

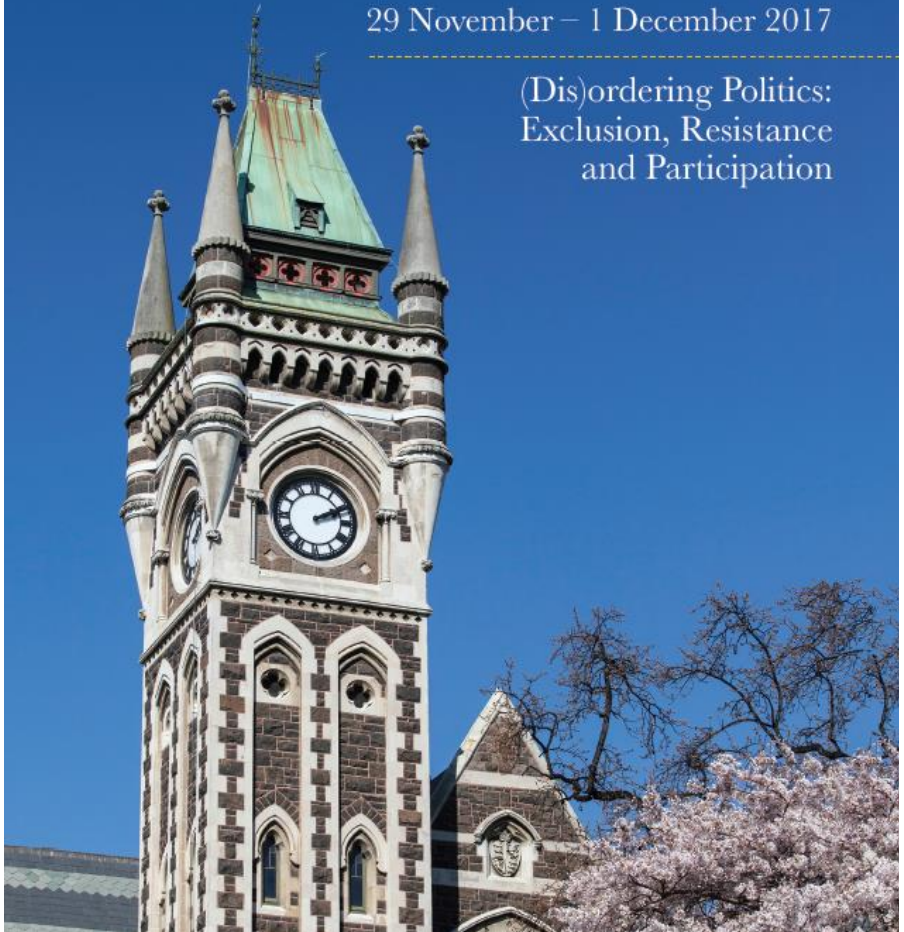


NZPSA

New Zealand Political Studies Association
Te Kāhui Tātai Tōrangapū o Aotearoa

2017 NZPSA Conference
29 November – 1 December 2017

(Dis)ordering Politics:
Exclusion, Resistance
and Participation



Welcome

Tēnā koutou katoa. Nau mai haere mai ki te Whare Wānanga o Ōtāgo.

A very warm welcome to the University of Otago for the 2017 New Zealand Political Studies Association Conference.

The theme for the conference ‘(Dis)Ordering Politics: Exclusion, Resistance and Participation’ builds on those of previous conferences and allows an opportunity to further explore ideas and developments in all fields of politics. We are looking forward to hearing the varied and fascinating lineup of papers on offer. The three public events provide a focus on our theme from different perspectives. The keynote lecture ‘From Global Slump to Trump: The Economics and Politics of Crisis, Resistance and Reaction’ to be delivered by Professor David McNally highlights the recent developments in international events. Closer to home, indigeneity and the politics of dissent is explored in the first public panel, featuring Morgan Godfery, Dr Maria Bargh and Teanau Tuiono. New Zealand’s recent general election is also scrutinized by an expert panel including Dr Bryce Edwards, Associate Professor Jennifer Curtin, Professor Andrew Geddis and Dr Maria Bargh. NZPSA has long prided itself on being a very post-graduate friendly conference, and we are delighted to welcome another large group of post-graduate students to the conference and to the pre-conference post-graduate workshop.

We are particularly pleased to welcome you to Otago this year as the Department of Politics celebrates 50 years of politics at Otago. The Department of Political Studies was founded in 1967, with Professor Jim Flynn, a young graduate from Chicago, appointed as the foundation chair. Like many other political studies departments established at the same time around New Zealand, politics emerged from the History Department, but quickly established itself as a distinctive discipline. Our department has celebrated the year by writing opinion pieces for the Otago Daily Times and running a series of public panels addressing the important contemporary political challenges and issues that confront us all. These have been extremely well received by the Dunedin community, evidence of the public’s appetite for a better understanding of our rapidly changing world.

We look forward to talking politics with you all and wish you all a very enjoyable time in Dunedin.

Janine Hayward and Vicki Spencer (Co-Chairs, NZPSA @ Otago 2017)

Conference Organising Committee

Co-Chairs Professor Janine Hayward
Associate Professor Vicki Spencer

Programme Coordinator Dr James Headley

Event Coordinators Malle Whitcombe
Shelley Morgan

Our thanks to Kate Davis and Melanie Taurarii for their help organising the conference.



Professor William Harris has written four sole-authored books on Middle Eastern affairs as well as variety of book chapters and academic article, principally on the politics and history of the Levant states. In recent years his work has concentrated on Lebanon and Syria.

His latest book is *Lebanon: A History, 600-2011* for Oxford University Press in New York (2012). His previous book, *The Levant: A Fractured Mosaic* (Markus Wiener, Princeton, 2003 and 2005) won an Outstanding Academic Title award from Choice Magazine in the United States.

Research and teaching interests include: the politics and history of the Levant states and Turkey; Middle East comparative politics; and the international affairs of the Middle East.



Professor Janine Hayward researches and teaches various aspects of New Zealand politics, including: Treaty of Waitangi politics, New Zealand's constitution, electoral politics, environmental politics, and local government politics. She also works on the comparative constitutional politics of commonwealth nations, and comparisons with Canada on indigenous/state relations.



Dr James Headley's research interests are in Russian foreign policy, the European Union, nationalism and ethnic conflict, and International Relations theory. He is the author of *Russia and the Balkans: Foreign Policy from Yeltsin to Putin* (Hurst and Co./Columbia University Press, 2008) and co-editor of *Public Participation in Foreign Policy* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2012). He joined the Department of Politics in 2005, having previously lectured at the University of Auckland, University of Leicester, and University College London.

He is the University of Otago representative on the Steering Committee of the New Zealand European Union Centres Network (EUCN).



Dr Iati Iati received his PhD from the University of Hawai'i at Manoa. His research interests are in good governance, land tenure reform, regionalism, and New Zealand foreign policy in the Pacific. His current projects focus on political stability in Samoa, controversial land reform in the Pacific, and recent developments in Pacific regionalism, and in particular sub-regionalism. On the side, he likes to examine issues of nationalism and the nation-state in the Pacific, and is currently working on a project that interrogates the myth of the Samoa-Tonga Wars.

He was one of the co-directors for the 48th and 50th University of Otago Foreign Policy Schools.



Dr Nicholas Khoo's research interests pertain to Chinese foreign policy; the international relations of Asia; security studies, and international relations theory.

Recent publications include: *Collateral Damage: Sino-Soviet Rivalry and the Termination of the Sino-Vietnamese Alliance* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2011), and *Asian Security and the Rise of China: International Relations in an Age of Volatility* (Cheltenham: Edward Elgar, 2013), co-authored with David Martin Jones and Michael Rainsborough Smith. He is a regular participant in the Asia NZ Foundation's Track II Dialogues with partner organizations in the Asia-Pacific region.



Dr Carla Lam is a senior lecturer of political theory and gender politics in the Politics Department at University of Otago.

After receiving her PhD in political theory from Carleton University in 2005, she lectured at Queen's University, then moved to New Zealand in July 2008.

Her research interests include the history of ideas, feminist philosophy of embodiment, feminist post-constructionism or new materialism, and feminist studies of science and technology. Most recent publications include two chapters in the MacMillan Interdisciplinary Handbooks Gender series, on "Feminist Biology" and "Reproductive Technology" and an article, "Thinking Through Post-constructionism: Reflections on (Reproductive)Disembodiment and Misfits."

Current research continues to focus on the intellectual and practical divides between doing and being, or thoughts and matter.



Professor Philip Nel is interested in the global politics of development, poverty, and inequality, and teach on this and the ethics of international relations.

His DPhil is from Stellenbosch University, South Africa (1984), and he has been a visiting professor in Germany, Japan, and South Africa. He serves on the editorial boards of a number of international journals, and is a fellow of the Alexander von Humboldt Foundation (Germany).



Professor Robert Patman's research interests concern US foreign policy, international relations, global security, great powers and the Horn of Africa. He is an editor for the journal *International Studies Perspectives*, and the author or editor of 11 books. Recent publications include a volume called *Strategic Shortfall: The 'Somalia Syndrome' and the March to 9/11* (Praeger, 2010) and two co-edited books titled *The Bush Leadership, the Power of Ideas, and the War on Terror* (Ashgate, 2012), and *China and the International System: Becoming a World Power* (Routledge, 2013). He is a Fulbright Senior Scholar, a Senior Fellow at the Centre of Strategic Studies, Wellington, an Honorary Professor of the NZ Defence Command and Staff College, Trentham, and provides regular contributions to the national and international media on global issues and events.



Associate Professor Roper's research interests include: New Zealand politics; public policy; political economy; social inequality; gender and feminism; classical and contemporary Marxism; history and major theories of democracy.

He has co-edited two books: *State and Economy in New Zealand* (1993) and *The Political Economy of New Zealand* (1997). His book *Prosperity for All? Economic, Social and Political Change in New Zealand since 1935* was published in 2005. His second authored book is *The History of Democracy*, originally published by Pluto Press in 2013, with translated editions due to appear in China, Germany and Turkey. It is described by David McNally, Professor of Political Science at York University, as a “stunning and panoramic book”, which “sheds light on the theory and practice of democracy across the ages”.

He has been a political activist for more than twenty years, and has been involved in a wide variety of progressive struggles and campaigns.



Dr Christopher Rudd's major research interest is in the field of politics and the media.



Associate Professor Vicki Spencer is an Associate Professor of political theory at the University of Otago. Previously she taught at the University of Adelaide and Flinders University of South Australia. She is the author of *Herder's Political Thought: A Study of Language, Culture, and Community* (University of Toronto Press, 2012), and the co-editor of *Visions of Peace: Asia and the West* with Takashi Shogimen (Ashgate, 2014), *Disclosures* with Paul Corcoran (Ashgate, 2000), and a special edition of *The Australian Journal of Politics and History: Rethinking Nationalism*. Her research encompasses seventeenth and eighteenth-century European thought and contemporary political theory with a focus on culture, identity and the concepts of recognition and toleration.

Her most recent book is a collected edition, *Toleration in Comparative Perspective* (Lexington, 2017), which disrupts the assumption in Western political discourse that toleration is a uniquely Western idea by examining comparable ideas in Islam, Hinduism, Buddhism, Confucianism and Daoism.



Dr Lena Tan is senior lecturer in International Relations and her research interests include identity, IR theory, constructivism, postcolonialism, the construction and constitution of the Global South in IR/ir, twentieth century decolonization, and Indonesian security and foreign policy.

Her research emphasizes and foregrounds general questions such as this: how would we understand, explain and describe international relations if we account for the co-constitutive relations between North and South in the construction of the material and social structures of the international system? This involves re-examining some of the key concepts and theories of International Relations as well as the evolution of the international system through taking the South and the non-hegemonic core seriously, and incorporating the insights from such research for a fuller and richer understanding of world politics.



Malle Whitcombe is the Administrative Assistant for the Department of Politics. She assists in the administration of the department and is available for all student enquiries.



Shelley Morgan is the Departmental Administrator.

Keynote Speaker

From Global Slump to Trump: The Economics and Politics of Crisis, Resistance and Reaction

Professor David McNally of the University of York (Canada)

In his book, *Global Slump* published in 2010, David McNally analyses the global financial meltdown as the first systemic crisis of the neoliberal stage of capitalism. He argued that – far from having ended – the crisis ushered in a whole period of worldwide economic and political turbulence.

This prognosis has proven to be remarkably accurate. The year immediately following the publication of *Global Slump*, 2011, was the worst year for global capitalism since 1968 – a year of crisis, revolutions, revolts, and global anti-capitalist protests.

Since then regimes, both authoritarian and liberal democratic, have proceeded to implement programmes of fiscal austerity and vigorously suppress outbreaks of popular resistance to austerity.

Brexit and Trump's victory mark a rightward shift in the politics of governing elites but as the surprisingly strong support for Bernie Sanders shows this shift has been contested and is best viewed as a complex moment in a turbulent and rapidly changing historical conjuncture.

In his keynote, David draws upon both *Global Slump* and *Monsters of the Market* to provide a critical analysis of 'the Trump moment' in global politics.

David McNally is Professor and past chair of Political Science at York University in Toronto. He is the author of six books: *Political Economy and the Rise of Capitalism* (1988); *Against the Market: Political Economy Market Socialism and the Marxist Critique* (1993); *Bodies of Meaning: Studies on Language, Labor and Liberation* (2001); *Another World is Possible: Globalization and Anti-Capitalism* (2002; second revised edition 2006). His book *Global Slump: The Economics and Politics of Crisis and Resistance* (2010) won the prestigious 2012 Deutscher Memorial Award. *Monsters of the Market: Zombies, Vampires and Global Capitalism* (2011) won the 2012 Paul Sweezy Award from the American Sociological Association.

His articles have appeared in many journals, including *Historical Materialism*, *Capital and Class*, *History of Political Thought*, *New Politics*, *Studies in Political Economy*, and *Review of Radical Political Economics*.

As this suggests, David's research interests include the theory and practice of democracy, Marxism and anti-racism, socialist-feminism, classical and Marxian political economy, Hegel and dialectical social theory, and the history of anti-capitalist movements.

He is also on the Advisory Editorial Board for *Historical Materialism: A Journal of Critical Marxist Research* and is a member of the Toronto Historical Materialism Group, which organizes a biennial conference at York University.

Public Panel Discussion: Indigeneity and the Politics of Dissent

Chair: **Janine Hayward**

Indigenous politics is fundamental to the ongoing (dis)ordering of politics. This panel of experts talks about the role and value of dissent and resistance for indigenous peoples in New Zealand and elsewhere.

Morgan Godfery

Te Pahipoto (Ngāti Awa),
Lalomanu (Samoa)

Morgan Godfery is a writer and trade unionist. He is the editor of *The Interregnum*, an election year columnist for *The Spinoff* and a non-fiction judge for this year's Ockham New Zealand Books Awards.

Morgan also regularly appears on radio and television as a political commentator, has authored numerous academic chapters and journal articles on politics and law and sits on the board of the Centre for Legal Issues at the University of Otago Law School. In 2016 he delivered the Labour Party's annual Sir Peter Fraser Memorial Lecture.

Dr Maria Bargh

Te Arawa and Ngāti Awa

Dr Maria Bargh (Te Arawa and Ngāti Awa) is Head of Te Kawa a Maui/School of Maori Studies at Victoria University of Wellington.

Her research focuses on Māori politics, economy and resource management. Her work includes, *A Hidden Economy: Māori in the Privatised Military Industry* (2015), edited collections *Māori in Parliament* (2010) and *Resistance: An Indigenous Response to Neoliberalism* (2007).

Teanau Tuiono

Teanau has over 20 years' experience as an activist, advocate and organiser at local, national and international levels. He works at the intersection of people's movements and civil society. In Pasifika communities he is known for his work in the Education sector and climate change advocacy. In Māori communities he is known for his indigenous rights activism.

He has spent 17 years working at different UN fora focussing on indigenous peoples issues including climate change and biodiversity. He has a background in law and currently works as a publisher in the education sector.

