

NEW ZEALAND POLITICAL STUDIES ASSOCIATION

Conference
Programme

CONFERENCE 2010

Thursday 2 December				
8.00	Registration Opens (Ground Floor, S Block)			
9.15	Welcome Former Prime Minister and New Zealand Ambassador to the United States, and Chancellor of the University of Waikato, Jim Bolger (S.G.01)			
9.30	Opening Address Bryan Gould The End of Politics (S.G.01)			
10.30	Morning Tea Break			
11.00	S.G.01	S.G.02	S.G.03	
	Roundtable: Engaging the Public in the MMP Referendum Campaign Convenor and Chair: Therese Arseneau MP Amy Adams Kate Stone MP Rahui Katene Sandra Grey	Current Issues in New Zealand Local Government Politics Convenor and Chair: Chris Rudd Jean Drage What Will Auckland's Reforms Mean for the Rest of Us? Andy Asquith Managing the Metro Sector Margie Comrie, Janine Hayward and Chris Rudd Media Coverage of the Local Body Elections Laura Young E-Consultation and Local Government: Creating Active Citizenship?	Gender and Political Leadership Convenor and Chair: Jennifer Curtin Jennifer Curtin Women and Prime Ministerial Leadership: Beyond the Symbolic. Ana Gilling Gendered Conceptions of Power Jane Christie Maternal Legacies in Human Rights Discourses as a Pathway to Political Success: The Case of Michelle Bachelet and Cristina Fernández Linda Trimble When a Woman Topples a Man: Media Coverage of New Zealand Leadership 'Coups'	
12.30	Lunch			
1.00	S.G.01	S.G.02	S.G.03	S.1.01
	Roundtable: Does the History of Political Thought Matter? Chair: Katherine Smits Rowland Weston Colm McKeogh Xavier Marquez	Roundtable: Marketing in Government: An Assessment of National's Prospects Convenor and Chair: Jennifer Lees-Marshment Chris Rudd Edward Elder Shawn Moodie	The Politics of the Intangible Convenor and Chair: Peter Skilling Peter Skilling The Role of Emotions in Policy Argumentation: GE Debates in New Zealand and France Emma Blomkamp Governing for Wellbeing - Examining Indicators of Local Governance in New Zealand Elise Sterback Rethinking Community: The Case for New Institutional Structures Heather Devere Peace, Justice, Mercy and Truth: The Paths to Reconciliation of Conflict?	Postgraduate Workshop: Getting Published Kate McMillan (Victoria University of Wellington), Jennifer Curtin (University of Auckland) and Ton Buhrs (Lincoln University) Note, this workshop is an opportunity to hear from and interact with a journal editor, experienced referees for a number of international journals, and other postgraduates from around the country.

2.30	S.G.01	S.G.02	S.G.03	S.1.01
	<p>Debating Immigration, Representation and Citizenship in Aotearoa New Zealand Convenor and Chair: Kate McMillan</p> <p>Fiona Barker Making Auckland Greater? Implications of the "Ethnic" Representation Debate in the Super City for Understandings of Representation and Citizenship in New Zealand</p> <p>Louise Humpage Citizenship and Belonging in Aotearoa New Zealand: An Uneven Terrain</p> <p>Eileen Moughan Maori and Immigration Policy</p>	<p>Cabinet and the Core Executive: institutions, actors and processes Chair: Richard Shaw</p> <p>Chris Eichbaum and Richard Shaw Ministerial Advisors at Work in New Zealand: Making Sense of Roles, Relationships and Contributions</p> <p>Jennifer Curtin and Marian Sawyer Gendering the Core Executive in Australasia</p> <p>Polly Higbee The Use of Urgency in the New Zealand House of Representatives</p>	<p>Public Policy and Inequality: International Perspectives Chair: Geoff Cupit</p> <p>Matthew Gibbons Intergenerational Mobility in New Zealand</p> <p>Dominic O'Sullivan Indigenous Australian Health: Policy and the Politics of Disparity</p> <p>Peter Nunns Why Slums? The Meaning and Function of Developing-World Cities</p>	<p>International Relations – International Organisations Chair: Bernard Nwosu</p> <p>Nicholas Thomas Interventions With Chinese Characteristics</p> <p>Alex Great Humanitarian Intervention and Statebuilding in Kosovo: How to Weed Out Myths from Facts</p> <p>Timothy P. Fadgen The World Health Organization and Mental Health Policy Transfer: A Critical Review</p> <p>Anita Abbott The US, the World Trade Organization, and the World Bank: The Case of Education in Indonesia</p>
3.30	Afternoon Tea Break			
4.00	S.G.01	S.G.02	S.G.03	S.1.01
	<p>Contemporary Policy and Electoral Issues in the Study of Immigration Convenor and Chair: Fiona Barker</p> <p>Kate McMillan Immigration Rhetoric During Election Campaigns: Comparing Labour Parties in New Zealand and Australia</p> <p>Dianny Wahyudi Rhetoric, Free Speech and the Radical Right: Anti-Immigration Campaigning in France and the UK</p> <p>Vic Crocford The Personal is Global: A Feminist Exploration of the Gendered Implications of the Migration of Aged-Care Workers into Aotearoa-New Zealand</p>	<p>Public Policy: International Perspectives Chair: Gauri Nandedkar</p> <p>Poppy Sulistyaning Winanti Great Power Coercion, Authoritative International Institutions, or Domestic Politics? Explaining Change in Developing Countries' Intellectual Property Legislation</p> <p>Rebecca Bollard The Advocacy Coalition Framework: An Analysis of Genetic Property Rights Policy</p> <p>Janine McPake Societal Implications of Nanotechnology</p>	<p>International Relations: The US and its Allies Chair: Dan Zirker</p> <p>Najibullah Lafraie Defiance in Absurdity – How Small Clients Dare Challenge Powerful Patrons: The Case of Karzai and Obama Administrations</p> <p>Cetin Cem Birsay The Analysis of the US National Security Policy in Southeast Asia since 9/11 and its Implications on US-Australian Security and Defence Co-operation</p> <p>Ashok Sharma An Evaluation of the Indo-US Strategic Partnership: India's Global Aspirations and the Obama Administration</p>	<p>Politics of Class and Ethnicity Chair: Rachel Simon-Kumar</p> <p>Jean-Christopher Somers Politics of Class</p> <p>Heather Came Theorising Institutional Racism and Privilege</p> <p>Seonah Choi A Glass Ceiling for Asians in the NZ Parliament?</p>
5.00-6.00	<p>S.G.01</p> <p>Plenary Session</p> <p>Chair: Mark Rolls Dr Muthiah Alagappa of the East-West Centre, Washington Security Order in Asia</p>			
7.30	<p>Conference Dinner Academy of the Performing Arts, University of Waikato</p>			

Friday 3 December				
9.00	S.G.01	S.G.02	S.G.03	S.1.01
	<p>Gender, State and Politics Chair: Rebecca Bollard</p> <p>Norm Kelly Vois Blong Mere? The Future for Women's Representation in Melanesia</p> <p>Hannah Blumhardt The Nanny State, Girlie Men and Old Mother Hubbard: The Use and Abuse of Gendered Language and Discourse in the New Zealand House of Representatives</p> <p>Wambui Njagi What to Save? Pot or Water? An Analysis of Abortion Discourses in Kenya</p>	<p>Democracy and its Prospects Chair: Todd Nachowitz</p> <p>Lina Gonzalez Defining Decentralisation in Latin America: A Comparative Perspective</p> <p>Bernard Nwosu Tracks of the Thirdwave: Political Succession and Dilemma of Democracy in Africa.</p> <p>Hannah Mueller A Quest for Sustainability: Biotechnology, Citizenship and Farming Methods in New Zealand's Dairy Industry</p>	<p>International Relations – Regional Agreements Chair: Alan Simpson</p> <p>Ali Gale and Heather Devere Peace in the Pacific: The Role of Friendship Treaties</p> <p>Nobuhiro Ihara Establishment of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) as a Process of Reassurance by Indonesia</p> <p>Elvira Bobekova Water Politics: Why Do States Cooperate?</p>	<p>New Zealand Politics: Activism Issues Chair: Gauri Nandedkar</p> <p>Sandra Grey Exploring the Legitimacy of Protest and Activism in New Zealand</p> <p>Thomas O'Brien Challenges to Trust within the New Zealand Environmental Movement</p> <p>New Zealand Politics: Peace and Disarmament</p> <p>Callum Martin NZ Inc: New Zealand's Whole-of-Government Approach to Peace Support Operations</p> <p>Lyndon Burford New Zealand and Nuclear Disarmament: Putting Your Money Where Your Mouth Is</p>
10.00	Morning Tea Break			
10.30	S.G.01	S.G.02	S.G.03	S.1.01
	<p>Treaty Issues Today Convenor and Chair: Janine Hayward</p> <p>Ann Sullivan Maori Participation in Local Government</p> <p>Robert Joseph Contemporary Maori and Indigenous Governance and Development – Where To From Here?</p> <p>Lindsey Te Ata o Tu MacDonald The Denial of Indigenous Voice and Self Determination in Political Thought</p>	<p>Public Policy and Public Management in New Zealand Today Chair: Michael Mintrom</p> <p>Grant Duncan and Jeff Chapman Public Management: What Became of 'The New Zealand Model'?</p> <p>Shaun Goldfinch Perils of Peer Review in a Small State? The PBRF in New Zealand</p> <p>Richard Henry Jones Rediscovering the 'Golden Age' in the Wake of the Global Financial Crisis'</p>	<p>New Zealand Politics: Political Marketing and Campaigning Chair: Priya Kurian</p> <p>Jennifer Lees-Marshment Playing the Political Marketing Game Democratically</p> <p>David Cutts and Don J. Webber Campaign Spending, Political Vote Shares and the Anti-Conservative Alliance</p> <p>Ashley Murchison Emotional Appeals in Election Advertising: A Methodology for Measuring their Influence on the Political Behaviour of Voters</p> <p>Lydia Berlad The Use and Abuse of Negative Election Campaigning</p>	<p>Political Theory Chair: Colm McKeogh</p> <p>Xavier Marquez Epistemic Arguments for Conservatism</p> <p>Peter Skilling Public Opinion and the Nature of Justice</p> <p>Grant Duncan Should Happiness-Maximization be a Goal of Governments?</p> <p>Michael Harland Left, Right, Out? Neoconservatism and the American Political Spectrum</p>
12.00	Lunch			
12.30	S.G.01			S.1.01
	New Zealand Political Studies Association Annual General Meeting			Postgraduate Workshop:

