*2011 New Zealand Political Studies Association Conference, University of Otago*

# Abstracts

## New Zealand Politics Stream
## Convenor: Dr Brian S. Roper

**Andy Asquith (Massey University – Albany)**
*Local government in New Zealand: Smart and strong or dumb and weak?*
This article contributes to the current debate as to the role, scope and scale of local government in NZ. In 2008, the Local Government Minister announced his intention to undertake a fundamental review of local government in NZ. This review finally took shape in mid 2011 with the publication of the consultation document '*Smarter Government, Stronger Communities: towards better local governance and public services*'. This article adds to the debate by identifying four key themes within the NZ local government system, namely: the legislative framework; managerial capabilities; calibre of elected members and finally democratic deficit and community disengagement. Whilst the first two themes are undoubted strengths, the latter two are equally weaknesses in the local governance system of NZ. Hence the paper makes a number of recommendations, seeking to exploit the strengths and to correct the weaknesses in order to create a robust and credible local governance system for NZ.

**Seonah Choi (School of History, Philosophy, Political Science and International Relations, Victoria University of Wellington)**
*Sartorial Politics and the New Zealand Parliament*
Traditionally in politics, the attitudes and the behaviour of voters have been understood in terms of ideology and party affiliation. However, numerous studies in recent years have alluded to a shift in focus – or, at the least, an increase in the significance of other, previously less considered variables. For politicians operating within the auspices of a media culture that is fast evolving in both nature and concentration, one such variable is appearance. While academic treatment of the subject (particularly in the context of political science) may initially be met with scepticism, it would be inaccurate to assume that the role of appearance is wholly extraneous to any study of the field. This paper will begin by establishing the relevance of individuals' appearances in politics, firstly from an anthropological perspective; this will be followed by an appraisal of the way in which political institutions and its observers have reinforced its significance, how such outcomes have changed over time, and how they differ across countries. These findings will be supplemented by the results of a series of interviews undertaken with 22 currently sitting MPs in the New Zealand House of Representatives on the subject.

**Margie Comrie (Massey University) and Kate McMillan (Victoria University of Wellington)**
*Gender Inequality in the News: The Continuing Story*
While New Zealand prides itself on gender equity, women are poorly represented in this country's news media, and there's been little improvement in the last 15 years. On 10 November 2009, New Zealand researchers joined with those in 107 other countries across the globe to measure the visibility of women in the news on that day. In the 16,734 news items from newspapers, television and radio around the world, just 24% of the news 'subjects' (which included journalists, presenters and news sources) were women. The figure for New Zealand was 25%, level pegging with Australia but below Canada and the UK (30%), Egypt (38%) and Bulgaria (53%). The Global Media Monitoring Project (GMMP) provides just a one day snapshot of the news. But every five years since 1995, and from a growing number of nations, it has presented a consistent picture that

shows women are under-represented, are more likely to appear as victims and to be referred to by their marital status. This paper looks at how New Zealand media shaped up in the latest GMMP – where we performed well and poorly – and compares findings to earlier results. We consider why, despite having high percentages of women reporting and presenting news, the news remains a stubbornly male domain in content, and we discuss what that means for half our population.

**David Cooper (University of Otago)**
***Balancing rating principles - Council funding policy case studies in Otago and Southland***
Individual councils have the discretion to creating a number of rating outcomes by deciding how much categories of ratepayers should pay for council services through use of rating tools. This paper argues that councils choose between two competing principles in exercising this discretion. One principle is that rates should be set on the basis of the ratepayer's perceived ability to pay (with the value of ratepayers' property used as a proxy for ability to pay). The other principle is that rates should be based on an assessment of the benefit each ratepayer can be assumed to receive from that activity, or the amount to which that ratepayer creates a need for the council activity. This paper uses case studies of councils in Otago and Southland to demonstrate how these principles are applied, and how use of different rating tools reflects these principles, within the theoretical framework.

**Jennifer Curtin (Department of Political Studies, The University of Auckland)**
***Feminist politics and rugby union in New Zealand***
The 1981 Springbok tour of New Zealand has attracted considerable attention in this year of the Rugby World Cup. Thirty years on, rugby has survived the potential threat of an on-going split between those who love and hate rugby. The New Zealand Rugby Union has apologised for excluding Māori from South Africa touring sides and post-apartheid South Africa is now a legitimate arch rival on the field. However, at the time, the tour provoked a range of responses in both the public and the private realms; families were split, often along gender lines, while protest amongst women's movement activists was focused not only on the tour, but on the inherent sexist and oppressive nature of rugby union. Indeed, there was some concern amongst rugby administrators that women would increasingly boycott the game as feminist values permeated women's private and public lives. And yet they needn't have worried. For the women's movement's focus on liberation enabled women to challenge rugby union in a way that would assist in growing the game. It is in the 1980s when women's rugby as a sport takes on a life of its own, when provincial unions begin to recognise the need for an organised competition and when women's battles with the NZRU for official recognition ultimately enable the Black Ferns to become the best in the world at the "man's game". This paper reviews feminist texts, primary materials and interviews with women players to explore this paradoxical outcome of feminist politics around rugby union in New Zealand.

**Jack Georgieff (Victoria University of Wellington)**
***Shake, Rattle and Boom: Parliamentary Bipartisanship and Social Capital in Times of National Crises***
Times crises call for political leaders and partisans to work together. Yet the reality is frequently quite different. Any expectations of 'bipartisan' cooperation can easily be thwarted by political elites reverting to their partisan interests and party loyalties. The purpose of this paper is to analyse the parliamentary reaction and process that followed the February 22, 2011 earthquake in Christchurch within the framework of bipartisanship. This paper will contend that there is an appearance of bipartisanship in the New Zealand Parliament during times of war or natural

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disaster, bringing political opponents together (often grudgingly). The difference between bipartisan rhetoric and bipartisan cooperation are also two specific points, which will be addressed. Nevertheless, Parliament remains an extremely divided and partisan place. In order to address this conundrum, this paper will then build on Jason Knauf's thesis that the application of social capital to the New Zealand House of Representatives holds the key to making it work and lifting its standing as an institution. This paper will go further, arguing that social capital is the key to making bipartisanship work within parliament specifically during times of national crises.

**Josh Hercus (Department of Politics, University of Otago)**
*Youth Voter Turnout in New Zealand: Perceptions and Attitudes of Student Non-Voters in the 2010 Local Body Elections*
Youth voter turnout has continued to decline for the past fifty years both internationally and in New Zealand. While attempts to explain this decline have been numerous, the theories of voter turnout focus heavily on national elections rather than local elections. This research uses focus groups to compare student perceptions and attitudes towards voting in national and local elections to better understand what drives non-voting behaviour in local elections. The preliminary results suggest that a lack of information, a high degree of transience, and a negative perception of the community all appeared to deter students from voting in local elections. Despite this, parents play a dominant role on their offspring's voting behaviour. Parental influence, both active and passive, is able to overcome some of the aforementioned inhibitors and has a positive effect on student voting behaviour.

**Corin Higgs (Victoria University of Wellington)**
*The Political Economy of New Zealand's Consumers Price Index*
For much of its history, most New Zealanders have viewed the Consumers Price Index (CPI) as a politically neutral device that measures the relative change in price levels of goods and services. The CPI is regarded as an 'objective' instrument, yet, by its very nature it is political. Once based on the idea of a 'working class' standard of living, the index is now based on aggregate household expenditure. Items that had once been included in the CPI 'basket of goods' such as mortgage interest are excluded, while alcohol and holiday travel are now included. From being a decision-making tool of the Arbitration Court, the index is now a 'target' for the performance of the Reserve Bank.

This presentation argues that the creation and evolution of the CPI is a profoundly political story. What we might view as an 'objective' measure of the 'cost of living' or 'inflation' is actually the product of ongoing domestic and international political struggles. In its first 50 years the CPI was greatly influenced by the nature of labour relations, however since the 1970s, the financial sector, supported by converging international norms, has had greater sway on the nature of the index.

**Wayne Hope (Auckland University of Technology)**
*New Thoughts on the Public Sphere in Aotearoa-New Zealand*
This article begins by tracing the emergence of a mass mediated public sphere in Aotearoa -New Zealand. In this regard a clear pattern of development and contestation can be identified. In the 1890s, 1930s and 1960s-70s a conservative state led public sphere widened in response to oppositional constructions of public communication. From the early 1980s, however, a neo-liberal policy revolution deformed the political-economic foundations of the mass mediated public sphere. After explicating this process of deformation in national-historical terms, I will reposition

the national past in a global context. This new consideration will inform my evaluation of recent countervailing developments. As media corporations commercially colonise what remains of the mass mediated public sphere, computer and telecommunication infrastructures provide new possibilities for public communication at a national and transnational level.

**Louise Humpage (Department of Sociology, University of Auckland)**
***Swing to the right?  New Zealand attitudes towards the welfare state 1990-2008***
This paper uses New Zealand Election Study data  1990-2008 to demonstrate a narrowing of the gap in attitudes towards the welfare state between those who have 'left' and 'right' political affiliations.  While we might assume this narrowing represents an attitudinal shift towards the political right as a result of almost thirty years of neoliberal policy (including that implemented by the 'Third Way' Labour government 2000-2008), this is not always the case. Indeed, support for some aspects of the welfare state has *increased* more among those who associate with the *right* than it dropped amongst those who favour the left.  It is also important to stress that significant gaps in attitudes still exist between those situating themselves as left and right, especially when it comes to income inequality.  Furthermore, considerable fluctuation across the 18-year period studied suggests that attitudes are not set in stone, especially amongst 'middle' New Zealanders.

**Julienne Molineaux (Business Interdisciplinary Studies, AUT University)**
***Big is the new black: The return to scale in public sector design in New Zealand***
The New Zealand public sector is much studied for the theoretically-informed transformation it underwent from the late 1980s to the late 1990s. However, for various reasons this new model public sector has subsequently faced tinkering as well as more major changes. In a 2007 paper Jeff Chapman and Grant Duncan asked whether there was now a new model of public sector management in New Zealand. In 2010, they predicted a continuation of fine-tuning rather than radical change for the public sector under the current National government.

In this paper I argue that this fine-tuning has not eventuated; there is a new model and that model is based on the idea that big organisations are more efficient and effective than small ones. However, as even a cursory glance at the history of public sector design in New Zealand reveals, we have been here before. Large scale organisations and centralised purchasing was the norm before 1984. By the mid-1980s both this scale and centralisation were viewed as problematic.

In this paper I briefly outline the changes in fashion for public sector design in New Zealand, from large scale, to small scale, to networks, and now a return to large scale. While each set of reforms were designed to solve some very real problems, they also created new problems, necessitating the next change. The key questions are: if scale didn't work before, why would it work this time? And, how can the NZ public sector escape this endless procession of restructuring?

**Ashley Murchison (Department of Politics, 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 in to its effects still remains relatively under-researched, particularly in New Zealand. This paper discusses the use of experiments as a methodological tool for testing the degree of influence of emotional appeals on political behaviour.  Focusing specifically on televised advertisements, I present 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 explore the motivational and persuasive power of emotion in advertising. There are challenges, however, with this methodology and the paper concludes by considering the problems the researcher faced when using a research design that involved experiments.

