to plant one billion trees over 10 years between 2018 and 2027. In order to achieve this, it is hoping to encourage both plantation forestry (mainly exotic tree species) as well as permanent forest planting (mainly native species). The area of plantation forest in New Zealand over the past 20 years has been reasonably stable between 1.6 and 1.8 million ha. However, the afforestation rate has been declining, from a peak of about 100,000 ha in 1994, to only about 3,000 ha in 2015. In addition to the government’s goal, afforestation is also likely to increase because of Climate change mitigation measures and demands to increase wood harvests to provide wood for processing. However there are constraints to these goals. Since 2000 there has been a gradual decline in “forestry and logging” employment, from around 10,000 workers in 2001 to 6000 in 2016, and while productivity in the industry has improved, (between 2001 and 2016 the total forest harvest grew 50% from 20 million m<sup>3</sup> to 30 million). It is not clear whether productivity can continue to increase at a rate to meet the extra demands for harvesting that would be required under the “one billion trees” project and there may be a serious shortage of Forestry and logging workers. This question will be discussed from different angles in this presentation.



## Session 7E

### Political Economy 2 (Political Economy)

Chair: Jason Young (Victoria University of Wellington)

*Paul Winter (University of Otago)- Controlling the Bomb or Limited Concession?: A Case Study of Malaysia's 2010 Strategic Export Controls*

In 2003, components for one thousand uranium enrichment centrifuges were seized en route to Libya. These centrifuges were manufactured by Malaysian firm SCOPE and destined for Qaddafi's clandestine nuclear weapons programme. Their seizure triggered an international scandal. Officials in Kuala Lumpur denied knowledge and involvement in SCOPE's activities, and subsequently adopted a stringent series of strategic export controls in 2010. This paper evaluates the political circumstances surrounding Malaysia's adoption of these export controls, assesses these controls' relative effectiveness, and highlights lessons for future efforts to control the bomb. The paper draws on a series of interviews with policymakers, members of civil society, and academics undertaken in Malaysia during May 2018. Structurally, the paper proceeds in three stages. First, I contribute to the existing realist literature on sovereignty by developing the concept of a 'limited sovereignty concession'. In short, I contend that Malaysia's 2010 strategic export controls represented a limited sovereignty concession, adopted as an attempt to win favour with the U.S. Obama administration and to avoid U.S. pressure to join the Proliferation Security Initiative. I find that explanations of policymaking based on normative, bureaucratic capacity, and commercial interests fail to explain Malaysia's decision to adopt strict strategic export controls in 2010 and are not supported by interviews with policymakers. After assessing the drivers of Malaysia's policy, I assess the export controls' likely effectiveness with a focus on recent political changes in Malaysia and the spread of disruptive technologies, including 3-D printing. In the final section, I discuss what lessons can be drawn from the Malaysian case for non-proliferation and export control regimes generally.

*Chen Xiaochen (Renmin University of China) - PICs Exports to China*

Pacific Island Countries (PICs) constitute a significant part of Belt and Road Initiative (BRI). Based on data from both Chinese side and the Pacific side, this article conducts a systematic analysis on China's import from PICs in terms of goods, services as well as investment during 2014-2016. The results indicate that China's import from PICs is small-scale, fast-growing, and imbalanced among industries, products, and countries. As for goods, it mainly concentrated in three major categories – energy, mineral resources and other raw materials. In fact, the three categories from PNG accounted for over half of China's import from all island countries. As for services, tourism is the main form, in which Fiji and Palau attracted around three-quarter of total Chinese tourists. China's import from PICs increased faster since BRI incorporated PICs in 2014. However, factors such as lack of understanding and other forces both within and outside the region are restricting further increase in imports. Correspondingly, this article proposes that measures should be taken to increase PICs' export to China sustainably, including managing fishing scientifically, expanding import categories, upgrading infrastructure for trade, and exploring new fields such as maritime bio-pharmacies. While maintaining the strength and advantages of existing programs and industries, further investment should be adapted to the Pacific culture.

*Bo Li (University of Auckland) - Understanding State-NGO Partnerships in China*

The nongovernmental organizations have had a significant development in China since the Reform and Opening Policy in 1978. As the economy grew and social problems emerged, the state and NGOs started to build partnerships to address social challenges together. But in

practice, there are considerable variations in the formality or nature of the partnerships. This study is to examine the variations in the state-NGO partnerships in China. The research questions are: what factors are associated with different state-NGO partnerships in China how are different partnerships formed? Different theoretical perspectives will be incorporated, including civil society, corporatism, resource dependence, and institutionalism. Each of them offers a prediction on the variation of the partnerships and the potential factors correlated to the variations. Both quantitative and qualitative methods will be adopted in this research. First, 100 questionnaires will be collected in order to generate the distribution of correlation between factors of interest and different partnerships. Based on the result, cases with different patterns will be selected to conduct interviews. The NGO sector and its relation with the government are deeply influenced by the political economic background and thus studying the partnerships will provide a window to understand the political context and social changes in post-reform China.

