



NZPSA

New Zealand Political Studies Association
Te Kāhui Tātai Tōrangapū o Aotearoa

New Zealand Political Studies Association

Online Conference

8 - 10 February, 2022

Auckland University of Technology

NZPSA DAY 1

PLEASE CLICK ON THE TITLE OF THE SESSION YOU WISH TO JOIN.

THIS WILL OPEN YOUR WEB BROWSER AND BRING YOU INTO THE LIVESTREAM OR BREAKOUT SESSION.

TUESDAY 8TH FEBRUARY

10.30-11.00

[Conference Opening](#) [\[CLICK TO JOIN\]](#)

The conference opening includes the announcement of paper prize winners

11.00-11.30

BREAK

11.30-13.00

PAPER SESSION I

[STREAM 1](#)

Employment Relations

[\[CLICK TO JOIN\]](#)

[STREAM 2](#)

Parties and elections

[\[CLICK TO JOIN\]](#)

[STREAM 3](#)

Crisis, Democracy
and Security in
Aotearoa NZ

[\[CLICK TO JOIN\]](#)

[STREAM 4](#)

Advocacy and activism

[\[CLICK TO JOIN\]](#)

13.00-13.30

BREAK

13.30-15.00

[Plenary panel on leadership and governance in times of crisis:](#)

Professor Geoffrey Craig chair with:

Rt. Hon. Helen Clark; Councillor Fa'anana Efeso Collins; Professor Jennifer Curtin

[\[CLICK TO JOIN\]](#)

15.00-15.20

BREAK

15.20-17.00

[Keynote Speaker: Professor Dominic O'Sullivan](#)

Chair: Jack Vowles

[\[CLICK TO JOIN\]](#)

NZPSA DAY 2

PLEASE CLICK ON THE TITLE OF THE SESSION YOU WISH TO JOIN.

THIS WILL OPEN YOUR WEB BROWSER AND BRING YOU INTO THE LIVESTREAM OR BREAKOUT SESSION.

WEDNESDAY 9TH FEBRUARY

09.00-10.30

PAPER SESSION II

STREAM 1

Employment Relations

[\[CLICK TO JOIN\]](#)

STREAM 2

Local government

[\[CLICK TO JOIN\]](#)

STREAM 3

New Zealand politics

[\[CLICK TO JOIN\]](#)

STREAM 4

Covid-19 crisis – origins & opportunity

[\[CLICK TO JOIN\]](#)

STREAM 5

Comparative politics

[\[CLICK TO JOIN\]](#)

10.30-10.50

BREAK

10.50-12.20

Plenary panel on the crisis in academia:

Richard Shaw chair with:

Lara Greaves, Sandra Grey, Luke Oldfield, Sereana Naepi [\[CLICK TO JOIN\]](#)

12.20-13.00

BREAK

13.00-14.30

PAPER SESSION III [\[ADD ZOOM LINKS\]](#)

STREAM 1

Environmental politics

[\[CLICK TO JOIN\]](#)

STREAM 2

New Zealand politics

[\[CLICK TO JOIN\]](#)

STREAM 3

Foreign Affairs and trade balancing acts

[\[CLICK TO JOIN\]](#)

STREAM 4

Immigration

[\[CLICK TO JOIN\]](#)

STREAM 5

Political Communication

[\[CLICK TO JOIN\]](#)

14.30-14.50

BREAK

14.50-16.20

PAPER SESSION IV

STREAM 1

Employment Relations

[\[CLICK TO JOIN\]](#)

STREAM 2

Local government

[\[CLICK TO JOIN\]](#)

STREAM 3

Ako: Teaching and Learning panel

[\[CLICK TO JOIN\]](#)

16.20-16.30

BREAK

16.30-17.30

AGM NZPSA [\[CLICK TO JOIN\]](#)

NZPSA DAY 3

PLEASE CLICK ON THE TITLE OF THE SESSION YOU WISH TO JOIN.

THIS WILL OPEN YOUR WEB BROWSER AND BRING YOU INTO THE LIVESTREAM OR BREAKOUT SESSION.

THURSDAY 10TH FEBRUARY

08.30-09.30

[Women Talking Politics launch and Women's Caucus Meeting](#) [\[CLICK TO JOIN\]](#)

Women Talking Politics is a network promoting communication among cis women, trans women and non-binary persons working on political issues, their research and events across Aotearoa New Zealand. Join us for the launch of the latest WTP publication, a mini journal produced by the New Zealand Political Studies Association to promote the work of women (-identified and non-binary) political scientists in New Zealand. No need to register, just turn up!

09.30-09.50

BREAK

09.50-11.20

PAPER SESSION V

[STREAM 1](#)

New Zealand Politics

[\[CLICK TO JOIN\]](#)

[STREAM 2](#)

War, weapons and human casualty

[\[CLICK TO JOIN\]](#)

[STREAM 3](#)

Political Communication

[\[CLICK TO JOIN\]](#)

[STREAM 4](#)

Environmental politics

[\[CLICK TO JOIN\]](#)

11.20-11.40

BREAK

11.40-13.10

PAPER SESSION VI

[STREAM 1](#)

New Zealand Politics

[\[CLICK TO JOIN\]](#)

[STREAM 2](#)

Political communication

[\[CLICK TO JOIN\]](#)

[STREAM 3](#)

Human rights, law and justice

[\[CLICK TO JOIN\]](#)

[STREAM 4](#)

Political theory

[\[CLICK TO JOIN\]](#)

13.00-14.00

BREAK

14.00-15.30

[Public Talk: The Crisis of Racialized Knowledge and Power](#)

[Distinguished Professor Steve Ratuva](#) [\[CLICK TO JOIN\]](#)