**Byron Richards (Department of Politics, University of Otago)**
***The Fifth National Government and the Global Financial Crisis***
In 2008, the global economy entered into what has come to be popularly known as the 'global financial crisis'. Following a mounting wave of mortgage foreclosures in the US south and west, Wall Street was rocked by the collapse, or near collapse, of many leading investment banks. The eventual result was a comprehensive freeze in global credit markets. With credit markets frozen, the world quickly entered into a major economic recession. In New Zealand, the Fifth National Government's response to the global financial crisis and ensuing economic recession has centred on various moves in the realm of government macroeconomic policy. This paper investigates this policy response. It does this by developing a sophisticated neo-pluralist analysis of the influence that international private financial markets have had over state policy formulation in New Zealand during the period from 2008 to 2011.

**Brian S. Roper (Department of Politics, University of Otago)**
***The Fifth National Government's Neoliberal Policy Agenda: Securing A Brighter Future?***
After outlining the theoretical framework of the investigation, this paper describes the background, context and the key features of the Fifth National Government's neoliberal policy agenda. Although the Government responded to the recession with what some might consider a Keynesian influenced fiscal stimulus package, its approach to economic management is actually consistent with the prevailing orthodoxy in neoclassical macroeconomics and remains broadly monetarist. Overall it is committed to retaining and extending the neoliberal policy regime. The neoliberal justification of this agenda is then considered and subject to critical scrutiny. The weight of evidence suggests that the Government's neoliberal policy agenda will mainly benefit the wealthiest 20% of New Zealanders, while disadvantaging low- and middle-income earners. It concludes that neither the 1999 nor the 2008 elections constitute major turning points in New Zealand's political history because neither government has removed any of the central features of the neoliberal policy regime.

**Elizabeth Soal (Department of Politics, University of Otago)**
***The Global Financial Crisis and the Problem of Unemployment in New Zealand: A Regulationist Approach***
The recent global financial crisis led many to search for explanations and solutions outside of mainstream political economy. The Regulationist approach seeks to understand how capitalism continues despite its tendencies towards crisis and to cause inequality, and its inherently unstable foundation of competition. The Regulationists consider capitalism to have evolved in periods, defined by a dominant regime of accumulation and mode of regulation. From the late twentieth century, a global financialist regime of accumulation developed. What are, arguably, the causes of the global financial crisis are at the foundations of this financialist regime. Jessop and a Dutch group of Regulationists consider that state social policies, and more specifically unemployment-related policy, have coevolved with the dominant regime of accumulation to support the capitalist system and counter its cyclical nature. The Keynesian National Welfare State (which supported the Fordist regime of accumulation) evolved into the Schumpeterian Post-national Workfare

Regime to support the post-Fordist accumulation regime. Workfare focuses on the supply-side policies, activation and flexibility in a transnationalised labour market. Unemployment-related policies in New Zealand illustrate this. The policies which have been implemented in New Zealand since 2008 demonstrate the evolution of the workfare regime to support the globalised financialist regime of accumulation.

**Jack Vowles (University of Exeter)**
***Contesting Elections Under New Zealand's MMP: Legislative Turnover, Dual Candidacy, and Some Implications***
Dual candidacy under MMP is a focus of one strand of criticism of the system. Two rival models of representation shape this analysis of the question, focusing on the concepts of accountability and responsiveness. Analysing New Zealand elections since 1996, the paper examines legislative turnover among the two categories of MPs, and the cases where electorate MPs have lost their seats but remained in Parliament as list members.

**Dan Zirker (University of Waikato) Robert Gregory (Victoria University) and Frank Scrimgeour (University of Waikato)**
***A Kiwi Halo? Defining and Investigating Corruption in a 'Non-Corrupt' System***
New Zealand has been ranked consistently as one of the five least corrupt countries in the world (Transparency International's Corruption Perception Index—TI-CPI) over the past 16 years, but may have suffered somewhat from its international renown. There is in New Zealand no clear legal definition of corruption, and no law against offering bribes to public officials (it is only illegal for public officials to accept bribes). There is rather diffuse institutional policing of whatever is considered to be corruption, an apparent growth of organised crime, and sometimes public controversy surrounding conflicts of interests in public procurement. Some concerns have been raised about the sale of state assets in the 1980s/90s. There is also occasional evidence of corruption in high public offices, the use by the major political parties of the term 'corruption' to characterise political competition, and parliament's reluctance to ratify the *United Nations Convention Against Corruption*. TI New Zealand has recently commented that the country's consistently high ranking on the CPI may actually discourage closer examination of these and other issues. Against this background this paper seeks to establish a framework for future research on corruption in New Zealand.

# Political Theory Stream
## Convenor: Dr Carla Lam

**Heather Devere (National Centre for Peace & Conflict Studies, University of Otago)**
***Transitional justice and competing concepts: the path to reconciliation?***
The concept of transitional justice is the process of moving from a war situation, a conflictual environment, an oppressive regime, to a more peaceful, conciliatory, stable environment. Part of the process involves establishing truth, restoring trust, finding forgiveness, giving restitution to victims and dealing with war criminals. The South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission set up a model for this transition, where the punishment of political criminals was a secondary focus.

This paper will examine how transitional justice relates to other types of justice. There will be a discussion about how some other concepts such as truth and mercy compete with the concept of

justice and a brief summary of how transitional justice is viewed by some of the communities where it has been used. The paper will conclude by pointing out the importance for reconciliation of the space and time for debate and dialogue.

**Holly Guthrey (National Centre for Peace & Conflict Studies, University of Otago)**
*Understanding Truth Commissions: Implementation and Trends Over Time*
Truth Commissions have been increasingly implemented in states transitioning from periods of conflict to periods of peace. Despite their rising popularity as a mechanism for achieving post-conflict justice, few empirical studies have been undertaken to examine the implementation, goals and foci of Truth Commissions in states after conflict.

This study fills this gap by, first, creating a new dataset of all Truth Commission and Truth Commission-Related Activities that have been created through 2009. Then the Charter of each Truth Commission is analysed, resulting in the discovery of five key goals that Truth Commissions intend to achieve: Truth, Reconciliation, Preventing Recurrence, Reparations and Healing. Finally, further analyses of the dataset found that Truth Commissions have indeed become more victim-focused over time, a factor which has the potential to benefit victims but also invites concerns about the possibility for problems such as victim retraumatization and feelings of insecurity.

**Michael Harland (Department of History, University of Canterbury)**
*Alexandre Kojève and the Problem of History*
In his 1992 book, *The End of History and the Last Man*, Francis Fukuyama revived debate over historical 'teleology' with his argument that all societies would eventually come to adopt democratic norms and practices. To support this claim, Fukuyama leaned on several philosophical authorities. One of the most significant, if under-examined among these, was the Franco-Russian Hegelian intellectual Alexandre Kojève. In a series of lectures delivered in Paris during the 1930's, Kojève developed an idiosyncratic interpretation of Hegel's philosophy of history. According to Kojève, Hegel believed that the "struggle for recognition" between ruler and ruled would eventually culminate with the emergence of a "universal and homogenous state." Unlike Fukuyama, however, Kojève expressed deep misgivings about this prospect. With reference to Friedrich Nietzsche's works, Kojève reflected upon the irony implicit in overcoming history. He reasoned that history's close would be a tragic time for civilisation. This paper assesses the main contours of Kojève's argument, interrogates his claims and examines his continued relevance today.

**Janine Joyce (National Centre for Peace and Conflict Studies and Bioethics Department, University of Otago)**
*Emmanuel Levinas and Jacques Derrida in a Global World*
This paper begins with Emmanuel Levinas's premise that "the face of God is to be encountered in the face of every human being" (*Totality and Infinity*. Trans. Alphonso Lingus, Duquesne University Press, Pittsburgh, 1969) and continues through Jacques Derrida's development of this notion towards a global ethics of hospitality. If we allow ourselves- we may consider that when we see the 'face' of another there is the possibility of recognition of that which we know intrinsically and is beyond external differences. In this quiet connection we begin the possibility of developing an 'ethics of unconditional responsibility' (Levinas) and an 'ethics of unconditional hospitality' (Derrida).

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How can our politics be unconditionally hospitable, how can our laws be unconditionally hospitable, how can our justice be unconditionally hospitable? At a certain level these seem nonsensical questions and searching for concrete manifestations of Derrida's 'might give rise to' seem a little like searching for a needle in a haystack of complexity. However, upon returning to the original invitation of 'face' it seems that both philosophers hint at an offering of the unseen spiritual. By nature the unseen spiritual is an individual practice that has the capacity to manifest materially and collectively (Vivekânanda, Swami (1899). *Vedânta philosophy: Lectures on Raja Yoga.* The Baker and Taylor Company, New York.)

**Olivier Jutel (Department of Media, Film & Communication, University of Otago)**
***Populism and the Political, A Case Study of Obama and the Tea Party***
The steady shift of populism from left to right has been the perplexing question of the last thirty years for American left-liberals. The old assumptions that crises of capitalism benefit the left have been thoroughly discredited with the emergence and crystallization of right wing populism in the form of the Tea Party. This paper is concerned with the critical rupture that was the 2008 financial crises and the way the Obama/Tea Party entanglement represents the return of the political. In response to the legitimation crisis of capitalism Obama's campaign produced a Third Way moral discourse that attempted to ascribe emancipatory and social democratic potential in neo-liberal capitalism. This eliciting of the socialist imaginary has been meet with the intransigence of the Tea Party populists who cling to a fetishized frontier notion of private property. What this conflict fundamentally underscores are the competing notions of the political and antagonism. While Third Way neo-liberalism effuses a universalist notion of the political, the populists openly embrace the constitutive antagonism of the political. Thus the Tea Party imagines a pitched battle between itself, as the defenders of the republic, and Obama as the socialist other. This return of the political speaks both to America's founding as a 'Republic of Property' (Hardt & Negri 2009) and the fetish of the productivist middle that sustains it.

**Geoffrey Kemp (Department of Political Studies, University of Auckland)**
***The Machiavellian-Lockean-Habermasian-Taylorian Moment (Saturday, 5 March, 1698)***
J.G.A. Pocock's *The Machiavellian Moment* and Jurgen Habermas's *Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere* are among the most influential works of the last half-century but that they share a common locus in 1690s England is never remarked. More recently, Charles Taylor's monumental *A Secular Age* has joined them, finding at this point in history a crucial turn of the 'social imaginary' towards accepting pluralism in religious belief. Taylor identifies the 'public sphere' as a vehicle for society's changing views and singles out for attention the ideas of the English deist writer Matthew Tindal. But he overlooks the fact that Tindal not only utilised the public sphere but published arguments for its freedom from censorship. These were intended to protect both religious and political dissent, and specifically Pocock's republicans, although on the basis of a Lockean not 'Machiavellian' case. Renewed consideration of Tindal raises fresh questions about the relationship between differing 'languages' of politics and between political thought and public sphere.

**Jamie Kendrick (Political Science and International Relations Programme, Victoria University of Wellington)**
***On Biopower and Neoliberal Rationalities***
The idea of global biopower is becoming in vogue. Drawing on works by Hardt & Negri, and Agamben, International Relations scholars either talk of global biopower as in service to some transcendent liberal regime, or as existing in zones of sovereign exception, for example in refugee camps or terrorism activities. Hazy notions of empire or zones of sovereign exception are unclearly

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linked to the specifics of biopower, and the concept is thus ambiguously deployed to problematically theorise a number of disparate phenomena. These conceptualisations fail to accurately grasp the way biopower is operating beyond the state. Biopower is intimately related to the actual practices of sovereignty, rather than its abstract theorisations as 'empire' or 'the state of exception', and in particular to liberal practices. This essay argues that biopower is being redeployed from its domestic environment by neoliberal practices that support new forms of sovereignty. Re-reading contemporary (neo)liberal International Relations authors in light of Foucault's discussions on biopower, it will be argued that contemporary neoliberal practices reflect a biopolitical rationality more mundane than proclamations of "global biopower" might make it seem. This study contributes to understanding the relationship between biopower and neoliberal rationalities.