1.30	S.G.01	S.G.02	S.G.03	What it Means to be a Policy Analyst or Politics Researcher Michael Mintrom (University of Auckland)
	Roundtable: Recent Elections around the World Convenor and Chair: Jennifer Curtin Linda Trimble Therese Arseneau Ana Gilling Guy Charlton	The Political Economy of Resource Conflict in New Zealand Convenor and Chair: Ton Buhrs Ton Buhrs Resource Conflict in New Zealand: Towards Explanations Nicholas Kirk and Ali Memon The Canterbury Water Management Crisis: Winners, Losers and the Possible Pathways Towards Sustainability Lee Saing Te The Case of the Cypress Mine Project: Solid Energy and Happy Valley Anne Brower and John Page Property, Politics and Power: Toward a Theory of Implied Property	Voting, Human Rights, and Democratic Politics Chair: Geoff Cupit Suzy Killmister How Political are Human Rights? Scott Walker Human Rights in the South Pacific: A Comparative Assessment Norm Kelly Voting in Melanesia: The 2010 Bougainville and Solomon Islands Elections Daniel Zirker Você Decide: The Mixed Experiences in Brazil of Voting on Television, Passively Viewing Corruption Scandals, and Voting for President in 2010	
3.00	Afternoon Tea Break			
3.30-5.00	S.G.01	S.G.02	S.G.03	
	People-to-People International Relations: Solidarity Across Borders Convenor and Chair: Nicholas Henry Nicholas Henry Not In Circumstances of Their Choosing: People-to-People Networks Under Repressive Regimes Alistair Shaw The People's Republic of China's "People-to-People Democracy" Vanessa Ward Cho Takeda Kiyoko and People-to-People Networks in Asia, 1942–1957 Danielle Haultain Finding Emo: Establishing the Role of Emotions in International Relations	Public Policy and Sustainable Development Chair: Bernard Nwosu Jeanette Marie Wright A Discursive Analysis of New Zealand Environmental Legislation Chris Joseph and Robert Wayumba Land Tenure Policy for Sustainable Human Development Rosanna Keam The Contradiction of "Mining for Poverty Alleviation" in the Context of Water Scarcity in Namibia Guy Charlton and Melissa Lewis The Protection of Traditionally Significant Flora and Fauna under the Convention on Biological Diversity in South Africa and New Zealand	Issues in Policy Theory and Policy Analysis Chair: Priya Kurian Rachel Simon-Kumar Between Consensus and Compromise: A Critique of Relationship-based Policy with Migrants and Refugees in Aotearoa/New Zealand Stephen Winter Basic Income and Oil: Climate Change, Complicity & Compensation James Ka-lei Wong Distributed Cognition in Collective Environmental Decision-making Rebecca Bollard Sustainable Citizenship and Deliberative Policy: Reproductive Technology in New Zealand	

NEW ZEALAND POLITICAL STUDIES ASSOCIATION

CONFERENCE 2010

9.15 Thursday 2 December

S.G.01

Welcome

The Right Honourable Jim Bolger

Former Prime Minister and New Zealand Ambassador to the United States, and Chancellor of the University of Waikato

9.30 Thursday 2 December

S.G.01

Opening Address

Bryan Gould The End of Politics

Politics, as an area of activity, has – with the end of colonialism and the rise of democracy – been on the rise for much of the last two centuries. But, over recent decades, that advance has been reversed. The move towards free-market economics, and its extrapolation on the global scale, has meant that much of politics – and particularly democratic politics – has been marginalised. Has the global financial crisis halted that development, as many would have expected, or has it given it renewed impetus?

11.00 Thursday 2 December

S.G.01

Roundtable: Engaging the Public in the MMP Referendum Campaign

The government will give voters the chance to 'kick the tyres of MMP' in a referendum to be held in conjunction with the 2011 election. How best to engage the public in the education and referendum campaign?

Convenor and Chair: Therese Arseneau (The University of Canterbury)

Amy Adams (National MP for Selwyn, Chair of the Electoral Legislation Select Committee)

Public Engagement through the Select Committee Process

Kate Stone (Victoria University of Wellington)

How Best to Engage Young Voters?

Rahui Katene (Maori Party MP for Te Tai Tonga)

How Best to Engage Maori Voters?

Sandra Grey (Victoria University of Wellington and Spokesperson for the Campaign for MMP)

Engaging Through Activism

11.00 Thursday 2 December

S.G.02

Current Issues in New Zealand Local Government Politics

Convenor and Chair: Chris Rudd

Jean Drage (The University of Canterbury)**What Will Auckland's Reforms Mean for the Rest of Us?**

The future of local government in the Auckland region has been headline news over the last couple of years. Following much debate around the ability of the eight local authorities in this region to work together, a lengthy enquiry by a Royal Commission and substantial legislative change by the National-led government, major reform of the way local government will be both organized and delivered in this region will be underway in October 2010. So what does such wholesale reform mean for the rest of us? This paper highlights many of the issues currently being debated on the structure and role of local government in New Zealand, including the role of regional councils, the increased use of arms length corporate structures to provide local services, the way in which local communities are represented and whether a partnership approach is the way of the future.

Andy Asquith (Massey University)**Managing the Metro Sector**

This paper examines the political and managerial roles at the apex of the nine biggest local authorities (with the exclusion of those within the Auckland region) in New Zealand – the Metro Sector. In addition, it sheds light on an oft over-looked issue within the study of local government – issues affecting the management of second tier cities. The authorities in the Metro Sector grouping within Local Government New Zealand are: Christchurch; Dunedin; Hamilton; Hutt City; Kapiti Coast; Porirua; Tauranga; Upper Hutt and Wellington. Within each of the nine authorities, access was sought to the CEO, Mayor and Deputy Mayor. In total, some 20 out of 27 individuals to whom access was sought were interviewed. What emerges is a picture of vibrant local governance within New Zealand's second tier cities, one that is underpinned by continuous innovation, along with both managerial and democratic renewal.

Media Coverage of the Local Body Elections

Margie Comrie (Massey University), Janine Hayward and Chris Rudd (The University of Otago)

This paper looks at newspaper coverage of the local body elections in Auckland, Wellington and Dunedin. How much coverage was there? How does this compare to coverage of national elections? Was the focus on personalities rather than policies? Was there evidence of a presidentialisation of coverage, particularly in the Auckland super city contest?

Laura Young (The University of Auckland)

E-Consultation and Local Government: Creating Active Citizenship?

Low rates of both informal and formal participation in local government in recent years begs the question if the OECD's criteria of the active participation of citizens in government is realistic, or, an aspirational, but unattainable target. This paper will consider if the use of e-consultation by local governments is a possible mechanism by which to achieve this goal. The paper will present preliminary research for a Masters thesis, and will first assess literature on theories of e-consultation before considering the use of E-Consultation by the local government of Bristol, England to make initial judgments as to the role of E-Consultation in Local Government. The paper will conclude by considering future directions in the area of E-Consultation, specifically, its adoption by the Victorian State Government in Australia, and its potential use in the newly formed Auckland Super City.

11.00 Thursday 2 December

S.G.03

Gender and Political Leadership

Convenor and Chair: Jennifer Curtin

Jennifer Curtin (The University of Auckland)

Women and Prime Ministerial Leadership: Beyond the Symbolic

Jean Blondel (1985: 23) argues that in the past, the study of leadership has been dominated by stories of great men and great nations. This has not only precluded the in-depth study of women as political leaders until recently (of course there are exceptions – Margaret Thatcher being one): such an approach may deter scholars from examining leadership in small, less powerful nations; countries like New Zealand and Australia. Indeed, Sarah Palin's vice presidential candidacy has already received more scholarly attention from the gender-politics community than the leadership of women who have been elected as national leaders of smaller nations. This paper reviews the rise of two Westminster women prime ministers: Helen Clark and Julia Gillard. Drawing from a growing body of work on feminist institutionalism, the paper compares Clark and Gillard's political career development and their ascension to the leadership and questions whether they have been able to break down the gendered norms and rules traditionally associated with leadership in the world of Westminster.

Ana Gilling (Victoria University of Wellington)

Gendered Conceptions of Power

Feminist political scientists have developed analyses of fundamental political concepts such as authority, citizenship and the public good, and explored the gendered nature of political processes and institutions. My paper will explore feminist conceptions of political power and representation. I focus on two fundamental and tightly intertwined questions: do women MPs acquire power in order to represent "women" and "women's interests", and, what models of power do women MPs conceive of, and adopt or reject in their work as MPs? As feminist political scientists we want to understand and critique the political oppression of women - and develop a model of power that highlights the possibilities for resistance and transformation. Our analyses have suggested three competing theoretical models: power-over, most notably, power as domination, second, power-to, power as capacity, and third, power-with, power that emerges from collective action. I will proffer a fourth: power-for. Using interview material from forty women politicians in the New Zealand House of Representatives, I will explore women's conceptions and actual experiences of power and representation, focusing on key aspects - meaning, efficacy, voice and change.

Jane Christie (The University of Auckland)

Maternal Legacies in Human Rights Discourses as a Pathway to Political Success: The Case of Michelle Bachelet and Cristina Fernández

This paper historicises a specific selection of metaphors used to describe Michelle Bachelet and Cristina Fernández during their candidacy for the presidency in Chile and Argentina, in 2005 and 2007, respectively. In both election campaigns, these women candidates had to negotiate gender perceptions in particular ways and many people would have recognised the epithets and campaign slogans used to describe them without linking these phrases to their social history. While encapsulating a set of discourses that reference two very different economic and political systems, these metaphors also exemplify a whole codified system of gendered political relationships and they tell us something about the historical gender paradigms that helped bring these two women into power. With the aim of complementing current studies of women in political office, I am introducing an in-depth critical discourse analysis from a feminist perspective. This approach places a special focus on how they negotiate their status as political women in discursive terms within a longer history of feminised human rights discourses in contemporary Chile and Argentina.

Linda Trimble (University of Alberta)

When a Woman Topples a Man: Media Coverage of New Zealand Leadership 'Coups'

Two New Zealand women have deposed men from the party leader's post by mobilizing support within their parliamentary parties: Helen Clark secured the Labour Party leadership in 1993 and Jenny Shipley took charge of the governing National party in 1997. While television and newspaper reportage deemed Shipley's overthrow of Jim Bolger a 'bloodless coup', Clark's victory over Mike Moore was labelled gory and ruthless. Indeed, the press accused Clark of putting a 'knife in the back' of her predecessor. The divergent media accounts are explained to some extent by differences in circumstances. Jim Bolger stepped aside for Jenny Shipley while Mike Moore was loath to relinquish the leader's post to Helen Clark, prompting a caucus vote. Moreover, Shipley immediately

became prime minister and served in that capacity until 1999, when defeated in a general election by Clark. Clark became leader of the opposition and had to deflect a leadership challenge within her party and fight two election campaigns before winning the prime minister's role. My paper analyzes television and newspaper reportage of the two leadership 'coups' and argues that, while the news coverage was shaped by contextual factors, it also evidenced gendered mediation - - news frames and evaluations that reflect sex-based assumptions about the performance of political leadership.

1.00 Thursday 2 December

S.G.01

Roundtable: Does the History of Political Thought Matter?

Chair: Katherine Smits

Are past political thinkers bound to their context? Do they have little if anything to teach us today? As students of politics should we simply leave the study of past political thinkers to historians? Or do the ideas of great political thinkers have a remarkable durability that transcends time and place? Can we understand contemporary political debates with any sophistication without an understanding of the history of political thought? And might past thinkers possess some insights that we could still learn from today? This roundtable explores the extent to which the history of political thought matters in the contemporary world from the perspective of three political theorists and a historian of intellectual history (Roundtable brief prepared by Vicki Spencer).

Katherine Smits (The University of Auckland)

Rowland Weston (The University of Waikato)

Colm McKeogh (The University of Waikato)

Xavier Marquez (Victoria University of Wellington)

1.00 Thursday 2 December

S.G.02

Roundtable: Marketing in Government: An Assessment of National's Prospects

Convenor and Chair: Jennifer Lees-Marshment

Political marketing is often seen as confined to election campaigns; but once parties are elected, what then? This panel will discuss how well National has utilised marketing in power, offering suggestions for potential areas of weakness as well as observing any positive developments. Themes to be discussed include:

- Has the brand Key been maintained? Has it been adapted appropriately from Mr Nice guy to effective Prime Minister?
- Is the party managing to avoid the usual dominance and decline/market oriented before the election/sales-oriented after pattern? Are they still responsive to voters?
- How effectively have they managed policy change, such as school national standards policy?
- And how are the coping with public dissent such as over the proposal to mine conservation land?
- Are they satisfying their core market, those who wanted tax cuts etc?
- Do voters think Key has delivered? Is the government communicating delivery effectively?
- Are National giving their coalition partners enough room to be strategic and get credit for their role in delivery too?
- Is Key ever at threat to what happened to Rudd?