Chair: Associate Professor Ella Henry

DAY 1

PAPER SESSION DETAILS

TUESDAY, 8 FEBRUARY

PAPERS SESSION I (90 MINS) – 11:30AM-1:00PM

Stream	Theme/Sub-discipline	Chair	Speakers/Talk titles
1	Employment Relations: COVID-19	Julienne Molineaux	Bernard Walker (Canterbury U): The changing landscape of NZ employment relations under the COVID-19 pandemic
			David Williamson (AUT): Crisis or opportunity? The COVID-19 pandemic disruption of the hospitality sector and the prospect of overcoming embedded employment issues
			Mark Bray (Newcastle University): Why is cooperation so difficult in Australasian employment relations?
2	Parties and elections	Grant Duncan	Charles Crothers (AUT): The decline of class voting in NZ?
			Grant Duncan (Massey U), Rob Manwaring and Charlie Lees (Flinders U) : Labour compared in the UK, Australia and NZ: Understanding political change under Albanese, Starmer and Ardern
			Orson Tan (Canterbury U): Voting in a crisis: The 2020 general elections in NZ and Singapore
			Edward Elder and Jennifer Lees-Marshment (UofA): Political marketing in a crisis: Lessons from 2020 and predictions from the future
3	Crisis, Democracy and Security in Aotearoa New Zealand	Damien Rogers	Nick Nelson (Massey U): Social media and the politics of crisis
			Damien Rogers (Massey U): NZ Parliamentarians and the politics of democratic security
			Richard Jackson (Otago U): Democracy and security through disarmament and social defence
			Lydia Le Gros (Otago U): 'How to keep the terrorists out' – The politics and language of NZ's counter-terrorism discourse
4	Advocacy and activism	Kate Nicholls	Nina Hall (John Hopkins U): Transnational advocacy in the digital era, think global, act local
			Maria Armoudian (UofA): From civil rights to human rights: How a small group of American civil rights lawyers began and nearly created another right revolution
			Claire Timperley (VUW) Emily Beausoleil (VUW): Wicked problems and civic action in Aotearoa
			Andrew Lim (UofA): Political marketing and advocacy: How Zionist and Palestinian solidarity groups in NZ and Australia can use political marketing to support their advocacy work.

DAY 2

PAPER SESSION DETAILS

WEDNESDAY, 9 FEBRUARY

PAPERS SESSION II (90 MINS) – 9:00-10:30AM

Stream	Theme/Sub-discipline	Chair	Speakers/Talk titles
1	Employment Relations	Kate Nicholls	Damian Treanor (AUT): Nudging politically contentious decisions: How nudge theory has impacted union membership
			Lamm, Anderson, Rasmussen (AUT): The unfilled role of regulation, monitoring and enforcement in protecting New Zealand's migrant workforce
			Stephen Blumenfeld (VUW): The arguments, promises, and potential pitfalls of Fair Pay Agreements
2	Local government	Julienne Molineaux	Charles Crothers (AUT), Mike Reid (LGNZ): Local authority politics: Knowledge needs and a stocktake of supply
			Shirin Brown (AUT): Political astuteness and the secrets of success in local boards in Auckland
			Sean Mahoney (GWRC): The central govt-local govt relationship "crisis" – work without hope?
			Juhn Chris P. Espia (Canterbury U): Under pressure: National-Local government relations and the covid-19 responses in the Philippines and Indonesia.
3	New Zealand politics: Chinese New Zealanders and NZ politics		Luna Zhao (UofA): Sloppy targeting of Chinese voters in the 2020 NZ election
			Leah Yu Du (UofA): Chinese New Zealanders' Online Political Participation: A Contribution to Developing and Maintaining Social Order and Stability
4	Covid-19 crisis – origins and opportunity	David Hall	Brian Roper (Otago U): The political economy of the covid-19 pandemic: Origins, spread economic impact, policy responses
			Tracey Nicholls (Massey U): COVID-19: A crisis of structural justice
			Nina Ives, David Hall: Through a climate change lens: Aotearoa New Zealand's COVID-19 response
			Manqing Cheng (UofA): The politics of global health crisis: State dependence of Western Populism and public policymaking
5	Comparative politics	Peter Skilling	Elle Dibrova (Otago U): You don't belong here: The othering of LGBT+ people as part of a hegemonic national identity in contemporary Russia
			Nashie Shamoon (VUW): Shadows of the past: The role of persecution within the self-identification of young Assyrians in NZ & Australia
			Hizkia Respatiadi (Otago U): Treating food importation as a crisis: The preference formation of food self-sufficiency in Indonesia
			Ethelyn Ankiambom Chia, Kalika Kastein (Otago U): Emotional impact of social media and disinformation in the context of crisis in Cameroon

DAY 2

PAPER SESSION DETAILS

WEDNESDAY, 9 FEBRUARY

PAPERS SESSION III (90 MINS) – 1:00-2:30PM

Stream	Theme/Sub-discipline	Chair	Speakers/Talk titles
1	Environmental politics	Nina Ives	David Hall, Melody Meng: Unlikely allies? Financial actors as climate policy intermediaries
			Shannon Hodge: Halt – is the vision of electric vehicles obstructing the reality of transitioning to a low carbon society?
			Pii-Tuulia Nikula: Decarbonising Aotearoa – Insights from climate proactive firms
2	New Zealand politics: Democracy – problems and solutions	Julienne Molineaux	Julia Büdler (UofA): Political elites on democratic innovation: What politicians, policymakers and political advisors think about deliberative public engagement
			Matheson Russell, Tatjana Buklijas (UofA): Democratic reform in NZ local government: Innovations abroad and their potential uses in Aotearoa NZ
			James Gluck (VUW): New Zealand’s ‘crisis of corruption’? Two case studies of recent trading in influence scandals
3	Foreign Affairs and trade balancing acts	Damien Rogers	Kate Hellings & Alice Taylor (Otago U): New Zealand’s three China policy
			Serena Kelly (Canterbury U): Power dynamics and the EU-NZ FTA
			Phuong H. Vu (Otago U): Authoritarian audience costs and signaling resolve: Protests and Vietnam’s calculus in disputes with China
			Maria Armoudian and Katherine Smits (U of Auckland): How Soon we Forget: Memory entrepreneurs, modern public diplomacy and the remaking of memory in New Zealand
4	Immigration	Peter Skilling	Tim Fadgen (UofA): Deportation and policy transfer: The policy and practice of exclusion in Aotearoa New Zealand
			Fiona Barker and Kate McMillan (VUW): Who belongs on the “team of 5 million”?
5	Political Communication: Responding to global challenges	Olli Helmann	Andrew Lim (UofA): COVID-19 and health-oriented party advertisements during the 2020 New Zealand general election
			Valerie Cooper (VUW), Simon Mark (Massey U): Mapping New Zealand’s public diplomacy initiatives: instruments and content
			Natalia Chaban (Canterbury U): Theorising images and narratives in international relations: Communicating the EU as a human rights international actor