**Sun Ku (School of History, Philosophy, Political Science and International Relations, Victoria University of Wellington)**
***Multiculturalism vs. Patriarchy? The case of South Korea***
In South Korea, the number of international marriages particularly between Korean men and foreign women from other Asian countries has increased dramatically in the past decade. However, ongoing discrimination against these women within the household has become a social problem that has caused the country some embarrassment within the international arena. In recognition of this issue, the government introduced Multicultural Family Support Policies (MFSPs) in 2010. The purpose of these policies was to recognise these women's rights in order to form a "happy, stable and healthy family life in Korea." However, to what extent do these policies in fact alleviate internal discrimination? In recognition of this issue, the government introduced Multicultural Family Support Policies (MFSPs) in 2010.

In this study I argue that these policies are limited in their objectives because they do not address the very origin of the discrimination, the patriarchal family structure. From a feminist perspective, MFSPs are inherently conservative in terms of their purpose: their aim is to re- build the Korean nation and retain national cohesion through encouraging the women to become idealized, "traditional" Korean wives and daughter-in-laws and to raise their children as "Koreans". In other words, MFSPs recognise these women as biological and cultural reproducers for the country, but their rights are dependent on how well they perform these functions and as such are discriminatory.

**Xavier Marquez (Political Science and International Relations Programme, Victoria University of Wellington)**
***The Irrelevance of Legitimacy***
The concept of legitimacy plays an important explanatory and normative role in political theory and political discourse (both popular and academic). Generally speaking, legitimacy is understood in terms of individual-level beliefs in the rightness of a political order or the charisma of its leadership, and such beliefs are held to be important both to the stability of political orders and to its normative evaluation: illegitimate political orders are thought to be both unstable and normatively undesirable, since they reflect a lack of consent. I argue in this paper that legitimacy as usually understood is unnecessary both for the explanation of political phenomena and for its evaluation. To the extent that legitimacy is understood in terms of beliefs and motivations, it cannot play the role it is usually given in the explanation of political stability since Weber, because individual-level beliefs and motivations do not have any causal efficacy in the maintenance of even extremely oppressive social orders. And if this is the case, the notion of legitimacy also fails to play

the normative role it is usually given in the evaluation of actual political regimes, since it cannot express any normatively significant notion of consent. I suggest that the legitimacy of a regime – to the extent that we must retain the concept at all – is best understood in terms of signals and expectations about other people's beliefs. I examine the effective results of conceptualizing legitimacy in such terms by looking at the phenomenon of cults of personality in totalitarian regimes, which we might say exemplify "charismatic legitimacy without charisma."

**Haig Patapan (Department of Politics and Public Policy, Griffith University)**
*The Politics of Immortality: Hobbes on 'Humane and Divine Politiques'*
Immortality, the promise of eternal rewards, and the threat of eternal torment and damnation after death, seems to be no longer politically relevant. Yet early modern thinkers who profoundly shaped liberalism did take immortality seriously. In this paper I turn to one of these seminal thinkers, Thomas Hobbes, to see how he confronted the problem of immortality, and to determine the extent to which he may be said to have contributed to our neglect of this question. The promise of postmortem eternal life and death presented the greatest challenge to Hobbes' political remedy of the Leviathan, founded on the judicious use of fear. Hobbes does take immortality seriously, considering it as one of the most important factors that transform a religion from a means to strengthen the sovereign's authority, a 'humane politiques', to a 'Divine politiques', where others come to exercise countervailing claims on subjects' loyalty. His attempt to tame immortality assumes a twofold strategy. The first is a redefinition of who shall speak and what shall be said about immortality. The second strategy is to elevate the demands of this-world, by promising an eternal peace that will ensure a commodious life. This twofold approach does not solve the problem of immortality but it does suggest a means of moderating its political influence.

**Nikola Regent (School of Politics and International Relations, Research School of Social Sciences, College of Arts and Social Sciences, Australian National University)**
*Livy, Polybius and Machiavelli's Choice of the Best Form of Government*
The paper examines the influence of the ancient historians of Rome on Machiavelli's answer to a classical question of the best form of government. It is argued that Machiavelli's reading of Livy and Polybius (and, to a lesser degree, Sallust) exercised the crucial impact on his choice. The paper analyses (1) why Machiavelli prefers a republic to a principality, and (2) why he prefers the expansionistic model of republic based on Rome over the non-expansionistic model based on Sparta (and Venice). In both cases, it is argued, Machiavelli's choice is dictated by his understanding of greatness: the Roman Republic is the ultimate example because it has achieved the greatest empire the world has ever seen. On (1), Machiavelli's endorsement of Livy's rhetoric (esp. from book IX) is decisive; it is complemented with Sallust's influence. On (2), and the key choice between Rome and Sparta, Polybius' analysis from book VI is indispensable: the paper shows how this "republican dilemma" – both the problem and its solution – is framed by Polybius, and how Machiavelli, despite improving the Polybian non-expansionistic model based on Sparta, still chooses Rome. Concluding remarks assert the importance of Machiavelli's choice, and his ideal imperialistic republic, for understanding his political thought.

**Takashi Shogimen (Department of History, University of Otago)**
*Uchimura Kanzo and the Two Ideas of Patriotism in Japan, c.1900*
Japan at the turn of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries witnessed a public debate on patriotism. One of the contributors to the debate was Uchimura Kanzo (1861-1930), a charismatic Protestant leader and an influential polemical writer. The paper discusses Uchimura's "prophetic" patriotism, which was proposed as an alternative to the mainstream "nationalistic" patriotism. An

historical examination of Uchimura's writings on patriotism from the 1890s to the 1920s reveals that his thoughts on patriotism were prompted and dictated by contemporary circumstances such as the debate ensuing from the "*lèse majesté* Incident", the public debate on patriotism in the context of Japanese military successes and the growth of Japanese imperialism, and the US Immigration Act of 1924. However, Uchimura's idea of patriotism did not remain purely polemical but grew mature towards the end of his life. In his final decade, Uchimura not only proposed his "prophetic" idea of patriotism in opposition to the "so-called" patriotism but also anchored the idea in his reading of the prophets, Isaiah and Jeremiah in particular. This "prophetic" patriotism was conceptualized by Uchimura as a critical judgment of the spiritual conditions of one's nation in light of Christian faith.

**Katherine Smits (Department of Political Studies, University of Auckland)**
*The Uses of 'Culture' in Settler Nations*
The recent Wai 262 Waitangi Tribunal decision called for a future-oriented partnership to manage the wider use of Maori culture and knowledge, for the mutual benefit of Maori and non-Maori, and of the nation overall. The task as the Tribunal saw it was less to compensate for past injustices, and more to fully acknowledge Maori culture in a way that strengthened New Zealand's national identity. The integration of Maori identity and culture in New Zealand identity was explicitly accepted as being of benefit to all citizens. The claim that indigenous culture should effectively be managed, as part of the project of national advancement, reinforces trends in state attitudes towards and uses of minority culture more generally.

In this paper I argue that minority cultures have come to play an essential role in civic nationalist projects. This reflects a new stage of civic nationalism in modern settler states, oriented to the global context. In the first, a distinct national culture was argued to ground political principles and institutions. The second was marked by a clear separation between the public sphere, characterized by political institutions, processes and values, and the private sphere in which citizens retain their commitments to inherited cultural beliefs and practices. Multiculturalism here is at the least neutrally compatible with civic nationalism, and at best supports it by reinforcing civic values of tolerance and justice. In this third stage, minority cultures and multiculturalism are actively deployed and promoted as essential, distinguishing and marketable aspects of national identity.

**Vicki A. Spencer (Department of Politics, University of Otago)**
*Forms of Public Recognition*
The politics of recognition is generally associated with a proactive affirmation and celebration of cultural, religious and sexual identities and is contrasted with a liberal focus on toleration. Toleration by the state is nevertheless a form of recognition, and many consider the demand that we celebrate the particularity of cultural and religious differences as too demanding if not outright impossible. From a Hegelian perspective, the struggle for recognition is a life and death battle between master and slave that eventually transmutes historically into the mutual recognition of two self-conscious persons as free and equal citizens within the state. Mutual recognition also exists in international law between states. But while Hegel's philosophy forms the basis for current reflections, he does not address the continued struggle for recognition within states once equal citizenship has been attained. It is also the sameness that is assumed with equal citizenship and the according of respect as persons that is deemed inadequate in current debates with its focus on group particularities. Non-recognition or misrecognition of these particularities is seen to cause actual harm to members of groups. This paper explores the extent that formal recognition of the

self-image of groups might be either possible or desirable. It is argued that many of the problems critics indicate with toleration regimes equally apply to more substantive forms of recognition in conditions of unequal power relations.

**Sally Wheeler (Department of Political Studies, The University of Auckland)**
*Resources and Life Forces: Addressing First Nations and Maori claims about the spiritual value of rivers*
Instances of indigenous peoples making claims about waterways on spiritual grounds have become increasingly visible in settler societies, as has the requirement that these be adequately addressed. This paper presents research that forms part of my masters thesis. It focuses on two cases from within a wider survey. In Northern British Columbia lies an area known as the Sacred Headwaters where transmission lines, forestry and mining enterprises have come into conflict with claims by First Nations peoples. In New Zealand's North Island, along the length of the Waikato River, agriculture, energy and water supply arrangements have come into conflict with claims by Maori. These claims include regard for the waterways as sacred, as carriers of life forces, as beings, and as relatives with whom the peoples share a reciprocal relationship. This paper analyses the discourses employed by those making, hearing and offering settlement for these claims. It explores the ways in which the claims have been reframed in order to be heard by the state, and observes that between an original claim and any eventual settlement the spiritual aspect can be reduced, distorted or rendered invisible, while aspects that conform to dominant discourses can be introduced or magnified. Finally, this paper offers some thoughts about the consequences and theoretical implications of this convergence of discourses.

**Stephen Winter (Department of Political Studies, University of Auckland)**
*Transitional Justice in Consolidated Democracies*
This paper explores how we can understand consolidated states as engaging in transitional politics and consequently understand their uptake of transitional justice mechanisms.

# Comparative Politics & Area Studies Stream
## Convenor: Dr James Headley

**Ibikunle Edward Adeakin (Political Science and Public Policy, University of Waikato)**
*The Media, Corruption and Military Intervention in Nigeria*
The military in Nigeria have always justified their intervention in politics as a result of high level political corruption of the previous government it ousted from office. This paper seeks to explore this notion by examining the role of the media who is supposed to be the fourth arm of government and custodian of good governance. This will involve analysing corruption related editorials of national newspapers from two different periods in Nigerian political history, 1979-1983 and 1999-2003 and propose if such variables currently exist in the present democratic dispensation.

**Patrick Barrett and Emmanuel Guzman (Political Science and Public Policy, University of Waikato)**
*Marriage Policy in the Philippines: A Case Study in Agenda Setting*
Outside of the Vatican City, the Philippines remains the only nation state with no legal provision for divorce, despite recent initiatives for change. This paper draws on public policy theories in

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seeking to understand this situation. Law reform initiatives to re-establish divorce have been kept off the government agenda as a consequence of the sustained exercise of influence. The paper gives attention to questions about the influence of relevant policy actors, the core belief systems behind competing policy positions, the relation of the Catholic Church in this policy issue, its power compared with groups advocating for the re-establishment of divorce, and the implications of this for the prevailing policy. The often hidden and indirect exercise of power has organized the divorce issue out of politics. The observations made provide another example of agenda control and of why some issues and not others are given attention by governments.