Public Panel Discussion- New Zealand's experience of Dis(ordering) Politics: the 2017 general election evaluated

Chair: **Bryce Edwards** (Political Commentator)

New Zealand's general election of 2017 took place in the context of global electoral flux and ideological change. But to what extent did this have any impact or visibility in New Zealand political parties, campaigning, or voting? This panel session looks at some of the main themes of the conference – such as how issues of class, inequality, race, gender, and also populism and anger – have played in part in the local campaign and the 23 September outcome.

Professor Jennifer Curtin

Associate Professor Jennifer Curtin specialises in politics and public policy and is located in the Discipline of Politics and International Relations at the University of Auckland. She is also the Director of the University's newly-formed Public Policy Institute. She has published widely on women in politics and on New Zealand and Australian elections. With Jack Vowles and Hilde Coffe, Jennifer authored *A Bark but No Bite. Inequality and the 2014 New Zealand General Election*, published by ANU Press (2017).

Professor Andrew Geddis

Andrew Geddis is a Professor at the University of Otago's Faculty of Law. His research interests lie in the field of public law, rights jurisprudence and democratic theory, with a particular focus on the legal regulation of elections. Andrew is a member of the Legislation Design and Advisory Committee External Expert Subcommittee. He also is a prolific media commentator on legal matters and writes regular self-indulgent blog posts at pundit.co.nz and thespinoff.co.nz.

Dr Maria Bargh

Te Arawa and Ngati Awa

Dr Maria Bargh (Te Arawa and Ngati Awa) is Head of Te Kawa a Maui/School of Maori Studies at Victoria University of Wellington.

Her research focuses on Māori politics, economy and resource management. Her work includes, *A Hidden Economy: Māori in the Privatised Military Industry* (2015), edited collections *Māori in Parliament* (2010) and *Resistance: An Indigenous Response to Neoliberalism* (2007).

Conference Abstracts

Andy Asquith (Massey University)
Karen Webster (Auckland University of Technology)

Getting the vote out: Increasing voter turnout in local elections in Auckland, New Zealand, 2016.

Auckland Council was created in 2010 following a Royal Commission Report on Auckland Governance. The remit of the Royal Commission had been twofold:

- To provide leadership for Auckland
- To reconnect the institutions of local governance with the people of Auckland.

Whilst the former has undoubtedly been achieved, the former is very much work in progress. The is perhaps most evident in the fact that as elsewhere in New Zealand, decreasing voter turnout is a perpetual issue in local government elections. In Auckland, which is New Zealand's largest local authority representing 1/3 of the total national population, turnout fell from 52.4% in 2010 to 37.6% in 2013. In an attempt to reverse this trend, Auckland Council embarked upon a project designed to facilitate the reconnection envisaged by the Royal Commission. Primarily the objective was to increase voter turnout to 40% in the 2016 electoral round. However, following criticism that this lacked ambition, the was revised upwards to 50%. This paper chronicles these processes, including electronic voting, which was seen as something of a 'silver bullet'.

The abstract was written during the voting period, and as such the final outcome of the initiative is unknown. However, initial indications are that turnout will again be low, and that whilst lessons have undoubtedly been learnt, much remains to be done to bridge the divide.

Leonardo Baccini (McGill University)
Francesco Amodio (McGill University)
Giorgio Chiovelli (London Business School)
Michele Di Maio (University of Naples)

Trade Liberalization and Political Violence: Evidence from North-South Cooperation

Our paper explores the micro-foundations of the trade-conflict nexus. We focus on the reduction in tariffs on agricultural imports from South Africa to European countries after the preferential trade agreement (PTA) signed in 1999. As tariffs drop, South Africa experiences a positive demand shock that builds on its comparative advantages. Using the local municipality as unit of observations, we test if the levels of political violence and instability change differentially in those cells that are more suitable to produce liberalized crops. In our analysis, we combine

variation in agricultural tariffs over time with differences in crop suitability across districts within South Africa. Our approach rests upon the observation that differences in agro-climatic conditions within the country generate exogenous variation in suitability to produce different crops. We find strong evidence that (i) economic output increases differentially in high-crop-suitability cells, (ii) political violence decreases differentially in high-crop-suitability cells. Our paper contributes to the literature of intra-state conflict and trade.

Leonardo Baccini (McGill University)
Iain Osgood (University of Michigan)
Stephen Weymouth (Georgetown University)

The Service Economy: Understanding Sectoral Differences in Patterns of Lobbying for Trade in the U.S.

Despite the size of the services sector and the growth of services trade, the trade politics literature devotes surprisingly little attention to these 'invisibles'. We document here that the services sectors are highly active in the politics of US trade agreements and, in comparison with goods-producing industries, are much less likely to show evidence of industrial disagreement. We explain this undifferentiated support for trade agreements by focusing on the US's stark comparative advantage in services, and its long-standing open attitude towards services imports and investment in comparison with its trade partners. Service sectors have little to lose from reciprocal trade agreements, and much to gain. The services sectors are therefore key players in America's pro-trade coalition, in part explaining our present era of wide open global integration.

Hannah Ballantyne (University of Otago)

Jess Bell (University of Otago)

Sinead Gill (University of Otago)

Olive Grant (University of Otago)

Samantha Scholten (University of Otago)

Roger Yan (University of Otago)

Media Coverage of the 2017 New Zealand Election

This paper examines media coverage of the 2017 election campaign, focusing on the Otago Daily Times, TV One evening news and the current affairs programme, Seven Sharp. The study seeks to address the issues of whether the media framed the election as a 'game', at the expense of coverage of policy issues.

Participation as Exclusion: Māori Engagement with the Crown Mineral Acts 1991 Block Offer Process

This paper explores the Crown Minerals Act 1991 Block Offer process. The existing process very specifically delineates the Block Offer arrangements, which include applying for and receiving a prospecting and exploration permit, from the processes around actual mining and environmental impacts. While there is often an abundance of Māori participation in the Block Offer process, we will argue that Māori views rarely influence the substantive outcomes of mineral exploration decisions.

By way of comparison we will highlight the process of Māori participation in activities under the Resource Management Act 1991 requirements. In this context we will consider the opportunities for Māori to dis(order) politics under the Resource Management Act through participation at various stages of an application – the submission, decision, appeal and feedback processes. We will examine the legal structuring of relations between the Crown Minerals Act and Resource Management Act and consider whether the intersection of these regimes produces formal or informal hierarchies of land and resource use.

Through a case study of the 2013 Epithermal Gold Block Offer, we will explore the factors that might contribute to the mismatch between the level of Māori participation and the influence of Māori views on final decisions in the Block Offer process. We ask: how are different views valued by those within New Zealand and Petroleum and Minerals? What criteria are used to genuinely and appropriately reflect the full range of interests, aspirations, or concerns raised by Māori participants? Finally, we consider opportunities to restructure legal relations under the Crown Minerals Act to ensure substantive outcomes better reflect the Māori views and interests available to decision makers.

Nonviolence and (de)Legitimacy: BDS and the Formal Palestinian Political Process

The failure of the Oslo peace process, and subsequent further negotiation attempts, has seen a revival of Palestinian civil society and grassroots nonviolent resistance. The Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions (BDS) movement has become a central strategy and organisation to the Palestinian national liberation movement. Built entirely upon nonviolent practices, the movement relies in large part upon international networks and involvement. The BDS movement purposely circumvents the formal political system. It claims to seek no formal leadership or political role, whilst it does seek to influence the national liberation movement. In its success, there are claims that BDS has sidelined the traditional statist approach and recognised official actors, forcing the question: does BDS delegitimise the official Palestinian political leadership and peace process? Legitimacy is not a zero-sum game, but the interactions between the different actors involved within a national liberation movement requires further examination. It has been asserted that the impetus of the international legitimisation of the Palestine Liberation Organisation came from the authority it held within the Palestinian population. With support for the non-statist BDS movement increasing, how could this affect the legitimacy of formal Palestinian actors and processes? This paper seeks to explore the issue of intra-liberation movement leadership legitimacy, in which the effects of legitimacy are multidirectional, and may not align with conventional approaches to nonviolent movements and legitimacy. Can it be that a nonviolent resistance movement is delegitimising the national leadership that co-exists within the same national liberation movement?

Patrick Barrett (University of Waikato)

Priya Kurian (University of Waikato)

Understanding the Potential of National Science Challenges to Contribute to Policy Change: What Can We Learn from Public Policy Theory?

An explicit goal of the National Science Challenge approach to science funding in New Zealand has been to use science more effectively to inform policy related to critical social and environmental challenges. The Challenges are organised around broad science themes that address population health and wellbeing, our biological environments, our changing natural environments, and the implications for human environments. The National Science Challenge initiative is at a point where it is producing research new data, and it aspires to see these used in a way that benefits New Zealand's economy and its social and human environments. The relationship between research and policy, however, is not straightforward, and simple understandings of 'evidence-based policymaking' are today seen as idealistic and naïve. Nevertheless, demands for better use of science, and the evidence it produces, in public policy remains common. This paper reflects on these demands in terms of public policy process theories. The relationship between research and policy is a central concern of the discipline, and this paper considers how policy theories have potential to draw attention to policy politics and inform the translation of National Science Challenge research into policy innovations.

Rational Russia: Why Putin Annexed Crimea

My dissertation for the University of Otago Master of International Studies degree explored the debate over the Russian Federation's 2014 annexation of Crimea. The work considers questions raised in the literature about the importance of systemic constraints and the role of domestic factors in Russian foreign policy. This research is framed by a consideration of international relations theory, and a neoclassical realist framework is employed to explore both Russia's relative power, as well as Russian domestic regime power. Systemic pressures are explored, such as eastward advances by the European Union and NATO, and the tumultuous relationship between Moscow and Washington, particularly their diverging views regarding Kosovo and conflict over the Eastern European color revolutions. Domestic factors are examined through the work of Western political theorists, who propose that ideology, Putin's personal outlook, or domestic political pressures are the primary motivations behind Russia's actions, and by drawing on Russian language primary sources.

The research finds that systemic pressures are the primary motivating factors behind Russian foreign policy towards its near abroad. However, to fully understand the timing of the annexation of Crimea, it is necessary to incorporate Russian domestic politics and regime power: The use of counterfactuals explores why Russia did not annex Crimea prior to 2014, despite an ongoing vested interest in the peninsula and demands for the return the Black Sea Naval Base at Sevastopol since the end of the Soviet Union. Through a neoclassical realist interpretation of Russian foreign policy and case study methodology, a clear understanding of the motivation and timing behind Russia's annexation of Crimea emerges.

Online Political Participation in New Zealand Political Science Literature

What are the common characteristics of the New Zealand Political Science literature on Online Political Participation? Based on the literature review performed for my PhD research, this paper covers the published academic research on online politics in New Zealand and identifies the commonalities. The first such is paucity; namely that the literature is not extensive. Further, the research has rather narrowly focused on traditional formal representative institutions, on electioneering, and on the actions of political elites such as politicians and political parties; in other words, the focus has been overwhelmingly top-down. This review shows that a gap exists for researching bottom-up political participation as performed by individuals within New Zealand.

More Dirty Politics or a Clean, Green New Zealand? Television News coverage of the 2017 General Election Campaign, Compared to the Previous Eight Campaigns (1993-2014)

Data from national election surveys show that television news continues to be the leading source of political information for voters during election campaigns in most modern democracies, including New Zealand. This is despite predictions over the past two decades of the much-heralded, but yet to transpire, 'internet election'. This paper compares primetime television news coverage of the 2017 New Zealand general election campaign, with that of the previous eight campaigns, from the last election under the first-past-the-post system (1993) up to the most recent, 2014. Comparisons are made between the state-owned Television New Zealand and the the leading commercial broadcaster, TV3, using several variables over the month prior to election day: total campaign coverage; prominence of election stories (whether they led the bulletin, or if not, where they were placed); and what other types of news the broadcasters chose to highlight. More detailed analysis is made of a seven-day sample over the same period for the following variables: sound bite length; coverage of party leaders; coverage of major parties compared to minor parties; 'game' and issue coverage; and tone of the coverage.

Why New Zealand is of Interest to China, and the Consequences for New Zealand

The Chinese government regards New Zealand as a present-day exemplar of how it would like its relations to be with other states. In 2013, China's New Zealand ambassador described the two countries' relationship as "a model to other Western countries". And after Premier Li Keqiang visited New Zealand in 2017, a Chinese diplomat favourably compared New Zealand-China relations to the level of closeness China had with Albania in the early 1960s. Albania took the side of the People's Republic of China in the Sino-Soviet split, and was showered with aid in return—until Albania sought to reduce its dependence on China in the 1970s. The paper outlines the range of interests the Chinese government has toward New Zealand and what this might mean for New Zealand national interests.

Women, Māori and Ethnic Minorities – a Closer Look at the 2016 Local Board Elections in Auckland Council

Demographic information produced by Auckland Council after the 2016 local elections suggests that older Europeans dominated the candidate pool and were elected more easily than ethnic minorities and younger candidates. This presentation will focus on the factors contributing to the election of minority candidates as well as how well the gender and age distribution of the candidates match the demographics of the New Zealand Europeans who stood. There are 21 Local Boards across the Auckland region, all with different challenges, demographics, and approaches to doing politics. Candidate performance will be broken down by Local Board areas and the effect of political groupings in the successful election of minority candidates will also be considered. Conclusions will focus on the implications for minority participation in future elections.

The Urban Political Confrontation with the Indigenous Inhabitants in Rural Hong Kong

The indigenous inhabitants in Hong Kong refer to those descended through the male line from a person who resided in the area called the “New Territories”, where the Chinese Government leased to the British Colony of Hong Kong in 1898. In order to preserve the traditional custom among the inhabitants, the British colonial authority allowed the male descended inhabitants to claim land to build their own houses in the indigenous areas, and “Heung Yee Kuk”, the Rural Council, established in 1926 to “work and negotiate with the government to promote the welfare of the people of the New Territories”. Before the Hong Kong’s sovereignty returning to China in 1997, the special rights originally enjoyed by the indigenous inhabitants were written into the new constitutional document, the Basic Law, of Hong Kong, and their lawful traditional interests are preserved. However, facing the problem of land shortage in the urban area, some Hong Kong’s citizens urge the Government to evaluate the current indigenous policy and consider abolishing the inhabitants’ privilege. With the rise of populist and radical ideas, some political groups also accuse the Government for colluding with indigenous inhabitants in some of the major development projects. On another hand, being afraid of the original rights undermined, the inhabitants were planning to form the political party to increase their influence in the Legislative Council of the city. This paper will analyze the urban political confrontation with the indigenous inhabitants in rural New Territories from the perspective of populist ideas arising in Hong Kong, and how the indigenous representatives respond to the urban politics.

Violence of Anti-imperial International Politics: An Aesthetic Approach

In this paper, I ask how issues of sense perception, subjectivity and form – what I term aesthetics – fundamentally shape our ethico-political responses to state violence across cultural/civilizational/colonial differences. Through the concept of the terrible as an aesthetic category, I examine the dark hued complexity of contemporary anti-imperial, anti-colonial politics in the current state and interstate system. Denoting an extreme, the terrible captures how some political positions, figurations, actions, subjectivities and performances assault our senses and this 'trivial' form of violence requires conceptual/creative reckoning. I turn to North Korea's cultural diplomacy projects in Africa, in particular its construction of gargantuan political monuments in Zimbabwe and Namibia that serve as rich visual landscapes of North Korea's anti-imperial socialist global vision and domestic consolidation of power that never lost confidence despite international isolation and external pressure. This global socialist politics is part of the continuum of international politics that cyclically creates the spectacle of Korean security crisis. Drawing on feminist scholarship on aesthetics by Trinh Minh-ha, on vomit and disgust by Sianne Ngai and Eugenie Brinkema, on demons and unthinkables by Lynda Barry, this paper seeks to rethink the prevailing conceptions of the terrible to better understand postcoloniality, power, statecraft and cultural politics in the age of global politics. I suggest that perhaps the terrible is not a meeting of a more innocent position with another that is depraved but the perversity is created and reified through encounters. I propose strategies and mode of encounter that help us better negotiate such boundary events.

In search of a Different Economic Approach

10 years after the Global Financial Crisis, the struggle to find an alternative to domestic austerity measures still continues. This presentation attempts to describe a different economic model and proffers two interlocking arguments:

- (1) sovereign governments cannot balance their budgets; and
- (2) domestic demand can be a stronger driver of growth than the export industry.