DAY 2

PAPER SESSION DETAILS

WEDNESDAY, 9 FEBRUARY

PAPERS SESSION IV (90 MINS) – 2:50-4:20PM

Stream	Theme/Sub-discipline	Chair	Speakers/Talk titles
1	Employment Relations: Policy change, monitoring and enforcement	Kate Nicholls	David Peetz (Griffith U): Where do new bargaining regimes sit with modern conceptions of policy and power?
			Gemma Piercy-Cameron (Waikato U) and Erling Rasmussen (AUT): Vocational education and training reforms before, under and beyond the COVID-19 pandemic
			Danaë Anderson (AUT): Transformational employment relations in New Zealand?
2	Local government: Future directions for local govern- ment in New Zealand	Segfrey Gonzales	Jean Drage (Lincoln): Another 'revolutionary refit'? The ongoing debate, the continuing political struggle
			Mike Reid (LGNZ): Never waste a good crisis: What the crises in water and resource management systems means for the future of local democracy
			Jeff McNeill (Massey): Reviewing the future for local government in New Zealand
3	Ako: Teaching and Learning panel	Claire Timperley	Emily Beausoleil (Te Herenga Waka-Victoria University of Wellington); Lara Greaves (University of Auckland); Olli Hellmann (Waikato); Ella Morgan (University of Auckland); Tracey Nicholls (Massey University); Luke Oldfield (University of Auckland); Claire Timperley (Te Herenga Waka-VUW), Chair.

DAY 3

PAPER SESSION DETAILS

THURSDAY, 10 FEBRUARY

PAPERS SESSION V (90 MINS) – 9:50-11:20AM

Stream	Theme/Sub-discipline	Chair	Speakers/Talk titles
1	New Zealand Politics: Findings from New Zealand Election Study 2020	Lara Greaves and Luke Oldfield	Lara Greaves, Luke Oldfield, Jack Vowles (VUW): How do we run an Election Study?
			Professor Jennifer Curtin (p), V.K.G. Woodman and Lara M. Greaves, (UofA): Gendering leadership and policy during COVID19: Jacinda Ardern and the women's vote
			Jack Vowles and Sam Bigwood (VUW): Capitalising on the crisis?
2	War, weapons and human casualty	Jeremy Moses	Tom Gregory (UofA): Visualising civilian casualties
			Jeremy Moses and Geoff Ford (Canterbury U): Money and expertise in the US military-Industrial complex – The case of CNAs and LAWS
			Sian Troth And Geoff Ford (Canterbury U): The lethal autonomous weapons debate in Australia
			Moses, Ford and Troth: New Zealand and the lethal autonomous weapons debate
3	Political Communication	Natalia Chaban	Justin Phillips (Waikato U): Aotearoa print media and tangata whenua: A 'big' data perspective
			Mona Krewel (VUW), Julius Lagodny (Cornell): The effects of fact-checking: how fake news coverage can influence political campaigning in small media markets
			Professor Geoffrey Craig (AUT): Evaluating Critique across the 'Institutions of Critique': Politics, Journalism and the Academy
4	Environmental politics	Peter Skilling	Cathrine Dyer: The rhetoric behind strategic policy underreactions in Aotearoa New Zealand's climate change response
			Olli Hellmann, University of Waikato, Collective memory of environmental change and environmentalist identity: Survey evidence from Aotearoa New Zealand.
			Dominic Pink: Dissensus on the ecological crisis
			Jacqui Dickson: The window is rapidly closing: Analysing the effectiveness of the "time-critical necessary actions" and "necessary actions" identified in the Climate Change Commission's 2021 draft advice for consultation report

DAY 3

PAPER SESSION DETAILS

THURSDAY, 10 FEBRUARY

PAPERS SESSION VI (90 MINS) – 11:40AM-1:10PM

Stream	Theme/Sub-discipline	Chair	Speakers/Talk titles
1	New Zealand Politics: Findings from New Zealand Election Study 2020; the Ethnic Women in New Zealand Politics research project	Lara Greaves and Luke Oldfield	Lara M. Greaves (p), University of Auckland, Ella Morgan, University of Auckland and Janine Hayward, Otago University: The Māori Party's return to Parliament
			Sam Crawley (VUW): What happened to climate change in Election 2020?
			Rachel Simon-Kumar (UofA), Priya Kurian (Waikato), Hye Ji (Erica) Lee (UofA): In the intersection of race, gender and politics: Profiling New Zealand's ethnic women politicians
2	Political communication: Image and images	Justin Philipps	Anne-Mette Sundahl (VUW): Personality cult or a mere matter of popularity?
			Edward Elder (UofA): Communicating leadership during the covid-19 pandemic
			Olli Hellmann (Waikato): Visual narratives of environmental change: Memory and identity at New Zealand heritage sites
3	Human rights, law and justice	Tim Fadgen	Maria Armoudian (UofA): Barriers to social justice for survivors of egregious HR violations: political intersections and solutions
			J. T. S. (Thumira) Gunasena (UofA): Holistic approaches towards the application of transitional justice in Sri Lanka: Prospects and challenges (2009-2015)
			Erkan Eroglu (UofA): Living in limbo: Syrian refugees in Turkey during the resilience-era of international humanitarian aid
4	Political theory	Kate Nicholls	Xavier Marquez (VUW): Ancient tyranny and modern dictatorship: The changing face of political pathology
			Berkay Koçak (Waikato): Politics of Kant's universalism: The ideological context of freedom, equality, property and state in the Prussian enlightenment