Jennifer Lees-Marshment (The University of Auckland)

Chris Rudd (The University of Otago)

Edward Elder (The University of Auckland)

Shawn Moodie (The University of Auckland)

1.00 Thursday 2 December

S.G.03

The Politics of the Intangible

Convenor and Chair: Peter Skilling

Peter Skilling (Auckland University of Technology)

The Role of Emotions in Policy Argumentation: GE Debates in New Zealand and France

This paper essays a descriptive and normative analysis of the role of emotions in policy argumentation. Drawing on an analysis of public debates around genetic engineering in New Zealand and France, it makes the fairly obvious point that emotions, abstract principles and local traditions - central to French policy arguments - were effectively marginalized in New Zealand. Emotionally based arguments were seen as disruptive and dangerous, and subordinated to arguments based on supposedly measurable criteria: scientific risk, market demand, productive efficiency and the like. Drawing on recent deliberative democracy and interpretive policy analysis theory that understands emotions not as opposed to rationality but as an intrinsic part of public reason, the paper addresses the question of what is gained and what is lost when emotions are disallowed in policy debates.

Emma Blomkamp (University of Auckland)

Governing for Wellbeing - Examining Indicators of Local Governance in New Zealand

New Zealand's Local Government Act (2002) requires local authorities to develop long-term plans that promote the four pillars of community wellbeing: environmental, economic, cultural and social. The response of local governments to this innovative mandate has varied, and the nebulous notion of 'cultural wellbeing' has proven particularly difficult to operationalise. These local developments can be understood within an international context and conceptual framework by referring to literature on new modes of governance and cultural citizenship. With reference to this international scholarship as well as to local case studies, this paper puts the spotlight on policy indicators and asks how local governments have constructed the intangible concept of wellbeing in terms that allow them to monitor progress in meaningful ways.

Elise Sterback (The University of Auckland)

Rethinking Community: The Case for New Institutional Structures

While recent societal and political trends have assumed and privileged the self-interested individual, our capacity to attain collective goods depends in large part on our ability to co-operate with each other. This paper looks at what systems best facilitate such co-operation by comparing work put forward by institutional theorists with that of network theorists and developers of advocacy coalition frameworks. It argues that we need to revise our understanding of social groups in light of developments in communication technology that allow us to interact in new and unprecedented ways. By updating what may now be old-fashioned views of communities, and modifying the institutional structures which shape them, we can arrive at new group structures which more effectively allocate resources and organise relationships between group members.

Heather Devere (The University of Otago)

Peace, Justice, Mercy and Truth: The Paths to Reconciliation of Conflict?

This paper discusses a model of conflict resolution that aims for reconciliation and transformation of armed conflict proposed by John-Paul Lederach. Lederach argues that the competing values of peace, justice, mercy and truth need to be negotiated in order to arrive at that place called reconciliation. I will be using the model to argue for consideration of these 'intangible' values within a politics framework, as well as discussing whether there are other competing values that need to be part of the negotiated space.

1.00 Thursday 2 December

S.1.01

Postgraduate Workshop: Getting Published

Kate McMillan (Victoria University, Wellington), Jennifer Curtin (University of Auckland) and Ton Buhrs (Lincoln University)

Note, this workshop is an opportunity to hear from and interact with a journal editor, experienced referees for a number of international journals, and other postgraduates from around the country.

2.30 Thursday 2 December

S.G.01

Debating Immigration, Representation and Citizenship in Aotearoa New Zealand

Convenor and Chair: Kate McMillan

Fiona Barker (Victoria University of Wellington)

Making Auckland Greater? Implications of the “Ethnic” Representation Debate in the Super City for Understandings of Representation and Citizenship in New Zealand

The transition to Auckland’s new “super city” governance arrangements has been accompanied by controversy over how Maori, Pacific and “other ethnic” populations could – or should be represented on the new Auckland council. Ultimately provision was made for a relatively weak form of consultative participation, rather than the guaranteed representation present at the national level. Taking the controversy over representation in the Auckland Council as its starting point, this paper considers what debate about Auckland might mean for broader understandings and contestation of formal political representation of Maori and other minority ethnic populations in New Zealand. The paper situates the New Zealand case in the context of comparative discussions in the literature on power sharing arrangements in diverse societies and on conceptions of democratic representation and citizenship.

Louise Humpage (The University of Auckland)

Citizenship and Belonging in Aotearoa New Zealand: An Uneven Terrain

Although New Zealanders are thought to have a weak conception and understanding of ‘citizenship’ in comparison to citizens from other countries, there has been little empirical evidence testing this assumption. Thus, as part of a broader Marsden-funded project looking at public attitudes to social citizenship rights in New Zealand, 87 interview and focus group participants were also asked about citizenship as an identity and source of belonging. This included questions about what they associated with the term ‘citizenship’, their perceptions of citizen ‘rights’ and ‘responsibilities’ and what conditions they felt necessary to feel like a ‘first class’ citizen in New Zealand. The findings do

confirm a relatively weak understanding of traditional notions of legal and political citizenship but this knowledge (and interest) is – not surprisingly – fractured along existing lines of inequality, in particular ethnicity. The paper will use this study’s qualitative data to explore the uneven terrain of citizenship and, drawing upon Calhoun’s (1999) view that citizenship involves multiple modes of belonging, will ask: does it matter as much as we might think it should?

Eileen Moughan (Victoria University of Wellington)

Maori and Immigration Policy

This paper first summarises the arguments that support Maori having a special role in the formulation of NZ immigration policy, and then outlines the range of possible mechanisms that could accommodate greater Maori involvement. Finally, some of the problems that might arise if New Zealand did decide to afford Maori a special role in immigration policy-making are highlighted.

2.30 Thursday 2 December

S.G.02

Cabinet and the Core Executive: Institutions, Actors and Processes

Chair: Richard Shaw

Chris Eichbaum and Richard Shaw (Victoria University of Wellington and Massey University)

Ministerial Advisors at Work in New Zealand: Making Sense of Roles, Relationships and Contributions

Political advisors have attracted increasing attention in a number of Westminster jurisdictions, including New Zealand, Australia, the United Kingdom (UK) and Canada. In all but the first the focus has typically been on the corrosive impact these advisors allegedly have on defining elements of the Westminster model, notably the capacity and capability of a 'constitutional bureaucracy with a non-partisan and expert civil service' (Rhodes and Weller, 2005: 7). A concern with the challenges posed by political advisors distracts from other important matters. In particular, the role of political staff in the policy process is frequently taken as given rather than explicitly delineated. And if few studies capture in detail the routine policy-related activities of advisors, even fewer seek to systematically classify that activity. In this paper we seek to do both. First, we use survey data to sketch activities undertaken by political advisors in New Zealand. Subsequently, and drawing on Maley's typology of advisors' roles, we classify these various activities according to the contribution each makes to executive government policy-making. We find that while Maley's model substantially explains the roles of advisors in New Zealand, it does not fully account for the different weightings advisors themselves attribute to those roles. These intra-role distinctions reflect institutional differences, and different modalities of governance, between Australia and New Zealand. Therefore, in addition to describing what ministerial advisors do, and in which policy-related roles, we also address the relationship between role and institutional context.

Jennifer Curtin and Marian Sawer (The University of Auckland and Australian National University)

Gendering the Core Executive in Australasia

This paper compares women's gradual entry into executive government in Australia and New Zealand. It was not until the 1980s that all-male Cabinets were popularly perceived as odd and unrepresentative. Since then the Labour Parties of both countries and the mobilisation of women within and around them have been largely responsible for the increased presence of women in parliament and in Cabinet. One aspect of Australasian exceptionalism is that it is members of Parliamentary Labour Parties who elect who will be in Labour Cabinets or Shadow Cabinets. Conservative leaders choose their own ministers, who also now include an increased proportion of women.

In educational and occupational terms, women ministers increasingly come from similar backgrounds to their male colleagues. This does not mean, however, that they are allocated similar portfolios. Women still disproportionately hold nurturing portfolios such as education and health. The holding of such portfolios has not proved a barrier to the achievement of leadership positions, but there is a tendency for women to inherit such leadership when their government is in trouble and in urgent need of 'rebranding'. Feminist ministers and heads of government in both countries have been identified as critical actors who have introduced measures to promote gender equality. For this pattern to continue into the future, however, there is a need for a clear constituency for such measures, which are often introduced at a political price.

Polly Higbee (Victoria University of Wellington)

The Use of Urgency in the New Zealand House of Representatives

This paper presents research conducted on the use of urgency in New Zealand's Parliament 1987-2009. The research covers the frequency with which urgency has been used and the nature of Bills that have been accorded urgency. The research presented also covers party behaviour towards urgency motions, including how parties have voted when presented with an urgency motion, and the nature of coalition and confidence and supply agreements in the post-MMP era. The paper will suggest how the trends in the use of urgency may relate to changes in the Standing Orders; New Zealand's electoral system; government formation; and House practices.

The research for this paper was conducted by the New Zealand Centre of Public Law with support from the New Zealand Law Foundation and the Rule of Law Committee of the New Zealand Law Society. The research includes empirical data, a literature review and interviews conducted with past and present participants in the legislative process.

2.30 Thursday 2 December**S.G.03****Public Policy and Inequality: International Perspectives***Chair: Geoff Cupit***Matthew Gibbons (The University of Waikato)****Intergenerational Mobility in New Zealand**

Intergenerational mobility research quantifies the relationship between the circumstances of parents and the circumstances of their children as adults. This paper tentatively quantifies intergenerational economic mobility in New Zealand using the best available datasets. These datasets are: longitudinal income data from the Dunedin Study of the population of people born in Dunedin in 1972-73; and occupation data from the 1996 Election Study's post-election nationwide survey. The results show that only a small proportion of variance in income or SES was explained by the economic situation of people's parents, indicating that other explanatory variables are more important.

Dominic O'Sullivan (Charles Sturt University)**Indigenous Australian Health: Policy and the Politics of Disparity**

Relative ill-health is a universally distinguishing characteristic among post-colonial minority indigenous populations. In Australia, its persistence transcends personal lifestyle choices or clinical variables, and is, at least partly, an outcome of public policy's considered philosophical positioning. Prevailing conceptions of citizenship and ideas about Indigenous people's reasonable place in the political community limit public policy options to mitigate against the recognition of history as a determinant of health, and relationships between culture and health outcomes. The paper argues that these are essential considerations in measures taken to improve Indigenous health. History, culture, and the recognition of group rights are, in fact, preliminary to the construction of a just and reasonable Indigenous health policy, and preliminary to substantive and sustainable improvements in health outcomes.

The political contributors to Indigenous ill-health mean that in spite of its complexities and multifaceted characteristics ill-health is neither inevitable nor unalterable. Policy solutions do, however, presume a philosophical paradigm under which human rights cannot be set aside, citizenship cannot be conditional, and where policy is crafted with authoritative Indigenous engagement and in cognisance of broad Indigenous conceptions of health and health care. For these reasons a theoretical juxtaposition between indigeneity and liberalism is proposed as a conceptual policy foundation.