In this presentation we will focus on Argentina as it provides a vantage point to demonstrate the arguments of the paper and try to bring up clear policy recommendations to indebted developing countries.

Private Secretaries in Ministers' Offices – Never mind Sir Humphrey, what about Derek?

Private Secretaries are an enduring feature of the landscape of executive government in New Zealand. Private Secretaries are seconded from government departments to support the Minister in her or his portfolio responsibilities. They provide the conduit for information between the Minister and department, including the important role of disseminating Minister's decisions to officials. This demanding role requires public servants with good organisational skills, agility, diplomacy, discretion, stamina and resilience.

The role has been established through convention, and despite the ubiquity of Private Secretaries, very little attention has been paid to their contribution to governance. Rather, the literature has focussed on the relationship between the Minister and officials, and more recently, the impact of the introduction of political advisers on that relationship.

The purpose of this paper is to:

- set out the history and context of the role of Private Secretaries in Ministers' offices;
- consider some significant changes which have affected the relationship between the Minister and officials through the lens of a Private Secretaries; and
- signal areas for further exploration.

Jennifer Curtin (University of Auckland)
Linda Trimble (University of Alberta)
Victoria Woodman (University of Auckland)

“Media Mania” and Gendered Understandings of Political Leadership. The New Zealand Herald’s Interpretations of Jacinda Ardern

The appointment of Jacinda Ardern to Labour leadership six weeks out from the 2017 New Zealand General Election took many by surprise. Ardern has long been touted as a potential future leader but, from the moment she took up the mantle questions emerged about her experience, her record in office, and her leadership competence. This questioning continued as opinion poll support for her, and her party, began to rise. This paper traces the coverage of Ardern during the campaign as depicted in the New Zealand Herald, focusing on two themes: political experience and leadership performance. The media play a crucial role during campaigns, more so when there are two new major party leaders on show. Even when those individuals are familiar to citizens, they are reintroduced by the press as aspiring government leaders, interpreted for their ability to perform in that role. By examining the representation of Ardern’s performances of leadership, the New Zealand Herald was able to create critical “first impressions”. Our paper analyses the general descriptions and evaluations of Ardern early in her career and then by the Herald over the 23 days leading up to the election. We argue that the choice of New Zealand Herald commentators and the content of their columns did little to disrupt traditional gendered notions of female leadership, while the term “mania” was leveraged in ways that undermined the rationality of Ardern’s support base.

Oil Futures and Oil's Future: An Assessment of New Zealand's Oil Security to 2050 and Beyond

Like virtually all other countries, New Zealand relies on petroleum products to meet a significant portion of its energy needs. Yet very little research has been undertaken to assess the long-term security of New Zealand's oil supply. This is surprising given the country's particular vulnerabilities to supply disruptions arising from its high level of dependency upon oil imports, and remote location at the very end of the international oil supply chain.

This paper aims to address this gap in the literature by assessing New Zealand's level of oil security through to 2050 using scenarios based upon low, medium and high levels of national oil dependency. Each scenario is analysed to establish potential impacts, including how degrees of dependency may affect the nation's domestic and foreign policy over the coming decades.

Heather Devere (University of Otago)
Kelli Te Maiharoa (University of Otago)
Maui Solomon (University of Otago)
Maata Wharehoka (University of Otago)

Tides of Endurance in Indigenous Peace Traditions in Aotearoa New Zealand

Mason Durie, one of New Zealand's leading Maori scholars, uses the metaphor of the tide to explore endurance, founded on the two dimensions of time and resilience. We will be using Durie's concept of Nga Tai Matatu (Tides of Maori Endurance) to consider three indigenous communities of Aotearoa New Zealand that have demonstrated endurance and resilience in maintaining their unique peace traditions in the face of both Western and Maori cultures of violence.

The Moriori of Rekohu have a peace tradition that dates back more than 600 years. The Waitaha people of Te Pounamu had no weapons of war recorded in their historical memory nor among their ancient artifacts. The Parihaka community in the Taranaki was established explicitly around non-violent principles in the 19th century. All three peace traditions are currently being resurrected by descendants of the original peace-makers. All three are working through reconciliation and restorative justice processes with government.

The Precautionary Principle, Resilience Thinking and Vulnerability Science – Towards an Integrated Framework

The precautionary principle is essential for decision-making under unquantifiable uncertainties. Its conceptualisations have been typically represented across a spectrum, spanning from “weak” to “strong”. The application of precaution by public and private sector practitioners is affected by two major dilemmas. The first dilemma regards the most desirable ‘strength’ of precaution, as the nature, magnitude, consequences, and contexts of uncertainties may differ. The major differences among precaution conceptualisations are situated along the following dimensions: (1) the types and nature of uncertainties associated with the human activity/technology; (2) the magnitude, implications, and subjects of harm; (3) timing and responsibilities for the ‘burden of proof’ regarding the potentially harmful impacts; (4) types of actions to be taken; (5) criteria against which possible actions should be evaluated; and (6) the scope and quality of public engagement in designing and implementing precautionary actions. The second dilemma regards the operationalisation of precaution irrespective of the chosen level of strength, which is compounded by conflicting normative views across these six dimensions.

This paper departs from the observation that - while most resilience and vulnerability frameworks have made significant contributions regarding the concept of harm, implications of harm and responses to harm - such contributions have remained so far under the radar of precautionary scholars. It is argued that important progress can be made towards mitigating the two dilemmas highlighted above, if insights from resilience and vulnerability thinking are integrated with a revised conceptualisation of the precautionary principle that is positive, rather than normative with claims of ‘one size fits all’.

The proposed paper is theoretical and presents syntheses of the three relevant literature streams and reflections on the implications for the findings. The second part of the paper sketches the backbones of a theoretical framework integrating resilience and vulnerability science into a positive approach to the conceptualisation and operationalisation of the precautionary principle. The concluding section articulates a research agenda for further theoretical development and empirical applications of the proposed integrative framework.

What Will the 2017 General Election Mean for Local Democracy in New Zealand?

Changes in government formation have had significant impact on the way in which central and local government have worked together. The moves toward great collaboration evident in the early days of the 21st century have, in the last decade, been replaced with a more command and control type bureaucratic model. The most recent example of this being a proposed amendment in 2016 to the Local Government Act 2002 which would require the reorganisation of local council services across local authority boundaries and run by unelected organisations, an amendment vigorously opposed by local government. By looking across the central / local government relationship, this paper canvasses changes that have occurred to local democracy in Canterbury in recent times and asks whether the 2017 election results point to the possibility of a new approach here.

Political Research 'On the Run': The Stuff.co.nz/Massey University Election Survey

The Stuff.co.nz/Massey University Election Survey was an online readership-engagement survey designed to test the mood of the country ahead of the 2017 General Election, to provide insights into the issues of importance to New Zealanders, and to uncover underlying concerns around leadership, trust and the political system. It was run in two rounds, in late May and early August, and it attracted unexpectedly high levels of participation (n = 39,644 and 49,480 respectively). This paper will present some of the key results, viewed in light of the actual election outcomes. Of interest for an academic audience, however, are the peculiar methodological issues encountered when working with an online media organization to produce 'research' that is simultaneously intended for news content, public relations and pre-election commentary. Some demographic data of the sample will also be presented. Although the online survey relied on a self-selected sample, its results, on comparable items, were reasonably close to those found by 'scientific' opinion surveys. The research was compromised by being conducted 'on the run,' and by a requirement to be compatible with mobile devices. On the other hand, no time-consuming funding application or contracting was involved. The collaboration with a large media organization was more respectful of academic freedom than the normal research management systems of a university.

International Victim Blaming: Exclusion and Isolationism in Chinese Foreign Policy

China as a rising power is causing a great deal of concern for the international system, and particularly the United States. However this is not the first time China has attempted to accumulate power on the world stage, or had a run in with a global hegemon in the course of their foreign policy. China has had a notorious history of radical and unpredictable foreign policy, which naturally a cause for concern, but in looking at both China's foreign policy and the western interpretation of that policy, it is found that there is a big gap between intention and interpretation and subsequently the reaction the United States has historically taken towards China. Consequently upon conducting historical analysis and looking objectively at China's foreign policy in periods of conflict with the West it is evident that China pursued rational and in some cases intentionally non-confrontational policy in order to avoid outright conflict with western hegemons. With China actively attempting to avoid conflict with the United States in spite of their attempted exclusion whilst still being painted as a villain on the international stage, it is time to have a closer look at the role of policy interpretation in international relations and the exclusion/isolation illusion evident in US – China Relations.

Chris Eichbaum (Victoria University of Wellington)

Richard Shaw (Massey University)

The future of Public Administration: Speaking truth to power or fluffing the lines?

Since Woodrow Wilson identified the dual imperatives of politics and administration, a great deal of focus has been on the point of confluence of the two. To the extent that 'speaking truth to power' has been a common feature of liberal democratic systems of public administration, the constitutional premise has been that administration needs to enable the political will but test and contest the political against evidence and experience. Absent this kind of relationship politicisation can corrupt and compromise. This paper seeks to address two issues – the first is to examine the role of political staff in the core executive and assess the extent to which they may be vectors for administrative politicisation. In so doing we will draw on two pieces of research conducted in 2005 and in 2017 examining the role and influence of political staff in the New Zealand core executive. The second is to locate this research within the context of the discipline of Public Administration and invite reflection on whether, in the context of that discipline, recourse to - and the increasing influence of - political staff represents one adaptation to the 'large forces' shaping administrative development.

The Conceptual Challenge of Biodiversity Loss for Democratic Theory

Biodiversity loss presents at least as serious a challenge as climate change. Given the role played by democratically accountable information provision in securing the 2015 Paris Agreement, one looks for analogous sources for biodiversity policy. However, the structure of the problem itself confounds the estimation of the human impacts of biodiversity. Existing commentary focuses either on work-arounds or on explanations of why estimation is impossible. I argue that both the underlying problem and its possible solutions are rooted in democratic theory. I review democratic challenges for biodiversity policy (paternalism, scope, and irreversibility) and apply them to the estimation of the human impact of biodiversity loss. I consider and reject Yrjö Haila's suggestion that we abandon the attempt to estimate biodiversity loss. Shifting our measures in a democratic direction (antipaternal, scope appropriate to human experience, and as reversible as practicable) yields the kind of information about biodiversity loss that would facilitate the democratic decision making necessary to prevent it.

Explaining the Charity Inertia in Global Poverty: Two Theses

One major conundrum in combatting global poverty concerns the attitudes of citizens in affluent countries – they see global poverty as an issue of charity, not justice, despite the well-known 2005 “justice not charity” slogan in the Make Poverty History campaign, and despite the philosophical consensus that extreme poverty is one of the gravest injustices in our world. Charity and justice require radically different moral responses, and the lingering charity frame is surely a stumbling block in eradicating extreme poverty. A shift of paradigm from charity to justice will undoubtedly help people recognize more stringent individual/collective duties to correct this wrong. Persuading people into new moral beliefs, however, is not easy, and we must understand why this charity frame sticks for decades, before we make prescriptions to change it to a justice frame. I name this problem “the charity inertia”, and seek to offer two theses to explain it in my paper. One thesis examines how, regarding domestic poverty, people’s attitudes shifted from charity to justice over time; it then identifies four necessary conditions that motivates such a change, and tries to apply these conditions to the case of global poverty. The other thesis looks at the discourses and organizational dynamics of anti-poverty INGOs, and argues their current ways of operation, which focus on soliciting donations rather than educating, could not challenge people’s attitudes.

The Co-Evolution of Education and Tolerance: Evidence from England

Using data from several periods of English history and building on the literature on culture and institutions, we analyze the co-evolution of education and attitudes towards women's and minority rights. Firstly, we show that the geographical distribution of post-medieval educational institutions depends not only on the distribution of medieval institutions but also on correlates of medieval intergroup contact that are likely to have influenced attitudes. Secondly, we present evidence for high inter-temporal persistence in the geographical variation in the density of educational institutions up to modern times. Thirdly, we show that modern institutions influence local attitudes: the proximity of a large college fosters individual inhabitants' support for women's and minority rights, regardless of whether the individual has been to college. Institutions and culture co-evolve, and the inter-temporal persistence of the density of educational institutions is one mechanism (though probably not the only one) through which medieval intergroup contact influences modern attitudes.

What Makes Voting Inconvenient or Difficult for Young and Low-socioeconomic Voters? Comparing New Zealand and Sweden'

Many countries are making changes to their voting and voter enrolment procedures to make voting easier and more convenient, hoping to increase voter turnout among low-turnout groups such as young people (Gronke 2013). However, such attempts do not always take into account that voting procedures remain embedded in the broader institutional environment which can mediate their effects on voters' perceptions and experiences of access and convenience. Using data from focus groups with young, low-socioeconomic and migrant electors in New Zealand and Sweden and interviews with election officials, this paper investigates the mediating effects of institutions such as the welfare state, the education system and norms and values on electoral procedures. Using a comparative study of two cases (New Zealand and Sweden) which have similar electoral system and voting procedures, this paper discusses how and why identical voting procedures may or may not be a barrier to voting for some voters. It concludes that new institutionalist approaches are useful to broaden our understanding of the "cost of voting" or "convenience of voting" by including factors beyond the act of voting and registration. Policy recommendations on reforming voting procedures in New Zealand are offered in the context of legal, organisational and normative constraints.

The News Arm of the Law?

Local news coverage of crime often relies heavily on police information and this source-media relationship influences the discursive construction of crime, including gender-based crimes such as domestic violence. Previous research suggests that police-media relations often asymmetrically favour the police, while the local media are still able to act as police watchdogs. The relationship, and potentially the news coverage of domestic violence, may be shifting as local newspapers are shrinking in many Canadian markets while police external communications are professionalizing, growing, and increasing their capacity to produce their own content. Pressing questions arise: has that healthy tension faded away in the shifting relative power of newspapers and police communicators? What are the specific implications of this shifting police-media relationship for news attention to domestic violence? Comparing four diverse Canadian media landscapes, this paper explores the how police try to influence the local newspaper reporting on domestic violence, shifting police-media relations, and its influence on local journalism crime reporting practices. This paper interweaves content and discourse analysis of news reports in a large sample of daily newspapers from 2014 to 2016 with semi-structured interviews with police communications officials, local news reporters, and editors in four diverse Canadian cities. Bringing together perspectives about police political communication, news content, and contemporary journalism practice, this paper explores how shifting police-media relations influence the coverage of domestic violence in Canada and its implications for anti-violence efforts.

Political knowledge, inclusion and empowerment: Civics and citizenship education in Australia

In recent years, the study of citizens' engagement with politics and government has gained significant academic attention, especially in advanced liberal democracies. One way in which engagement has been explored is by considering citizens' level of political knowledge. Debates about political knowledge is often based on the argument that society functions best when its citizens understand how and why the political system works the way it does. Recent work has also shown that the degree of political knowledge influences how citizens receive, retain and process information about government. The degree of political knowledge may also influence citizens' capacity to keep governments accountable as well as allow them to participate in the political process more fully. This paper explores the political knowledge of recent school leavers. In particular, it examines how students from Melbourne, Australia learnt about civics, citizenship, politics and government with specific focus on how these areas were taught at high schools under a national framework. Indeed, successive national governments in Australia have placed great emphasis on teaching civics and citizenship since the mid-1990s. The results of this study provide insight into how and what young people learn about politics and government and how this may influence their participation in the political process.

"My Stealthy Freedom" Facebook Page: An Opportunity for the Iranian Feminist Movement?

In 2014 'My Stealthy Freedom' (MSF) grounded by exiled Iranian journalist, Masih Alinejad. She encouraged Iranian women to share their brief moments of stealthy freedom of not having hijab inside the Islamic Republic of Iran.

Despite receiving warm welcomes on the social media, MSF has been analyzed in contradictory ways by Iranian scholars and activists. On the one hand, it is considered as a platform that gives voice to a large group of Iranian women whose voices have always been ignored in public. On the other hand, it is considered as a threat which can exacerbate the situation of Iranian women in the public sphere since it tempts hardliners to tighten their Islamic law on hijab. According to this background, I would like to investigate how MSF campaign can expand the feminist and deliberative space to play a constructive role in the reformist feminist movement inside today's Iran?