**Didier Chabanet (Department of Political and Social Sciences, European University Institute)**
***From Acquiescence to Protest? The Mobilisation of the Unemployed in Europe.***
The aim of my paper is to draw specific hypotheses about how and why the mobilisation of the Unemployed emerge and develop in different European countries (among which Belgium, Finland, France, Germany, Italy, Poland, and Switzerland). The subject is all the more challenging since most of the scholars have considered such mobilisations as unlikely, if not impossible. However, many examples show the contrary. Using the main tools of collective action studies, i.e. analysing the resources, the political opportunities and the frames at stake, I point different reasons explaining this phenomenon. For instance, I stress the fact that the unemployed do not mobilise mainly in the countries where unemployment has developed harshly (e.g. Poland), but rather in those presenting a highly developed welfare system facing important transformations and drastic cutbacks (e.g. Finland, France or Germany).

More globally, I insist on the importance of national welfare systems and on the features of the unemployment benefit schemes to understand the mobilisations of the unemployed throughout Europe. Dominant approaches in the field of social movement analysis rarely include such explanations since they tend to overestimate the weight of political variables. I also show how the unemployed, who are extremely isolated at the political level, try - more or less successfully - to move closer to other actors, including trade unions. In my analysis, I take into account the perceptions of unemployment among public opinions, the role of the medias in the construction of unemployment as a politically (not) salient issue and their role in the emergence of mobilisations.

The period under review starts in the early 1980s and covers two and a half decades. Those years are most important since mobilisations of the unemployed developed in several European countries, sometimes with much visibility. When necessary, the analyses also refer to some elements going back further in time. The selection of countries fits as much as possible to the variety of economic, political, institutional and cultural situations in Europe. I thus cover countries with high and low levels of unemployment, with various welfare systems and unemployment benefit schemes, with various traditions of contentious movements, with various perceptions and degrees of acceptation of unemployment, etc.

**Lisa Chant (Maori Studies Department, University of Auckland)**
***Seeing Through Different Eyes: New Zealand and Egyptian Press Coverage of the 2011 Egyptian Revolution***
This study, which is conducted by a researcher based in New Zealand and another in Egypt, seeks out the themes, or frames, of the 2011 Egyptian Revolution in the Kiwi and Egyptian press. It is a comparative analysis of mainly opinionated articles from four major newspapers (two New Zealanders and two Egyptians) in a time-slot that covers the period before and after Mubarak's

resignation. A discourse analysis of the frames in the four papers is adopted to explain New Zealand and Egyptian views and interpretation of the revolution. This study employs a qualitative assessment of the overall frames and discursive themes in mainly opinion items (op-eds, columns, editorials, news analysis) in the two major daily New Zealand newspapers New Zealand Herald (NZH) and Dominion Post (DP) and the two major daily Egyptian newspapers Al-Ahram and Al-Masry Al-Youm (AA). Based on a comparative analysis of articles from the four papers, we aim to portray how the 2011 Egyptian revolution was framed in the New Zealand and Egyptian press, or rather what differences can be found with reference to the contextual framing of articles.

**Edward Elder (Department of Political Studies, University of Auckland)**
***A New Model of Communication for Market-Oriented Leaders: Maintain Public Support in Power***
Much literature in the field of political marketing has demonstrated how many political parties and candidates have adopted a market-orientation to win support and power. However, these parties and candidates have found it difficult to maintain a market-orientation in office due to a number of inevitable variables that are not found in opposition. Not surprisingly, many leaders who were able to attract votes through campaigning on a market-oriented strategy lost public support once in power. This paper will explore a potential solution to this problem by hypothesising that new forms of communication, specifically suited to a market-oriented strategy, help leaders maintain public support once in power. To do so, the paper will outline a framework, designed using existing academic material, suggesting how market-oriented political party leaders can use communication to maintain a positive public image once in government. Based on this examination, the paper suggests market-oriented governing leaders move away from traditional communication strategies that predominantly emphasise positive presentation, while ignoring or disregarding any negative publicity. Instead, the paper suggests market-oriented governing leaders should use a new type of communication strategy that promotes more reflective communication that respectfully responds to any public or interest group concerns, while also promoting strong leadership characteristics.

**Debrin Foxcroft (Political Science and Public Policy, University of Waikato)**
***Forgiveness after Unforgivable Times: The Big Ask of Amnesty Legislation***
Amnesty is often a cornerstone of state transitions but a burden on transitioned states. In the short term, it is the carrot to convince an authoritarian regime or leader to release power. But what does this free pass for human rights violations mean in the long term? And will the need for justice return, long after the commitment to amnesty agreements fade away?

I will explore the use of amnesty in the 20th and 21st Century. With reference to both transitional and post-transitional justice theory, I will touch on what surviving amnesty laws mean for communities seeking justice on the streets and through the legal system. And I will look into the rejection of this legislation by transnational courts. Finally, if amnesty is no longer the fail-safe tool to be used during state transitions, it is time we start looking at the other options. I will suggest possible alternatives that reflect on the lessons of the past, and take in the possible transitions in our immediate future. The discussion on amnesty will focus on the three primary case studies of my PhD, South Africa, Brazil and Chile, while also taking in a broader global perspective.

**Leon Goldsmith (Department of Politics, University of Otago)**
*The Seeds of the Syrian Revolution: A Khaldunian Perspective*
Although there are common features of the recent 'Arab Spring' uprisings in the Middle East, each of the uprisings have their own distinct preconditions. By applying a political theory of the fourteenth century Arab Scholar Ibn Khaldun, this paper examines the particular characteristics of the uprising against the Asad regime in Syria.

Ibn Khaldun provided four key conditions that indicate a dynasty is in decline: 1) The ruler seeks the help of clients and followers outside of his main supporting group; 2) the ruler, having inherited power, is not well equipped in the art of statecraft; 3) the emergence of exaggerated harshness by the dynasty; 4) commercial activity on the part of the ruler, which is harmful to his subjects. According to Ibn Khaldun the ensuing collapse of a dynasty occurs at its two main foundations: its economic power and the support ('*asabiyya)* of its group.

This paper argues that Bashar al-Asad's regime contained all four of these Khaldunian conditions. However, while persistent challenges weakened the economic foundations of the regime, the support of the dynasty's group (the Alawite sect) remains intact because of 'sectarian insecurity.' This is a factor that Ibn Khaldun neglected to consider in his theory on the decline of dynasties but will be a critical component in the progression of the Syrian uprising.

**Dennis Grube (Department of Politics and Public Policy, Griffith University)**
*In Search of the Narrative: The Political Rhetoric of Policy Change*
Political narratives play a central role in modern governance. They explain a government's driving principles, and underpin their ability to implement policy change. Rhetoric is the tool that prime ministers use to articulate and frame political narratives to support their policy prescriptions. This paper will examine four case studies of how prime ministers in Westminster systems have used political rhetoric to create narratives capable of making a persuasive case for policy change. Common themes are explored to provide the basis for a heuristic that encapsulates contemporary prime ministerial practice in articulating political narratives for policy change.

**William Harris (Department of Politics, University of Otago)**
*Investigating Lebanon's Political Murders: International Idealism in the Realist Middle East?*
The paper reviews international investigation of Lebanon's 2004-2008 political murder series, a novel venture for the international community precipitated by the February 2005 assassination of former Prime Minister Rafiq al-Hariri. It argues that shifting realist and idealist impulses on the international level, interacting with a vicious struggle in Lebanon, allowed intrusion of international justice in the form of the Special Tribunal for Lebanon but in a tortuous progression with meager results up to late 2011. Since 2004 the affair has been all consuming for Lebanon, and its future evolution has become intertwined with the outcome of the uprising in neighbouring Syria.

**Charles Lees (Department of Politics, Languages & International Studies, University of Bath) and Jonathan Olsen (Political Science and Law Department, University of Wisconsin-Parkside)**
*Public Opinion, Political Agents, and Agenda Setting: Comparing the New Zealand and UK Referendums on Electoral Reform*
This paper compares and contrasts two sets of referendums on electoral reform: in New Zealand in 1992/3 and in the United Kingdom in 2011. The paper assesses why the referendums in New

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Zealand ended in the successful replacement of the country's First-Past-the-Post (FPTP) system with a Mixed Member Proportional (MMP) whilst the single referendum in the UK on replacing FPTP with an Additional Vote (AV) system failed. Through a comparative analysis of (1) public opinion; (2) the positions of the main political parties on the proposed changes; and (3) the procedures leading up to the referendum(s) in the two countries, the paper draws upon the analytical work of Cox and McCubbins (2005) and concludes that the key variable that distinguishes the New Zealand and UK cases was the far more elaborate procedural sequencing in New Zealand (dating back to the establishment of the Royal Commission on the Electoral System in 1985). This sequencing, it is argued, enhanced the agenda-setting powers of political agents advocating change and in doing so provided a more informed and compelling narrative for moving away from the status quo position than was the case in the UK.

Reference: Cox. G. and McCubbins, M. D. (2005) *Setting the agenda: responsible party government in the U.S. House of Representatives*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

**Nigel Parsons (Politics Programme, Massey University)**
***The Palestinian Authority Strikes Back: Planning and Statistics as Resistance in the Occupied Palestinian Territories***
Beyond news headlines, Israeli efforts to steer the struggle with the Palestinians continue to break new ground in the practice of population management. Taking forward a nascent, exciting field, Israeli practices are understood here in Foucauldian terms as biopolitics. Foucault's concept captures a swing in the emphasis of government from territory (geopolitics), to people (biopolitics). The biopolitical lens can be brought to bear equally on Israel and the Occupied Palestinian Territories (OPT), bringing discrete analyses of new issues in population management into view.

Drawing on fieldwork in the West Bank during 2011, this paper examines two Palestinian bureaucratic responses to the Israeli biopolitical agenda. Specifically, it focuses on the work of the Palestinian Authority (PA) Ministry of Planning and the Palestinian Central Bureau of Statistics in Ramallah. The analysis explores ways in which Palestinian planners cope with the dilemmas raised by planning under foreign military occupation, and the extent to which statistical data can be used to expedite forms of 'bureaucratic resistance' to Israeli demographic engineering. The presentation includes a case study of PA responses to Israeli settlement in Hebron.

**Kate Roff (Department of Political Science, University of Canterbury)**
***Barbaric Mistakes: Western Print Media's Portrayal of 'Ethnic' Conflicts***
While extensive studies have been conducted on media's role during full-scale war (see Steuter and Wills, 2010; Curruthers, 2000; Ottosen 1995; Merkson 2004; Spillman and Spillman, 1997), recent studies have begun to focus further on media's role in humanitarian intervention in "ethnic" conflicts. In this paper, I argue that prior to a government's decision to intervene (or not) in humanitarian crises, the situation is justified to the Western public through binary lenses. Conflicts appear to be portrayed as either a "barbaric" situation in need of intervention, or alternatively as a "native" conflict better left alone. Using a qualitative content analysis of USA, UK and Australian print media, my study explores the portrayal of conflicts in Rwanda, Kosovo, and East Timor. In this thesis I examine newspaper articles and explore the extent to which Western media content concerning these so-called "ethnic" conflicts "empathises" with those involved in the conflict, and the extent to which it "distances" the conflict. I propose that, regardless of arguments for or against humanitarian intervention, media representations of these complex

conflicts simplify the situation into a dangerous polarisation, hindering chances of conflict resolution and clouding justifications for intervention.