Peter Nunns (The University of Auckland)

Why Slums? The Meaning and Function of Developing-World Cities

An estimated 1 billion people, mainly in urban areas in the developing world, are living in slums, without safe housing, secure tenure, or adequate services and infrastructure. This is unlikely to be a transitory phenomenon, as significant shelter deprivation is expected to persist even in cities that are experiencing significant economic growth. Furthermore, it is likely to affect the social and political life of these cities. This paper analyses the phenomenon of shelter deprivation in developing world cities in terms of the contestation over the social and political meanings and functions of a city. To do so, it surveys the existing literature on slums, reflecting upon some key findings and reviewing the main theories. Based on this review, it proposes and defends an interpretive framework adapted from Manuel Castells' account of urban struggles in his 1983 work *The City and the Grassroots* and updated for an era of global cities.

2.30 Thursday 2 December

S.1.01

International Relations – International Organisations

Chair: Bernard Nwosu

Nicholas Thomas (City University of Hong Kong)

Interventions with Chinese Characteristics

The notions of just war and humanitarian interventions sit uneasily alongside Chinese foreign and strategic visions of the international world order. Yet, since the closing years of the 20th century, China as found itself increasingly being drawn into a wide variety of interventionist actions; which challenge this traditional worldview and suggests an evolution of Chinese policy towards a more activist position. Drawing on Holliday's model of just war (2003), this paper considers a series of coercive and non-coercive interventions launched by the Chinese state against other sovereign interests. China's invasion of Vietnam and its involvement in UN sanction regimes will be explored as part of its coercive interventions, while its supply of peace-keeping forces to East Timor, its provision of humanitarian assistance to Haiti as well as its attempts at preventative diplomacy will form the non-coercive case studies. Following these cases, the interventions will be considered jointly with the aim of identifying common policy markers. In conclusion, the implications for Chinese policy and for China's engagement with the global order will be proposed.

Alex Great (The University of Auckland)

Humanitarian Intervention and Statebuilding in Kosovo: How to Weed Out Myths from Facts

Post-Cold War humanitarian interventions have led to inconclusive results. Global public opinion polls reveal readiness to help people suffering at the hands of oppressive regimes or militant groups. But public support did not lead to action even in obvious cases like Rwanda because of the risk of

failure. The resolution of the United Nations General Assembly on Kosovo adopted by consensus on 9 September 2010 crowns two decades of international efforts to resolve the crisis. But in Kosovo high level corruption, an ineffective legal system and a faltering economy could lead to instability and endanger the peace in Europe. The approach of this paper is to uncover the root causes for the crisis and the effectiveness of different approaches to deal with them by using a wide diversity of sources to avoid bias. It will focus on the history of the conflict in an attempt to separate myth from fact.

Timothy P. Fadgen (The University of Auckland)

The World Health Organization and Mental Health Policy Transfer: A Critical Review

Recent World Health Organization efforts around mental health policy have tended towards policy and law standardization. WHO prescribes mainstreaming mental health promotion into policies and programmes in “government and business sectors including education, labour, justice, transport, environment, housing and welfare, as well as the health sector” (World Health Organization 2007). WHO’s role is to support governments through technical material and advice as to international best practices. Where do these “best practices” emerge from? How does WHO go about the process of policy transfer of these “policies, plans and programmes” to host countries? This paper will provide a critical review of WHO’s role in this process.

Anita Abbott (The University of Waikato)

The US, the World Trade Organization, and the World Bank: The Case of Education in Indonesia

The institutional arrangement in the WTO is recognised as a bargain that sustains US hegemonic power. The question arises whether the US will be able to sustain its power through GATS since GATS is much less binding than GATT in terms of its regulation and discipline. This paper deals with the US and the WTO system as a way to analyse state power and institutional agreements. It also examines the link between education trade, the internationalisation of education, and US economic power. It explores the role of the US in the World Bank by using the case of education in Indonesia. In particular, it explores the impact of the Indonesia-US bilateral relationship in the partnership in education, and the perspectives of social movement activists.

4.00 Thursday 2 December

S.G.01

Contemporary Policy and Electoral Issues in the Study of Immigration

Convenor and Chair: Fiona Barker

Kate McMillan (Victoria University of Wellington)

Immigration Rhetoric During Election Campaigns: Comparing Labour Parties in New Zealand and Australia

Many European Social Democratic parties have recently adopted some of the anti-immigration, anti-multiculturalism rhetoric of their right wing competitors during election campaigns. Australian Labour Prime Minister Julia Gillard did likewise in 2010, kicking off her campaign with an arguably dogwhistle discussion about the need for a regional asylum processing centre, and a rejection of former Prime Minister Rudd's vision of a 'Big Australia'. To date, however, the New Zealand Labour Party has not felt compelled to follow suit. In this paper I discuss some of the variables that have compelled social democratic parties to depart – at least partially and rhetorically – from their traditional adherence to multicultural values, and then ask whether these variables adequately explain differences between the way in which the Australian Labor and New Zealand Labour parties have dealt with immigration and integration issues during their most recent election campaigns.

Dianny Wahyudi (Victoria University of Wellington)

Rhetoric, Free Speech and the Radical Right: Anti-Immigration Campaigning in France and the UK

The rise and increased legitimacy of radical-right parties in Europe and emergence of widespread anti-immigration sentiment in Europe raises the question of how to balance the legitimate demands of two basic human rights: freedom of expression and freedom from racial discrimination. In investigating the anti-immigration rhetoric employed by the British National Party and the French Front National during election campaigns, this paper considers whether legal boundaries that exist on a European and domestic level sufficiently and meaningfully balance these demands. The challenge for courts in establishing the boundaries of acceptable speech is that given European countries' "ideological value of tolerance", these parties are making calculations as to how to appeal to people's intolerances without provoking racist or xenophobic accusations. A focus on political parties' rhetoric stems from the recognition of their power to create the general climate of public discourse, with its tangible consequences on behaviour and attitudes of society.

Vic Crocford (Victoria University of Wellington)

The Personal is Global: A Feminist Exploration of the Gendered Implications of the Migration of Aged-Care Workers into Aotearoa-New Zealand

It is predicted that the ageing population structures of many high-income countries will greatly increase demands for aged-care workers. These demands are unlikely to be met from within internal labour markets. It is likely that migration will be used to meet these needs. This paper uses a feminist framework to examine the gendered implications of this issue in the context of Aotearoa-

New Zealand as part of an ongoing policy discussion established by the Institute of Policy Studies. It is argued that careful examination needs to be given to gender issues should the Government develop a migration stream for aged-care workers in order that the migrants rights are upheld and existing unequal hierarchies are not further entrenched.

4.00 Thursday 2 December

S.G.02

Public Policy: International Perspectives

Chair: Gauri Nandedkar

Poppy Sulistyaning Winanti (University of Glasgow)

Great Power Coercion, Authoritative International Institutions, or Domestic Politics? Explaining Change in Developing Countries' Intellectual Property Legislation

One of the most significant results of the Uruguay Round of multilateral trade talks was the first comprehensive and enforceable multilateral accord on trade-related aspects of intellectual property rights (the TRIPs Agreement). Developing countries resisted the adoption of the agreement because of different domestic norms and traditions relating to intellectual property and concerns about the administrative costs of implementing the agreement. Consequently, there were widespread expectations that developing countries would not comply with agreement. Contrary to that expectation, however, almost all developing countries have altered their domestic laws in response to the TRIPs Agreement and many did so prior to the deadline for implementation and/or adopted more rigorous IPR rules than required by TRIPs. This paper aims to explain this puzzle. It does so by testing three alternative explanations: great power coercion; authoritative international institutions; and domestic politics. The paper focuses on the timing and quality of developing country compliance across patents, copyrights and trademarks with detailed case studies of changes to intellectual property legislation in Indonesia, which is an unlikely case for compliance. As can be observed from Indonesia's experience, this paper demonstrates that great power coercion cannot provide a satisfactory explanation as policy change occurred in the absence as well as in the presence of external pressures. The paper also reveals how existing mobilisation of domestic actors conditions the impact of international obligations on policy change. In this regard, in the absence of the role of domestic societal actors in IP policy reform, international obligations can have a major impact as they can be used by the government to overcome domestic opposition.

Rebecca Bollard (The University of Waikato)

The Advocacy Coalition Framework: An Analysis of Genetic Property Rights Policy

The Advocacy Coalition Framework uses policy subsystems to explain policy development and formation and has been employed in a number of areas, particularly environmental policy. The modern revolution in genetic science has proved controversial and challenging for policy makers the world over. New issues confront existing policy structures, and force the creation of new policy ideas and instruments. Specifically, the creation of new forms of genetic knowledge and biological matter

has raised new issues of ownership and property rights. This analysis examines policy making in key areas of human genetic property rights – databases, discrimination, and intellectual property – in the United States and Britain to understand how the property rights have been assigned. An understanding of framing is found to be essential to explaining broad advocacy coalition formation and the persistence of controversy, even within established policy subsystems.

Janine McPake (The University of Waikato)

Societal Implications of Nanotechnology

As the investment into Nanotechnology increases towards its projected global investment figure of US 1trillion by 2015 (some projections state as early as 2011), this literature review confirms that Nanotechnology regulation, on international and national levels, is currently being surpassed by corporate investment into research and development. This literature review notes that there are many new Nanotechnology products being launched onto the market, without the implementation of sufficient regulatory mechanisms and frameworks. For example, the reviewed Royal Engineers Report ‘recommends that adequate regulatory mechanisms must be put in place, given the lack of thorough research into the still largely unknown quantity of this new technology’ (2004). Much of the literature also notes that public participation will be vital to ensuring that governance of nanotechnology frameworks and mechanisms are adequately robust and transparent given the societal implications of such uncontrolled commercialization without sufficient regulatory mechanisms. In addition, futurists have taken have strong interest in the field of Nanotechnology and offer predictions which range from the pragmatic to the extreme.

4.00 Thursday 2 December

S.G.03

International Relations: The US and its Allies

Chair: Dan Zirker

Najibullah Lafraie (The University of Otago)

Defiance in Absurdity – How Small Clients Dare Challenge Powerful Patrons: The Case of Karzai and Obama Administrations

Hamid Karzai, a relatively unknown small player in Afghanistan politics, was chosen by George W. Bush’s administration as the head of the post-Taliban Afghan Interim Administration and managed to continue as Afghanistan President with strong American support. With the Taliban insurgency growing, his administration cannot expect to last even a month without the enormous military and financial backing of the US and its allies. Nonetheless, he has been able to successfully defy the Obama administration ever since the relations between the two soured as a result of the tainted 2009 presidential election. The list of defiant acts is long, with the latest – to thwart the US supported independent anticorruption measures – being probably the most important one. In the face of incomparable power discrepancy, how can such defiance be explained? The paper will try to find an answer to this question by a search of the Cold War era client-patron literature and looking

at similar historical cases – for example the relations between Ngo Dinh Diem’s and President John Kennedy’s administrations.