Drawing on theories of public and counter-public, I would argue that MSF has potential to expand the feminist and deliberative space in the civil society of Iran and be an opportunity for the current active reformist feminist movement. To bring this potential into action, I would claim that MSF needs to go beyond one single exclusive public formed exclusively around the issue of compulsory hijab on the cyber-space and become an inclusive cyber-public for collective action towards reformations in favor of women's rights in Iran.

New Zealand's Evolving Diplomatic Links with the EU

This paper examines the evolution of New Zealand's diplomatic linkages with the European Union. New time-series data shows how the percentage of New Zealand's diplomatic resources devoted to Europe has changed since 1985. Although the fifth National government queried the relevance of Europe to New Zealand, the proportion of resources allocated to New Zealand's European diplomatic posts changed less than was initially expected under the fifth National government. The number of New Zealand diplomats at selected posts in Europe, which increased under the Clark Labour government, is also considered for selected years. Key New Zealand interests in Europe, which include trade, tourism and migration flows are outlined, along with threats to New Zealand's interests.

De-subjugating Knowledge: Preliminary Observations of the Academic-Policymaking Interface in the Field of International Peacebuilding

Over the past two decades, international peacebuilding efforts have undergone a foundational shift in the type of peace they seek to achieve – from a liberal, to a hybrid, and now a post-liberal peace. While this transition has been greeted with enthusiasm by many - as it is seen to allow for increased local ownership of peace processes and consequently a more durable and sustainable peace - an increasing body of literature critiques these assertions given the seemingly rhetorical way that transformative change has manifested in practice.

While numerous studies have sought to understand this problem by looking at the way in which theory is 'mistranslated' into practice, this paper holds that the co-option of transformative and emancipatory theory by policymakers, practitioners, and more mainstream scholars is sometime deliberate, arising from from both conscious and unconscious actions. This paper presents preliminary observations on the scholar -policymaking interface drawn from a series of scoping interviews with members of these institutions which were undertaken to better understand this relationship and the constraints on producing and implementing more radical changes in peacebuilding.

Lara Greaves (University of Auckland)

Barry Milne (University of Auckland)

Public Support for Referendums in New Zealand: Change over a Year in a National Survey

The number of referendums taking place in established democracies has been increasing. However, this has not been without controversy. In the past couple of years, Brexit in the United Kingdom and the flag referendums in New Zealand have caused debate over the role of direct democracy in political decision making. This paper utilizes two New Zealand national probability mail surveys ($Ns = 901-1,350$) collected both before and after a number of well publicized referendums, including the flag referendums. We find that the proportion of people who agree that referendums are a good way to make political decisions increased from 54.5% in 2015 to 70.7% in 2016. Furthermore, we find that the correlates of referendum support were different in 2015 and 2016. Indeed, in 2015, lower political interest, older age, and being Māori or Pacific ethnicity predicted lower levels of support for referendums. However, in 2016, only Green voters and non-voters showed significantly lower levels of support. This suggests that views on referendums may have changed differentially in the population. Thirdly, we examine support for referendums on a number of issues across the easy (cannabis policy and euthanasia) to hard (constitutional matters) issue complexity dimension. In summary, the results of this paper show that despite controversy, referendums have become more popular, but not with everyone, and not for all political issues.

How Egocentric Networks in Social Media lead to the Personalization of Politics: Understanding the Socio-psychological Mechanism Across Cultures

The development of social media was argued to have enabled the emergence of a new form of egocentric social networks. It is within this online sphere where the personalization of politics was observed to flourish. However, little explanation has been offered to understand the psychological mechanism underlying the linkage between the egocentric networks of social media and the personalization of politics. To address this gap, we conducted a representative survey involving representative samples from countries with differing cultural characteristics, namely Indonesia (n = 273, 55.3% female), the United States (n = 478, 56% female), Spain (n = 302, 49.3% female), and New Zealand (n = 561, 54.7% female). Drawing from social and cross-cultural psychological theories, this study provides empirical evidence that immersion in the egocentric networks of social media (i.e., social media uses) significantly lead to the enhancement of personal values, which then predispose the personalization of politics. Though the cultural characteristics of the society (individualism vs. collectivism) appeared to determine the strength of the link between social media uses and the enhancement of personal values, the indirect effects of social media use on the personalization of politics were found to be significant, positive, and consistent across cultures

Russia's Resurgence and New Zealand: The Asia-Pacific Context

Russia is a major power that is seeking to assert its international influence, and in so doing is creating significant challenges for Western states. In particular, tensions over Ukraine and Syria have led to heightened tensions not seen since the Cold War. So although Russia is not a priority focus of New Zealand foreign policy, its actions are increasingly significant for small states such as New Zealand in adjusting to a new security environment. Russia is also an Asia-Pacific state, and is aiming to become more engaged in the Asia-Pacific region – through increased trade, developing bilateral relationships, and involvement in regional integration projects. This extends even to the South Pacific, where Russia is attempting to follow China's lead in developing its own bilateral relationships with states such as Fiji, including, controversially, supplying it with a shipment of military weapons nominally for peacekeeping. As one of the original parties to the Antarctic Treaty system, Russia is also significant for New Zealand in pursuing its objectives in Antarctica, as shown by the protracted negotiations over the Ross Sea Marine Protected Area. This paper argues that Russia is an important international actor that New Zealand needs to engage with and to take into account in pursuing its interests, both in the Asia-Pacific and globally. However, New Zealand's relations with Russia are shaped by the wider developments in the international system and Russia's role within it, and as a liberal democratic state committed to a rules-based international system, New Zealand's policy options are constrained.

Russian rhetoric and practice in the UN Security Council: challenging Western normative hegemony

The breakdown in relations between Russia and the West over the past few years is partly the consequence of two features of contemporary Russian foreign policy: the challenge to Western claims to normative superiority, and the defence of traditional norms of state sovereignty and non-intervention. These features are reflected in debates in the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) and in Russia's increasing use of the veto. This paper looks at debates in the UNSC around contested issues. It shows how Russia has used its veto power to pursue its policy of protecting sovereignty and resisting intervention, and how Russian representatives rhetorically challenge Western claims to normative superiority in UNSC debates. It examines in what circumstances there is agreement and cooperation, but also when and why draft resolutions are brought to a vote despite a lack of consensus. It suggests that this constitutes a tactic of shaming Russia, making Russia appear obstructive and unprincipled. Nevertheless, Russian representatives still couch their arguments in terms of ethical principles, seeking to establish Russia as an equal participant in decision-making and as an equal normative power to Western states while aiming also to undercut their claims to principled positions.

Feminist Knowledge of Violence: Exclusions and Avenues for Participation in Theories of Nonviolence

This paper will discuss the contribution that feminist theory and feminist knowledge makes to theories and practices of nonviolent protest. Drawing upon the feminist theory of Crenshaw, I will argue that feminist theory not only adds to the understanding of nonviolence, but fundamentally changes the questions asked and the methods of theorising violence and nonviolence. I will set this in opposition to much of the current literature on nonviolent civil resistance, which is largely liberal in its focus on formal equality, as well as dominated by myths of the lone (male) hero of nonviolence. In addition, I will discuss the fact that the implications of a theory such as Crenshaw's are by no means unknown in feminist work and activism, but rather illustrated by widely used tools such as the Rape Culture Pyramid. This leads to the question of why such approaches are not implemented more widely in training manuals and literature on nonviolent protesting, especially given the strong focus on the advantage of increased participation in nonviolent protesting compared to violent insurgencies.

An Analysis of how political governance of liquid fuels contributes to energy security in Papua New Guinea

This PhD. Research Project is about the political economy of energy security in Papua New Guinea. In this discussion, I'll be briefly providing some insights into how the narrative of 'Paradox of Plenty' in the form of Resource Curse and Dutch Disease affects development outcomes and consequently contribute to energy security through the lens of political economy and complexity science based on my analysis. The focus of study is on the political governance of LNG in terms of its governance and management at political and policy levels from 2003 to 2017.

A Force to be Reckoned with: The Resurgence of Climate Change Scepticism within Australian Politics

The discourse of climate change scepticism first emerged in the early 1990s and has played a significant role in the climate change debate in Australia ever since. The motives for continuing scepticism are strong. It is much easier to think climate change is not serious and do nothing to try to address it. Inaction on climate change is also extremely profitable for fossil fuel and energy-intensive businesses, which have funded lobbyists, economic modelers and influential sceptic organisations. This study analyses parliamentary Hansard and media texts published by *The Age*, *The Australian*, and *The ABC*, to trace the discourse of climate change scepticism through the 2007, 2010, 2013 and 2016 federal election campaigns. It was found that rather than becoming more well-established as a key political issue, climate change actually became more marginal and contested over this ten year period. It is suggested that this can be at least partly attributed to the concerted efforts of climate change sceptics and sceptic organisations, who continue to promote the views that climate change is not occurring, is not caused by humans, does not pose a threat and / or cannot be effectively addressed. In this context, it is argued that sceptics have had considerable success in undermining calls for action to address climate change, and that Australian scientists and activists need to more effectively counter their claims and constructions in seeking to promote a more effective political response to the issue.

A New Model of Public Diplomacy: “Intermestic” Strategies and Instruments to Promote Policy Change

Traditional diplomacy used to be conducted exclusively by diplomats, limiting its implementation to state actors. Nowadays, the emergence of new media and demands for more transparency from governments require diplomats and publics to interact with each other, implying more interaction from government representatives with different audiences. State actors employ new communication alternatives as important instruments to address publics and solve different issues. Furthermore, the globalization process has opened the opportunity to non-state actors to participate in international affairs. As a result, public diplomacy has become an important type of diplomacy to achieve foreign policy goals. The participation of state and non-state actors in public diplomacy is fundamental to achieve common goals. In this paper, I argue that the participation of non-state actors is vital for the execution of public diplomacy programs. I propose a public diplomacy model that comprises state and non-state actors implementing reactive, proactive, and relationship-building strategies, as well as the instruments available for executing these strategies. In this model, governmental agencies and non-state actors, including multinational corporations and non-governmental organizations, may implement public diplomacy strategies and instruments to target overseas stakeholders shaping the political environment and influencing perceptions and attitudes among different audiences, and eventually, generate a policy change in the host country.

Yadira Ixchel Martines Pantoja (University of Auckland)
Rafael San José Iglesias (Auckland University of Technology)

The Convergence of Public Diplomacy and Public Relations: An Analysis of Strategies and Instruments

Nowadays global connectivity presents new challenges to governments, multinational corporations, and non-governmental organizations in terms of communications because issues are becoming 'intermestic,' with international and domestic factors influencing at the same time. Furthermore, with the emergence of new technologies, global media, and information awareness, diplomacy cannot be longer conducted in complete secrecy. In order to achieve foreign policy goals more successfully, foreign affairs representatives need to design and implement public diplomacy programs. Many strategies and instruments of public diplomacy have been adopted from the public relations discipline. While public diplomacy refers to a state actor targeting publics overseas, public relations considers a non-state actor targeting both international and domestic publics. In terms of communications, public diplomacy operates similarly to public relations implementing reactive, proactive, and relationship building strategies to respond to news events, create messages to influence audiences' perceptions and attitudes, and develop lasting relationships with key opinion leaders and audiences. Likewise, public diplomacy and public relations utilize similar instruments although objectives may differ. In order to advance the theoretical development of public diplomacy, it is necessary to consider the increasing convergence of public diplomacy and public relations. This paper will analyze actors, audiences, strategies, and instruments of public diplomacy and public relations employed similarly by state and non-state actors.

Role of Media in Electoral Politics in India – A Study of General Election 2014

In a constitutional democracy the media plays a crucial role in strengthening the democratic institutions of free society. Modern Politics is largely mediated politics, experienced by most citizens through their choice of print or electronic media. Any study of contemporary democracy is therefore, also a study of how the media reports and interprets political events and issues, influences the political process and shapes public opinion. Thus the media has become central to politics and public life in contemporary democracy.

This paper aims at exploring the role of media in electoral politics within the larger context of media politics Society inter-relationship. Media's relationship with politics has long been an integral part of social science research in India and elsewhere. Media's role in the Indian sub continental politics and society has emerged as a crucial point of discussion in the last two decades. As a matter of fact India the largest democracy in the world is an emerging economy and Society. Hence the media politics society relationship will be discussed here.

However the main focus of this paper is to explore media's influence on general election 2014 in India with the help of mediated buzzwords (a word or a phrase that becomes highly popular for a particular period of time). Role of media will be explored by analyzing the relationship between the buzzwords and newspapers disseminating them and exploring the impact and influence of these mediated buzzwords on the electorate cutting across different social location.

This study will have three parts, to identify mediated buzzwords and issues during General election of 2014 in India, to assess the effect of these mediated buzzwords on the formation of political opinion of the electoral during general elections of 2014 in India and the dynamic relationship between media and democracy in India.

Reconsidering utopia: The Dialectic of Sex and contemporary feminist activism

Utopian spaces have always been crucial to feminist theorising and activism. Utopia is a tool with which we can imagine what our perfect feminist space might look like. However the concept of utopia has become increasingly unfashionable in a neoliberal society that emphasizes personal responsibility and the idea that “there is no alternative”. What this paper suggests is a return to the utopian for feminism, inspired particularly by Firestone’s *The Dialectic of Sex*. By re-conceptualizing utopia in a way that reflects the temporary, contradictory society that we are situated in, it can again become a tool for feminists to create, alter or deconstruct space.

Lu Jian (Tsinghua University in Beijing)
Chris Chan King Chi (City University of Hong Kong)

Interest-Based, Rightful or Value-driven Resistance? An Analysis on the Nature and Characteristics of Environmental Protests in Urban China

While the existing literature mainly focuses on the tactics or repertoire of mobilization of the environmental protests against the construction of industrial projects or infrastructures with environmental and health risks in urban China, it still lacks an overarching concept which can describe the nature and specialty of Chinese environmental resistance within the context of rising environmentalism under global capitalism. Through the background research on a series of environmental protests since the 2000s, this study first identifies the changing characteristics of emerging environmental protests in urban China, including human health as primary concern, active participation of the middle class, locality-based mobilization and large-scale demonstration or militant street protest. Furthermore, through an intensive case study of environmental protest in Qidong, Jiangsu province, in 2012, this study analyzes the nature of this wave of urban environmental protests. The authors argue that the emerging urban environmental protests in contemporary China are cross-class collective actions which contain the elements of interests-oriented, rights-based and value-driven actions. Therefore, China's environmental protests are the 'counter-movement' of the society (Polyani, 1957) against the damages caused by expansion of market in the post-socialist China.

Plurinational Democracies: Between Race and Law

This research aims to contribute to the academic understanding of the constitutional and political construction of plurinationality under the frame of Latin-American epistemologies and critical studies on race and law. Specifically I intend to establish a dialogue between the Bolivian constituent process and the plurinational processes of Spain, Canada and New Zealand. My objective is then to perform a comparative analysis on the plurinational technologies of power in the above mentioned states. This analysis will comprehend the intersectionality of race, ethnicity and class, and their realizations as constitutional instruments. An analysis capable of understanding the rise of constitutional technologies of two settler colonialist nations (Canada and New Zealand), one Latin-American state with a majority of indigenous population (Bolivia) and one multinational southern European state (Spain). Four representative cases of practices and understandings on plurinationality. Four answers to the problematics of diversity management in contemporary multi-cultural, multi-national and multi-ethnic societies. I will emphasize on the analysis of the concrete implementation of the so called decolonization of the Bolivian state, and its pluralistic policies over the population as a potential reference for the other study cases.

Public Participation without Politicians

This presentation examines the very personal situation of the Port Hills fires in Christchurch in February 2017 and the subsequent recovery planning process and public participation. I outline the process the Christchurch City Council undertook, from the point of view of an effected land owner and an academic. The process was interesting for its lack of political involvement and distance from the community that I am part of, despite council community engagement staff stating that they would “walk along beside us on our recovery journey”. The public participation felt like a technical and bureaucratic exercise undertaken because of requirements of legislation rather than an exercise to assist the community. I argue that what should have been a process with elected representatives and their community became a technical exercise undertaken solely by staff.