*Jason Young (Victoria University of Wellington) - Strategic Responses of Advanced Economies to the Belt and Road Initiative*

Responses to the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) have been mixed. Many commentators have welcomed the opportunity for infrastructure development and projects to build economic, political and social connectivity across the region and embraced the notion of regional development. Others have been openly critical or slow to formulate a clear position. Advanced economies have responded less positively than developing economies. This article employs a constructivist methodology to interpret responses to BRI in advanced economies through analysis of commentary in the United States, the European Union, Japan, Australia and New Zealand. It finds a diversity of responses within and between these economies and a strong ideational coherence in the frameworks used to assess BRI. I conclude the reception of Chinese promoted concepts in international affairs, like BRI, remains challenging due to the dominance of liberal and realist assessments and the accompanying political values. This suggests a need for greater intellectual engagement and more substantial feedback between China and the advanced economies to open the way for a long overdue regional conversation on how development is conceptualized and co-created in a region with diverse approaches to regional economic policy.

**10.30am-11.00am**

**Morning Tea**

**11.00am-12.30am**

**Panel Sessions Eight**

**Session 8A**

**Elections and Parties (New Zealand Politics)**

**Chair: Kate McMillan (Victoria University of Wellington)**

*Thomas Carl Lundberg (University of Glasgow) - The Quality of New Zealand Democracy: Smaller is Not Necessarily Better*

While New Zealand is highly ranked on democratic quality indices, critics have argued that there are, nevertheless, problems with democracy in the country. This paper takes a qualitative approach in assessing the quality of New Zealand democracy by using a framework consisting of freedom, equality and control derived from the Democracy Barometer (Bühlmann et al. 2012) and related literature. Although political freedom is protected by the Bill of Rights Act and the Human Rights Act and political equality is

demonstrated by universal suffrage and the equal representation of voters via the mixed-member proportional electoral system in a unicameral parliament, democratic control between elections is more of a problem due to the difficulties involved in holding the government to account. While accountability is a common problem across the democratic world, this paper will consider whether New Zealand's small size contributes more disadvantages than advantages to democratic control efforts. Problems include the presence of a smaller pool for political talent, less media criticism, and a greater potential for capture by powerful interests, all existing in the context of a smaller, more vulnerable economy, potentially overcoming the advantages of small size that include the facilitation of greater co-operation between politicians, as well as closer and easier public access to them. Contrary to many of the assumptions in the literature about smaller democracies being better – ostensibly due to the close proximity between the people and their representatives – New Zealand's small size could actually be detrimental to democratic control.

*Matthew Gibbons (Victoria University of Wellington) - New Zealand Political Parties' Programmes in a Digital Age*

Prominent violations of pre-election manifesto promises by successive governments between 1984 and 1993, together with concern over the sustainability of government expenditure levels, has resulted in the biggest New Zealand political parties being less likely to issue an official pre-election manifesto since the mid-1990s. However, party leaders made televised opening and closing statements until these were discontinued in 2017, while party webpages have included detailed policy statements on different topics. These webpages have sometimes been very detailed, making coding text into standard categories for the Comparative Manifestos Project difficult. There is also the question of whether they receive the same level of scrutiny by party leaders, who once in government ultimately decide on policy initiatives, as the televised broadcasts and the speeches, emails, and advertisements parties use for campaign purposes. This paper codes multiple documents for the main parties at recent elections, using a standard coding scheme for text, to consider whether there are systematic differences in the priorities and policies in different documents. If short documents captures parties' policies just as well as longer documents, considerable time could be saved by just coding the shorter documents. In addition, if the short documents seem closer to the priorities of party leaders they may also be better than the webpages. Finally, with lengthy nation-wide television broadcasts discontinued from 2017, with parties now free to spend the funding on YouTube videos, it is worth considering what information has been lost.