Cetin Cem Birsay (Isik University, Sile Istanbul)

The Analysis of the US National Security Policy in Southeast Asia since 9/11 and its Implications for US-Australian Security and Defence Co-operation

The changing nature of US security perceptions following the 9/11 events have expanded the US “War Against Terrorism” to a global scale including the Southeast Asia region. In this respect the alteration of US national security policies at a global level is not only extending the scope of the US-Australian security and defence co-operation but also bringing new burdens and risks to Australian security. Australian military commitment and support to US-led operations in Afghanistan and Iraq can be regarded as the final phase of co-operation which has been established in 1947. On the other hand, terrorism was mutually defined by the US and Australian governments as a threat to their national security perceptions in the post-Cold War era. However convergence of both countries’ security perceptions following 2001, brought new opportunities for bilateral defence relations as well. The US has increased her role in Australian defence procurement and joint training of armed forces. However Australian alignment with the US against global terror networks is also bringing new complexities to the Australian defence policy. Following the Australian support for Operation Enduring Freedom Australia needs to balance her regional strategic position against China with global priorities emanating from her special relationship with the US. Hence both goals require different defence policy settings. This paper analyses the benefits and costs of active Australian military and political support for the US war against terrorism and the 2003 Iraq War and aims to identify the possible outcomes of her support in her regional security priorities.

Ashok Sharma (Visiting Academic, The University of Waikato)

An Evaluation of the Indo-US Strategic Partnership: India's Global Aspirations and the Obama Administration

Throughout the Cold War period, India and the US had negligible relations, despite many shared interests and political values. However, in the post-Cold War period, especially during the waning days of the Clinton administration and two terms of the Bush administration, the Indo-US relationship saw an unprecedented convergence of interests and the two countries have entered into a strategic partnership. This strategic partnership is marked by frequent joint military exercises, counter-terrorism cooperation, defence industry relations, a ten year Defence Framework Agreement and a civilian nuclear deal. This reflects Washington’s changed notion of New Delhi in the present world order and recognition of India’s rising military and economic profile. It also demonstrates that both countries are no longer grounded in obsolete conflicts of interests and preoccupied with US-Pakistan or Indo-Soviet relations. Rather, the ‘strategic convergence’ suits both nations’ geo-strategic and geo-economic goals. However, during the Obama administration the Indo-US relationship has seen a lull period and many have questioned the continuity of the Indo-US strategic partnership. This paper will explore the Indo-US Strategic Partnership in the context of India’s global aspiration, and issues and concerns under the Obama regime.

4.00 Thursday 2 December	S.1.01
Politics of Class and Ethnicity	

Chair: Rachel Simon-Kumar

Jean-Christopher Somers (Victoria University of Wellington)

Politics of Class

This article looks at the concept of class in the light of Foucault and others. While such 'post-modern' critiques are frequently regarded as inimical to class analysis, this essay argues that there is no necessary or fundamental conflict between the two approaches. On the contrary, while social and political institutions may be strategically independent from the class structure, they are nonetheless organised around and through that structure. Class remains central to political analysis both as a strategic outcome, in the Foucaultian sense, and as an historical reality against which new social relations are being played out. Using New Zealand as an example, the analysis attempts to show how apparent contradictions in New Zealand's political history, such as the persistence of the egalitarianism myth, or the lack of obvious class inequalities and consciousness, might be reconciled through this approach to class analysis. Class, it concludes, remains relevant to New Zealand politics.

Heather Came (The University of Waikato)

Theorising Institutional Racism and Privilege

Racism and privilege are interlinked concepts that refer to the racially characterised/expressed advantaging or disadvantaging of some at the expense of others (Paradies, 2006). Racism in its many forms has been debated, sometimes in very heated ways in public and academic discourse for decades. Racism embedded in institutional formation and practice manifests as institutional racism. My research interest is in institutional racism as carried out by the State. That is more particularly the ongoing intended and/or unintended actions of the Crown to embed structural disadvantage against indigenous peoples. In light of this focus, within this paper I will examine three macro themes of racism literature: the activist traditions of structural analysis; the contrasting libertarian discourses that deny the existence of institutional racism; and emerging state discourses. I pursue this line of enquiry to deepen understandings of the dynamics of state racism with a view to countering such racism.

Seonah Choi (Victoria University of Wellington)

A Glass Ceiling for Asians in the NZ Parliament?

This paper applies the notion of the glass ceiling to the New Zealand Parliament in relation to Asian MPs, hypothesising that to date, Asian MPs have progressed by virtue of their ethnicity, but this virtue also prevents them from progressing further. The rise of selected Asian MPs in Parliament will be compared to that of other MPs to determine whether their ethnicity hindered or aided. Factors identified as contributing to the formation of a glass ceiling in other contexts will be considered and, in the circumstance that a glass ceiling does exist in New Zealand politics, attempts will be made to

identify the consequences and possibly remedies. Essentially, the paper asks whether an Asian MP, or an MP of any minority ethnicity, guaranteed the individual was adequately qualified for the following, can eventually achieve successes beyond a certain point, or past the glass ceiling in high-level New Zealand politics.

5.00 Thursday 2 December

S.G.01

Plenary Session

Chair: Mark Rolls

Dr Muthiah Alagappa of the East-West Centre, Washington

Security Order in Asia

7.30 Thursday 2 December

Conference Dinner

Academy of the Performing Arts, University of Waikato

9.00 Friday 3 December

S.G.01

Gender, State and Politics

Chair: Rebecca Bollard

Norm Kelly (Australian National University)

Vois Blong Mere? The Future for Women's Representation in Melanesia

The island nations of the Pacific have traditionally been very poor in providing representation for women. Of the nine countries listed by the Inter-Parliamentary Union as having no women representatives in their parliaments, five are in the Pacific. And in the three Melanesian countries of Papua New Guinea, the Solomon Islands and Vanuatu, there are only three women in a total of 211 members in the national parliaments. This paper assesses the current situation in Melanesia, and identifies the factors that militate against women being elected. Proposals for increasing women's representation, including the proposed system of reserved seats for Papua New Guinea, are considered, and the results of the 2010 elections in the Solomon Islands and the Autonomous Region of Bougainville are analysed to determine what changes are required to provide women with a greater chance for election in the South Pacific region.

Hannah Blumhardt (Victoria University of Wellington)

The Nanny State, Girlie Men and Old Mother Hubbard: The Use and Abuse of Gendered Language and Discourse in the New Zealand House of Representatives

This discussion will focus on the past and current use of gendered language and discourse in the New Zealand House of Representatives. Drawing on both empirical and theoretical research, the discussion will consider how the use of rhetorical techniques in the House, such as metaphors and vocabulary, serve to indirectly formulate significant patterns of gendered construction in legislative debate. These patterns include the glorification of masculinity, the derogation of femininity, and the broader production and reproduction of gender stereotypes. The political implications of this rhetoric, both within and beyond Parliament, will also be discussed.

Wambui Njagi (The University of Waikato)

What to Save? Pot or Water? An Analysis of Abortion Discourses in Kenya

Abortion, except in rare circumstances, is illegal in Kenya. However, it remains one of the major causes of maternal mortality and morbidity. This paper will investigate the discursive strategies used by pro and anti-abortion actors in establishing the legitimacy of their stance. The major actors in the abortion debate in Kenya include religious groups, medical professionals, women's organisations, non-governmental organisations, and the state. Those who support legalisation of abortion see clandestine abortions as leading to maternal deaths while those actors who are against focus on foetal deaths. In other words, the problems of unsafe abortions for pro-abortion actors centre on 'abortions that go wrong', while for anti-abortion actors, the problem is constructed around 'successful abortions'. Through an analysis of the major discourses in the debate, I will demonstrate

how the actions, statements and voices of those in different camps reflect particular ideologies and worldviews that have implications both for state policies and for women's lived experiences.

9.00 Friday 3 December

S.G.02

Democracy and its Prospects

Chair: Todd Nachowitz

Lina Gonzalez (The University of Auckland)

Defining Decentralisation in Latin America: A Comparative Perspective

A formal definition of decentralisation of government associates it primarily with the transfer of decision making and spending power from central to local authorities. Traditional definitions have tended to focus on fiscal allocations and devolution of executive power, but have seldom incorporated any qualitative or substantive measure of what might constitute effective decentralisation and local autonomy. This paper seeks to build an alternative definition of decentralisation that places local autonomy at the centre of the analytical framework. Through a reading of key literature and a critical assessment of decentralisation practices (historical and contemporary) in a range of Latin American countries, it will identify a more substantive and nuanced operational definition that can be applied in an empirical investigation of decentralisation policy and practice in Colombia in particular, but ultimately elsewhere in Latin America.

Bernard Nwosu (The University of Waikato)

Tracks of the Thirdwave: Political Succession and Dilemma of Democracy in Africa

The sweep of the third wave democratic moment through Africa saw mass movements against authoritarian rule and demand for liberalisation of the political spaces. The fervour of this demand was diluted by compromises of the ruling group and promises of democratisation. But conservative interests captured the process by creating formal institutions of political competition without corresponding necessary conditions. Basically the regimes of political succession render the political field a closed space. Thus political succession stands out as a challenge to democratisation in parts of Africa. The dominant trend in succession is a pertinent qualifier of the track of the third wave spaces. Selected studies of African states suggest succession trends towards illegitimate self succession, hereditary trends, appointed proxies and minute instances of free and fair electoral regimes. There seems to be need for another wave or revival of the third wave.

Hannah Mueller (The University of Waikato)

A Quest for Sustainability: Biotechnology, Citizenship and Farming Methods in New Zealand's Dairy Industry

Sustainability is a key issue in New Zealand's dairy industry. Arguments are often made from either a purely economic or an environmental perspective. The debate is dominated by polarised viewpoints

characterised by hasty rejection or assertive support of production-focused biotechnological approaches. On the one hand is the biotechnology industry and on the other environmentalists and worried public. Within this divided discussion, little progress is made in terms of achieving truly sustainable development. By using the concept of sustainable citizenship as a theoretical framework, it is possible to incorporate economic, environmental, political and social approaches to sustainability. The paper employs sustainable citizenship in order to discover a common ground between the various opinions within the dairy sector. Shared values around farming methods and biotechnology are used to find a way to facilitate sustainable development of the industry, combining current interests of various stakeholders with a long-term interest of future generations.

9.00 Friday 3 December

S.G.03

International Relations – Regional Agreements

Chair: Alan Simpson

Ali Gale and Heather Devere (The University of Otago)

Peace in the Pacific: The Role of Friendship Treaties

Friendship terminology for treaty relationships aimed at preserving peace is often used. Friendship includes ideas of contractual reciprocity, commitment and trust, support and cooperation and mutual aid and protection. This paper examines a series of friendship treaties between the large powers and various island nations in the Pacific Region. It is found that the moral rhetoric of friendship, with its implied equality is often used to detract from the asymmetrical nature of the relationships. Not only are the terms of the agreement frequently unequal, but they are almost invariably of greater benefit to the greater power. One exception appears to be the 1962 Treaty of Friendship between New Zealand and Samoa.

Nobuhiro Ihara (University of Melbourne)

Establishment of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) as a Process of Reassurance by Indonesia

With Indonesia taking the initiative in the process of forming ASEAN, other member countries, especially Malaysia, were concerned about Indonesia playing a dominant role in regional cooperation and, in the longer term, utilizing the organization as a diplomatic tool to gain regional hegemony. Previous research has not clarified the impact of these concerns and how they were mitigated in the process of establishing ASEAN. This research hypothesizes that as a means of gaining sufficient trust to achieve regional cooperation, Indonesia sought to reassure the other states of its intentions by forming an institution in which unilateral acts by Indonesia were constrained. ASEAN's basic characteristics, such as rejecting military cooperation and avoiding the discussion of political issues within the framework of the association, and maintaining a military presence by external powers despite the ASEAN Declaration referring to the temporary nature of foreign bases, are explained in terms of this reassurance process.