Temporalities of Crisis: The Continuities and Discontinuities of De Facto Sovereignty

A variety of conceptualisations of sovereignty, particularly those from the Classical Realist school of International Relations, argue that the material manifestation of this supreme and absolute power is inextricably tied to moments of political crisis. From Thomas Hobbes, to Carl Schmitt and Hans Morgenthau, all find that the inevitability of conflict and crisis in a political community constitutes the reason for and revelation of (de facto) sovereignty.

Notably, such conceptions seem to imply a clearly discernible rupture between periods of political order, and the crisis that provokes a sovereign decision. This paper, however, questions whether we can truly think of temporality in such a way. Do critical events of sovereign decision-making truly occur in a full departure or isolation from 'normal' times, and how should we be able to think of sovereignty in politically 'regular' periods – some of which may last decades? By extracting the temporal implications in a range of theories of sovereignty, this paper aims to explore both the continuous and discontinuous nature of sovereign decisions in crisis situations, arguing that our understanding of the temporality of crises is an essential component in the way we think of sovereignty in international relations.

Gender-power relations from Iran to New Zealand: How changes of context can alter power relationships in families

This paper explores how migrating from a religious and patriarchal context to a secular and more gender-equal context can effect women's perceptions of gender roles, and how those changes in perception can influence women to re-negotiate power relationships in their families. In my qualitative study of 35 Iranian women who migrated to New Zealand, most of the participants explained that their perceptions of themselves as women or as partners had changed following their migration. They reported various ways (both in terms of rights and agency) that they had reconsidered and re-negotiated their personal and social roles, often in ways that were not possible for them in their home country.

Clearly, moving away from the context of their home country, with its semi-patriarchal values and laws, to a more gender-equal context in New Zealand tended to boost these women's confidence and enhance their abilities for establishing equality-based relationships. However, there is another side to the stories of these women's migrations. Factors such as social isolation from the host society, difficulties with English proficiency, and feelings of being socially excluded could reduce these women's self-confidence, both inside and outside their families. Although, these factors are not directly gender-related, we should take them into account in dealing with the bigger question of "how migration affects women."

A Model of Public Diplomacy and Advocacy

This paper introduces my public diplomacy and advocacy model, which I intend to use for my PhD research on Israeli and Palestinian advocacy groups operating in New Zealand and Australia. My model draws upon theories and concepts from four different fields: public diplomacy, advocacy, nation branding, and political marketing.

My model seeks to address my PhD thesis' puzzle of how advocacy/interest groups can operate within the framework of public diplomacy. Are advocacy groups foreign proxies or are they independent actors with their own aspirations and goals? Public diplomacy describes the outward communications activities that governments use to win over foreign publics and indirectly influence other countries' foreign policies.

My model hypothesizes that advocacy groups aid official public diplomacy initiatives through nation branding and political market. Nation branding describes the communication efforts by governments, sympathetic advocacy groups, and corporate actors to promote a positive national image and debunk negative perceptions and propaganda. While traditionally associated with tourism, nation branding has also been used to promote national cohesion and political legitimacy. Political marketing focuses on how advocacy groups use marketing techniques to achieve their goals such as bolstering membership and winning sympathy for their causes and goals.

I intend to use this model as the theoretical framework for my PhD research on Israeli and Palestinian groups. It can be regarded as a synthesis of public diplomacy, advocacy, nation branding, and political marketing. I look forward to receiving input from academics, fellow students, and practitioners.

Enzo Lenine Lima (Federal University of Rio Grande do Sul)

Melina Mörschbacher (Federal University of Rio Grande do Sul)

Perestroika reloaded? Hierarchies of knowledge in the debate on the Data Access and Research Transparency initiative

The Perestroika Movement in the beginning of the years 2000 had a profound and pervasive effect in the discipline. The email sent by the anonymous Mr. Perestroika unleashed a series of debates about the epistemological and methodological predilections of the American Political Science Association (APSA). Many renowned political scientists subscribed to the charges made by Mr. Perestroika, who accused APSA of dogmatism and a quantitative orientation in its main publication, the American Political Science Review. The movement revived old schisms in the discipline, especially the quanti-quali debate, reverberating across the discipline in the US and elsewhere. Less than two decades later, the Data Access and Research Transparency (DA-RT) initiative has brought these schisms to the spotlight once again. The initiative calls for more transparency in the discipline and has managed to promote changes in the editorial policies of at least 27 journals in North America and Europe. Nevertheless, the discourse that sustains DA-RT is intrinsically political, revealing a politics of science where qualitative works are seen with distrust. Quantitative scholars tend to favour the implementation of DA-RT claiming that it will enhance transparency and the importance of political science. Qualitative researchers, on the other hand, are concerned about the implications to the future of qualitative studies and the impact on the formation of young political scientists. Therefore, by surveying the arguments mobilised by both sides in this new debate, we attempt to provide an assessment of DA-RT and its hierarchies of knowledge.

Precarity, Cognitive (Non)Resistance, and the Emerging Conservative Working Class in China

Workers' resistance is crucial to help understand how the working class respond to the growing employment precarity in post-socialist China. The literature of labour studies posits that inequality and volatile capital movement increase workers' precarity and lead to stronger labour resistance, such as the increased number of strikes. However, workers' cognitive resistance as an integral part has been rarely studied. This paper examines the cognitive resistance of the Chinese workers from different tier cities by looking at their social trust, class identity, understanding of policies, and class solidarity. Despite capital movement and precarity causing more labour unrest, it does not necessarily lead to a stronger cognitive resistance. While inequality and precarity is worse in the more developed megacities with a shifting capital favourability, workers in the megacities in general have a more conservative cognitive resistance than those from the lower-tier cities. This study of workers' cognitive resistance provides useful insight into the future of Chinese labour movement. I argue that the working class's current cognitive non-resistance suggests that even if a window of opportunity appears in the wall of state oppression one day, they are still not cognitively ready to coalesce into a coherent social movement that would bring about transformative political changes.

Karl Löfgren (Victoria University of Wellington)
Michael Macaulay (Victoria University of Wellington)
John Alford (Melbourne Business School/ANZSOG)
Michael Di Francesco (University of New South Wales/ANZSOG)
Marece Wenholdt (Victoria University of Wellington)

Are we that special? A review of the academic literature on public management reforms in Australia and New Zealand

Australasia has long been regarded as a crucible for public management reforms. Both Australia and New Zealand were pronounced as exemplars of the 'constructed' doctrines presented in Christopher Hood's original article on New Public Management (NPM) (Hood, 1991), and subsequent assessments reinforced this view in both New Zealand (cf. Boston et al. 1996) and Australia (cf. O'Faircheallaigh et al., 1999). It sometimes appears that the legacy of NPM still colours much current thinking, despite the whittling down of many of the reforms of the 1980s/1990s (Lodge and Gill, 2012; Chapman and Duncan 2007), whereas others suggest that it has been superseded by new modes of governance (e.g. Osborne, 2010).

This paper charts the academic peer-reviewed literature on public management reforms in New Zealand and Australia from a comparative perspective between 1991-2016. By isolating the writing about the jurisdictions in the region, we will be able to see if anything has emerged from the crucible that might resemble either (a) a new Australasian (academic) model of public management, or (b) any unifying trends post NPM. In so doing, we will explore the extent to which new theory might be constructed from the Australasian experience. This paper will take only the first steps in identifying the state of the literature.

The Reconciliation Challenge: How Do We Monitor Indigenous Rights in Canada?

As Canada supposedly enters an era of Indigenous-settler re/conciliation, there is no shortage of recommendations as to how these relationships can be improved. Canada's Truth and Reconciliation Commission outlined 94 calls to action in 2015 to create re/conciled relationships between Indigenous peoples and settler Canadians, and also between Indigenous nations and the crown. These echo the over 400 recommendations made in 1996 by the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, and follows on from the UNDRIP to which Canada signed on in 2010. This paper is divided into three sections. First I briefly discuss some of the problematic issues in need of redress in Canada and outline some of the key recommendations of the TRC and how they tie in with the UNDRIP. Second, I assess the Trudeau government's record on reconciliation to date, which has been rhetorically strong, but rather sporadic and inconsistent on substantive action. Third, I question why there has been no national council on reconciliation and no national body monitoring reconciliation. Some work has been done by the National Centre for Truth and Reconciliation, and a range of organizations have news feeds and some ad hoc analysis of the status of reconciliation, but little more has been done. I suggest ways this monitoring process can be better implemented, drawing on examples from other settler states. The research for this paper is funded by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada.

The Fates of Democracy

Taking advantage of the Google Books corpus, this paper explores the evolution of the language of democracy over the last two centuries in several languages (English, French, Spanish, German, Italian, Russian, and Chinese). It traces the rise and fall of the terminology for democracy and related concepts in these languages, documenting a change from an anti-aristocratic and anti-monarchical language of democracy in the 19th century to a problematic of hierarchy, bureaucracy, and technocracy in the second half of the 20th century. The paper also traces the evolution of democratic language in a smaller corpus of Marxist and Anarchist texts, showing the distinctiveness of their conceptualizations of democracy relative to the "mainstream". Beyond its specific historical claims, the paper also demonstrates how techniques of "distant reading" (Moretti 2013) may be used in political theory and the history of political thought.

Sameen Masood (University of Waikato)
Adele Norris (University of Waikato)
Gauri Nandedkar (University of Waikato)

Masculinities, and Gender and Development Initiatives: A Critical Analysis of Development Studies Discourse

Over the past decade, Gender and Development scholars have alerted us to the marginalization of men, as a gendered category, and masculinities in development studies. This call to emphasize the relationship between men and women as a central focus in development studies entered mainstream discourse around the first part of the twenty-first century. Moreover, as adolescent girls became increasingly the target of development initiatives, again adolescent boys have been relegated to the periphery of program initiatives or overlooked. It has been well documented that complementary programs for men and women and adolescent girls and boys are ideal for sustainable development. Thus, it is expected that mainstream development discourse reflects an emergence of masculinities as an integral component of gender-related initiatives. With a particular focus on empowerment-based programs in rural areas, this study involves a comprehensive review of development research published in top-tier journals over the last decade (2006-2016). Particular attention is devoted to the extent men/boys have been integrated into development scholarship. This analysis revealed a slight increase in topics related to men/boys during latter five years, but remains considerably low in comparison to women/adolescent girls. Also, the male response to women/adolescent girl's participation in empowerment-based programs remains under-researched. This paper concludes with a discussion of the implications associated with the continued lag in male-related topics/issues in Gender and Development scholarship. As rural areas continue to be primary sites for development initiatives, this paper places emphasis on understanding masculinity in rural contexts.

Michel de Montaigne's Concept of Courage

For Michel de Montaigne, the conquest of the New World showed that classical, aristocratic valour was a dying paradigm: if all struggles can be settled by a test of power and skill, courage appears to be obsolete. Montaigne, though, recognised that the purely instrumental concerns of power and skill have no meaning in themselves, but aspire to an omnipotence through which an understanding of the self and its world evaporates. A god can never possess self-knowledge because, for Montaigne, self-knowledge is forged ontologically through opposition and struggle and under conditions of finitude. The attempt to transcend or avoid this ontological struggle (and the courage that this struggle requires of us) through the application of ontic method is both cowardly and futile. The self is an inescapably finite, horizontal being embedded in a world of flux and plurality.

I argue that Montaigne's depiction of the relationship between courage and instrumentality anticipates Martin Heidegger in important respects. Montaigne's scepticism about universal method shares a similar basis to Heidegger's scepticism about technology: namely, both set up instruments in the place of Being, and encourage humans to interact with these instruments in the manner of automatons. In merely following instructions—whether the instructions that come with an item of technology (for Heidegger) or the instructions handed down by rigid doctrine (for Montaigne)—the subject lacks the mindfulness required for genuine acts of courage.

Towards the nuclear fire: the effects of cyber-electromagnetic weaponisation on bilateral nuclear deterrence

Of all instability dynamics of the post-1991 strategic force reduction era, none is as challenging to bilateral crisis stability as rapid increases in the degree of vertical cyber-electromagnetic (CEM) weapons proliferation. As bilateral nuclear deterrence is vitally dependent upon the functionality of nuclear command and control (NC2) systems to sustain the machinery of first-strike stability (i.e. the unqualified survivability of second-strike capability), the development of high-intensity anti-NC2 CEM weapons constitutes a direct threat to deterrence stability. The prospect of NC2 paralysis, generated by surgical deployment of CEM weaponry, stems from the potential vulnerability of all prime physical and cybernetic modules of nuclear triad to strategic CEM warfare. If the vertical proliferation of CEM arms is to continue at its present rate, the index of first-strike stability is expected to either marginally or critically decrease. Hereby, the ultimate question: could the vertical proliferation of anti-NC2 CEM arms by nuclear states result in [limited] nuclear war?

This predictive paper models the stability dynamics of the US-Russian bilateral nuclear deterrence machinery as stress-tested by an external variable of 'qualitative CEM arms race' within the time-frame of 2020-2035. The utilised methodology is behavioural game theory. The paper's findings are as follows: all variables functioning at predicted rates, a) for 2020-2030, 99.8% probability of US-Russian qualitative CEM arms race towards the formation of a CEM-centric security dilemma; b) for 2032-2033, critical reduction in the index of US-Russian first-strike stability; c) for 2033-2035, in any intense crisis, 97.2% increase in the either state's tendency towards pre-emptive nuclear first-strike. Thus, vertical proliferation of anti-NC2 CEM arms is extremely likely to result in the failure of bilateral nuclear deterrence.

Julienne Molineaux (University of Otago)
Verica Rupar (Auckland University of Technology)

Hounding the Beneficiary Cheat: Media Coverage of Metiria Turei's Fall from Grace

The disclosure by Green Party co-leader Metiria Turei that in her 20s she had been a welfare cheat, set in motion a series of events she did not anticipate. As the clamour for her scalp grew and questions about her family relationships became more intense, Turei resigned from the leadership and the Party's list.

This paper looks at the media coverage of the Turei story from the disclosure to the resignation, situating it within broader cultural attitudes towards beneficiaries and notions of the deserving and undeserving poor. Focusing on the attributed credibility of the main agent in the story, the media coverage of the case serves as a stage for an investigation of discourses around poverty, exploring the tension between the semantics of inclusion and the phenomena of exclusion at the level of social structure. The data for this media analysis includes New Zealand newspapers, radio and TV programmes and most prominent blogs.

Maturity, knowledge and competence: what matters for enfranchisement?

In this electoral cycle there has been an increase in consideration of the voting rights of young citizens. While lowering the voting age is not yet a popular issue, the matter is entering the public consciousness. I have undertaken a research project designed to examine the positions of political candidates regarding voting for younger citizens, and to determine whether and/or how well these align with theoretically defensible positions on the reasons for exclusion of young citizens from the franchise. In this presentation I present some initial results and consider the implications of these results.

I provided all candidates in the 2017 general election with the following prompt:

Ignore the current legal voting age. Imagine a 15 year old New Zealand citizen. They are mature and knowledgeable about New Zealand politics. Are they competent to vote?

Yes / No / I don't know

Briefly, please explain why you answered as you did.

The prompt was framed towards two ends: first, to determine how commonly competence was attributed to young citizens, and secondly, to distinguish between competence as such and considerations used to deny it (namely maturity and knowledge).

I have argued previously that the only defensible grounds of disenfranchisement of young citizens is a lack of competence. The survey responses show that politicians in New Zealand take a range of other considerations to be reasons for disenfranchisement.

Direct evidence of the effect of bribery on income inequality

Contrary to moralistic assumptions, bribery does not necessarily worsen socio-economic outcomes such as income inequality. In the absence of well-functioning public institutions, bribery is often the only way that bribe-payers can get things done to supplement their income. It has been proposed that this is true in particular where the informal economy is large. To test these assumptions, I use direct evidence of the incidence of bribery as surveyed by Transparency International's Global Corruption Barometer and by the World Bank's enterprise surveys. The resulting data on bribery are more reliable than data on perceptions of corruption, the most commonly used indicator of corruption. Using both OLS and an instrumental variable approach to cater for reverse causality, I test for the robustness of the claim that, under certain conditions, bribery can allow the poorer quartiles to supplement their income shares.