*Therese Arseneau (University of Canterbury) and Nigel S. Roberts (Victoria University of Wellington)- Special Voting in New Zealand*

There has been a dramatic change in the effect that special votes have on the results of general elections in New Zealand. Under the former first-past-the-post system for electing Members of Parliament, special votes favoured the National Party. For example, during the nine successive elections from 1960 through to and including 1984, Labour Party candidates received an average share of all the special votes cast that was 2.3 per cent less than their share of election-night votes. For National Party candidates, on the other hand, their share of the special votes cast in the nine elections was 2.9 per cent higher than their share of ordinary votes. Time and again, seats like Eden and Wellington Central (to take but two well-known examples) were saved for National by special votes. Since the advent of MMP, however, special votes have favoured the Green and Labour parties. In 1999, for instance, special votes saw Jeanette Fitzsimons win Coromandel and the Green Party as a whole cross the 5 per cent party-vote threshold. Possibly most significantly of all, the fact that both the Greens and Labour picked up one seat apiece (and that, correspondingly, National lost two seats) in 2017

helped clinch the defeat of the three-term John Key and Bill English National-led government. This paper documents the effects that special votes have had in New Zealand for a period of more than 50 years, and also asks why such a major change has occurred in the fortunes of New Zealand's political parties as a result of the ways in which special votes are cast.

## **Session 8B**

### **Evolving Forms of Diplomacy (International Relations)**

**Chair: Ben Thirkell-White (Victoria University of Wellington)**

*Yadira Ixchel Martínez Pantoja (University of Auckland) - Strategies and Instruments of Business Diplomacy*

In the context of a globalized world, the conduction of diplomacy faces new challenges including the increasing participation of non-state actors in the international arena. Governments now not only have to deal with other governments but also with non-state actors such as multinational corporations (MNCs) which also contribute to or erode the country's image and reputation abroad. In order to achieve their goals and create new business opportunities, MNCs utilize business diplomacy to gain legitimacy, enhance reputation, and project social responsibility in a host country. In this paper, I discuss the relation between public diplomacy and business diplomacy, present a comprehensive definition of business diplomacy, and outline the strategies and instruments of business diplomacy that MNCs may implement to appeal and engage different stakeholders in a host country. MNCs may use media relations as a part of reactive communication strategies; instruments such as audiovisual productions as part of proactive strategies; and instruments such as conferences, exhibits, and scientific training to engage different stakeholders as a part of long-term relationship-building strategies. This paper contributes to the scarce literature on business diplomacy and presents the strategies and instruments implemented by multinational firms to get a 'license to operate' in a host country.

*Yadira Ixchel Martínez Pantoja (University of Auckland) and Rafael San José Iglesias(AUT University) - Shaping Public Diplomacy: Evolution and Taxonomy*

There is a current debate among diplomats and scholars about what public diplomacy is, what must be included as a part of public diplomacy, and the boundaries of the discipline. On the one hand, a group of diplomats and scholars, with a more traditional approach to the discipline, argue that public diplomacy is only conducted and implemented by diplomats as ambassadors, attaches, or official representatives, and by former diplomats working in think-tanks, foundations, or universities. This group also considers this discipline is detracting because it is incorporating a series of issues or events as types of diplomacy, such as gastronomy or sports diplomacy. On the other hand, another group of diplomats and scholars, with a more contemporary and inclusive approach to the discipline, proposes that public diplomacy may embrace the discussion of emerging issues in the area as a result of an increasing role of non-state actors, including multinational corporations and non-governmental organization, in the participation and implementation of public diplomacy programs, and considers the opportunities and challenges posed by new developments of technology. Hence, this paper contributes to the discussion of what public diplomacy may include. By conducting a literature review of public diplomacy publications of the last five decades, this paper intends to offer a better understanding of the evolution of the field and the types of strategies and instruments designed and implemented by public diplomacy scholars, and proposes a public diplomacy taxonomy in a first approach to illuminate what public diplomacy is and what is not.

*Toni Grace (Palmerston North City Council) - Think Local, Act Global.... A new Paradigm of Glocalisation: Paradiplomacy of New Zealand Cities and Regions*

The state-centric focus of International Relations (IR) scholarship has been challenged over the years, with broadening research on the importance of non-state actors and multi-layered governance. Though despite this, the topic of paradiplomacy - international relations conducted by subnational or regional governments - is still a relatively underexplored area of IR scholarship. In Aotearoa, cities and regions are steadily increasing their international relations ambition and activity, evidenced by the growth of local international relations offices, city-to-city alliances, and new subnational mechanisms like the New Zealand China Mayoral Forum. Mayors are now finding “Chief Diplomat” added to their repertoire of roles and responsibilities for their cities and districts, which is bringing a distinct regional role and identity to New Zealand’s foreign affairs. But what does this mean for diplomatic representation in New Zealand’s international relations – still considered a largely central government realm of responsibility? This paper explores the growing role of paradiplomacy in New Zealand, and the interaction between local and central “NZ Inc” efforts. Rather than being a direct challenge to national efforts and identity (as can be the case with some forms of paradiplomacy) the diplomatic efforts of New Zealand local authorities are largely complimentary to central efforts, and present some valuable opportunities for collaboration. Though the steady growth of such activity does raise some implicit questions about the ability of the traditionally state-led system of diplomatic representation to effectively meet local/regional needs and expectations.