ABSTRACTS

ABSTRACTS, IN ORDER OF DAY AND STREAM

Day and stream:

Tuesday 8th, 11:30am-1:00pm

Stream 1

Authors/presenters

Bernard Walker, University of Canterbury

Title

The changing landscape of NZ employment relations under the Covid-19 pandemic.

Abstract

During 2020, Aoteroa New Zealand received international recognition for the way it protected the health of its population, with short intense lockdowns and extensive government subsidies. Although the Prime Minister referred to a “team of five million”, the effects of the pandemic were not evenly distributed, exposing divisions within the NZ labour market. International border closures highlighted the dependence of many regions and occupational sectors on tourism. The nation’s reliance on the foreign ‘working poor’ in hospitality, fishing, construction, horticulture, agriculture and aged care manifested as skill shortages. ‘Essential workers’ also gained prominence as a vital, but underpaid part of the workforce. The digital divide grew, with increased acceptance of working from home, as knowledge workers and digitally-equipped households experienced the pandemic in very different ways from manual and service-sector workers.

Although unemployment figures remained low, significant shifts occurred, with some workers being displaced into training programmes and lower paid alternative work. Government support measures became a point of debate, with some viewed as a transfer of wealth to an elite minority, while other ethically motivated businesses repaid their subsidies. At the outset, the government indicated that its pandemic response was not aimed at addressing the core foundations of the existing economic model. As the pandemic progressed into 2021 though, significant new policy directions emerged. The question becomes whether the pandemic has acted as a catalyst for significant reforms of work and employment, or whether it has exacerbated existing inequalities.

ABSTRACTS

ABSTRACTS, IN ORDER OF DAY AND STREAM

Day and stream: Tuesday 8 th , 11:30am-1:00pm Stream 1
Authors/presenters David Williamson, Auckland University of Technology
Title Crisis or opportunity? The Covid-19 pandemic disruption of the hospitality sector and the
Abstract hospitality sector in 2019 employed just over 140,000 workers and pre-Covid was one of the fastest growing sectors in New Zealand. However, longstanding employment relations issues have plagued the industry, including low pay, higher than average rates of casualisation and harassment, and high voluntary labour turnover rates. Currently, New Zealand is experiencing a severe skills shortage in hospitality organisations. Thus, media attention has turned to these skill shortages and the low pay and poor conditions characterising the industry. This has prompted a public debate on what is required to build a <i>sustainable hospitality industry post-Covid</i> . Although there is strong anecdotal information about the employment situation of those who work in hospitality jobs, there is very little empirical evidence about the working and employment practices governing hospitality workplaces. This paper will briefly overview the historical employment relations context of the New Zealand hospitality sector. Then, it will present early findings from a survey into the working conditions of 400 New Zealand hospitality workers and discuss the implications of the current 'crisis' and opportunities for a re-appraisal of long-term employment issues in the New Zealand hospitality sector.

ABSTRACTS

ABSTRACTS, IN ORDER OF DAY AND STREAM

Day and stream: Tuesday 8 th , 11:30am-1:00pm Stream 1
Authors/presenters Mark Bray, University of Newcastle
Title Why is cooperation so difficult in Australasian employment relations?
Abstract <p>Cooperation in employment relations is relatively rare across the English-speaking or Anglo-American countries, especially what we call 'collaborative pluralist' versions of cooperation. This paper focuses on two of these countries (namely, Australia and New Zealand) and seeks to explore why cooperation is so difficult. While we draw on extensive empirical data of particular forms of cooperation in Australia, we assert the explanation we develop has broader implications both theoretically, in terms of at least raising explanatory worthy of testing beyond our specific data, and prescriptively, especially for New Zealand, where reform is currently being considered and institutional arrangements in employment relations are potentially plastic.</p> <p>The paper begins with definitional issues, not only because cooperation is a complex concept, but also because it helps to understand the empirical and theoretical limitations (and broader potential) of our argument. The following section demonstrates, through an admittedly selective review of the literature and by reference to some original empirical data, that cooperation is indeed rare in Australia and New Zealand, and countries like them. The biggest section of the paper develops our main argument, which focuses on a combination of factors – both contextual and agency – that explain the challenges that need to be overcome in order to achieve cooperation in employment relations. The final section draws together the argument and considers potential implications, especially for those hoping to encourage greater cooperation in New Zealand.</p>

ABSTRACTS

ABSTRACTS, IN ORDER OF DAY AND STREAM

Day and stream: Tuesday 8 th , 11:30am-1:00pm Stream 2
Authors/presenters Charles Crothers, Auckland University of Technology
Title The decline of class voting in New Zealand?
Abstract Jack Vowles maintains (using Alford index) that class voting has steadily fallen to negligible levels. However, this is rather a blunt measure and the complexities of linkages need more exploration. To investigate the class voting link the parties have to be usefully aligned along a left-right axis – partly as portrayed by the parties themselves and partly in terms of their reputations by voters. In particular, the notion of class needs to be carefully conceptualised as there are several dimensions involved and more sophisticated notions need to be explored: e.g. the difference between ‘Marxian’ and ‘Weberian’ schema and the possible roles of property ownership, employment status and subjective social class, together with the possibly divergent effects of income (economic position) and education (skills, capacities) on economic and ‘cultural/ moral’ issue voting. These issues will be explored using NZES cross-sectional and trend data.