Elvira Bobekova (The University of Otago)

Water Politics: Why Do States Cooperate?

There is a growing literature focusing on the conduct and resolution of riparian disputes arguing for more active involvement of international institutions. Yet it is not fully understood why states would relinquish sovereign control over resources that lie within their territory to global international institutions and what conditions induce them to cooperate. Through analysis of the history and current status of the dispute over the waters of Aral basin among Central Asian countries and by comparing riparian conflicts in the Euphrates and Indus river basins through the prisms of the realist and the functionalist schools of thought, the author argues that an agreement can be reached when the dominant state can perceive that it can benefit from such cooperation. The role of international institutions in facilitating cooperation is conditional on the willingness of the dominant state to cooperate. Given the current uncertainty around security challenges of climate change and predictions of future water wars, this research contributes to our understanding of how to respond to the current and potential conflicts around transboundary waters.

9.00 Friday 3 December

S.1.01

New Zealand Politics: Activism Issues

Chair: Gauri Nandedkar

Sandra Grey (Victoria University of Wellington)

Exploring the Legitimacy of Protest and Activism in New Zealand

Surprisingly little is known about the realm of social movement activism in New Zealand with theorising of the relationship between state and citizens frequently bound by conceptions of (neo)pluralism. While New Zealand does not have a conflict free history much stock has been held in institutional mechanisms of social and political change and assertions that our elected political elite, our Royal Commissions, our select committees, our tribunals, and our tripartite meetings, will be able to hammer out acceptable collective political decisions. But the peace and consensus which was thought to reign in (neo)pluralistic approaches to state and society has periodically be interrupted by outbursts from rowdy protestors often shouting that the state is not listening. This paper explores whether these outbursts are perceived as legitimate by political elite and the citizenry. It is argued that a belief in institutional mechanisms for change has acted to constrain outsider politics, particularly social movement activism, for much of the last four decades.

Thomas O'Brien (University of Melbourne)

Challenges to Trust within the New Zealand Environmental Movement

Escalating concern regarding environmental issues has resulted in an increase in the number and scope of environmental movements internationally. The movements' diversity and proactive nature

have put pressure on both public (state) and private (business) actors to address issues and work with environmental actors. In some cases, this may lead to attempts to contain and challenge the movement through exclusion and, less frequently, subversion. Subversion is an attempt to undermine the power and authority of an organisation or movement. If such actions disrupt broad trust networks, this would represent a potentially significant barrier to the environmental movement's achievement of effective outcomes. This paper presents preliminary findings from a study of the New Zealand environmental movement. The aims of the study are to assess (1) whether there is evidence for infiltration of environmental groups by paid informants, and (2) the effect of any such infiltration upon trust within the broader movement.

New Zealand Politics: Peace and Disarmament

Callum Martin (Victoria University of Wellington)

NZ Inc: New Zealand's Whole-of-Government Approach to Peace Support Operations

In 2005, the OECD Fragile States Group established that successful development in fragile states depends on "well-sequenced and coherent progress across the political, security, economic and administrative domains." They determined that working effectively across these domains "requires donor countries to adopt a 'whole-of-government' approach ...". With New Zealand's continued involvement in complex peace support operations, a growing number of agencies are taking on international responsibilities. An analysis of official information over this period illustrates that the whole-of-government approach (WGA) is being applied to manage these interrelated commitments. This paper critically reviews the literature on the WGA as a service delivery strategy. An analysis is then performed on the application of New Zealand's WGA to peace support operations. The outcome will be an identification of the conditions and factors for, and the barriers to, successful implementation of the whole of government approach to New Zealand's peace support operations.

Lyndon Burford (The University of Auckland)

New Zealand and Nuclear Disarmament: Putting Your Money Where Your Mouth Is

New Zealand has a long history of promoting nuclear disarmament in international forums and arguably, the most rigorous national ban on nuclear weapons in the world. This paper takes a fresh approach to examining New Zealand's nuclear disarmament advocacy over the last 15 years, examining its strategies in three areas: first, its voting in the United Nations General Assembly; second, its policy statements and direct advocacy; and third, its spending on nuclear disarmament related-initiatives. In its General Assembly voting, New Zealand supports nuclear disarmament more consistently than any other Western nation surveyed. However, New Zealand policy statements and positions on nuclear disarmament are less consistent, at times evincing a vocal, proactive advocacy of disarmament, while at others, demonstrating a resounding silence. Finally, in the area of spending, there appears to be a large imbalance between resources committed to nuclear nonproliferation and those committed to nuclear disarmament.

10.30 Friday 3 December	S.G.01
Treaty Issues Today	

Convenor and Chair: Janine Hayward

Ann Sullivan (The University of Auckland)

Maori Participation in Local Government

This paper is a preliminary analysis of the 2010 Local government election results and their implications for Māori representation.

Robert Joseph (The University of Waikato)

Contemporary Maori and Indigenous Governance and Development – Where to from Here?

In contemporary times, Government will, law and public policy have shifted towards an acknowledgement of the Treaty of Waitangi and accommodation of Māori worldviews, laws and institutions. There is space (albeit begrudgingly) for Māori worldviews, laws and institutions to be accommodated, particularly in a contemporary Aotearoa/New Zealand governance and economic development context. The ethos of the Waka Umanga Report 2006 and the Waka Umanga (MāoriCorporations) Bill 2009 were about the empowerment and development of Maori communities as Maori. The Waka Umanga project was not about empowerment of government. Māori have the right to live and develop as Māori, as well as acknowledging that Māori are global citizens. Consequently, Māori must undertake Māori development utilizing Māori centred, Māori added and collaborative pathways developing the traditional ability to adapt and develop, and thus controlling the pace and degree of change rather than having change imposed upon Māori from elsewhere. What is required then is less government intervention and, inter alia, more good governance within Māori communities as Māori for successful Māori development. This presentation will discuss the local laws and policies contributing to Māori development in a governance context. The presentation will refer to empirical research on successful Māori governance case studies and the sustainable development of trade and tribal assets (including knowledge assets). The aim is to provide a background for discussing more effective Māori governance policies, laws and norms appropriate for 21st century Māori development.

Lindsey Te Ata o Tu MacDonald (The University of Canterbury)

The Denial of Indigenous Voice and Self Determination in Political Thought

Bernard Williams has noted the tendency of certain types of political thought to inform past societies about their moral failings. This is certainly true of the history and political thought focussed on indigenous peoples, whether written by indigenous or non-indigenous scholars. In such writing, contemporary conceptions of justice are used to find the actions of past colonial governments immoral thus justifying the scholars' conclusions as to the moral rights of rectification. Avoiding the obvious and much traversed methodological problems in the production of such histories, I focus instead on the denial of indigenous voice and self-determination that is enabled by such moralism. I

do so by noting the exclusion of indigenous peoples from the basic political demands that we all have, and could expect from any political authority, indigenous or non-indigenous: in particular the enforcing of property rules, but also stability, order, the conditions of co-operation etc. I suggest that by thinking through how best to theorise an answer to those demands by indigenous peoples, political theory (and in turn, politics itself) would turn to the actual political demands of indigenous peoples, and not the moralising imaginations of scholars.

10.30 Friday 3 December

S.G.02

Public Policy and Public Management in New Zealand Today

Chair: Michael Mintrom

Grant Duncan and Jeff Chapman (Massey University)

Public Management: What Became of 'The New Zealand Model'?

The 'reform' of the public sector, beginning with the SOE Act 1986, created international interest in the so-called 'New Zealand model' of new public management. We look at the main features of that model, and ask what has happened to it since its hey-day in the late 1980s and 1990s. New Zealand has now shifted from the radicalism of that era, back to its traditional pragmatism. Some features of 'the NZ model' have been retained or improved; others have been quietly abandoned.

Shaun Goldfinch (Nottingham University Business School)

Perils of Peer Review in a Small State? The PBRF in New Zealand

Drawing on interviews with members of PBRF panels and statistical analysis, this paper examines the operation of the PBRF in New Zealand. It shows the key differences in panel make-up depending on discipline. It argues rather than simply, or even predominantly, a research assessment exercise, the PBRF is a self-replication mechanism which rewards those assessed for their closeness to a set of unspecified and unarticulated criteria.

Richard Henry Jones (Victoria University of Wellington)

Rediscovering the 'Golden Age' in the wake of the global financial crisis'

Current policy debate around the recent global financial crisis tends to revolve around short-term technical fixes to deal with specific problems with the financial markets. This paper argues that we need a much more radical re-think of international economic policy than the current political agenda provides. Issues about global imbalances, the underlying reasons for credit growth, and the dramatic rise in inequality that have taken place since the 1980s are currently marginal notes in the debate, when they should be at its heart. One place to look for new ideas that might point to more significant structural change is in the pre-history of neoliberalism. Whilst there is ample criticism of neoliberalism available to us, even much of this criticism has accepted the neoliberal view that the 1970s were a time of crisis, which had its roots in flaws in the earlier post-war model of growth. In

fact, there is little empirical evidence for these claims and they are too infrequently challenged. This paper will recover the logic of the post-war political economy, not to suggest that we should try to reproduce it (times have changed), but to find analytical perspectives that might point to different ways of managing the economy than those which have proved so disappointing over the last three decades.

10.30 Friday 3 December

S.G.03

New Zealand Politics: Political Marketing and Campaigning

Chair: Priya Kurian

Jennifer Lees-Marshment (The University of Auckland)

Playing the Political Marketing Game Democratically

The Political Marketing Game identifies what works in political marketing - the rules of the game. Using 100 interviews with practitioners including advisors to former world leaders Tony Blair, George W Bush, Stephen Harper, Helen Clark and Kevin Rudd, as well academic literature, this presentation will show how political elites can use a range of political marketing tools (including market segmentation, market research, branding, strategy, government communications, internal marketing with volunteers and members, and e-marketing) to navigate the complex and unpredictable electoral market. But the big question is what impact does this have on democracy? The research finds that the democratic impact of political marketing depends on how the game is played. If politicians are wise, they will play the game to achieve change, not just win votes. Whilst politicians need to listen, varying responsiveness to public demand can be more successful than completely abandoning their beliefs. This is not just because it is good for democracy, but because authenticity, values and vision are as much a part of a winning strategy as market-savvy pragmatism.

Campaign spending, political vote shares and the anti-Conservative alliance

David Cutts and Don J. Webber (University of Manchester and Auckland University of Technology)

This paper presents an empirical analysis of the influence of campaign spending on political party vote shares in the 2005 UK general election. Application of seemingly unrelated regression models that account for spatial lagged dependent variables illustrate the importance of campaign spending of political party i on the vote share gap between political parties j and k . Liberal Democrat and Labour parties are shown to have formed a strategic alliance that is geared towards reducing the Conservative party vote share.

Ashley Murchison (The University of Otago)

Emotional Appeals in Election Advertising: A Methodology for Measuring their Influence on the Political Behaviour of Voters

Political advertisements frequently utilise emotional appeals in an attempt to influence voters. Although there is much discussion on the use of emotion in political advertising, systematic investigation into its effects still remains relatively under-researched, particularly in New Zealand. This paper discusses the potential for using experiments as a methodological tool for testing the degree of influence of emotional appeals on political behaviour and attitudes. Focusing specifically on televised advertisements, I propose an analytical framework for the investigation of how visual and auditory cues attempt to evoke positive and negative emotional responses in viewers. I believe valuable knowledge can be gained from using experiments to investigate the effects of emotional appeals on political behaviour. There are challenges, however, with this methodology and the paper concludes by considering the problems the researcher faces when using a research design that involves experiments.