## **Session 8C**

### **Middle Eastern Politics (Comparative Politics)**

**Chair: Hanlie Booyen (Victoria University of Wellington)**

*Rezan Abdollahi (Allame Tabataba'i University) - Constitutional Representation of Kurds in the Iranian Constitution*

Despite the vast researches and interpretations by the pro-Iranian government elites on the Iranian Constitution, little is known about the constitutional representation of Kurds in the Iranian constitution. This work presents a review of the Iranian Constitution and highlights those articles that are related to the minorities' rights. Also, this research takes a look at the Iranian political system to find the minorities' role in the government. Regarding the Iranian Constitution, according to Article 12, introduces Islam and Twelver Ja'fari School as the formal religion of Iran. As well as, according to chapter 2- Article 15 the formal language and scrip is Persian and other languages are banned to be used at formal institutions. Regarding The Iranian political system, it is an amalgam of heterogeneous and at times conflicting principles: a theocrat and centralist system and although in the constitution, Judicature, legislation, and execution branches are separated, but in fact all powers are monopolized in hands of one person who is the supreme leader. Besides, regarding the political parties, there are no political parties such as those can be seen in European countries. Kurds have number political parties that are banned and stay in exile (mainly Iraqi Kurdistan), so there is no room for Kurdish political parties to delegate their people officially. The findings of the survey affirm that Kurds as a distinct national group are excluded in Iranian Constitution from their all lingual, cultural, political, and religious rights.

*Tamas Dudlak (Corvinus University of Budapest) - The Ottoman Empire Revived Again? Challenging the Status of Mosul and Kirkuk in Recent Turkish Foreign Policy*

Recent developments in the Middle East altered the regional dynamics and posed serious security threats for Turkey in its immediate neighborhood. Up until recently, Ankara's policy in northern Iraq can be described by a gradually developing constructive approach in the post-2003 era as it can be illustrated by the extending economic and political relations with the Kurdish Regional Government (KRG) in Iraq. However, this "opening" had its own restrictions as well, as Ankara was always sensitive on the status of Kirkuk, the main base of the Turkmen ethnicity in Iraq. This presentation reveals how ethnic, energy and sectarian policy interlink with Turkish nationalist motives and the quest for redefinition of Turkish foreign policy and identity in the Middle East. I rely on the analysis of the discourse that prominent Turkish politicians utilized to show their interests in the status of Mosul and Kirkuk. Although the focus is on the role of two cities in shaping Turkish foreign policy, the analysis necessarily includes the position of the Iraqi central government and the KRG, thus creating a triangle of interactions between Ankara, Erbil and Baghdad. I intend to prove that the siege of Mosul by the Iraqi forces demonstrated relatively weak position of Turkey in the Iraq. As for the October 2017 referendum in the KRG, Turkey remained consistent on the refusal of a potential Kurdish independence. However, deteriorating relations with the KRG might lead to a further weakening of Turkish influence in the short term.

*Berkay Kocak (University of Waikato) - Repoliticizing the Question of Representation in Turkey in the Context of Presidentialism*

The parliamentary and presidential elections that took place in Turkey in June 2018 resulted in the victory of the AKP (JDP) and its leader, Tayyip Erdogan. These elections opened a new era in Turkish politics by initiating the country's transition from a system of parliamentary democracy into presidentialism and by restructuring state-capital and state-society relations. As the transition to the presidential system has led to the growing concentration of power in the hands of the executive branch, it has raised new questions on the representation of other actors in politics, who have been increasingly discontent with the government especially following the Taksim Gezi resistance that broke out in 2013. This paper investigates how and why social and political representation in Turkey has become problematic over the years. I will employ a historical analysis by examining the reasons and consequences of changing state-society relations considering Turkey's new role in its region and similar global trends and processes in the world.