ABSTRACTS

ABSTRACTS, IN ORDER OF DAY AND STREAM

Day and stream: Tuesday 8 th , 11:30am-1:00pm Stream 2
Authors/presenters Grant Duncan, Massey University, Rob Manwaring, Flinders University and Charlie Lees,
Title Labour Compared in the UK, Australia and New Zealand: Understanding political change under Anthony Albanese, Keir Starmer and Jacinda Ardern
Abstract There are ongoing debates about the future direction and 'identity crisis' of centre-left political parties. This paper sets out to understand and compare the three sister labour parties in the UK, Australia and New Zealand. To date, there is minimal comparative research which examines the extent of convergence or divergence between these centre-left parties. In New Zealand, Jacinda Ardern's government has been in office since 2017, and secured majority government in 2020. After significant electoral defeats in 2019, both Australian and UK Labour changed leaders, with Anthony Albanese and Keir Starmer assuming the leadership of their respective parties. This paper explores the extent to which the new party leaders have carved out a distinctive policy agenda, and examines the extent to which there is convergence between the three parties. The paper takes a synthetic or hybrid research strategy and focuses on three key dimensions to understanding policy change, namely: exploring the leadership style and constraints facing the three leaders; and examining policy developments in two key areas: taxation and government spending, and approaches to the welfare state. All three cases present an ideal opportunity to better understand the character of modern labour politics.

ABSTRACTS

ABSTRACTS, IN ORDER OF DAY AND STREAM

Day and stream: Tuesday 8 th , 11:30am-1:00pm Stream 2
Authors/presenters Orson Tan, University of Canterbury
Title Voting in a Crisis: The 2020 general elections in New Zealand and Singapore
Abstract Amid the global pandemic brought about by COVID-19, both New Zealand and Singapore conducted their respective general elections. International coverage of these elections was significant, given that most of the world was still in some form of lockdown to deal with the rapidly spreading virus. Even though the incumbent governments in both countries had received significant international praise for their handling of the crisis, the results of the elections could not be any more different. Jacinda Ardern and the Labour party swept to an unprecedented parliamentary majority, the first since New Zealand adopted the mixed member proportional (MMP) system. Lee Hsien Loong and the People's Action Party on the other hand, saw a significant drop in their long-held majority, losing the most seats to the opposition Worker's Party (10 in total) and the second lowest vote-share ever. This study would like to examine the reasons for the discrepancy in the performance between these two political parties, given that their exemplary handling of the crisis should have provided them with a boost in voter confidence, as seen in the case of New Zealand.

ABSTRACTS

ABSTRACTS, IN ORDER OF DAY AND STREAM

Day and stream:

Tuesday 8th, 11:30am-1:00pm

Authors/presenters

Dr Edward Elder, University of Auckland and Dr Jennifer Lees-Marshment, University of Auckland

Title

Political Marketing in a Crisis: Lessons from 2020 and predictions for the future

Abstract

This paper will discuss how political marketing in a crisis and prospects for New Zealand politics, inviting discussion about the impact of crisis on governing and campaigning. It builds on newly published research in *Political Marketing and Management in the 2020 New Zealand General Election* to create a lively discussion looking to the future. There will be three parts to this:

The perspectives of market research practitioners on political marketing in a crisis will discuss the impact of the COVID-19 crisis on public opinion, strategy, positioning and branding. It will draw on contributions by practitioners David Talbot (pollster for Labour) and David Farrar (pollster for National) who contributed to a book, or they may contribute to the panel directly via zoom if possible and permitted by the conference organisers.

Lessons from research on political marketing and crisis will explore how COVID-19 impacted Labour and National in the 2020 New Zealand General Election, but also perspectives from political marketing in other countries. It will highlight how crisis disrupts understanding of public opinion, requires a very adaptive strategy, and can favour the incumbent by giving them more air time and camouflaging deficiencies in government performance in other areas, making it harder for opposition parties to put new policies on the agenda.

ABSTRACTS

ABSTRACTS, IN ORDER OF DAY AND STREAM

Day and stream:

Tuesday 8th, 11:30am-1:00pm

Authors/presenters

Nick Nelson, Massey University

Title

Social Media and the Politics of Crisis

Abstract

The centrality of information and communicative processes in persuading people has, historically, made the media one of the key networks of power and influence in society. The rapid expansion of social media platforms in cyberspace has, however, enabled a revolutionary change in how this power is wielded and how persuasion occurs. On the one hand social media has been celebrated as providing a new public-commons where democracy can flourish. However, these platforms have also given rise to a much darker scenario, one where a variety of actors can generate information, misinformation, and disinformation to effect persuasion and create crises that impact on economic, social, political and security issues at a local, national and even global level. Given the potential implications of this, understanding how persuasion occurs in the social media environment is essential. This paper will explore the defining characteristics of the contemporary social media environment explaining how these characteristics can be (mis)used to persuade audiences and create security crises. It will then offer some proposed suggestions to address the threat that social media presents.