**Isak Svensson (National Centre for Peace & Conflict Studies, University of Otago)**
*Ending 'Holy Wars': Religion, Civil War Termination, and Peace in East Asia*
This study explores how religious dimensions affect the possibilities for conflict resolution in civil war in East Asia. This is the first study that systematically tries to map out the religious dimensions of internal armed conflicts 1979-2009 and explain the conditions under which religious dimensions impede peaceful settlement. It draws upon empirical work on global data, based on the Uppsala Conflict Data Program (UCDP), and complements this quantitative data with several smaller case studies on Sri Lanka, Sudan, the Philippines, Afghanistan, and Indonesia. The study shows how religious identities and incompatibilities influence the likelihood of agreements and the mechanisms through which parties and third-party mediators have been able to overcome religious obstacles to negotiated settlements. These findings pave the way for a discussion on how conflict theory can better incorporate religious dimensions, as well as how policy can be designed to manage religious dimensions in armed conflicts.

**Mahama Tawat (Department of Politics, University of Otago)**
*Ideas and Multiculturalism: Policy Change in Denmark and Sweden in the Late 1960s*
This paper traces the process which led to the adoption of a multicultural policy in the late 1960s in Sweden and not in Denmark despite strong similarities between both countries and a similar policy record towards immigrants. Using theories of agenda-setting and decision-making, it shows that, in Sweden in contrast to Denmark, all the factors were aligned for such outcome to occur. These factors were the problematization of multiculturalism, a change in the political environment (appointment of a new minister) which gave way to a new cultural policy, the existence of a gatekeeper with ideas favorable to multiculturalism and party discipline in the Swedish Parliament.

**Amy Thomson (Politics Programme, Massey University)**
*The 'Dynamics of Contention' in the Islamic Republic of Iran: Understanding the Origins and Failure of the 2009 Post-election Protests*
A year and a half prior to the Arab Spring post-election protests erupted in Iran spawning the Green Movement. Although the protests initially showed revolutionary promise, they ultimately failed to achieve widespread political change. Using the Dynamics of Contention model it is possible to understand what the causes of these protests were and why the protestors failed to achieve their aims. Broad change processes, interpretative processes and the attribution of a political opportunity converged to spark the initial protests. Elite political factionalism and fluctuating levels of political freedom were the main broad change processes. They led to an interpretative process which was exacerbated by allegations of electoral fraud, loss of legitimacy. Due to the singular national importance of an election, electoral fraud is highly visible and shared by the largest group possible, facilitating the attribution of a political opportunity. However, the Green Movement was unable to co-opt organisational space from workers unions or military organisations such as the Iranian Revolutionary Guard Corps. This lack of organisational space combined with an increasing attribution of threat from ongoing and increasing repression, led the protests to subside without political success.

**Liam Weeks (Department of Government, University College Cork, and Visiting Academic Fellow Department of Politics & International Relations, Macquarie University)**
*Crashing the Party. Does STV help Independents?*
Electoral reform is on the political agenda again in New Zealand. One of the alternative methods that will be offered to voters in 2011 is the Single Transferable Vote (STV), a system that was the second most popular option in the 1992 referendum. However, STV is one of the world's least utilised electoral systems, in part because of political parties' wariness that it is thought to favour non-party candidates, or independents. This belief is based on the experience of Ireland, where as many as one in ten parliamentarians are now independent. The relative absence of independents in Australia and Malta, the other two countries using STV for national elections, challenges the merits of this reasoning.

This paper re-examines the validity of this particular consequence of STV using constituency-level data from the Irish and Australian cases. The results indicate that there is not a great deal of evidence to support the hypothesis that STV favours independents, in particular because electoral system detail can affect a system's ability to realize expected consequences. The findings of this paper will hopefully contribute to the debate on electoral reform in New Zealand. It will also mean that those waiting for New Zealand to get its first flavour of genuine independent representation in the modern era may have to re-evaluate their belief in the alchemic qualities of STV.

**Kim Zilliacus (Swedish School of Social Science, University of Helsinki) and Guy Salmon (Ecologic Foundation, New Zealand)**
*Collaborative Governance in Finland and New Zealand: Consensual Environmental Policy?*
Since the beginning of the 1990s the emphasis of participatory democracy has become stronger in Finnish policy- and decision-making. This development involves various stakeholders participating in negotiations, or more specifically deliberations, around current issues in order to reach consensus and enable a continuance in the policy process. According to comparative research, the more consensual a democracy is the more favourable are the policy outcomes towards environmental issues.

The three Finnish case studies investigated, the Forest Biodiversity Programme for Southern Finland, the Action Plan for Renewable Energy, and the Natura 2000 Network of European Union nature protection areas, support this notion. The case studies are focused on how the key players involved have conceived the decision-making process in terms of achieved goals and degree of agreement as well as on the specific issue context as a backdrop to the development of policy. These cases are compared to two recent New Zealand cases, the Canterbury Water Management Strategy, and the Land and Water Forum.

The stakeholder participation displayed significant differences of outcomes depending on the achieved level of consensus and deliberation. The outcomes are comparatively analysed within the theoretical frameworks of Lijphart's 'consensus vs majoritarian model of democracy' and Jänicke's 'consensual capacity for ecological modernisation'. The analysis opens up prospects for further comparative research of the dynamics of environmental policy development within a Nordic-New Zealand context.

# International Relations Stream
## Convenor: Dr Lena Tan

**Rukhsana Aslam (School of Communication Studies, Auckland University of Technology)**
*The Role of Peace Journalism in International Conflicts*
In an age which is marked by globalization and technological advancement, the role of media in portraying and interpreting the conflict is acknowledged to be of great importance especially in the coverage of international political conflicts. The framing of the story by the media affects the way global events and conflicts are perceived by the people in various societies and how they react to these developments. The media's approach to conflict also determines whether it would act as the 'tool for peace' or 'the weapon of war'. 'Peace Journalism' as opposed to 'war journalism' is considered by many media experts and scholars as the way to integrate conflict resolution in journalistic training and hence develop a more 'socially responsible' journalism. This paper examines the concepts of peace journalism and conflict resolution as approaches towards conflict and explores the notions of journalistic practices like objectivity in the media coverage of conflict. The paper also gives an account of the several initiatives taken in this regard and makes a case for operationalising and translating these concepts into tangibles.

The second part of this paper however deals with the challenges and dangers in practicing effective peace journalism in a complex international system. On the one hand, the digital revolution has changed the nature of information and communication. It has brought many challenges for the developed world including the changing global identities, the need to respond to global events quickly and the need for psychological and physical training programmes for journalists. But for the developing countries, simple tasks, such as having media access to the conflict, providing security to journalists in the field and arranging adequate resources for them are hard to accomplish. Giving examples from Iraq, Pakistan and some other countries, the papers discusses the existing disparity of resources and training in the two parts of the worlds. It concludes on the importance of the community support making peace journalism effective.

**Elvira Bobekova (National Centre for Peace and Conflict Studies, University of Otago)**
*Conflict Management of River Disputes and the Role of Third Parties: Comparative Study of Aral, Euphrates and Mekong Basins*
There is a growing literature focusing on the resolution and management of international riparian disputes through the involvement of third parties. While existing literature has focused on the effect and outcome of third parties in riparian disputes, there is no study explaining why third parties get involved in riparian disputes in the first place. Whereas third parties got involved in the Aral and Mekong, such actors have been absent from the Euphrates basin despite the contentious issues over river between riparian states. Through a comparative study of the basin-wide disputes over the transboundary river waters of Aral, Euphrates and Mekong river basins, I argue that third parties get involved in settling river disputes on the condition that all riparian states maintain good relationship with third parties and there must be a basin-wide need for capital and financial investments. Given the current uncertainty around security challenges of climate change and predictions of future water wars, this research contributes to our understanding how to respond to the current and potential conflicts around transboundary waters.

**Joe Burton (Department of Politics, University of Otago)**
*NATO's post-Iraq Recovery?*
The crisis over the invasion of Iraq in 2003 went to the very heart of NATO, with France, Belgium and Germany threatening to veto alliance preparations for the defence of Turkey in the event of retaliation by Saddam Hussein's regime. Key European members of the alliance, deeply skeptical about widening the 'war on terror' to Iraq, and fearful of 'entrapment' - that they were being drawn into a conflict that they fundamentally opposed – refused to back the US-led campaign. This paper argues that this whilst this 'transatlantic rift' was serious, and caused a great deal of animosity, it has largely been overcome. It shows that a concerted diplomatic effort was made by key alliance figures after the crisis to mend fences and demonstrates a significant post-Iraq convergence around a common transatlantic approach to combating terrorism. Perhaps more importantly, the operational necessities of long, drawn out campaigns in Iraq and Afghanistan, and the ongoing enlargement process, have guaranteed NATO a central role in international security.

**Matthew Castle (Politics and International Relations Programme, Victoria University of Wellington)**
*Forging an Australasian Region? Convergence and Divergence of Australian and New Zealand policy in the Asia-Pacific*
This paper explores how economic and political integration between Australia and New Zealand affects the two countries' engagement with third parties and multilateral fora in their region. The paper comparatively examines Australia and New Zealand's membership applications to the Asia-Europe Meeting (ASEM) against the backdrop of close Trans-Tasman cooperation in other areas, including in Australia and New Zealand's relationship with the Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN). In October 2010 the ASEM process expanded to include three new members – Russia, Australia and New Zealand. Against expectations from within ASEM, the Australian and New Zealand membership applications to join this interregional dialogue process were not coordinated and there has since been little to no Trans-Tasman cooperation on ASEM. To what extent do Trans-Tasman commitments force Australian and New Zealand policy-makers to cooperate in foreign/trade policy? What explains divergence and convergence of Australian and New Zealand trade and foreign policy and what areas are 'natural' grounds for Trans-Tasman cooperation? Understanding why and how Australian and New Zealand policy-makers choose to cooperate (or not) clarifies the driving forces behind Trans-Tasman integration and contributes to wider scholarship that compares instances of regional integration.

**Anthony Deos, (Department of Politics, University of Otago)**
*Status Update: @SocialMedia & @PublicDiplomacy: What Happens?*
In the decade since September 11, 2001, public diplomacy has gained importance across the globe and social media and social-networking use has expanded exponentially. Today such Information Communication Technologies (ICTs) influence almost all aspects of society. Furthermore, it's generally accepted that the power of information exchange and collaboration has ascended above military might in most instances. These realities impact public diplomacy immensely and are generating many interesting and unexpected transformations. So, what does this mean for the state and its role in public diplomacy? Thought provoking and controversial public diplomacy research has produced: recommendations for re-structuring organizations and operations, investigations of network approaches, and a small number of case studies, yet many gaps remain. Although most states maintain the necessity of participation in this environment, there is a lack of research examining the effects of such technologies in public diplomacy. Does simply adding

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'social media' components produce desired results? Preliminary research suggests it doesn't. However, can social media create networks and produce social capital useful in diplomatic relations and, if so, how? This research aims to answer this question and uncover possibilities for a more nuanced public diplomacy.