*Talal Almatar (Sydney University) - The Achievements of the Egyptian Revolution 2011*

Uprisings that have swept many Arab countries since December 2010 have been a significant challenge to peace and conflict studies. The revolution in Egypt, in particular, has caught the attention of world public opinion because Egypt has geopolitical importance and has a long history of military rule. The demands of the Egyptians' in the revolution revolved around democracy, the elimination of corruption and the realization of freedom and justice. However, the experience of Egyptian democratization did not last long. The revolution was quickly thwarted by the counter-revolution and a return to the tyranny of killing opponents, imprisoning politicians and falsifying election results. This research asks, has the nonviolent revolution failed to bring democracy? And, what factors led Egypt to the success or failure of the revolution?"

## Session 8D

### Public Policy: Migration, Immigration and Integration (Public Policy and Administration)

Chair: Chris Eichbaum (Victoria University of Wellington)

*Timothy Phillip Fadgen (University of Auckland) - New Zealand's Community Organisation Refugee Sponsorship Pilot and New Public Governance*

In November 2011, the Better Public Services Advisory Group issued a series of recommendations aimed at improved public service delivery for impact in New Zealand. The document's core unifying principle was the need for government to address "complex, long-term issues that cross agency boundaries" through a series of steps emanating from a sector-based approach focused on a narrow set of key results. Later, in 2015, the New Zealand Productivity Commission issued a paper focusing on the particular needs of the most vulnerable in New Zealand and emphasised several elements of an improved social services system including client empowerment, improved contracting of services within an agile and innovative policy system driven by smart investments and improved stewardship. At the same time, the global refugee crisis and the role of New Zealand's refugee policy in relation to it, was being debated, driven by both the national media and domestic interest groups. In August 2017, the then-National-led government's Cabinet Economic Growth and Infrastructure Committee adopted a pilot of a community organisation refugee sponsorship category to "complement" New Zealand's refugee quota. While small, the program is based upon a successful Canadian model that has been promoted internationally and is currently being piloted in three other nations, including Argentina, Ireland and the United Kingdom. This paper shall examine this pilot within the context of recent shifts in public service delivery emphasizing innovation, vertical and horizontal service delivery and an increasing emphasis upon community-led service delivery often referred to as New Public Governance. The paper will argue that while the issue of refugee resettlement will always be fraught, the existence of such small numbers of individuals and comparatively low risk to social services delivery experimentation, the policy area affords unique opportunities to policymakers to explore diffused areas of innovative policy delivery that might inform the larger social services service delivery milieu.

*Parisa Kooshesh (Massey University) - From Lack of Confidence to Over-confidence: The Explanation of Migrants' High Levels of Trust in Host-Country's Public Sectors*

Some previous studies have indicated that when immigrants from countries with low quality institutions arrive in reasonably well-governed destination countries, they commonly show very high levels of trust in the public sector officials and institutions of their host nation. These levels of trust are commonly far higher than those reported by most native-born citizens. This paper explores the process of trust building and the possible reasons for this over-confidence among migrants, based on a case study of Iranian migrants in New Zealand. The paper also examines how this high level of trust can be interpreted for a better understanding of how migrants integrate into a new society.

In my qualitative study of 34 Iranian female migrants, almost all of the participants reported a high degree of trust in the New Zealand government and its public services. In contrast, almost all of these participants confirmed that they strongly distrusted government officials and public institutions while they were living in Iran. Interestingly, none of the participants reported any specific process of overcoming their previous distrust towards government. They simply replaced mistrust of their old government with a high level of trust in their new host country's government. This paper, seeks to explain the process of overcoming previous distrust. It will evaluate various possible explanations, including the 'reference point theory'.

According to this theory, migrants tend to compare the institutions of their host countries with those of their origin countries, and mainly based on this comparison, they develop much greater confidence in the institutions of their host country.

*Yaghoob Foroutan (University of Mazandaran & Waikato University) - Government's Integration Policies and Immigrants' Strategies: Australasia Perspective*

In this paper, I present research-based evidence to examine the effectiveness of integration policies in the context of migration and multiculturalism. This research explores whether such governmental policies or immigrants' strategies play a more important role in their settlement and integration in diaspora context. More specifically, it examines whether governmental policies do lead to immigrants' social and cultural "coexistence" or "resistance"? Moreover, it examines whether and how significantly do such determinants as human capital, ethnicity, gender and religion in this regard? The fields of this study are the multiethnic and multicultural contexts of Australia and New Zealand: the home of migrants from a wide range of ethnic groups from throughout the world, they serve as a unique human and socio-cultural laboratory to address the key research objectives outlined above. Accordingly, I employ both fieldwork experience and research-based evidence to shed further lights on the contemporary literature and existing knowledge as whether and how governmental policies and immigrants' strategies play more crucial role in the context of multiculturalism.