ABSTRACTS

ABSTRACTS, IN ORDER OF DAY AND STREAM

Day and stream:

Tuesday 8th, 11:30am-1:00pm

Authors/presenters

Damien Rogers, Massey University

Title

New Zealand Parliamentarians and the Politics of Democratic Security

Abstract

As elected representatives of the public, New Zealand parliamentarians play several roles enabling, but also limiting, intelligence work during emergencies. Firstly, parliamentarians consider public submissions and pass law, such as the Intelligence and Security Act 2017, that authorize the New Zealand Security Intelligence Service and the Government Communications Security Bureau to collect information and undertake surveillance, among other things. Secondly, parliamentarians holding the appropriate ministerial warrant help govern the development and performance of these agencies, which may include establishing reviews or inquiries, while others are invited to form the Intelligence and Security Committee chaired by the Prime Minister. Thirdly, parliamentarians may make statements on intelligence matters in the House of Representatives and any parliamentarian, including those who belong to the opposition, may ask questions of the Minister of National Security and Intelligence or the Minister(s) of NZSIS and GCSB during question time. Fourthly, parliamentarians may make speeches in public, along with other statements to political reporters. This paper assesses the extent to which these lawmaking, governance, accountability and rhetorical roles contribute to the genuine well-being of New Zealanders and questions whether the practices of these parliamentarians are consistent with the key principles underpinning democratic security in times of crisis.

ABSTRACTS

ABSTRACTS, IN ORDER OF DAY AND STREAM

Day and stream:

Tuesday 8th, 11:30am-1:00pm

Authors/presenters

Richard Jackson, University of Otago

Title

Democracy and Security through Disarmament and Social Defence

Abstract

It is considered no more than commonsense that the maintenance of New Zealand's national security and the meeting of its international obligations requires a functioning, adequately resourced military. This paper challenges this proposition, arguing that the military is poorly positioned and equipped to deal with contemporary security threats and the promotion of human security and wellbeing, and in fact, the use of the military in recent years has arguably contributed to global and national insecurity. At the same time, it can be reasonably argued that the nation's security needs and obligations could be achieved through alternative measures such as a social defence programme and unarmed civilian peacekeeping forces. The paper also argues that dismantling New Zealand's military capabilities is currently both practical and realistic, and there are several bodies of research which could guide policymakers in the undertaking of such a major reform. Dismantling the military would also produce a range of significant social, economic and political benefits, including resources for the improvement of social wellbeing and increased levels of democratic participation and citizen engagement in foreign and security policy issues. The potential increases in security, wellbeing, democracy and peace, along with the existence of realistic alternatives to military forces, make dismantling the military a proposition worth seriously considering.

ABSTRACTS

ABSTRACTS, IN ORDER OF DAY AND STREAM

Day and stream: Tuesday 8 th , 11:30am-1:00pm
Authors/presenters Lydia Le Gros, University of Otago
Title 'How to keep the terrorists out': the politics and language of New Zealand's counter-terrorism discourse.
Abstract <p>On 15 March, 2019, a lone gunman fired indiscriminately at congregants as they gathered for prayer at the Linwood Islamic Centre and Al Noor Mosque in Christchurch. This tragic event was labelled by the media as New Zealand's 'loss of innocence'; in a parliament sitting four days later, Members of Parliament described the attack as 'foreign' and 'imported'. However, prior to the Christchurch terrorist attacks, there had been many incidents in New Zealand's history that fall under the legal definition of terrorism. This begs the question, why are only some acts of violence seen as acts of terror? Further, what explains the selective use of the terrorism label by the New Zealand government?</p> <p>In order to answer this question, my research looks at terrorism from the perspective of Critical Terrorism Studies, which looks beyond the legal definition of terrorism to instead see the terrorism label as an act of securitization. To understand the New Zealand government's logic in applying this label, my research will first uncover New Zealand's official counter-terrorism discourse; how the government officially recognises and understands terrorism. I do this by using Critical Discourse Analysis to identify the social discourses, dynamics and narratives underlying the governments understanding of terrorism, as found in official interviews, parliamentary debates, policy papers and legislation. This investigation reveals that New Zealand's terrorism discourses constructs threats in such a way that places identity and ideology at the fore when identifying terrorism, thereby securitizing 'cultural outsiders' while normalising the violence of 'cultural insiders'. My research will also consider the colonial logic and roots of New Zealand terrorism discourse, as well as its wider social repercussions.</p> <p>This research is being completed as part of my Master of Arts in Peace and Conflict Studies, at the National Centre for Peace and Conflict Studies, University of Otago.</p>

ABSTRACTS

ABSTRACTS, IN ORDER OF DAY AND STREAM

Day and stream:
Tuesday 8 th , 11:30am-1:00pm
Authors/presenters
Nina Hall, Assistant Professor in International Relations, Johns Hopkins University, SAIS
Title
Transnational Advocacy in the Digital Era, Think Global, Act Local (forthcoming book with Oxford University Press, 2022)
Abstract
Digital advocacy organizations are a major new addition to the international arena. These organizations derive power from their ability to rapidly mobilize members on-line and off-line, and are shaping public opinion on many issues including climate change, trade, and refugees. Research in international relations (IR) has highlighted the influence of non-governmental organizations, which wield power through their expertise and long-term, moral commitment to a single issue. However, no IR scholars have explored the spread and power of digital advocacy organizations. This book provides a detailed investigation of how these organizations have harnessed digitally networked power and established new advocacy strategies. They can quickly respond to the most salient issues of the day, and mobilize large memberships, to put pressure on politicians. These organizations operate in a globalized world but tackle transnational problems by focusing on national targets. This new generation of activists have formed a strong transnational network, but still see the state as the locus of power.

ABSTRACTS

ABSTRACTS, IN ORDER OF DAY AND STREAM

Day and stream:

Tuesday 8th, 11:30am-1:00pm

Authors/presenters

Maria Armoudian, University of Auckland

Title

From Civil Rights to Human Rights: How a small group of American civil rights lawyers began and nearly created another rights revolution

Abstract

This political history examines 40 years of inter-branch and civil society construction toward redressing egregious violations of international human rights through US law, courts, and Congress. Using interviews, document analysis, and previous scholarship, the paper begins with how advocates in civil society advanced an improbable pathway to justice in US federal courts for foreigner survivors of torture, genocide and other egregious violations in foreign lands by foreign persons. It turns to Congress, which debated the ideas and counter-ideas and created new law with hopes of expanding redress globally. Then it returns to the courts and civil society where advocates modified the ideas to develop NGOs and cases that expanded the precedent's reach. However, counter-ideas, which initially lost ground to the human rights ideas, gradually overtook them. This paper sheds light into four phenomena: the power and limitations of aspirational and practical ideas in constructing new pathways to justice; the role of creative advocacy to adjust, refit, and amalgamate ideas, laws and facts to advance redress; the inter-branch interactions with these ideas; and the flow of ideas between civil society and branches of government.