Adele N. Norris (University of Waikato)

Veronica Triariyani Kanem (University of Waikato)

Clinging to Indigenous Cultures: Cultural Appropriation of the Noken in West Papua

Noken is a traditional multi-purpose bag made from weaving thin strips of wood from a particular tree. From the process of collecting the raw materials, to weaving, and to various uses, nokens play a vital role in the lives of indigenous Papuans. This study presents data from a larger research investigation of West Papuan market women that examined various power differentials between indigenous and Indonesia market women negotiating market spaces and goods sold. The protection of indigenous goods emerged as a major theme. Drawing on a Women Culture and Development (WCD) approach, this paper explores narratives from indigenous Papuan women, specifically articulations around nokens. In addition to being described as a central cultural item, the women expressed a concern around its future availability and its local distinctiveness. As raw materials required to make nokens grow scarce, coupled with non-indigenous women/groups sell and appropriation of the traditional bag, nokens are becoming harder to come by and tokenized. The latter speaks to specific uses of nokens outside of their traditional function; particularly in ways Papuans deem disrespectful. Thus, an analysis of the noken lends itself to a useful understanding of the link between economic development initiatives in the Merauke regency of West Papua and shifting cultural identity. The analysis revealed a complexity expressed by local indigenous women that is discussed across three interrelated themes: (1) losing cultural identity/distinctiveness; (2) weakening social capital/networks; (3) diminishing local voice.

Unmanned aerial vehicles, Civilian Safety and International Law in Conflict Zones

In recent years, the sharp rise in the use of Unmanned Aerial Vehicles (UAVs) in conflict zones has received increased attention. Continued critical consideration of this new unconventional weapon system is essential, especially as the current international security architecture may not be able to restrain the eventual full lethal autonomization of UAVs. With this in mind, this paper explores the use of UAVs in contemporary conflict zones and considers their implications for international law and the safety of non-combatants. Anchored in just war theory, it draws upon qualitative secondary sources to interrogate ethical arguments pertaining to UAV use. The paper posits that deployment of UAVs in complex conflict zones draws attention to the difficulty of distinguishing civilian non-combatants from enemy combatants, while the dynamics of UAV warfare inevitably generate civilian casualties. The paper submits that the deployment of UAVs contravenes international law, while the absence of regulatory laws for the weaponization and deployment of UAVs worsens civilian safety, as there is little legal or normative incentive to constrain UAV use.

The Politics of Incarceration: Should Correctional Facilities in Aotearoa / New Zealand be Managed under the Auspices of Local Communities?

Former New Zealand Finance Minister Bill English stated that prisons represented the 'moral and fiscal failure' of society. Despite such comments, the 5th National Government has subsequently needed to outlay considerable expenditure as a means to increase capacity among the country's network of prisons. 'Better Public Services' with its focus on 'reducing reoffending' was the most recent neoliberal iteration of state sector performance measurement, but since its inception New Zealand's rates of incarceration have climbed to some of the highest levels in the developed world. With the current system failing to meet its rehabilitation targets, and costs ballooning, is it time the country re-examined the centralisation of prison management in a bid make local communities more accountable?

Reclaiming Palestine, Past and Present

Shunted aside by so-called 'biblical history' and Zionism, the Palestinian past has frequently been marginalized if not obliterated. But what does Palestinian history mean? The question requires navigation of a route between reclamation and invention. This paper reviews the case that a potent combination of cultural predisposition, flawed methodology, ideological imperative and sheer institutional power has constructed an ancient Israel that displaced the diversity of Palestine's ancient past just as contemporary Israel looks to displace Palestine today. This study looks to reclaim that diversity but without inventing an ancient Palestinian mirror-image of a fake ancient Israel.

Automation of Defence Technology and the Future of International Humanitarian Laws

The swift advancement of automation in defence technology undermines the possibility of a “just war” more than ever. It is increasingly evident that neither the criteria for going to a war nor the actions of combatants that makes a war “just”, can sustain. The entire existing structure of international definition and laws of war and the actions of combatants during a war, have been formed prior to the rise of the Information Technology and its global and encompassing impacts. They are designed based on treaty of Westphalia and Clausewitzian view of war, both conceptually and tactically. The International Humanitarian Laws and the existing model of ethics of war are responses to existing historical wars and thus only address clausewitzian issues. The development of new defence technologies, however, is aimed for major impacts, speed and cost-effectiveness. They undermine the existing structure of international politics and war by removing human agent in a conflict context. New weapon systems such as Surveillance technologies, Rail-Gun, Robotlet Swarm (MAVs), Laser Weapon System (LAWS), Active denial system (ADS) and drones are promoted solely based on lower cost of life for the attacking armies and their accuracy and efficiency rather than their adherence to the codes of the ethics of war. The automation of defence technology, I argue, undermines the existing international political structure as it neglects the boundaries of sovereignty. More crucially, however, it makes the reciprocity of the laws of Jus in Bello obsolete due to the disengagement between the scientific rules that institute the automation process and the political debates that form the basis for International Humanitarian Laws (IHL). Automation of defence technology creates a major gap between two forces in a conflict in terms of experiencing war and consequently aversion from war. The three categories of Distinction, Proportionality and Military necessary that form the IHL are all developed in the context human verses human combats. These rules cannot apply to automated defence technologies, even if they are operated by a human. I argue that the international community must place more emphasize on peace as the consequences of conducting of war are becoming graver for humanity and the environment with the automation process. In addition, new sets of rules should be developed by political theorists, lawyers and philosophers with more focus on empathy and human rights to mitigate the major risks of violation of human security as the result of the expedient development of automated defence technology.

New Zealand's Encounter with the Trump Administration

How can New Zealand maintain close ties with a new Trump administration that has promised to pursue a radically different foreign policy from the previous Obama administration? The paper addresses this question in three phases. First, it considers possible areas of common interest and accommodation between the current New Zealand government and the Trump administration. Second, the paper identifies points of divergence and potential stumbling blocks in the New Zealand-US relationship during the Trump era. Third, the chapter weighs the likely continuities and changes in the relationship and argues Wellington will have its work cut out to sustain a positive relationship with the Trump team without compromising its growing economic links with China, and its fundamental commitment to multilateralism, free trade and the rule of law.

Fear: A Hindrance to Local Religious Leaders' Peacebuilding in the Southern Thailand Conflict

This paper presents findings from in-depth interviews with 32 locally-based Buddhists and Muslims who were involved in peacebuilding in the southernmost provinces of Thailand. It aims to investigate how behaviour of the military officers and security forces impacts local religious leaders' engagement in peacebuilding in the Southern Thailand conflict. The findings

shows that the Thai military officer and security forces impaired the peacebuilding environment via security concerns, which were driven by the military's suspicion over local Islamic leaders and the military's militarising of Buddhist monks. Such emphasis on the security front generated fear – a condition de-motivating local religious leaders from undertake peacebuilding activities. Fear led to development of negative attitudes towards the other ethnoreligious group and unwillingness to draw resources for peacebuilding that could have been provided by the military officers and security forces.

No mountains where to hide: mountains and the presence of conflict in Colombia (2000-2012)

This paper questions the idea posed by Collier and Hoeffler in 1999 that mountainous countries are more prone to conflict, by studying the Colombian civil conflict and changing the scope of analysis from the national to the local level. A binomial logistic regression. Using data from 1124 Colombian municipalities from 2000 to 2012, it shows that there is no statistical relationship between the presence of armed groups in the local level and altitude. In addition, as the authors argue that mountainous are remote areas that provide haven to rebels, this study introduces other variables of 'remoteness' and found that are not the remote areas where Colombian armed groups are present. Five theses are offered to explain why mountains and the presence of armed groups is not related and why they don't act in remote areas: first, illegal armed groups hide among the population rather than in the mountains; second, armed groups do not act where they can hide but where they can found popular support; third, not all non-state actors need or want to hide from the government, as some of them are not anti-establishment actors; fourth, armed groups don't settle where they can hide but where their background is and where they found a tradition of rebellion; fifth, the presence of armed groups does not necessarily mean the occurrence of conflict.

Minority rights vs Minority Rights

The 1987 Philippine Constitution recognizes the rights of minorities. It has recognized their rights to self-determination and has mandated the Philippine legislature to draft statutes that would protect those rights. The Indigenous Peoples Rights Act (IPRA) for example has been a landmark statute that provides wide-ranging protection to indigenous peoples in the Philippines. It is hoped that indigenous peoples in the Philippines would be able to maximize their potentials with the IPRA. This however is being threatened by another legislation that seeks to recognize the Muslim Filipinos also called Moros. The Moros are also minorities in the Philippines.

The Philippine Constitution requires an enabling law that would give flesh to the autonomous region for the Moros. The current Autonomous Region for Muslim Mindanao is a product of Republic Act RA 9054. However, according to studies, the ARMM has many limitations. As a result, an armed group has been negotiating with the Philippine government to strengthen the autonomous region. The proposed law called the Bangsamoro Basic Law (BBL) does not recognize the IPRA. This is important since there are indigenous groups within the territory defined for the Moros. Is this a case of minority rights vs. minority rights?

This paper will be analyzing the implications of the Bangsamoro Basic Law to the implementation of the IPRA. It will also look at the dynamics of the ongoing debates regarding the BBL focusing on the rights of the indigenous peoples in the proposed territory of the BBL. It will conclude that a system approach is necessary in proposals regarding the recognition of minority rights since it would affect other groups, majority populations and minority populations alike.

National Identity and Politics of Exclusion

The beginning of the 21st century has been characterised by the progression of far right movements and nationalism in liberal democratic countries. The idea of political emancipation and nationhood involves the goal of liberation from an oppressor which can exist in a form of privileged (noble) class or a foreign rule. However, the process of the creation of nations is also distinctively characterised by the establishment of internal national homogeneity i.e. national identity. With respect to this, one commonly finds the typology originally popularised by Friedrich Meinecke who differentiated between cultural and political nations (Kulturnation and Staatsnation). The political/civic idea of the nation takes the nation as a purely political and voluntaristic collective. In recent literature, the idea has been expressed in the language of constitutional patriotism which (re)affirms that national membership can (and ought to be) rational and acultural, grounded on democratic norms and values. The cultural idea of the nation is said to draw its roots from the interest in the rediscovery of traditional moral values, 'natural bond' of cultural groups and peculiarities of their identities, be that through language, religion, customs, race etc. It emphasises natural membership and roles in socio-political communities because its self-determination is intrinsically legitimised on its pre-determination. Increasingly popular far-right political parties in liberal democracies have arguably taken up the model of cultural nation, which is conceptually able to serve as a basis for exclusion on all levels and all grounds. Is the democratic state able to reconcile national political identity without resorting to 'socio-natural' uniformity of its members?

The Values Project (or, What Horkheimer Can Teach Us About Policy Making in New Zealand)

Max Harris' recent book *The New Zealand Project* argues that policy making and politics more broadly have lost their way. According to Harris, ethical and values based considerations have been shunted aside in favour of technocratic approaches grounded in the neoliberal project leading to a number of issues such as inequality, voter disenfranchisement, lack of social cohesion and environmental damage. He advocates instead for an alternate approach grounded in values. Whilst Harris gives examples of the values he favours (care, community and creativity) as well as concrete examples of how they are to be applied in particular cases of policy making, he does not spell out an account of the values based approach as distinct from the status quo.

We suggest the distinction could be elaborated by considering Max Horkheimer's account of instrumental reason. Horkheimer argues that instrumental reason concerns itself solely with means, without considering whether the ends towards which these means aim are themselves worthwhile. We believe that the aspects of the status quo that Harris is discomfited by map on to this excessive concern with means rather than ends. It is at the level of ends that the values based approach can make its contribution in the form of a discussion of what ends we should pursue with our policy making and for what reasons.

A values based approach focusing on substantive discussion of ends should occur not just at the level of evaluation or analysis of policy but also where policy is introduced: i.e. in the sphere of politics. We use the case study of the discussion of immigration policy in the leadup to this year's election to illustrate the merits of a value based approach and demonstrate how such an approach could have avoided much of the unwarranted racism and xenophobia generated by the currently prevalent means-centred approach.

Searching for innovative options for donors' Somali defence reform

The current state of donor security assistance to Somalia falls somewhat short of the real measures required to drive Somali SSR forward from the challenges of 30 years of war. Lessons from 20 years of SSR are in some cases relevant and in some cases irrelevant to Somalia's factionalised and parched landscape and people. The Somali National Army is actually a collection of semi-controlled militias at war which makes any serious reform very difficult. The author will survey donor military security assistance in Somalia, in as much as is known, and put forward some ideas on interim defence reform measures. What could donors do better based on the difficult working context and taking into account the history and indigenous Somali approaches to peacemaking?

Local Ownership or Lack of Urgency? The NARC and the Future of the African Standby Force

The African Standby Force: it's North African Regional Capability (NARC) and the future. Examining the still-born North African component of the African Standby Force, much disrupted by the war in Libya since 2011, emphasizes the local ownership challenges and uncertain future for the whole ASF across the continent. The NARC has three major component states (Egypt, Libya, and Algeria) which have very different ideas about their regional security environment and face different security challenges. Disinterest in what is mostly a Sub-Saharan challenge (peacekeeping and peace enforcement in conflict-wracked states) may have risen, in Algeria's case, to actively blocking the further operationalisation of the force. What does the future hold for the NARC, and what can this tell us about likely prospects for the ASF as a whole?

My Voice Matters – Disability Politics

This session is about rights protected under Article 29 of the UNCRPD; regarding full and effective participation in democracy, such as voting and/or being elected into political office.

Disability issues are often seen as only relevant to a minority of special interests, and are largely ignored at election time. Limited knowledge of enrolment and voting processes suppresses civic participation and motivation. A lack of understanding and consideration of accessibility needs also creates barriers to inclusion. This occurs at a time when people are trusting politicians and political processes less than they used to.

We will explore what it means to be recognised as valued citizens, individually and collectively, with freedom to express our preferences, through accessible and easy to use voting procedures, facilities, and materials.

Our case study, the My Voice Matters campaign, will highlight recent activism led by disabled people to enhance inclusion and engagement in political debates during the 2017 General Election.

My Voice Matters aims to raise awareness of how voting works and the reasonable accommodations provided for people with disabilities, as well as why participation is important for disabled citizens. My Voice Matters also aims to ensure political parties and candidates address a wide range of issues of importance to disabled people, and that accessible information is provided about all political party policies.

This session will be of value to all those with an interest in citizenship, community development, and advocacy.

We will explore how democratic participation can mean much more than simply voting in elections. Disabled people's views on legislation and policies are always worth consideration by policy makers because they are so rarely present in public discourse. Disabled people have few opportunities for deep involvement in political decision-making, so we must comprehensively organise to enthusiastically claim our place in the future of our democracy.

State of Surveillance in New Zealand: Scandals, Crises and Unmentionable Catastrophes

This paper examines the recent legislative reform of New Zealand's intelligence community. It begins by tracing the deliberate strengthening of New Zealand's surveillance capability at a time when the state's security apparatus is increasingly refocused away from protecting its citizens from harms emerging abroad and towards managing the country's population through routine law enforcement. The paper uses Foucault's notion of biopower to help explain how this reform seeks to render New Zealand's population more docile in order to better entrench the local economy into the globalising free market. It then uses Massumi's notion of ontopower to help explain how domestic scandals and international crises have been used in New Zealand as a pretext for expanding the reach of state surveillance. There is, however, an eerie silence surrounding easily-discernible and truly global catastrophes, such as global armed conflict, widening inequalities of opportunity or the steady degradation of humanity's only habitat. The paper suggests these looming catastrophes are eschewed as unmentionable by New Zealand policymakers not merely because any national response would be negligible, but mainly because New Zealand's foreign policies directly contribute to these unfolding world disasters.

The Socialist Debate About Election 2017: Is It Worth Voting and Voting Left?