#### **Session 8E**

#### **Justice and Institutions (Political Theory)**

**Chair: Claire Timperley (Victoria University of Wellington)**

*Steve Winter (University of Auckland) - Redressing Institutional Abuse: Developing Adequate Operative Principles*

It is common for critics and advocates to argue that redress programmes should be 'survivor-focused'. That is a false hope. Redress is a form of public policy and consequently its operation must be reasonably acceptable to a number of parties, including the state. This paper begins the task of describing an adequate set of principles for the operation of redress programmes.

*Santosh Kumar (University of Delhi) - Moral Cosmopolitanism, Distributive Obligations and Global Poverty: A Gandhian Re-conception*

The proposed paper primarily probes into "What distributive obligations we owe towards alleviating global poverty and how does Gandhian moral philosophy enrich the existing Western moral cosmopolitan understanding of helping distant others and guides us in exploring a truly cosmopolitan distributive obligations based on shared humanity, going beyond the national borders?" I argue that Western moral cosmopolitans like Pogge, Caney, Gilibert and many others prescribe either negative or positive "duties of justice" to alleviate global poverty but they are limited either by institutional or interactional or a mixed approach to protect the basic socio-economic human rights of the global poor. Most moral cosmopolitans are not convinced that violation of basic human rights of the global poor impose any direct moral responsibility on the well-off of affluent countries just because they fail to see--how do they cause global poverty directly? They do not connect to the essential characteristics of shared humanity while addressing the issues of global distribution. Gandhi argues that we cannot escape from our moral duty of helping distant others for at least two reasons; firstly, by simply saying that we are not the direct cause of someone's poverty because we inhabit the same human society; and secondly, we cannot walk away from



helping others on the ground that the “others” do not share the same membership of ours” political community. I further argue that Gandhian idea of socially connected needs and harm principles has a broader moral outlook than most of the Western moral cosmopolitan frameworks. Gandhi says: “We are socially so connected that even a single penny on luxury may inflict harm in one or another way on the destitute who are in dire need of our help.” I find that most moral cosmopolitans subscribe to the rights-based approach to address global justice. This approach is problematic for at least two primary reasons; firstly, it ends up without offering any perspective of agency and secondly, it subscribes to a very thin conception of moral responsibility. And it will not be sufficient to address acute poverty, especially in the global south. Finally, I argue that Gandhian ideas of duty and shared humanity, if explored properly, could offer a plausible non-Western cosmopolitan alternative of distributive obligations that I call “agency of shared humanity”.

*Samuele Tonello (Victoria University of Wellington) - A Contestatory Democracy to Defend Freedom as Non- Domination*

Over the last few years, Philip Pettit’s republican liberty as “Non-domination” has increasingly acquired consideration within democratic theory as a possible alternative to the two mainstream conceptions of liberty, namely Athenian positive freedom as “Self-mastery” and liberal negative freedom as “Non-interference”. This paper argues that republicanism could allow us to face better than other ideals of liberty the challenges posed by what we consider the main political threat that our democracies are facing. On the one hand, common citizens are affected by biases that compromise their ability to sustain forms of self-government. On the other hand, there is an “Oligarchic Shadow” over our governments since elites are capable of swaying governments towards pursuing oligarchic interests rather than common ones. Conceiving these two threats as two sorts of domination that must be avoided and focusing primarily on the people’s negative political participation, republicanism could then offer a solution to this “Democratic dilemma”. On the one hand, framing liberty as a battle between dominating masters and dominated slaves, republicanism could limit oligarchic threats by offering the many the institutional means to contest and block elites’ political domination. On the other hand, a negative effort could allow citizens to limit their participation to contesting policies that they deem dominating and this could be a form of political participation compatible with their biases.