**Ellen Furnari (National Center for Peace and Conflict Studies and Bioethics Department, University of Otago)**
*Is it Time to Rethink the Role of Peacekeeping?*
The ending of the cold war is often cited as the turning point in the evolution of peacekeeping from traditional values and practices, toward the multi-functional, robust peace operations of today.  It has been suggested that peacekeeping is in its third or fourth generation, and different authors construct different typologies to analyze the meaning of this evolution. It is now difficult to separate the peacekeeping functions of preventing a return to war or other violence, disarmament, and other practices that might be called basic or narrow peacekeeping, from activities meant to build democratic institutions, hold elections, and reform the judiciary, often described as the liberal peace agenda.  These later activities would fit in what is often called peace building programs.  Currently peace operations are criticized by some for imposing liberal peace, for the conduct of peacekeepers themselves, and the harmful impact of peace operations on the economies and community life of host countries. It seems time to explore the view that peacekeeping itself needs a more limited and separate role, distinguished from the other functions of peace operations, in order to avoid being held responsible for promising more than is possible and being discredited by association with problematic multifunctional operations.   There is no possibility of a return to what was traditional peacekeeping – lightly armed troops occupying a clear border, with the consent of all parties, to prevent new hostilities - as the vast majority of peacekeeping now involves intrastate wars with unclear boundaries and often involves some form of imposition. Framed within local knowledge systems theory and critical studies perspective on emancipation as the ultimate goal of peace operations, this paper will address the following questions: What are appropriate goals for peacekeeping, what are the limits, and in whose judgment? What might more limited peacekeeping mean in today's world? How might "robust" peacekeeping and more limited peacekeeping relate? What might unarmed civilian peacekeeping demonstrate that would be useful for military peacekeeping? What are future research questions and methods to explore these concerns?

**Yang Gao (Political Science and International Relations Programme, Victoria University of Wellington)**
*China's Energy Security: Going Beyond the Traditional Approach*
As the world's largest energy consumer today, China's economic growth has been largely driven by surging energy consumption. To examine the nexus of energy and China's national security becomes an urgent task for both scholars and policy makers in the country. Over the last decade, China has adopted an energy security approach emphasizing its external energy supply, which is quite similar to the Western approach. However, as the largest energy producer in the world, China only needs to import a small percentage of primary energy to meet the demand. Its energy mix is also in sharp contrast with that of Industrialized Western countries' (IWCs), especially when we realize that coal consumption constantly accounts for about 70 percent of China primary energy mix, and oil less than 20 percent. This is largely due to Chinese industrial sector's significant contribution to its GDP and its increasing demand for coal-based electric power, China's energy-economy nexus is therefore profoundly different with that of the IWCs at this stage. Therefore, it is argued that, in the last decade, both the Chinese scholars and policy makers have not developed

and employed an energy security approach reflecting its actual energy vulnerabilities and to cope with the urgent energy security threats the country faces. For a developing economy like China, a broader energy security approach should be developed to guide the scholarly research and policy making in the future.

**Toni Grace (Political Science and International Relations Programme, Victoria University of Wellington)**
***'Good fences make good neighbours'? Freedom of movement and the Danish border control debate***
Freedom of movement is often hailed as the cornerstone of European integration yet it remains an ongoing subject of political tension, mired by states' desires to maintain control over border flows and discretion over national membership. This paper asks; what are the key political drivers and inhibitors of regional freedom of movement, and to what extent do national conceptions of identity and citizenship influence political decision-making in this area? By focusing on the recent Danish custom-border bid, this paper develops a micro-level case study of political arguments for and against free movement, drawing on interviews with Danish and Swedish politicians in the cross-border Øresund region. Preliminary analysis suggests that the border control debate was largely characterised by different political ideas about the relationship between national identities and interest, and how these interact with, and relate to, globalization processes, other member states, and the European Union. The debates were linked to wider issues of immigration and citizenship; an area of significant political divergence between Denmark and Sweden over the last decade. This suggests that the relationship between identities and interests, and how these are shaped through state interaction, are significant for understanding how member states approach freedom of movement and regional integration.

**Ryan D. Griffiths (Department of Government and International Relations, University of Sydney)**
***Membership Has its Privileges: The Changing Benefits of Statehood***
The number of states in the international system has increased dramatically since the close of the Second World War. Although explanations for secessionism and state birth typically point to unit-level factors and conditions within the state, I argue that a central reason for this explosion of new states has to do with the increased benefits of statehood in the post-1945 era. With the emergence of international institutions such as the IMF and the UN, as well as the increased funding of bilateral aid, achieving statehood confers a much larger set of benefits on both individual leaders of new states (who gain access to a series of goods they can enjoy themselves or distribute through patronage systems) as well as citizens of new states (who also may enjoy the benefits of statehood, particularly if, for example, aid disbursements are monitored to reduce corruption). In addition, the concomitant (and related) rise of a norm against territorial conquests has provided a safe-haven in which newly independent states can enjoy these benefits. Thus, newborn states today such as East Timor can gain membership to organizations such as the UN (membership that affords some protection against external predation) and enjoy a host of economic benefits such as IMF and UN loans that were unavailable to new states in earlier periods.

To support this argument, I first document the factors that have made secessionism more attractive in the post-1945 era, and then contrast them with those available in earlier times. I then use an original data set of all secessionist movements between 1816 and 2005 to show that the increasing benefits of statehood correspond with an increase in secessionism (even when controlling for the number of states in the system). I combine these findings with interviews with

both UN and IMF officials that demonstrate the incentives that such benefits pose for secessionist groups. I conclude with a normative discussion of these systemic changes, asking who benefits most from the privileges of membership – political leaders or ordinary citizens? This paper is the first to describe the changing benefits of statehood. It speaks to issues of sovereignty, secessionism, and international institutions, and it highlights the consequences (both positive and negative) of an international system in which states can more easily survive.

**Ryan D. Griffiths (Department of Government and International Relations, University of Sydney)**
*Sacred Borders and Stateless Nations: The Future of Self-Determination and Territorial Integrity in an Era of Declining American Primacy*
Consonant with the rise of the United States was the introduction and propagation of two important and inter-related norms. The first is the norm of self-determination, which advances the right of stateless nations to govern themselves. The second is the norm of territorial integrity, which upholds the principle that political borders should be respected and that states be free from foreign predation. A consequence of these norms and an interesting feature of American unipolarity has been a rise in secessionism, a virtual disappearance of violent state death, and a proliferation of sovereign states.

This paper will examine the origin and development of these norms and their prospect for the future in light of waning American power. Attention will be given to three important questions: (1) Under what conditions does a norm outlive the decline of its sponsor? (2) How likely are rising powers such as China to support the norms of self-determination and territorial integrity? (3) What does a power transition and the corresponding support of these norms augur for the future of secession, conquest, and the number of sovereign states?

**Melissa Idiens (National Centre for Research on Europe (NCRE) & Gateway Antarctica, University of Canterbury)**
*EU Engagement in the Antarctic Treaty System*
This research adopts a constructivist framework to examine EU 'actorness' in the politics of the Antarctic Treaty System (ATS), in order to present an argument for the EU to upgrade its participatory role in the Antarctic Treaty Consultative Meeting, as a method to further legitimise its role as a global political actor in wider international relations. Despite EU competence on environmental issues which has afforded it *ad hoc* instances of limited participation in the Antarctic Treaty Consultative Meeting to date (in addition to EU executive competence in the Antarctic fisheries mechanism CCAMLR), the ATS remains highly politicised along national lines, meaning the EU lacks the third party support critical for any upgraded direct role in the politics of the ATS.

EU influence in the politics of the Antarctic is also indirectly observable through the Europeanisation of EU member-states foreign policies with respect to Antarctic issues – particularly in the development of the Environmental Protocol to the Antarctic Treaty (1991). While this phenomenon is not at all unique to Antarctic politics, it is interesting to observe that EU member-states (particularly France, Germany and the UK) continue to utilise EU opportunity structures to reinforce their nationalistic presence on the Antarctic continent.

In this instance additional EU funding for scientific research on the impacts of climate change was a significant driver for EU member-states cooperation and collaboration for research on the Antarctic continent, sustained by cuts to national funding sources in the tough economic climate.

As an active science research programme forms the basis for maintaining sovereign claims to the Antarctic and its potential resources, it is also the critical prerequisite for a stronger national voice in the political deliberation of the Antarctic Treaty Consultative Meeting.

**David Kempthorne (Balsillie School of International Affairs, University of Waterloo, Canada)**
*A Failed or Successful Case of Cooperation: Understanding the Political Economy of IOSCO*
Existing international political economy literature seeks to explain successful regulatory coordination through international financial regulatory standards formed by international financial standard setters. Regulatory divergence is treated as a failed case of regulatory coordination that is then explained by the divergent preferences of states, domestic actors or the community of regulatory actors. Utilizing the empirical case study of the International Organization of Securities Commissions (IOSCO) this paper will analyze and seek to explain why IOSCO has encouraged regulatory divergence. In the case of IOSCO, regulatory divergence is not a failed case of regulatory coordination but instead represents an alternative governance strategy that seeks to facilitate global financial stability and the integrity of global securities markets. Since the monumental decision to introduce the Multilateral Memoranda of Understanding (MMOU) regarding information sharing, IOSCO has strengthened as an international organization using regulatory divergence as an organizational strategy to raise regulatory standards and improve securities market oversight. This paper will explain why IOSCO has utilized this governance strategy and explain the strengthening of this international organization over the past 10 years. Contrary to existing literature that grants primacy to single explanatory variables it will be argued that organizational outcomes requires a multi-causal explanation that focuses on the process of decision making within and outside of IOSCO in which the preferences of domestic political actors, bureaucratic actors, private financial markets actors, and an epistemic community of securities regulators express their preferences and leverage their various forms of political power to attain those preferences.

**Najibullah Lafraie (Department of Politics, University of Otago)**
*Muslims' Pre-Westphalian 'International Relations': A Permanent War or Realpolitik?*
Ever since Majid Khadduri's pioneering works on 'Islamic Law of Nations' in the 1950s and 1960s, the original conception of Muslims' international relations have been primarily seen as a state of permanent war and hostility between *dar al-Islam* (territory of Islam) and *dar al-harb* (territory of war). That view is based on expositions of Muslim jurists sometimes justifying the expansionist policies of the Muslim rulers of the time. However, a closer look at Khadduri's works shows that neither the Quran nor all the Muslim jurists writing on the topic call for a permanent war between Muslims and non-Muslims. A historical investigation of the external relations of Muslim states in the pre-Westphalian era will also demonstrate that they were not in inimical relations with others all the time.

After discussing Majid Khadduri's works, this paper will explore three aspects of Muslims' 'international relations' in pre-Westphalian world and assess how they differed from the post-Westphalian period:

1. What kind of diplomatic relations did Muslim states have with non-Muslim states?
2. What was the relationship among various territorial entities ('states') within the Muslim world?
3. How did the division of the Muslim world into several territorial entities affect the lives of the Muslim populations?

At the end, the paper will try to draw some conclusions from the study for the future of Muslims' international relations.

**Eliot Lynch (Department of Politics, University of Otago)**
***From Nixon to Obama: The American Conception of Global Hegemonic Leadership and the Middle East since the 1970s***

There is now discussion currently underway in the United States that the election of Barack Obama in 2008 may represent a fundamental 'paradigm shift' in American politics away from the so-called 'Reagan Revolution' paradigm which arguably re-centered American politics around the Republican party as the 'governing party' of a morally assertive American foreign policy and neoliberal economic reform agenda from 1980 to 2009. My research question is 'to what extent does the US Presidency of Barack Obama represent a 'paradigm shift' from the 'Reagan Revolution' paradigm of American politics from 1980-2009 and what are the implications of this 'paradigm shift' for US foreign policy' toward the Middle East? In my paper I will present an outline of the historical and comparative framework I will developing in my PhD dissertation for theorizing the role of the Middle East in the American conception of global hegemonic leadership since the 1970s. I will argue that the importance of this comparative and historical approach is threefold. First, it develops a comparative approach which emphasizes just how important the 'conservative ascendency' or 'Reagan Revolution' of the 1980s has been to the revival of American power since 1980 and argues that the Presidency of George W. Bush (2001-2009) was the apotheosis of this paradigmatic 'conservative ascendency' in American politics, with important implications for assessing current US President Obama's options and obligations. Second, I will compare US Presidents Nixon (1969-1974) and Obama (2009-Present) and their logic of détente after inheriting the burden of major wars (Vietnam and Iraq respectively). Third, while my dissertation will involve a fundamental comparison of the Vietnam and Iraq 2003 conflicts, it will make a significant contribution to existing scholarly literature by focusing on the role of the Middle East has played in US relative decline in both the post-Vietnam 1970s and 2000s.