Lydia Berlad (Victoria University of Wellington)

The Use and Abuse of Negative Election Campaigning

My research is taking a comparative look at the use of negative political campaigning during elections in the United States and New Zealand. Negative campaigning has been defined as ‘...a tool of communication that stresses the weaknesses in opponents’ arguments, behaviour, personality or credentials for government. It is linked to making attacks on electoral opponents, thus undermining the candidate or party, suggesting that the sponsor of the attack could do better.’ This paper therefore seeks to look at the effectiveness of such tactics and ask the wider normative question of whether strategies based on negatively portraying opposing leaders or candidates are appropriate and if their increasing appearance throughout campaigns should be endorsed.

10.30 Friday 3 December

S.1.01

Political Theory

Chair: Colm McKeogh

Xavier Marquez (Victoria University of Wellington)

Epistemic Arguments for Conservatism

Arguments for conservatism often appeal to the idea of the “wisdom of the past.” Such “epistemic” arguments for conservatism typically claim that some settled social practice deserves a certain amount of “epistemic deference,” so that given the limits of (individual) reason, we are better off accepting the particular social practice rather than trying to change it in positive ways (Burke’s Reflections on the Revolution in France provides a classic example). In this paper, I critically examine

two versions of these arguments: the “selection” argument (in which past practices are said to be better because they have gone through a “selection” filter that is unavailable to more recent practices) and the “computational” argument (in which past practices are said to be better because they organize information and expertise in superior ways). I conclude that there is a limited range of conditions under which these arguments have real force. In particular, when our estimate of our current knowledge is low, the potential benefits of innovation are low, and settled social practices have survived in a variety of conditions, conservatism may be perfectly reasonable on epistemic grounds.

Peter Skilling (Auckland University of Technology)

Public Opinion and the Nature of Justice

This paper engages with a relatively well-established debate on the importance (or irrelevance) of public opinion about the demands of distributive justice. Almost twenty years ago David Miller noted that philosophers’ conceptions of justice were apparently out of step with public reasoning, which latter tends to place a far greater emphasis on the notion of earned desert. The implication of Miller’s argument – that philosophers of justice ought to pay more attention to empirical research on perceptions of justice – has to contend with, *inter alia*, the limitations of public reasoning and the differences between opinion and justice. Drawing on ideas from the deliberative democracy tradition, this paper asks what would be needed to build meaningful bridges between the considerations of philosophers and the public.

Grant Duncan (Massey University)

Should Happiness-Maximization be a Goal of Governments?

JS Mill saw the principle of utility also as a principle of justice, with implications for the actions undertaken collectively by societies. Mill’s case for the principle of utility is illogical, but nevertheless, a ‘new utilitarianism’ has arisen recently in the wake of research findings of economists and other social scientists, and this revised utilitarianism – ‘Bentham armed with data’ – seeks to draw implications for governmental actions. The so-called ‘Easterlin paradox’ finds that post-War economic growth was not accompanied by rising subjective well-being, or happiness, as found in surveys of affluent nations. The conclusion that is often drawn from this ‘paradox’ is that public policy reforms should take up the cause of happiness where markets appear to have failed. The case for happiness as a goal of government, in spite of its superficial appeal, however, is fraught with contradictions and is not made out.

Michael Harland (The University of Canterbury)

Left, Right, Out? Neoconservatism and the American Political Spectrum

Political groups in the United States are typically described as being either ‘liberal’ or ‘conservative’ in character. Despite its name, the doctrine of ‘neoconservatism’ defies easy categorisation within this spectrum. The intellectuals who adopted the label ‘neoconservative’ revolted against the New Left during the 1960’s. They called for hawkish foreign policies towards the Soviet Union and the re-moralising of American society. By the early 1980’s, many had joined the Republican Party. Yet, true to form, neoconservatism remained something of an outlier. Neoconservative writers seemingly

denounced the Democratic Party's foreign policy strategy, all the while echoing many of its concerns about advancing human rights and liberal peace. The case of neoconservatism invites us to reconsider the liberal/conservative dichotomy common to American political discourse. It points to the continuing significance of 'hybrid' outlooks in established democratic states, and raises pertinent questions about the future trajectory of American politics.

12.30 Friday 3 December

S.G.01

New Zealand Political Studies Association Annual General Meeting

12.30 Friday 3 December

S.1.01

Postgraduate Workshop

What it Means to be a Policy Analyst or Politics Researcher

Michael Mintrom (University of Auckland)

1. 30 Friday 3 December

S.G.01

Roundtable: Recent Elections around the World

Convenor and Chair: Jennifer Curtin

Recent elections in the English speaking world have thrown up results that were unpredictable and history-making or predictable but no less unusual. For despite all having some variant of a plurality electoral system, it appears that major party dominance may be under threat and the idea that clear winners will emerge can no longer be taken for granted. This panel explores recent elections in Canada, the United States, Australia and the United Kingdom and considers several questions: Are voters no longer interested in concentrated power? Do they want to see power shared through the election of coalition or minority governments? Is this likely to become a permanent feature? And what do such outcomes mean for New Zealand heading into a referendum on electoral reform and an election in 2011?

Canada : Linda Trimble (University of Alberta)

United Kingdom: Ana Gilling (Victoria University of Wellington)

Australia: Jennifer Curtin (The University of Auckland)

United States: Guy Charlton (Auckland University of Technology)

New Zealand: Therese Arseneau (University of Canterbury)

1. 30 Friday 3 December

S.G.02

The Political Economy of Resource Conflict in New Zealand

Convenor and Chair: Ton Buhrs

Ton Bührs (Lincoln University)

Resource Conflict in New Zealand: Towards Explanations

In recent years, conflicts about resources (water, minerals/mining, land, among other) appear to have gained in prominence in New Zealand. However, New Zealand is the not only country affected by resource conflicts, and there is a growing literature that signals a rise of conflicts about resources, around the world, between and within countries, in large part due to increasing scarcity. In parallel, governments are said to have become more concerned about resource security.

However, whether the conflicts around resources in New Zealand can be (best) explained on the basis of the ideas or theories of this increasingly influential school of thought is open to debate. There are at least two other, more traditional, bodies of thinking – pluralism and political-economy – that offer alternative interpretations and explanations of conflict that are still relevant. The aim of this paper is to assess the extent to which these three theoretical perspectives offer plausible explanations of the variety of the more recent resource conflicts in New Zealand.

Nicholas Kirk and Ali Memon (Lincoln University)

The Canterbury Water Management Crisis: Winners, Losers and the Possible Pathways Towards Sustainability

Over the past twenty years Canterbury's water governance has undergone a series of crises leading to the historic passing of the Environment Canterbury (Temporary Commissioners and Improved Water Management) Act (ECan Act). In this paper we consider the argument that the failures of water governance regimes over the previous twenty years and the introduction of the ECan Act are a reflection of the extent to which economic interest in the region determine environmental policy outcomes. The adoption of the Canterbury Water Management Strategy and the Central Plains Water Enhancement Scheme exemplify the push towards using water resources to further intensify land use on already stretched ecosystems. Informed by the work of Antonio Gramsci, this paper proposes to use the concept of cultural hegemony to explore how the implementation of the Resource Management Act in Canterbury and recent changes to its institutional landscape mentioned are linked to economically powerful rural interests.

Lee Saing Te (Auckland University of Technology)

The Case of the Cypress Mine Project: Solid Energy and Happy Valley

Coal is frequently proclaimed as the future of energy. From this perspective coal is positioned as a solution to energy shortages and a critical source of revenue. Proponents of coal also argue that coal mining today has nothing in common with its dark and exploitative past. In a marginalised region like the West Coast many of the locals would agree. They believe mining will reduce unemployment and restore lost commercial activity to the region. While environmentalists would agree that mining can be beneficial to the local economy and that mining operations today are vastly different from those of a century ago, they argue that the cost of mining to the environment is still too high. Against this background this paper examines the conflicts between Solid Energy and their opponents in Happy Valley. It suggests that official environmental discourse comprised of 'Promethean' and conservative 'sustainability' conceptions marginalised ecologically informed arguments proposed by environmentalists.

Anne Brower and John Page (Lincoln University and University of New England, Australia)

Property, Politics and Power: Toward a Theory of Implied Property

This paper uses the case study of trespass and access rights to Crown-owned grazing land in the South Island high country to illustrate and examine a proposed theory of the politics of implied law of property. Implied law invokes "the familiar fact that the law says more than it explicitly states, that there is more to its content than is explicitly stated in its sources, such as statutes and judicial decisions." (Raz 1986) While explicit law relies on the fundamental principle that the law is what it says, implied law is what is expected and believed to be law, and followed as if it were law, before the legislature passes a statute or a Court makes a decision. Numerous scholars have observed that the expectation of legal entitlements is often more persuasive than the actual entitlements themselves (Nagle 2010). We propose that these expectations and their influence create a pattern where private interests benefit at the expense of public interests. The law may lead or follow such a pattern. The story of access to the South Island high country also exemplifies a broader pattern in implied property, that an assertion of exclusion establishes power that often becomes a private right recognised at law.

1.30 Friday 3 December

S.G.03

Voting, Human Rights, and Democratic Politics

Chair: Geoff Cupit

Suzy Killmister (Massey University)

How Political are Human Rights?

The publication of James Griffin's much anticipated book *On Human Rights* has precipitated a resurgence of discussion regarding the foundations of human rights. Prominent in the debate is disagreement over the metaphysical status of human rights: more simply, whether human rights are best understood as universal, ahistorical and immutable, or whether they are instead better understood as the contingent outcome of a political process. In this paper I defend the claim that human rights are political, but argue that this need not lead to the conclusion that they are indeterminate, merely expressions of western power, or purely relative.

Scott Walker (The University of Canterbury)

Human Rights in the South Pacific: A Comparative Assessment

This paper compares the level of human rights (physical integrity, democratic, and subsistence) enjoyed by citizens in the South Pacific with the same rights in the rest of the world. Using country-level data, I also compare human rights within the different states of the region. The research reveals that conditions that citizens in the region face are indeed very different depending on what country they live in. Moreover, in many ways, human rights conditions in the region resemble those of other parts of the developing world.

Norm Kelly (Australian National University)

Voting in Melanesia: The 2010 Bougainville and Solomon Islands Elections

The Autonomous Region of Bougainville (formerly the North Solomons) and the Solomon Islands are separated by only a narrow strait of water, and have a common cultural and ethnic history. Both have experienced fierce civil war and conflict in the late 20th and early 21st centuries, are now considered 'developing democracies', and had held elections earlier this year. This paper analyses the electoral laws and electoral administration in these states, and identifies areas for possible reform. Issues including the formation of political parties, voter registration, and campaign spending limits are discussed. An analysis of campaigning methods is made, and individual constituency results are used to highlight the localised nature of candidate support. A comparison is also made of Bougainville's limited preferential voting system, and the Solomon Islands' first-past-the-post system.