**12.30pm-2.00pm**

**Lunch**

**1.00pm-2.00pm**

**Women’s Caucus Meeting**

**2.00pm-3.30pm Public Panel**

**Responsiveness and Responsibility in Coalition Government**

**Chair: Dr Claire Timperley (Victoria University of Wellington)**

Discussants:

- Professor Jonathan Boston (Victoria University of Wellington)
- Professor Jennifer Curtin (University of Auckland)

Participants:

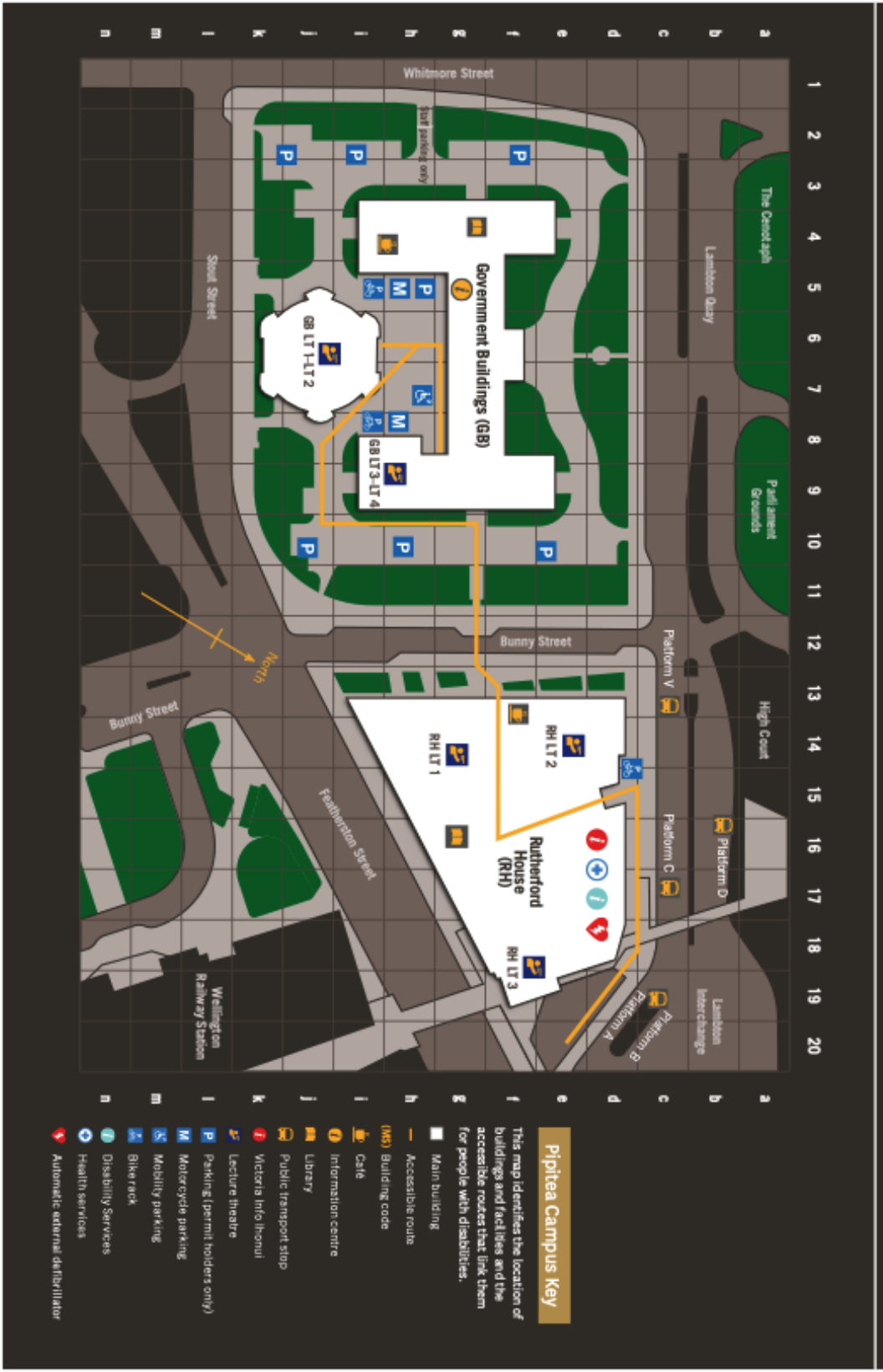
- Hon Sir Michael Cullen KNZM (Former Deputy Prime Minister)
- Hon Jeanette Fitzsimons CNZM (Former Co-leader of the Green Party)

- Doug Woolerton (Former New Zealand First MP and Leader)
- Rt. Hon Wyatt Creech CNZM (Former Deputy Prime Minister)

**3.30pm-4.00pm**  
**Afternoon Tea**

**4.00pm**  
**Conference Concludes**

# Pipitea Campus Map





**Key**

The map shows the location of buildings and courtyards and is intended to provide a general overview of the campus. It does not provide detailed information on building layouts or room numbers.