**Philip Nel, Dirk Nabers, and Melanie Hanif (Department of Politics, University of Otago)**
***The IBSA States and Global Redistribution***

In recent years, Brazil, India, and South Africa have emerged as significant representatives and (re-)interpreters of the long-standing aspirations of the South in global affairs. This paper highlights different aspects of these aspirations, but shares the conviction that 'global redistribution' provides a useful description of what these aspirations entail. As used here, 'global redistribution' refers to the goal of systematically reducing the wealth, power, and prestige differentials between national states that characterize the modern world. In this usage, 'global' signifies the scope of the inter-state redistribution that is aimed at. As such, the meaning of the term should be distinguished from another. In studies of the distribution of wealth and income across the world as a whole, global redistribution is used to refer to the evening-out of income and wealth differentials between all the citizens of the world, irrespective of nationality. It is important to distinguish between these two usages. The achievement of the first form of global, that is 'inter-state' redistribution, does not necessarily improve distribution in the second sense of the term. In fact, this distinction provides us with an evaluative tool with which to probe the limits of the global aspirations of the current generation of leaders from the emerging powerhouses of the South.

**'Tola Odubajo (Department of Political Science, University of Lagos, Nigeria)**
*Third-Party Intervention in International Relations: An Assessment of the Role of External Actors in the 2011 Libyan Crisis*
One of the defining characteristics of contemporary international politics is the global undisguised aversion to conflicts. Such aversion encourages the formation of collective security models whose instrumentalities are employed to either deter the escalation of conflicts or to enforce the pacific solutions to conflicts among belligerents. On the other extreme is the existence of the principles of non-violability of the sovereignty of states. This seeming contradiction raises the question about the justification for third-party intervention in national conflicts.

The contradiction once again comes to the fore with the on-going Libyan crisis. Being peculiar in its characteristic defiance to Western-political values, Gadaffi's Libya has always being perceived as recalcitrant. Hence, the greatest opportunity for the West to deal a deadly blow on the Gadaffi regime presented itself with the calls by civil-society organisations in Libya for the ouster of Muammar Gadaffi. The CSOs capitalized on the wind of change blowing through the Maghreb region of Africa and other parts of the Arab world as a consequence of the self-immolation of a Tunisian citizen in December, 2010.

This article interrogates the interventionist motives of the Western world in the Libyan crisis. This is undertaken with a survey of literature on the twin perspectives on third-party intervention; idealist/liberal and realist paradigms. The paper concludes with recommendations that emphasize the institutionalization of global early warning systems and the necessity for global collective actions, among others, as basis for third-party intervention.

**Chandra Lal Pandey (Department of Political Science and Public Policy, University of Waikato)**
*Exploring the Democratic Deficit – the Kyoto Protocol*
A focus on the United Nations consideration of, and policies over, climate change is a contemporary and highly important development. Although the Copenhagen conference (COP-15) held in December 2009 did not finalize or rule out any possibilities of building consensus on a legally binding post Kyoto Protocol, many significant questions have arisen over the UN's role in the climate change debate, not only over the adequacy of the basis for the its assumption that anthropogenic climate change is happening but also over the UN's procedural fairness on policy input, and policy output which it is seeking to implement.  Thus, one major issue is the democratic legitimacy of the UN in processing the procedures of making climate change policies: a politics of powerful states. Another issue is that after 1990, the UN has been making policies for intra-states issues particularly concerning environmental and climate change where it is not only states involved but also national societies and corporations. This paper analyses the Kyoto Protocol to determine the extent of a democratic deficit which favours the powerful states, and the extent to which the UN policy-making on climate change is democratically legitimate, and whether the UN should be more inclusive in its consideration of climate change policy.

**Robert G. Patman (Department of Politics, University of Otago)**
*Learning from History? Obama's National Security Strategy in Afghanistan*
Trying to learn lessons from history is both necessary and very difficult. It is necessary because the past is the only frame of reference we have to deal with new events and challenges. But it is very hard to identify historical lessons that are relevant to contemporary situations. In this context, the national security strategy of the Obama administration provides an illuminating case study.

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Convinced that the Bush administration had neglected "the necessary war in Afghanistan for the ill-conceived war of choice in Iraq", the Obama administration set itself the goal of breaking the momentum of the Taliban and al-Qaeda in Afghanistan. Bush's counterterrorism approach was replaced by a more aggressive counterinsurgency strategy. Critics allege that Obama's Afghan strategy has ensnared America in another Vietnam while administration supporters question the way in which the Vietnam analogy has been. This paper considers the impact of history on Obama's strategy in Afghanistan and concludes, on balance, that significant efforts have been made by the administration to learn from the past, but the lessons are largely derived from US national security policy in the post-Cold War era rather than the Vietnam period.

**Maria Pozza (Department of Politics, University of Otago)**
***International Law and Policy of Outer Space: A New Perspective***
The multilateral treaties concerning outer space remain ineffective and largely circumvented by states engaging in space weapons development. Critical analysis of archival material demonstrates that the superpowers left certain key terms ambiguous within these treaties. Such terms as *"peaceful uses", "peaceful purposes", "weapons of mass destruction"* and *"space weapon"* have been left without adequate definition. This is problematic for international relations and state security in the present day.

This paper outlines the process of development of the outer space treaties. The negotiations between the superpowers resulted in treaties which initially aimed to preserve the usability of outer space for the space-faring states in question. The treaties function also as a type of arms control treaty in that they place limitations on the use of certain types of weapons in space. The treaties allow much freedom of interpretation and thus preserve state autonomy, due to structural ambiguity written into the terms of the treaties. This is integral to their function and the intended aims of the states who drafted the treaties. Outer space treaties which could have functioned as a solid foundation for international law and state security have remained largely ineffective against global geopolitics and strategic considerations.

This paper provides an overview of the two major outer space treaties of 1967 and 1979. It considers the 2008 PPWT draft treaty presented by China and Russia in this context. It will contribute a new perspective on this subject drawing on previously un-researched archival material from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade.

**Mohammed Ahmed Qadri, (Department of Political Science, University of Karachi, Pakistan)**
***Terrorism a Serious Threat to Transnational Relations. Theory and Practice***
The aim of the paper is to focus on the ground realities of the contemporary peace situation and transnational relations. Today's serious challenges have multi colors problems which have created interest articulated groups in the world. Terrorism or extremism have become a visible threats to the humanity and world peace order. Terrorism is a a significant socio-political variable which has totally paralyzed world peace and trying to establish terrorist authority over the world and control the world resources as per wishes of terrorist group. The paper will mainly deal with the activities of the Terror groups of Pakistan and Afghanistan.The author would present an impartial research and make recommendations to establish intercultural communication and world peace.The paper would be presented in the light of International Relations to create harmony among nations.

**Ashok Sharma (Department of Political Science & Public Policy, University of Waikato)**
***India's Strategic Posture in the Context of Evolving Asia-Pacific Security Paradigm***
Today India is considered as major power and pole in the structure of the emerging global balance of power. One of the significant attribute of the emerging India is its attempt to carve out a foreign policy that is much more confident about its growing standing in the international system. One of the major aspects of India's foreign policy in the post-Cold War is its increasing economic, political and strategic engagement with in Asia-Pacific region which began in 1990s as India's 'Look East Policy'. This paper looks into India's foreign policy towards the Asia-Pacific region in a holistic approach. It surveys the systematic dynamics of India's policy of eastward expansion, its foreign policy goal and interest in the context of Asia-Pacific security paradigm, its policy and strategy to pursue its agenda and standing in the great power game in the evolving strategic geometry in Asia-Pacific region. It concludes that with its robust economic growth, military modernisation, naval expansion and strategic engagement with US and its allies in the region, India will congruently desire for more space in the region with profound implications for the evolving strategic and security geometry in the region.

**Nicholas Smith (in conjunction with Dr Serena Kelly) (National Centre for Research on Europe, University of Canterbury)**
***External Perceptions of the EU as a Single International Actor: The Case of the Arab Spring***
The EU in the last couple of decades has strived for international legitimacy as an international actor as its integration has gradually deepened from low politics (trade and economics) to incorporating greater capacity in high politics (foreign policy, security and defence). The recent ratification of the Treaty of Lisbon (ToL) potentially represents a new epoch for the EU as an international actor as it attempts to give the EU greater powers to act uniformly. However, this paper contends that the EU's role as an international actor is directly compliant on how they are perceived by external actors in the international community. External perceptions of an international entity are a key facet in shaping and defining its role given that roles cannot be merely assigned in the largely anarchic international system. This paper examines the print media from ten Asian countries to gauge the external perceptions of the EU as a global and single actor in third countries. The phenomenon of the Arab spring protests, which have rapidly manifested across the Arab world since 2010, are utilised to evaluate the external perceptions of the EU's actorness: as the Arab spring represents an important event in the EU's sphere of influence and has also occurred after ToL ratification. Ultimately, it is argued that the external perceptions of the EU fit with the general scholarly critique; a perception that the EU currently does not act with unanimity in matters of high politics in the international system.

**Peter (Jay) Smith (Department of Political Science, Athabasca University, Canada)**
***Speaking For Freedom, Normalizing the Net***
An enduring perspective on the impact of digital technologies argues that these technologies can expand freedom and re-invigorate democracy. Yet, there has always been a contrary, more pessimistic perspective, that pre-Internet power brokers, governments and corporations, will normalize use of digital technologies. This paper argues that despite recent pronouncements of figures such as Hillary Clinton in favor of internet freedom a number of representative governments have, in fact, been taking steps to curtail these freedoms. Here the focus will be on actual or attempted changes , the most significant of which are international in nature, to introduce more restrictive copyright and anti-circumvention measures such as the Anti-Counterfeiting Trade Agreement, recent bilateral trade agreements between the US and other

countries, and, in addition, reforms of national legislation. This has lead to a core struggle of the Internet age to balance the demands by powerful forces, state and corporate, for greater protection in the global digital environment with the countervailing demands to ensure that knowledge remains free, in the public domain, and accessible by the maximum number of people.

**Elizabeth Smythe (Concordia University College of Alberta)**
***Food Sovereignty, Local Food and the Struggle over Food Labelling: A Comparative Perspective***
As movements have developed at the local and global level around concerns with the nature and quality of food demands to know more about the provenance or origins of food and control over production have increased. However, access to knowledge about the provenance of most food is governed by national regulations on labeling and increasingly international rules and standards that judge whether labeling regulations constitute barriers to trade. The global governance of food labeling involves a struggle over these standards involving an array of actors in forums such as the Codex Alimentarius and World Trade Organization (WTO). Restrictive standards regarding the acceptable justification for mandatory labeling of food products in the interests of harmonization and facilitating international trade are coming under pressure from growing demands to know more regarding food provenance. This has been reflected in the US move to mandatory Country of Origin Labeling for meat to which a number of trading partners including Canada have objected at the WTO. Recently mandatory Country of Origin Labeling has been also approved in the European Parliament. This paper examines these cases and the way in which they have been addressed by governance institutions such as the Codex and the WTO and key actors such as the US and the EU but also including food exporting countries like Canada, Australia and New Zealand. The paper argues that existing rules are unlikely to stop the move to more transparency about the provenance of the food we eat.