Daniel Zirker (The University of Waikato)

Você Decide: The Mixed Experiences in Brazil of Voting on Television, Passively Viewing Corruption Scandals, and Voting for President in 2010

'Você Decide', a popular television programme in the early 1990s in Brazil, offered viewers the chance, in a commercial break just before the end of each instalment of this 'soap opera', to vote by telephone as to how they would like to see the programme end. Direct audience participation became the rage in Brazil, and quickly migrated abroad, where many of the best-known 'reality TV' programmes in the US, Europe, New Zealand and elsewhere continue to pay royalties to the Brazilian network, Globo, owner of the original programme. This paper will explore the subsequent muted and passive 'viewer' responses in Brazil to major Brazilian political events, including a plethora of national corruption scandals, and the imperviousness of key politicians to them, in the context of this new mindset, the 'television democracy' in Brazil.

3.30 Friday 3 December

S.G.01

People-to-People International Relations: Solidarity Across Borders

Convenor and Chair: Nicholas Henry

Nicholas Henry (Victoria University of Wellington)

Not In Circumstances of Their Choosing: People-to-People Networks Under Repressive Regimes

Community-based organisations struggling for political change under repressive regimes seek international engagement for a range of reasons. Groups seek to raise international awareness, lobby international organisations and gain support for political organising. The strategies which groups follow in pursuing these goals depend on local circumstances as well as the international environment. Comparing case studies of community-based opposition groups from Burma and the Philippines reveals significant differences between strategies and outcomes of international engagement. The study is based on a grounded theory analysis of fieldwork interviews conducted with community-based organisations on the Thai-Burma border and in the Philippines.

Alistair Shaw (Victoria University of Wellington)

The People's Republic of China's "People-to-People Democracy"

Although the sub-state diplomacy of the People's Republic of China (PRC) in the contemporary era has a series of parallels in the activities of other states, what that state refers to as "people-to-people" and "friendship" diplomacy is heir to a very complex legacy. In particular, there has been a complex interaction between the ideal of an alternative diplomacy, linked with PRC radicalism, and pragmatic problems related to the PRC not enjoying recognition by many states in the world prior to 1971. Accordingly, it cannot always be equated in a straight-forward way with the national image building that other states engage in. Understanding this heritage requires a contextual

understanding of the changing ways in which the PRC has conducted its people-to-people diplomacy and a mapping of this against other geo-political and ideological factors. The paper draws upon such a periodisation to explain the interactions between the Chinese party-state and New Zealanders who have engaged in the people-to-people diplomacy from the New Zealand side. It is part of a larger project that charts the changing ways that New Zealanders, who were supportive of the transformational project they saw underway in the People's Republic of China, represented the PRC and engaged in activities supportive of a changing China over the period from 1949 to 2002.

Vanessa Ward (The University of Otago)

Cho Takeda Kiyoko and People-to-People Networks in Asia, 1942–1957

The contribution of the Japanese female scholar and intellectual Cho Takeda Kiyoko to the construction of closer ties between Japanese and other Asian peoples is unique in several regards. It was underpinned by continuous engagement from the late 1930s, and based on personal experience and an informed appreciation of the impact of Japanese imperialism in Asia. As a Christian, Takeda neither openly resisted state authority nor cooperated with it, but nevertheless remained active throughout the militarist period. She worked through existing Asian ecumenical networks and was involved, in a leadership role, in international Christian organisations. Takeda's engagement with international society both contributed to broadening the perspective of Japanese intellectual life, and provided opportunities to express Japanese Christians' regret at the suffering to ordinary people by Japanese colonialism and thereby forge better relations.

Danielle Haultain (The University of Auckland)

Finding Emo: Establishing the Role of Emotions in International Relations

The role of emotions in international relations is often ignored. Emotions are traditionally left out of any analysis of public life due to their intangible nature and the belief that they belong hidden within the private sphere. By utilising a constructivist framework, in conjunction with social psychology, this paper will develop a framework that enables a deeper understanding of the specific role of emotions within international relations, and how this impacts policy objectives. In employing examples relating to giving foreign aid and the decision to prosecute sexual violence as a weapon of war, it can be shown the traditional theories fall short of being able to effectively explain such actions. By harnessing a deeper understanding of emotion it is possible to gain a deeper understanding of how and why particular decisions are made.

3.30 Friday 3 December

S.G.02

Public Policy and Sustainable Development

Chair: Bernard Nwosu

Jeanette Marie Wright (The University of Waikato)

A Discursive Analysis of New Zealand Environmental Legislation

The core pieces of legislation that underpin environmental policy in New Zealand/Aotearoa are the Environment Act (1986), Conservation Act (1987), Resource Management Act (1991) and the Local Government Act (2002). Through the application of a discourse analytic framework constructed from a literature review of the sustainable development and ecological modernisation discourses, a comparative analysis of this legislation is undertaken with regard to what normative values and institutional approach is required to support their purpose. The importance of this is that discourse frames the normative and institutional elements within legislation, which has downstream implications for the type and shape of environmental policies and strategies. This in turn drives the outcomes with regard to what is viewed as appropriate environmental responses within local, regional and national governance, as well as within industry practice.

Chris Joseph and Robert Wayumba (The University of Otago)

Land Tenure Policy for Sustainable Human Development

The concept of sustainable development embraces both sustainable human development and environmental sustainability, and continues to serve as a model for government policies that are pursuant to a broad range of objectives. Land tenure represents the relationships among people with respect to land and can impact directly the potential for social stability and economic growth. This paper examines some of the challenges to establishing broad-based and sustainable human development in Kenya and Cambodia and how guidance may be derived from the evolution of land tenure policies in New Zealand and Canada. Particular attention is given to processes of social and economic reconciliation that attempt to address past injustices and improve the social and economic security of marginalised groups.

Rosanna Keam (The University of Auckland)

The Contradiction of “Mining for Poverty Alleviation” in the Context of Water Scarcity in Namibia

Since the mid-1980s, the Bretton Woods Institutions have encouraged “developing” countries to undertake industrial projects which contribute to economic growth, owing to the neoliberal assumption that economic growth contributes to poverty reduction. One project assumed to foster economic growth for poverty reduction is mining. The concept of mining for poverty reduction has become highly pervasive, found in the policy documents of many regional development banks and national governments. In countries experiencing water scarcity such as Namibia, however, the concept of mining for poverty reduction is deeply problematic. Water accessibility is a central component of poverty alleviation schemes in arid countries such as Namibia. Mining operations,

however, severely reduce freshwater accessibility. Rather than contributing to poverty alleviation, as suggested by a number of development institutions, mining has instead contributed to the further entrenchment of poverty in Namibia, owing to the reduced accessibility of Namibian citizens to a resource which is central to life itself.

Guy Charlton and Melissa Lewis (Auckland University of Technology and University of KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa)

The Protection of Traditionally Significant Flora and Fauna under the Convention on Biological Diversity in South Africa and New Zealand

This paper discusses the implementation of the CBD in New Zealand and South Africa regarding traditionally significant flora and fauna in light of the (sometimes conflicting) objectives of access to and conservation of biodiversity, as well as the political commitments of local communities, indigenous groups and the state parties. In New Zealand the demand for traditional medicines and culturally significant flora and fauna emanates from a minority of the country's population, with the result that the most significant policy issues revolve around continued Maori access and management of these resources. In contrast, the majority of South Africa's population uses traditional medicine, raising complex problems concerning the conservation of diminishing stocks of medicinal natural resources. The paper concludes that the conservation of both biodiversity and traditional practices will be better achieved (and that the CBD will thereby be better implemented) if the state parties and the respective local/indigenous communities address the underlying political issues within each jurisdiction.

3.30 Friday 3 December

S.G.03

Issues in Policy Theory and Policy Analysis

Chair: Priya Kurian

Rachel Simon-Kumar (The University of Waikato)

Between Consensus and Compromise: A Critique of Relationship-based Policy with Migrants and Refugees in Aotearoa/New Zealand

Relationship-based policymaking is increasingly becoming a common feature of policy development in New Zealand. The public sector uses a range of formal and informal mechanisms – from consultations and partnerships to more casual interactions between policy maker and communities – to foster 'relationships' with the target populations for whom government makes policy. Relationship-based policy is assumed to allow for more relevant, consensual and, in the end, sustainable policy outcomes. Moreover, for those groups who are 'marginal' in New Zealand society, the process of relationship-building provides, in principle, an ideal avenue for giving voice to bottom-up perspectives. Relationship-based policy, therefore, can become a critical tool in processes of deliberative democracy allowing for more dynamic interactions between decision-maker and citizen. In reality, however, relationships between government and communities are imbued with

challenges – from determining what constitutes a group to the expectations, obligations and actual outcomes of such relationships. The present paper develops a critique of relationship-based policymaking, focusing especially on the processes and challenges of forging relationship-based policy between the government and New Zealand’s migrant and refugee community. The paper, which draws on primary interview data with government officials and representatives of the ethnic community, highlights the improbability of smooth consensus and the very real ‘productive tensions’ that undergird the complexities of such relationships. In the case of the migrant community particularly, the paper proposes that the real benefits are in the changing landscape of long-term relationships between marginal groups and the government.

Stephen Winter (The University of Auckland)

Basic Income and Oil: Climate Change, Complicity and Compensation

Certain proponents of a basic income programme (or negative tax) are touting the Alaskan Permanent Fund Dividend programme as a model for funding. A key reason these proponents favour this programme is the alleged ethical superiority of taxing natural resource appropriation as opposed to taxing income or wealth. This paper challenges that argument by showing how the Alaskan model makes recipients complicit with wrongdoing. Here is the argument in brief:

1. An unjustified grave rights violation is intrinsically wrong.
2. The current oil industry necessarily participates in unjustified grave rights violations.
3. (From 1 & 2) The oil industry participates in intrinsic wrongs.
4. The Alaskan PFD makes recipients complicit with the oil industry.
5. (From 3 & 4) The PFD makes recipients complicit with intrinsic wrongs.
6. Complicity with something that is wrong is itself wrongful.
7. (From 5 & 6) Receipt of the PFD is itself wrongful.

The paper concludes by sketching a Pigovian compensatory solution.

The presentation has four stages

1. Brief Intro to Basic Income theory
2. Outline of the Alaskan Model
3. The Complicity Argument
4. The Compensation Solution

James Ka-lei Wong (London School of Economics and Political Science)

Distributed Cognition in Collective Environmental Decision-making

In this paper, I discuss how ‘distributed cognition’, a well-attended concept in law, sociology, computer science and the philosophy of science, may be used for developing a model for collective

environmental decision-making which aims at reconciling the tension between technocracy and democracy. Drawing on literatures in social choice theory / theory of judgment aggregation, I show how we can determine a benchmark for a theoretically workable model based on certain normative desiderata of environmental decision-making. Next, I illustrate what options are available upon fulfilling the benchmark. The upshot is that a model based on distributed cognition is logically possible and normatively desirable, which appropriately balances the demands of inclusion and equality as in democracy with maximizing overall epistemic performance as in technocracy. The sound theoretical foundation of such model provides us with a justifiable starting point for institutionalizing democracy for collective environmental decision-making in practice.

Rebecca Bollard (The University of Waikato)

Sustainable Citizenship and Deliberative Policy: Reproductive Technology in New Zealand

This paper outlines a proposed programme of research designed to understand the relationship between citizenship and democracy through the lens of reproductive technology. This research project seeks to apply a framework of sustainable citizenship to policy-making on the use of reproductive technologies in New Zealand. It will use a range of innovative methods including interviews and Q-Sort surveys to explore diverse perspectives on such technologies. Through the use of new methods of deliberation, this project will test how contentious policy issues, such as the use of reproductive technologies, can be addressed through a framework of sustainable citizenship.

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