Those on the left of New Zealand politics articulated a variety of responses to some important questions: Is it worth voting in parliamentary elections or does electoral participation merely encourage belief in a form of democracy that doesn't actually enable the majority of the people to rule? Is it worth voting left? If you are voting left, then should socialists and others on the radical left party vote Labour or Green? In the weeks leading up to the election, I intervened in a socialist debate about the election arguing that if the left was serious about kicking National out, then it needed to encourage electoral participation and electoral support for Labour and the Greens. More specifically, I argued that socialists should party vote Green and combine this with a tactical electorate vote for either the Labour or the Green candidate. The main qualification to this argument was that people should vote left without holding any illusions that a Labour-Green coalition government would decisively break with neoliberalism and eliminate major problems such as unemployment, inequality, poverty, and rising carbon emissions. Amongst a range of critical responses to my argument, the key themes were that the Labour Party remains a working-class party while the Green Party is a middle-class party, and the related contention that with respect to ideology and policy the Green Party is not to the left of Labour. In this paper, I revisit this debate and seek to debunk the widely held belief that the Green Party is predominantly a middle-class party and to explain why this party is unlikely to shift to the right of Labour with respect to its ideology and political programme.

**Neoliberalism and New Zealand Politics from 1984 to the Present:
The Rise, Entrenchment, and Modification of a Neoliberal Policy Regime**

In my book (*Prosperity for All? Economic, Social and Political Change in New Zealand since 1935*) published in 2005 and a series of journal articles, I provide a critical analysis of New Zealand's political history from 1984 onwards. In essence, I argue that 1984 constitutes an historic turning point with a shift from a Keynesian to a neoliberal policy regime. The neoliberal policy regime has remained in place throughout this period even though this regime is not apparent on the surface of politics, that is, politicians, their advisors, and media commentators do not normally explicitly refer to it. Rather, the role that neoliberalism plays in forming the terrain and setting the parameters of political discourse, parliamentary debate and media commentary is largely taken-for-granted.

This interpretation of New Zealand's political history since 1984 has been challenged by several authors who contend that it is false to depict the entire period of New Zealand politics from 1984 to the present as operating within the intellectual, institutional and policy parameters of neoliberalism. Neoliberalism was surpassed by the Third Way social democracy of the Fifth (Clark) Labour Government and the pragmatic and moderate conservatism of the Fifth (Key, English) National Government cannot accurately be depicted as distinctively neoliberal. In this paper, I reflect upon this criticism, and also engage in some self-criticism of my earlier work, in order to revisit, refine and update my analysis of New Zealand's neoliberal policy regime. My central argument is that although there has been an ongoing process of incremental policy change, which means that the neoliberal policy regime today differs substantially from the neoliberal regime that was initially implemented from 1984 to 1999, the central features of this policy regime have remained firmly entrenched. Neoliberalism is unlikely to be replaced in the future by a substantially different policy regime in the absence of a global crisis, likely to involve a complex combination of economic, environmental, military, ideological, and political aspects, and an intensification of associated patterns of societal conflict, which may propel a shift in the prevailing economic orthodoxy as state elites seek to preserve the capitalist system.

Environmental NGOs and Community-Based Natural Resource Management in Sri Lanka: Supporting the Local Governance of Development

Centralisation of governmental power is a prominent feature of Sri Lankan politics. Since independence in 1948 there have been several attempts to decentralise power to provincial and local levels, but such attempts have consistently failed due to obstructive sectionalist politics. The result is weak local government, local development failures and neglect of local communities. Local governments in areas with important natural resources, be they forests, fresh water springs, rivers and lakes, have no governmental authority for managing such areas. Instead, such authority and responsibility rests with central government. The record of central government in natural resource management and protection, however, is poor. There is a growing list of instances of natural resource degradation due to poor planning, mismanagement, overuse and pollution, this leading to deforestation, loss of habitat, declines in water quality, and threats to wildlife species. It is foreign-funded non-governmental organisations (NGOs) in Sri Lanka that are playing a leading role in responding to these environmental threats. These NGOs are leading projects for environmental protection, reforestation and the sustainable management and utilisation of natural resources. Moreover, they are encouraging local community participation and are helping to build community-based organisations able to contribute to local policy processes that protect the environment and use natural resources sustainably. This paper explores the actions of environmental NGOs in promoting locally-led, community-oriented and sustainable local development and governing processes.

The Role of Special Constitutional Status and the Frontier Crimes Regulation in the Rise of Talibanization in Pakistan's Federally Administered Areas (FATA)

Since 2001, the Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) have become an epicentre of Talibanization. Since then, the upsurge of Talibanization has caused a huge human and financial cost to Pakistan. This is so since the British and Pakistani administrations have systematically neglected the region and never extended equal rights to the people of FATA. Persevering the British legacy, all Pakistani Constitutions ratified the tribal region an extraordinary status with prejudicial authoritative mechanism. In other words, FATA have been governed under a century old British devised the Frontier Crimes Regulations-1901 (FCR-1901) by the successive governments of Pakistan since 1947. This inevitably gave breed to antagonisms and extremism in the form of Talibanization against long-lasting discriminative policies of marginalization. The prevailing situation in FATA warrants an in-depth analysis of the problem. By using a qualitative research principle, this paper attempts to critically examine the role of Special Constitutional Status and the FCR in the rise of Talibanization in FATA. It outlines, too, the current challenges facing by the people of FATA due to the ineptness and incompetence of the institutions of government of Pakistan. These critical analyses would assist to policy makers in order to formulate all-encompassing anti-radicalization policies to effectively root out Talibanization in FATA. This research intends to explore the undiscovered root causes of the problem and to suggest remedial measures. Thus, the study endorses the need of utmost will and commitment by the concerned authorities in order to offset the ongoing atrocities in Pakistan.

Poor People are at Higher Risk of Living in Flood-Prone Areas in Jakarta, Indonesia

Flood has been one of the key issues in Jakarta, Indonesia, for decades when it comes to rainy season. The flood impacts people in Jakarta in terms of health, sanitation, income, and many other social issues. With over 14 million people living in the small area of Jakarta, the city named as the ninth most crowded city in the world (UN Habitat, 2015). The city is also known as having a huge class disparity where the richest and the poorest groups are living in that area together. Thus, the flood occurrence in Jakarta would affect the lives of many people every year. One of the elements that can reduce the risk of flood in Jakarta is the presence of green spaces and urban forests area. Green spaces and urban forests play a significant role as water catchment area for the city and help in preventing excess water on the ground level. However, the presence of green spaces and urban forests in Jakarta is not distributed equally based on community's social class. This paper examines the implementation of green spaces and urban forests policies in Jakarta where it has created a form of environmental injustice for the lower-class community living in Jakarta where they are put in a higher risk of living on flood-prone areas.

North Korea's Military Threat and Japan's Identity as a Pacifist State

Sabre-rattling by North Korea coupled with tensions in the East and South China seas from China's military buildup are strengthening Japanese conservative leaders' call for a more robust military. Amidst such tensions, the Japanese population is sharply divided over whether to amend the war-renouncing Article 9 of the Constitution. Recent polls show that about half of the population remain steadfastly committed to defending Japan's pacifist charter. However, as Japanese fears of a threat of North Korean missiles become more real, the younger Japanese generations for whom the horrors of a nuclear war are a distant 'collective memory,' may be more prone to embrace Prime Minister Shinzo Abe's agenda for a stronger, independent normal state. Based on survey data, this paper analyses to what extent the popular perception of North Korea's military threat has had an impact on Japanese youth's willingness to abandon Japan's post-war pacifist identity and embrace a more assertive national defense policy.

Challenges of Nation Building in Indonesia

Indonesia is one of the most diverse, multicultural countries in the world. According to a national census in 2010, Indonesia is host to 1,128 ethnic groups with over 700 local languages and dialects. As such, maintaining the balance between national unity and the celebration of cultural diversity has been a delicate task for Indonesia's political leaders since the start of the country's formation.

In 1998, Indonesia started a reform process towards democratisation and decentralisation. The government tried to celebrate the country's diversity through the recognition and accommodation of particular identities, accompanied by freedom of expression and freedom of association. The accommodation of different identities was supposed to foster nationalist sentiments, but it has also given space for radical and separatist groups with different, competing visions for the direction of the country.

This paper examines the factors that contribute towards the maintenance of unity in Indonesia and those which challenge it, by investigating political speeches, legislation, buildings and monuments, as well as grass-roots activities in Indonesia. It situates the analysis within the existing literature on multiculturalism and national identity, including debates over what civic foundations are required for a multicultural country to work and to what extent communitarianism affects cohesiveness in a culturally plural society.

Inequality and the Market: The Discursive Construction of Reality

It has been argued that citizen deliberation tends to lead to decisions that are more empathic and other-centered, since – so the argument goes - deliberators are constrained to consider the claims of others as they present their own arguments. This paper, however, reports on deliberative focus groups in which progressive-egalitarian sentiments were effectively silenced by the claim (made in each case by a small minority of participants) that equalising incomes was ‘not possible’ given the ‘realities of the market’. How did this dynamic arise, given that there was (and was known to be) a strong majority of deliberators in favour of a more equal distribution of wealth and income?

Drawing on data from the deliberative groups, the paper considers a range of possible reasons why the ‘reality of the market’ trope was so dominant. It argues that a robust critique of existing distributional outcomes requires a structural analysis. Critiques of inequality (even strong critiques that hold it to be ‘obscene’, ‘unfair’ and ‘unfortunate’) that lack such an analysis proved themselves unable to withstand the counter-claim that inequality is also – ultimately - inevitable and immutable.

The paper introduces the notion of discursive path dependency to analyse how structural analysis has become less and less available in the public sphere. It concludes by considering how structural accounts of inequality could most effectively be reintroduced into political discourse.

The Politics of Internal Critique: Protest, Civil Disobedience and Associative Obligation

Recent influential arguments for political obligation emphasize the grounding of obligation in the social facts of membership. In this associative conception, it's the relationships and ties between citizens as fellow-members which ground our obligations, owed to the community and to its shared norms, rather than to law or political authority. The most powerful challenge to associative obligation is the objection that community norms may reflect the interests of powerful members and groups, and those in marginalized and oppressed groups are thus obliged to obey laws and norms that subordinate them. This paper argues that rather than attempting to avoid this problem by insisting on the value of order, or extra-communal procedural conceptions of justice, we foreground the plural and contested character of shared communal norms, and the participatory and deliberative grounds for norm reshaping. I examine protest and civil disobedience as forms of political action which are both driven and regulated by second-order community norms, and which in turn reshape community norms in an agonistic process. I argue that defences of civil disobedience that emphasize its role in countering democratic deficit fail to account for the substantive identitarian content of such protests. Finally, I argue that cases of public protest interpreted as conflicts of associative loyalties, between national membership and membership in sub-state groups, religious and ideological, rely upon a mistaken reification of sub-state group identity, and are better interpreted in terms of associative political obligation.

(Ir)Rational Gaze: Understanding Donald Trump's Approach to Politics

U.S. President Donald J. Trump is "...a riddle, wrapped in a mystery, inside an enigma; but perhaps there is a key." If there is a key, then what is it? Moreover, why, despite the urgent need to do so, are so few commentators engaged in a serious attempt to understand the consistent patterns of behaviour that Trump demonstrates? With this goal in mind, this paper adopts a contrarian position to the common portrayal of Trump as an impulsive lunatic and an irrational actor that consistently makes self-defeating decisions. While Trump's approach to politics is unorthodox, the paper reveals that there is a rational thread running through his cacophonous approach to politics and that extends into his foreign policy. Further, it outlines Trump's transformational approach to U.S. domestic politics, where he is engaged in creating a third pole of political power in the American system that could last for generations.

Looking to the Future: Expanding New Zealand Foreign Relations beyond Traditional Partnerships

Home to approximately half the world's nations and containing some of its fastest growing economies, the four regions of Latin America, South Asia, Africa, and the Middle East are set to have a massive influence on the international economic landscape and rules-based system throughout the 21st century. This paper explains that expanding New Zealand's pool of relationships beyond its traditional partners into the aforementioned regions is essential to diversify economic exports (hedging against uncertainty elsewhere), extend the New Zealand 'brand', and ensure its voice is heard on critical international security matters. Notably, outside of the Gulf Cooperation Council, New Zealand does not have a dedicated 'NZ Inc' strategy to underpin its engagement with the countries in these regions. With this in mind, the paper considers a key question: is New Zealand positioning itself adequately to take advantage of emerging opportunities in Latin America, South Asia, Africa, and the Middle East? It addresses this question in three stages. Firstly, it considers the current state of New Zealand's relations with the countries of these regions. Secondly, it outlines the rationale behind these efforts. Thirdly, it identifies further opportunities and methods for expansion. It concludes that as the international system enters an increasingly uncertain era where a number of New Zealand's traditional partners turn their attention inwards, it is essential that New Zealand meaningfully expand and deepen its relationships with key states in Latin America, South Asia, Africa, and the Middle East.

Breaking the “Echo-Echo Chamber”: American Public Perceptions of Anthropogenic Climate Change (ACC) and the “Flyer’s Dilemma”

Anthropogenic climate change (ACC) is arguably the greatest social, infrastructural, and environmental challenge of the 21st century. ACC has profound implications for transport and industry, though some sectors have adopted reforms more rapidly than others. Greenhouse gas emissions from aviation, on which discourse was notably absent at the UN Paris COP21 conference, remain virtually unrestricted worldwide at the industry level. Rather, responsibility for mitigation is often redirected to individual consumers in the form of voluntary carbon offsetting schemes. As public awareness of aviation’s contribution to ACC increases, consumers are more frequently faced with a “flyer’s dilemma”: the choice whether to adapt their travel habits for the sake of environmental protection.

In the United States of America, public viewpoints on the role of industry in perpetuating ACC are highly variable, and this is largely exacerbated by political narratives which reinforce confirmation bias and identity-protective cognition. In this PhD project, I will investigate American public perceptions of ACC and the flyer’s dilemma through a series of semi-structured, open-ended interviews with participants from a range of political and socioeconomic backgrounds. The research will take place at key US locations of ACC affectedness and/or environmental dispute, including the Standing Rock Sioux Reservation, coastal Florida, and southern Texas in the wake of Hurricane Harvey. Ultimately, I aim to explore the psychological basis of sentiments on ACC and aviation-related issues and apply my conclusions toward the development of effective education and outreach strategies.

Bargaining for a sacred place: Hindu temples demolition and relocation in Penang, Malaysia

Malaysian Indian Hindus have shown various reactions to the government for demolishing their community temples. The government deemed the destroyed temples were unregistered or/and situated on lands that belong to others. My PhD study constitutes of three Hindu temples that have been demolished and relocated in Penang, Malaysia. Data from twenty-one in-depth interviews show a consistent nature of reactions by these three groups of Indian Hindus – conformity, compliance and cooperation – to the state government's proposal to demolish their community temples. I argue that although they reacted similarly to the government's proposal, their reactions are context specific and with different implicit intentions to save their temples from permanently destroyed. In this paper, I focus on a case study of a family-managed Hindu temple that is demolished by a federal government department. The family has relocated the statue of the Goddess into a two-window container. I demonstrate how the family seek attention and help from the state government of Penang to find a permanent new location, where they can rebuild their family temple. In their process of seeking help, the family showed consistent conformity and cooperation to the state government. They have also expanded the function of their temple to be a political stage catered for the politicians to propagate their political agenda to the public audience. My study suggests that a Hindu temple, regardless of its shape and size, can be a political tool for the family as well as the state government.

Mixed methods research: Moving beyond quantitative versus qualitative in political science

Mixed methods research (MMR) is becoming more mature as a third paradigm methodology, distinct from traditional quantitative or qualitative approaches, with dedicated journals and international conferences and a growing body of methodological literature. Yet despite repeated calls for mixed analysis, developments in MMR have remained largely absent from political science, much of which has either neglected MMR entirely or has overlooked its strong philosophical and theoretical foundations. The paper addresses this gap by showing how developments in MMR, particularly in the fields of health science and education, can be applied in political science. It presents pragmatism as a basis for MMR, with a focus on how pragmatist metaphysics and epistemology justifies combining qualitative and quantitative methods. It then describes the core principles of MMR, outlines some basic MMR designs, and discusses how research quality can be evaluated when combining methods. The paper concludes that MMR offers a philosophically and theoretically sound way for political science to move beyond unhelpful paradigmatic divisions and either/or ways of thinking towards a both/and perspective which highlights commonality and communication rather than disagreement and difference.