ABSTRACTS

ABSTRACTS, IN ORDER OF DAY AND STREAM

Day and stream: Tuesday 8 th , 11:30am-1:00pm
Authors/presenters Claire Timperley (p) and Emily Beausoleil Te Herenga Waka—Victoria University of Wellington
Title Wicked Problems and Civic Action in Aotearoa
Abstract This paper offers a novel account of civic engagement, one that identifies the ways that forms of civic action respond to broader structures. Emerging literature on structures and social movements indicate that a key challenge for civic action is individuals' sense of powerlessness in the face of endemic and complex problems such as climate change, settler-colonialism, and socioeconomic inequality. We argue that understanding how these problems are constructed and maintained is itself a crucial step in determining possible sites of intervention. For example, tracing the connection between individual consumer choices and an island of plastic the size of Texas floating in the Pacific Ocean draws attention to how relatively minor actions by everyday citizens accumulate to produce large-scale effects. While the magnitude of these problems might seem like more cause for despair, we show how better understanding of such complex problems catalyses transformative action. We draw on examples of people who have worked in various ways to address climate change, from plastic-free campaigns to cup-sharing schemes to advocating for passage of the Zero Carbon bill in 2019. While each individual action alone may not solve the problem, together they show that existing structures are not inevitable or fixed – these structures are alterable exactly <i>because</i> they are made up of many different people, sites and practices that create opportunity for dynamic interactions.

ABSTRACTS

ABSTRACTS, IN ORDER OF DAY AND STREAM

Day and stream:

Tuesday 8th, 11:30am-1:00pm

Stream 4

Authors/presenters

Andrew Lim, University of Auckland

Title

Political marketing and advocacy: how Zionist and Palestinian solidarity groups in New Zealand and Australia can use political marketing to support their advocacy work

Abstract

The politics of crisis has led to the increase use of political marketing by various state actors and other entities for public relations and image management purposes. The Israel-Palestine conflict has led to a battle for public opinion between Israel, the Palestinians, and global networks of activists and advocacy groups. Both sides seek to cast themselves as the victim and the other side as the aggressor.

Using Lees-Marshment's "product, sales and market"-oriented framework, this paper examines the strategies and tactics underpinning the platforms, communications output, advocacy work, and public activities of four pro-Israel and pro-Palestinian advocacy groups in New Zealand and Australia. Drawing upon the research's PhD thesis, this paper considers which three marketing orientations work best for advocacy groups working on cause issues such as Israel and Palestine advocacy. It also explores how groups can pitch and sell their messages and arguments to the general public, media, governments, and civil society.

ABSTRACTS

ABSTRACTS, IN ORDER OF DAY AND STREAM

Day and stream:
Authors/presenters
Professor Dominic O’Sullivan, Charles Sturt university; Auckland University of Technology
Title
The Crisis of Policy Failure or the Moral Crisis of an Idea: Colonial politics in contemporary Australia and New Zealand
Abstract
<p>For the analysis of indigenous public policy, crisis is best seen as the moral crisis of an enduring idea, rather than the crisis of sporadic and unconnected instances of policy failure. In Australia and New Zealand, for example, state manufactured crises of indigenous peoples’ personal deficiencies are used to justify colonial authority and are countered by the indigenous positioning of colonialism itself as the point of crisis. This means that the resolution of crisis in indigenous public policy is not resolved by the state becoming better at policy making or more attentive to the egalitarian distribution of public resources. Instead, it is in the non-colonial possibilities of indigenous self-determination that paths beyond crisis may lie. In practical terms, spaces of independent indigenous authority alongside spaces of distinctive culturally framed participation in the public life of the state contest colonialism as a normative order that presumes and requires policy failure. The potential for such arrangements in Australia, are discussed with reference to a proposed First Nations’ Voice to Parliament and possible treaties between First Nations and the state. For New Zealand, their potential is discussed with reference to the Treaty of Waitangi’s affirmation of independent Maori authority (rangatiratanga) and substantive state citizenship.</p>

ABSTRACTS

ABSTRACTS, IN ORDER OF DAY AND STREAM

Day and stream:

Wednesday 9th, 9:00-10:30am

Authors/presenters

Damian Treanor, Auckland University of Technology

Title

Nudging politically contentious decisions: How nudge theory has impacted union membership decisions, and how nudges could be applied to achieve policy objectives

Abstract

The 2018 ERA Amendment Act introduced a soft regulatory process whereby new employee details may be passed on to the union by default. While not a nudge by design, it is analogous to a soft regulatory default nudge of as stipulated by Thaler & Sunstein's (2008) nudge theory. This theory advocates the structuring of decision frameworks to promote one option over another without restraining free choice. The 2018 Act's new process presents an opportunity to investigate how nudge theory works in employment relations decisions, and how it could be utilised to promote union membership.

Utilising a mixed-method, multiple industry case study research, preliminary findings indicate that nudge theory has real potential as a public policy tool to reinvigorate union membership. This paper presents preliminary findings from my PhD research, including employee responses to this union supportive nudge, the opportunities it presents to union recruitment but also the potential negative reactance to the nudge. It will also present findings of the outcomes of this policy in respect of employers, union and workplace relations, and what could be learnt for future applications of nudge theory in employment relations policy.