**Reuben Steff (Department of Politics, University of Otago)**
***Global Missile Defence: Agent of International Disorder or Towards a New Global Security Community?***
Vigorously debated throughout the Cold War, the concept of missile defence was adapted in the post-Cold War security environment to deal with the perceived threat of so-called 'rogue states'. But within the grand strategy of primacy pursued by the Bush administration it gave rise to a *security dilemma* as Russia and China reacted in a number of ways indicative of *hard-balancing*. This called into question the logic of maintaining the Bush administration's missile defence strategy as it appeared to undermine international stability and destabilise great power relations. Consequently, the Obama administration has altered course and is holding out the possibility of co-operation on missile defences. This paper argues that this is the Obama administrations most important and potentially far-reaching strategic initiative, and it should be embraced and expanded upon. In essence, rather than being an agent of disorder, *joint missile defence systems* could foster a new era of strategic co-operation amongst the great powers by laying the basis for expanding and transforming America's liberal 'security community' into a truly global entity capable of addressing threats that know no borders.

**Ben Thirkell-White (Political Science and International Relations Programme, Victoria University of Wellington)**
***The IMF and the Developing World: What difference a Financial Crisis?***
IMF staff have recently declared 2010 the 'year of IMF reform' with the Fund's official historian arguing that recent changes to Fund governance are the most significant since the institution's founding. This paper assesses this kind of claim with the aid of some historical comparisons with

the New International Economic Order Movement of the late 1970s. In the 1970s and during the recent crisis, a time of uncertainty about appropriate economic management in the West has coincided with strong current account surpluses in an important group of emerging economies. In both cases middle income countries have been able to use their surplus positions to leverage increased voting rights in the IMF and there was speculation that this strength might also shape global policy outcomes as debates about international financial regulation intensified. In the 1970s, though, middle income countries formed strong alliances with their low-income counterparts, enabling strong action in the UN. Whilst the international agenda of the contemporary BRICS is less certain, this kind of ideological and policy unity currently appears to be absent and the UN is no longer a plausible location for this kind of move.  The paper therefore argues that we should probably expect only modest changes to the IMF's policy in practice unless problems in the Western world create a more radical shift in economic ideas than currently seems likely.

**Aiden Warren (RMIT University, Melbourne, Australia)**
***Definitely Maybe:  The United States and the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT)***
In what was viewed as a distinct shift from his predecessor, President Barrack Obama's 2009 address in Prague's Hradčany Square called for a global ban on nuclear testing and that his administration would "aggressively" pursue US ratification of the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT).  Two of the three pillars of the NPT regime are that the non-nuclear weapon states will forgo nuclear weapons and the nuclear-weapon states will move toward nuclear disarmament.  A ban on future nuclear testing is seen as fulfilling both disarmament and non-proliferation goals by thwarting the qualitative development of nuclear weapons in weapons states and preventing new states from testing a nuclear weapon.   In a report by the international WMD Commission in 2006, it was argued that US ratification of the Treaty "would have more positive ramifications for arms control and disarmament than any other single measure." Likewise, the 2010 International Commission on Nuclear Non-proliferation and Disarmament Report described US CTBT ratification as being a significant "circuit-breaker" in gaining ratification by other hold-out states.   This will paper argue that despite these sentiments and the vision posited in Prague, Obama's quest for US ratification is moribund at the negotiating table.  Moreover, the Administration has pursued a policy of nuclear balance with incremental steps, accompanied by measures to retain America's primacy and the nuclear option.

**Kam Hon Yet (Department of Government and Public Administration, Chinese University of Hong Kong)**
***The Security Dilemma in Sino-Japanese Relations***
Even though economic relations between China and Japan have improved in recent decades, their security relations raise the prospect of clashes due to the perceived incompatibility of their interests, as manifested for example in territorial claims and rivalry for energy resources. This thesis analyzes the two states' security relations using the "security-dilemma" and "constructivist theories" of international relations. The security dilemma is a condition in which states' attempts to increase their own security, out of the mutual fear and suspicion, results a decrease in security for all. The constructivist theories suggest that the identities of actors, social norms, states' interests and government policies are inter-linked in both domestic and international politics; each component thus shapes and then reshapes others. International relations should not be understood by merely analyzing material capacities. In order to understand the security relations between China and Japan, it is imperative to investigate the threat perceptions of various actors

within both states, including the general public, the political leadership, the military, the academics and other sub-state actors.

By employing the mentioned theories, the general public in both states are the key sources to consider the other as a security threat. Fear or resentment among states, which might initially be constructed by the behaviors or policies of other actors, would in turn further shape or limit other actors' perceptions and interests. This article suggests that the public can also put constraints on their governments' freedom to maneuver diplomatically and to adopt policy choices, it thus affects the security relations between states. The thesis argues that deepening interactions between people in both state and carefully conducted diplomatic behaviors, such as choice of wording in reconciliation actions and joint action by states' leaders at symbolic occasions or locations etc, can be the key of preventing the security dilemma from escalating. As a result, in the case of Sino-Japanese relations, the security relations cannot be improved by deploying military means.

## Special Sessions

## 2011 New Zealand Election Panel
## Convenor: Dr Bryce Edwards
## Thursday December 1, 4-6pm, Room 2.22

The New Zealand general election takes place less than a week before the NZPSA conference. The Election Panel is a chance for those who have been carrying out research or following the campaign in detail, to provide some initial analysis and observation. Ten conference participants and invited guests will take part in a roundtable discussion about the campaign. Participants are focusing on their own field of interest and research, providing 5-10 minute summaries of their observations and analysis. Topics include: the campaign on the internet, political marketing, the media coverage of the campaign, voter behaviour, television advertising, the performance of the Green Party, and the spin-doctors.

## Maori & Indigenous Politics Panel
## Convenor: Dr Iati Iati
## Friday Dec 2, 11am-12.30pm, Room 2.19

**Lisa Chant (Maori Studies Department, University of Auckland)**
***How Maori political parties reacted to polling and media trends in the 2011 election***
In the 2011 election, two Maori political parties will be in contention for the seven Maori electorates.  The purpose of the paper is to shed some light into how Maori political parties react to electoral polling and media trends in their interactions with their electorates and the public. This paper provides a comparative analysis of some of the Maori and non-Maori polling and media trends apparent in the Maori electorates in the lead up to the election.  It will identify how some of the political issues dominating the Maori electorate contests are interpreted and transmitted through the use of polling and media to the public.  It will explore the methods of electorate engagement employed by both of the Maori political parties, and how polling and media information have been incorporated or challenged through these electorate engagements.

**Janine Hayward (Department of Politics, University of Otago)**
**'We need to talk': The role of citizens' assemblies in future electoral reform in New Zealand**
**Associate Professor**
In recent years, two citizens' assemblies have been held in Canada (in conjunction with referenda) to deliberate on the issue of electoral reform. In this paper, I argue that New Zealand could learn a lot from this model of electoral reform. In particular, deliberation could ensure that Maori (and other visible minorities) who have much at stake in electoral reform, can 'have their say' in the decision-making process. The Canadian experience also highlights key issues to consider in designing a citizens' assembly in the New Zealand context. What, for example, is the 'threshold representation' required in an assembly to ensure that Maori can make substantive contributions to deliberations? And what value does a referendum add to the process of electoral reform following an assembly's recommendations?

**Dominic O'Sullivan (Charles Sturt University)**
***Indigenous Australian health: a case study in ideologically driven policy failure***
Indigenous Australian health status is poor relative to other Australian citizens and to colonised minority indigenous populations in other parts of the world. Political systems, bureaucratic obstacles and a fragmented policy process continue to impede improved health outcomes for indigenous people. Australian liberal democracy is exclusively practiced and Indigenous perspectives not easily admitted into public policy discourse.

This paper offers a theoretical account for Australia's sustained inability to develop effective health policies for indigenous peoples and explores ways in which the policy process might become more inclusive and responsive to indigenous needs and rights.  It gives theoretical context to the limits and opportunities of the Council of Australian Governments' (COAG) 'Closing the Gap' in indigenous disadvantage policy and the Northern Territory Emergency Response ('Intervention'). These two policy examples illuminate the deeply ideological context in which indigenous policy occurs and help to explain sustained policy failure as well as suggesting an alternative philosophical paradigm in indigenous health.

**Guillem Riambau-Armet**
***Maori in New Zealand: Voting with their Feet? How Citizens of Ethnic Maori Descent Use their***
***Right to Register in which Electorate to Vote.***
Maoris in New Zealand have the option to choose every five years whether they want to vote in a General Electorate (with all other citizens) or in a Maori-only Electorate. Under a MMP system like the one in New Zealand, this enrollment choice affects only their electorate vote (not the party vote). This paper gathers Census and enrollment data at a meshblock level (smallest unit) since 1991 to analyze the reasons why Maoris opt for the General or the Maori electoral roll. The goal is to check whether Maoris opt to register where their vote is more likely to be pivotal. That is, Maoris observe how close the elections were in the district they are enrolled and in the one they could have been enrolled. Do they then register in the Roll in which   results were closer? Results suggest that pivotal considerations are an important factor only for the most educated subset of the Maori population. Overall, I find that peer-effects play a key role in enrollment decisions. This suggests that enrollment choices by and large respond to ethnic and cultural allegiances, rather than strategic incentives.

# Pacific Island Politics Panel
## Convenor: Dr Iati Iati
## Friday December 2, 3.30-4.30pm, Room 2.20

**Timothy P. Fadgen, JD (University of Auckland)**
***Constructing the Modern Mental Health System in Samoa: The Role of Indigenous and Foreign Professionals as Change Agents***
The World Health Organization has defined a mental health system as constituting all the activities whose primary purpose is to promote, restore or maintain mental health (WHO, 2005). Mental health systems implicate health professionals, such as doctors and nurses, and legal professionals such as lawyers and judges. The role of international and bilateral relationships has long been considered a central aspect of policy transfer involving developing states See e.g. Dolowitz and Marsh 2000; Finnemore 1993). An element of this research that is in need of exploration is the role of indigenous professionals and their international professional networks in the policy transfer process. Western professions exist within typically well-delineated institutional frameworks. These agents often find themselves at the crossroads of the "best practices" discourse advanced by development partners and the particular cultural construction of mental health and wellness, and the role of the state in its definition and control. The paper will discuss the experiences of professional agency as a critical aspect to the development of indigenous mental health institutions in Samoa as a hybrid of foreign and indigenous constructions of mental health and mental illness.

**Jack Georgieff (Victoria University of Wellington)**
***Private Security in Papua New Guinea: Reconciling Weberian Ideals in a Globalised Reality***
The Weberian ideal of the state holding a monopoly over legitimate violence and security is prominently engrained within international relations theory. Without the state holding this monopoly, other actors fill the open void. In Papua New Guinea (PNG), private security actors are fast filling this void due to a continued failure amongst state actors in providing security to the citizenry and fulfilling that Weberian ideal. This paper will contend that the Weberian ideal of the state cannot be applied to PNG, and a rethink of the application of the "state's" monopoly of legitimate violence and security paradigm is needed. This paper will contend that the burgeoning private security industry in PNG has taken on both transnational and localised characteristics within global security assemblages, developing parallel to the state as a result of the vast mineral wealth being extracted by transnational corporations and the unstable domestic law and order situation respectively. To conclude, this paper will briefly consider what future direction the private security industry will most likely take, continuing to challenge the Weberian ideal in PNG.