Being “Moderate, Muslim and Democratic”: Indonesian Foreign Policy and the International Community

In recent years, Indonesian foreign policy has been characterized by an emphasis on the promotion of democratic ideals regionally as well as in the broader international environment. While this emphasis has been attributed to the role of Indonesian identity defined in democratic terms, how this identity came to be constructed has been left unexplored. In this paper, I focus on the construction of Indonesian identity in democratic terms through examining the intersection of the democratic norms of the late 20th century global community and the domestic context of postcolonial Indonesia. Specifically, I argue that this intersection between the global and the local for Indonesia must be unpacked by situating it in the broader context of the interactions and engagement of a postcolonial state with the North and the latter’s constructions of international society and international community since the early years of the twentieth century.

Populism, Elitism and the Crisis of Western Democracy: Some Non-Ideal Habermasian Suggestions

From Britain walking away from Europe and over a cliff in the style of John Cleese, to Boaty McBoatFace, to the election of The Donald, Western electorates seem to be competing to see who can produce the least satisfactory outcome from processes of popular decision-making. In reaction, we have seen a growing interest in results from psychological research that highlight inherent problems with human reasoning. Prominent political philosophers (amongst others) have used these findings to call for a return to intellectual hierarchy. In this paper I argue that one way of understanding political populism is as a consequence of the always strained relationship between elite and popular decision-making in modern democratic states. I argue that a non-ideal conception of deliberative democracy provides a productive way of thinking about the roots of populism and responses to it. Habermas's *Between Facts and Norms* presents a well-developed vision of the relationship between technical deliberation in the Executive and the 'wild' process of will formation in the public sphere that resists idealising either. I draw on this account to suggest methods for re-establishing a more productive relationship between elite decision-making and public opinion.

Narrative Contestation in Brazil: On BRICS Issue Narrative of Infrastructural Development

In response to asymmetric globalization and startling economic growth, five rising powers developed an informal diplomatic group in 2009-2011 which is called the BRICS. The group, comprising of Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa, aim to foster a fair and democratic multipolar world order. While contesting the structures of the old world order, they set forth new narratives about the international environment and about themselves as emerging powers. In this formation of 'strategic narratives', the BRICS group causally plot their actions, events and intentions to persuade both domestic and international audiences of their mission. In light of BRICS commitment to inclusive participation, non-state actors are encouraged to engage in this formation of strategic narratives. Non-state actors form a double role in which they are co-opted into government-led public engagement platforms, while in their formal professions are challenging the public narratives of the BRICS. This study presents the findings of in-depth interviews with non-state actors in Brazil in their professional settings, on the topic of BRICS issue narrative of infrastructural development which is considered an important policy debate by the group. Taken into consideration Brazil's own foreign policy narrative towards Africa that is encompassing trade, investment and development, non-state actors in Brazil (academics, civil society members and corporate spokespersons) share and contest aspects of the thematic and narrative configuration of BRICS issue narrative of infrastructural development for divergent reasons. The narrative contestation indicates the weaknesses and ambiguities in the formation of BRICS issue narrative and the possible multiplier effect of its political communication for its member states.

Different Slopes and their Estimation: Household Income and Voter Turnout in 'Big' and 'Small' Data

What if there is bias in sample survey estimates of the key factors that shape voter turnout in comparative research? While strong correlations are found in survey data between low incomes and low voter turnout in the United States, international evidence for the relationship is often wanting, even when data is validated from official records, thus correcting for over-reporting of vote. A significant part of the reason may be non-response bias in the subsamples of those who do not vote, given the invariable correlation between survey non-response and non-voting coupled with widespread decline in survey response rates. This conjecture is tested in New Zealand at the 2014 general election. Using a 'big' sample of 30,000 from official voting records in conjunction with the validated 'small' New Zealand Election Study (response rate 33 per cent), the survey and observational data on turnout are compared, as apparently affected by age, gender and income. Because the 'big' income data is household median income from census meshblocks, there are two possible contaminants in the 'big' data: contextual or neighbourhood effects; and measurement error due to variation in household incomes between the median and that of the individual households sampled. I conclude, subject to some qualifications, that at least for household income, the differences between findings in these two data sources are surprisingly small. However, there are some other reasons to be cautious about comparative research findings on turnout.

Scott Walker (United Arab Emirates University)
Anastasiya Yuchshenko (University of Canterbury)

What makes countries adopt particular counterterrorism strategies (CT) over others?

While one might argue that the nature of the threat, each country's historical background and cultural heritage, and the counterterrorist tools at a country's disposal may all play a role in this decision, the reality is that countries choose to use normative reasoning to help to define the threat (Heller et al., 2012). As a result, we see that the strategies countries choose to employ have a political as well as a practical component. Countries can use CT policies to achieve domestic and international goals such as increasing legitimacy and reducing political competition. This paper compares and contrasts the countries of Russia and the United Arab Emirates to explore the role such political needs play in the formulation of CT strategies.

Karen Webster (Auckland University of Technology)

Andy Asquith (Massey University)

Auckland Local Government – Fair Game for Party Politics

Political parties have been an accepted and dominant presence in representative democratic local government, specifically, in the UK, the Nordic Countries and the Netherlands, throughout the 20th century. Not so, however, in the southern hemisphere where, in New Zealand and Australia, citizens of similarly representative democratic institutions have “flocked to the banner ‘Keep Politics out of Local Government’,” to express their repugnance for the idea of national politics influencing local governance (Bush 1980). This research explores the nature of national party politics in Auckland local government. It presents an analysis of the declared political affiliation of local government elected representatives, post the 2010 amalgamation. While evidence suggests that national political party involvement in the Northern hemisphere local democracies appears to be declining, we propose an opposing hypothesis for the Auckland situation – that politicisation of local government, albeit overt or covert, is in fact on the rise. Furthermore, that politically in Auckland, which comprises more than a third of the national population, the local government election is a campaign ‘trail blazer’ for the national elections held each year following the local election.

The Extra-Parliamentary Left in NZ

The Fifth Labour Government of Helen Clark entered parliament in 1999 after a period of severe decline and rupture. It was assumed by many that the political left in New Zealand had recaptured not only power in parliament but widespread public support. In the literature on the Fifth Labour Government there is little focus on what was occurring to the left of Labour. Yet the period was not without social and economic struggles which occurred beyond the bounds of parliament. Critical research on the extra-parliamentary left is scarce in New Zealand.

The first purpose of this research is thus to establish a coherent narrative of the activities of the extra-parliamentary left over this period, where little attempt has been made to do so thus far. This is to be done in the context of an overall analysis of the socio-economic context of the era. I examine the interactions these movements and organisations had with the parties in government. These centre-left parties were both the focus of the extra-parliamentary left's political campaigning and supposedly on 'their side' of New Zealand politics. Finally, the paper considers several issues arising from the theoretical debate on the left over whether to pursue a reformist or revolutionary strategy, including how the extra-parliamentary left interacts with domestic issues compared to international ones and how successful the extra-parliamentary left has been in intervening in socio-political matters.

Taxing the Bomb: Why states initiate counterproliferation sanctions

Why do states initiate counterproliferation sanctions, impeding the proliferation of nuclear weapons? Using a new dataset of economic sanctions, this article analyses the correlates of counterproliferation. I first outline refinements to existing capabilities based theories of nuclear proliferation. These I then use to generate three hypotheses regarding the conditions under which states will initiate counterproliferation sanctions. I show that the technological capabilities of bystander states and the strategic characteristics of potential sender states are the most significant correlates of counterproliferation sanctions. Explanations that emphasize the importance of interdependence and regime type do not find support in the data. This article presents a refinement to existing theories of proliferation, focusing on how and why some states act to impede the nuclear ambitions of their counterparts.

Jeanette Wright (University of Waikato, NIWA Hamilton)

Paula Blackett (NIWA Hamilton)

Co-innovation as a Transformative Tool for Change

It is now well recognised that Primary Industry concerns such as climate change, irrigation, water quality & quantity, and sustainable farm management can be complex multi-faceted 'wicked' problems with no simple solutions. Such problems can be:- interconnected with other problems; span multiple scales; have broad ranging environmental and economic impacts; incomplete or contradictory knowledge; involve a diversity of actors with conflicting values, goals and proffered and preferred solutions. While historically a linear technology transfer response to agricultural problems has been viewed as sufficient it is now recognised that a more complexity aware systemic understanding of agriculture problems is crucial. Co-innovation is a systemic approach which considers both the wider system and its parts and the interactions between them. The principle aim of a co-innovation response is to achieve long term systemic change in a system through facilitating interdisciplinary and/or transdisciplinary collaboration. In this presentation, we will outline what co-innovation as a transformative method for solving complex environmental and agricultural problems is, and describe five key steps which enable the successful translation of co-innovation into practice. To demonstrate how useful co-innovation is for complex problem solving we draw on the example of an ongoing research project where real time weather data is being used to support better irrigation decision making.

Why and When Do States Choose to Intervene Militarily in another Nation's Civil War?

In the second half of the 20th century and the first decades of the 21st, outside interventions in intrastate conflicts became quite common. Regan (1996) research, which surveyed 138 intrastate conflicts in the post-World War II period, found that some sort of outside intervention took place in 85 of them (61.6%). Khosla (1999), who examined 975 external interventions in intrastate ethnic conflicts from 1990-1998, found that the most common form of assistance was military one (41%), followed by diplomatic (36%) and economic (23%).

The choice to intervene in the civil war of another country, let alone to carry out a full military invasion, is a difficult decision, which usually comes after a long and complicated decision-making process. Since few international decisions stem from purely altruistic motives, it is reasonable to assume that behind any decision to intervene militarily in a particular civil war there are other interests, which are not directly related to the desire to bring peace to the conflict state. Because there is a great variety of reasons that could cause a certain player to intervene in another nation's civil war, the central question of this research is what motivates a particular country to intervene in another country's civil war. Since quite often there can be an overlap between two or more motives, the purpose of this study is to distinguish between the sufficient conditions and the necessary condition in each case, meaning - what would be the motive without which the military intervention would not have taken place, as opposed to the motives that only reinforced this decision?

Exploring the Relationship between Trust and Public Participation across the Strait: A Comparative Study between Taiwan and Mainland China

Trust is often seen as an important factor in building an engaged society. However, there is also a “dark side” of trust, in which trust could hinder participation as trust, by definition, refers to the willingness to rely on other party's benevolence. The present study aimed to disentangle the mixed impact of trust in two culturally similar but politically different societies: Taiwan and Mainland China. We argued that a deeper understanding regarding the different structures of trust in these 2 societies could help to explain the different impacts of trust. Taiwan has a Western “separation of power” structure of trust, where public participation is integrated as a meaningful part of the governance system, therefore trust towards the representative government might be positively associated with public participation. In contrast, China has a “top-down” structure of trust, where major social decisions are made by a powerful central government and implemented by a hierarchical governance system, therefore trust towards China's central government might be negatively associated with public participation. The initial cross-sectional results using a representative sample (N = 1008 in Taiwan; N = 1004 in Mainland China) from Digital Influence project confirmed our hypotheses. The potential implications with regards to cultural heritage and political arrangement were discussed.

The failed "Arab Transition": What went wrong?

Yemen's accession to Libya and Syria, after the control of the Houthis on the capital of Yemen Sanaa in 2014 was the last chapter in this "Arab Spring," which turns into full autumn exactly four years after the beginning of the spark Arab Spring.

Why most of Arab Spring countries such as Egypt, Syria, Libya and Yemen have failed to accomplish the political transition towards building a democratic and liberal system to achieves the dream of the youth who was at the forefront of the mass demonstrations, millions that filled the streets of Arab capitals?, why democratization in these countries failed?, despite the success of the transformation process in other parts of the world as the countries of Eastern Europe in the nineties of last century, and Latin America in the eighties of last century.

Why have Arab Spring countries failed to shift from military regimes or authoritarian to democratic regimes? And instead all countries almost fall or may be already plunged into civil war, it's hard to predict when it will end, or output, which goes to it, do these countries will return to the traps of military rule as in Egypt, or these countries will become Yemen, Syria, and Libya as failed states and fall into chaotic and full absence of public institutions.

In fact, there are several reasons for this failure, and these reasons never stem from the specialty of the Arab region and lack of similarity to other parts of the world but stem entirely build on the elements of the modern Arab state that ruled in those countries. And because these countries never addressed the issue of sectarianism or dealt with it, it was easy then to explode in the moment of transition.

Political Settlements to Quasi-Ethnic Identity Formation in Central East Africa: From Authoritarian Peace Formulae to Ethno-Political Nation-Building?

Settlement theory has become a justifiably favoured approach to resolving the nearly intractable ethno-political conflicts of the former African colonies. Foreign assistance agencies have increasingly turned to political settlements, admittedly elitist and authoritarian solutions in deeply divided societies, as initial steps in returning those systems to nominally peaceful and cooperative bases for subsuming deep ethnic differences and re-starting the development processes. Nevertheless, because such settlements are enforced by placated elites, in whose interest it is to retain these differences, however muted, long-term peace may be questionable, *ceteris paribus*. This essay explores another, follow-on concept, that of quasi-ethnic identity formation, discussed by the author elsewhere in the context of military unification (Zirker, 2015), as one of the possible and even likely outcomes of protracted settlements in deeply divided societies that follow (as, apparently, does Rwanda) what the author has labelled as the Nyerere, or UDSM, pattern.

Zirker, Daniel G., "Tanzania and Uganda: Contrasting Similarities." In: Zirker (ed.), *Forging Military Identity in Culturally Pluralistic Societies: Quasi-Ethnicity* (Lanham, Maryland: Lexington Books: 2015), pp. 53-68.

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Legal Corruption in a 'Least Corrupt' Country: New Zealand, 2011-2014

Where corruption is said to take the form of 'market influence' (Johnston, 2005), corrupt acts of this sort are typically legal, while nonetheless both corrupt, in the classic sense of the term, and pernicious to the 'body politic'. Market influence corruption is common in 'least corrupt' countries like New Zealand where, within the ambient of legitimate constitutional frameworks, strong party competition, free media and an active civil society, privileged interests pursue political and economic gain through the trading of influence (Gluck and Macaulay 2017). This is especially problematic in democratic contexts when government becomes more responsive to powerful interests, and correspondingly less responsive to those with less power. Regulatory practices come to favour the upper echelons, and this leads to the externalisation of costs and the privatisation of gains. Friedrich (1972) broadly characterised corruption as the 'decomposition of the body politic through moral decay'. Since corruption relies in all cases upon secrecy and restricted access, and as Deutsch (1965) put it, government is communication, and if democracy is ultimately the product of unconstrained communication, as deliberative democrats argue, then the decomposition of the democratic body politic is the necessary outcome of all forms, including legal ones, of corruption. We reflect upon two cases during the Key government between 2011 and 2014, where strategies were apparently used to undermine political opposition, and influence was exercised in policy decisions regarding foreign trusts, uncovered in the Panama Papers. These cases apparently interacted with the conduct democracy in New Zealand, and thus serve as the focus of our study of legal corruption.

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Coalition formation process in the network perspective. The Canadian case

Classical studies on cabinet coalition formation process are mostly based on historically grounded although diverse practices of Western European continental countries.

The main aim of our study is to indicate the factors conditioning a cabinet coalition's formation in political systems lacking in strong experience of this kind of cross-party cooperation.

By using variation of semantic network analysis and content analysis we have analyzed four most popular newspapers in Canada (both in English and French) covering the attempt to create a cabinet coalition between Canadian Liberal Party and New Democratic Party in 2008. In our work we have encountered several major questions: 1. How systemic and contextual conditions (e.g. political culture) influenced the pace and manner of setting up a cabinet coalition in Canada in 2008? 2. How intra-party cleavages and backbenchers' resistance influence the coalition formation process? 3. What was the role of mass media actors in shaping new political norms? By answering those questions we have verified two main hypotheses, that are: 1. the structure of network ties between key political actors is the most important factor influencing the coalition formation process in countries lacking substantial political tradition in this field, 2. the role of the media actors is crucial in process of decreasing public support for coalition cabinet formation.

Finally, in our paper we hope not only to present the outcomes of our analyses but also open discussion on how to compare this case with another deviant cases.