- Main building
- Student hall of residence
- Accessible route
- ATM
- Hot building
- CAV
- Library
- Study & request desk
- Information centre
- Lecture theatre
- Parking (open/hidden only)
- Motorcycle parking
- Mobility parking
- Bike rack
- Victoria Link Transit
- Health services
- Academic resource or facility
- Student services
- University Programs
- Employment services
- AT/TV/Device (request machine)

Campus Safety (Security) 94-443-5888  
 Victoria University and Telephones 94-475-8100

# EMERGENCY INSTRUCTIONS

## DIAL 8888 (0800 VIC 8888)

### PERSONAL EMERGENCY PLANNING

It is understood that before staff can commit to remedial actions at the University, it is vital they know that their families are safe and well. To assist in achieving this it is important that you have a Home Emergency Plan

#### COMMUNICATIONS

Make arrangements for how to contact your partner, who will collect the kids from school and where you will all meet

#### PREPARATIONS

You will need to be self sufficient for 3-5 days

#### HAVE A WORKPLACE EMERGENCY KIT

- Essential medication
- 3-5 days supply of water and non-perishable foods
- Alternative lighting (torch, spare batteries, lightsticks)
- Warm waterproof clothing and strong walking shoes
- Battery operated radio
- Contact details for family

### FIRE

#### IF YOU DISCOVER A FIRE

- Operate the nearest fire alarm call point by breaking the glass and pressing the switch down
- Dial 8888 (0800 VIC 8888) and advise Campus Security
- Dial 1-111 and ask for the Fire Service
- Use fire fighting equipment only if you are confident and it is safe to do so

#### IF YOU HEAR CONTINUOUS SOUNDING OF THE FIRE ALARM

- DON'T linger, leave the building as quickly as possible
- DON'T attempt to return to your room
- DON'T run—keep calm
- DON'T use lifts—keep left on stairs
- DON'T return to the building until the all-clear is given
- ASSEMBLE at your assembly point and keep well clear of the building

### EARTHQUAKE

#### DURING AN EARTHQUAKE:

- Act quickly—**DROP** to the ground, get under **COVER** and **HOLD** until the shaking stops
- If there is no cover, crouch on your knees on the floor away from windows, put your arms over your head and neck to protect them

#### AFTER AN EARTHQUAKE:

- Stay inside, gather everyone in one place until it is safe to exit
- If you are in a multi-storey building, check the stairs before making your way to lower floors
- If you are in the stairwells, use emergency door release buttons to exit
- If your building is unsafe, evacuate. Take your belongings, beware of falling debris and make your way to a large open space

### TSUNAMI

Know where the nearest high ground is and how you will reach it. Plan to get as high up or as far inland as you can.

#### IF YOU ARE NEAR THE SEA AND:

- feel a strong earthquake that makes it hard to stand up, or a weak rolling earthquake that lasts a minute or more
  - see a sudden rise or fall in sea level
  - hear loud and unusual noises from the sea
- move immediately to the nearest high ground or as far inland as you can. If evacuation maps are present, follow the routes shown.

### SEVERE WEATHER

- Ensure all windows and doors are closed
- If you have to move outdoors be aware of flying debris
- Report any damage or flooding to Campus Security on 8888 (0800 VIC 8888)

### MEDICAL EMERGENCY

- Dial 8888 (0800 VIC 8888) and advise Campus Security
- Dial 1-111 and ask for the Ambulance
- Apply first aid if you are confident and it is safe to do so

### ACTS OF VIOLENCE

- Dial 8888 (0800 VIC 8888) and advise Campus Security
- Remove yourself to a place of safety where possible
- Campus Security will notify emergency services as required

### SUSPICIOUS PERSONS

- Dial 8888 (0800 VIC 8888) and advise Campus Security
- Ensure your personal safety
- Provide description, location and direction of travel of suspicious person(s)
- Campus Security will investigate

### UTILITIES FAILURE

- Dial 8888 (0800 VIC 8888) and advise Campus Security

### TERRORISM/BOMB THREAT

- Dial 8888 (0800 VIC 8888) and advise Campus Security who will contact the Emergency Services
- Seek personal safety and security
- Campus Security and/or the Police will advise



## **Victoria University of Wellington Wifi**

### **Wifi Name: 'Victoria'**

1. Once connected, open a web browser, go to any website and you will be redirected to the Victoria authentication page.
2. Scroll to the bottom of that page where it says, 'I do not have an account', click this, and when prompted, fill in your email address.
3. Click on 'Go' and 'Continue' when prompted respectively.
4. This will provide you 24 hours of access (you can reconnect for another 24 hours when this has expired).