ABSTRACTS

ABSTRACTS, IN ORDER OF DAY AND STREAM

Day and stream: Wednesday 9 th , 9:00-10:30am
Authors/presenters Lamm (p), Danaë Anderson and Erling Rasmussen Auckland University of Technology
Title The unfulfilled role of regulation, monitoring and enforcement in protecting New Zealand's vulnerable workers
Abstract <p>In New Zealand, the protection of workers' wages and conditions has been treated as a matter for legal intervention since the 19th century in which labour and occupational health and safety (OHS) inspectorates enforce the legislative requirements and provide the administrative structure. However, centre-right government policies aimed at introducing flexibility and efficiencies into the labour market and a desire to "roll back the state" have resulted in the actual number of labour inspectors dropping sharply in the era of the Employment Contracts Act, 1991 and thereafter increased only slowly and the number of OHS inspectors almost halved since 1987. The number of investigations has also dropped dramatically; in 2016 the OHS inspectorate investigated almost 60 serious harm incidents but by 2019 that figure had dropped to about 10 investigations. While there has been general disquiet over the lack of enforcement of employment law, this oversight has had a particularly devastating impact on vulnerability of workers.</p> <p>Based on the New Zealand experience and research commencing in 1987, this paper will attempt to demonstrate the erosion of the regulatory protection of workers. It will pay particular attention to the declining inspectorate numbers and the falling rates of investigations and prosecutions against a backdrop of growing exploitation of workers and high rates of work-related injuries, illness and fatalities. The paper will also chart the parallel labour market trends that have increased worker precarity and 'invisibility'. Finally, the paper will argue that that employment protection and minimum entitlements become ineffectual when enforcement is weak, workers are less cognisant of their entitlements and their employers are less inclined to comply.</p>

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ABSTRACTS, IN ORDER OF DAY AND STREAM

Day and stream: Wednesday 9 th , 9:00am-10:30am
Authors/presenters Stephen Blumenfeld, Te Herenga Waka—Victoria University of Wellington
Title The arguments, promises and potential pitfalls of Fair Pay Agreements
Abstract <p>The New Zealand Government is proceeding with legislation to implement a Fair Pay Agreement (FPA) system, with effect from 2022. The aim of the system is to establish minimum pay and employment standards to be applied to all workers and employers in an industry. There are several potential pitfalls in the design of FPAs, however. In particular, the requirement that bargaining must take place at the industry level, the prohibition of work stoppages, the compulsory nature of negotiating FPAs, and the use of compulsory arbitration to resolve disputes are all aspects of the proposed system that could potentially run afoul of New Zealand's international obligations.</p> <p>This paper considers the role and significance of New Zealand's international commitments in labour market policy reform. It focuses on whether the proposed FPA system is incompatible with the requirements of the International Labour Organisation's Conventions 87 and 98, long viewed as the foundation upon which harmonious, stable and progressive industrial relations are built. More specifically, this paper explores the ILO's concept of 'voluntariness' and whether the proposed negotiation framework for FPAs falls outside of the principles underlying that concept. That is, does a wage-setting mechanism in which parties can be compelled to participate and/or comply with the outcome meet the ILO's definitions of 'voluntary' collective bargaining and 'voluntary' conciliation and arbitration?</p>

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ABSTRACTS, IN ORDER OF DAY AND STREAM

Day and stream:

Wednesday 10th, 9:00-10:30am

Stream 2

Authors/presenters

Charles Crothers, Auckland University of Technology and Mike Reid, Local Government New Zealand and contributing lecturer to the School of Government, Te Herenga Waka—Victoria University of Wellington

Title

Local Authority Politics: Knowledge Needs and a stocktake of Supply to date and needed

Abstract

A very-long standing issue in community power studies is whether 'local' business elite (or property owners) are more or less powerful than the elected local authorities, the local bureaucracy or the central state in shaping localities' outcomes. The outcomes involve achievement of the 4 well-beings by resident households, with key resources influencing these involving local authority (and central state) budget (and other) investments – short- and long-term. We need to know:

- * Household interests, political preferences, electoral preferences and how these are related to household (including local authority characteristics);
- * Characteristics and behaviours of Candidates (incl. 'party' formations and actions)
- * Characteristics and behaviours of Elected members (incl. 'party' formations and actions)
- * Political Involvement of 'interest groups' (e.g. environmental, residents, ratepayer)
- * Political involvement of business/property interests.
- * Perceptions of electors of the whole eco-system.
- * A stocktake of 'official', survey and other data is undertaken and information gaps identified together with proposals for closing these.

ABSTRACTS

ABSTRACTS, IN ORDER OF DAY AND STREAM

Day and stream: Wednesday 9 th , 9:00am-10:30am Stream 2
Authors/presenters Shirin Brown, Auckland University of Technology and former Waiheke Local Board member
Title Political astuteness and the secrets of success on local boards in Auckland
Abstract <p>Auckland Council's governance model provides for a two tier system where 20 elected councillors and the mayor make regional decisions, and 149 local board members make local decisions for their areas. Governance decisions are also made within the Council Controlled Organisations (CCOS) and by central government, through legislation and funding allocations, which in turn affects local government. In exploring the lived experiences of local board members, this study identifies microfeatures (Syed & Özbligin, 2009) involved in local board members negotiating successful decisions.</p> <p>Reflecting on my own experiences as local board member, I draw on selected data from interviews with twenty local board members from across the Auckland region. I consider the influence of personal and interpersonal factors which participants identify as important for successful outcomes, and consider these in the light of Hartley and Manzie's Framework for Leadership with Political Astuteness (FLPA), (Hartley, et al., 2013) and Auckland Council's expectations of board member roles (Auckland Council, 2016) .</p> <p>Trust, curiosity, and the importance of 'championing' projects are closely identified with success. Being opportunistic, knowing the system, and having the support of the chair are also key microfeatures of success. The importance of bicultural commitment and a stronger role for cultural competence emerge as salient categories. There are implications for how board members could better prepare for the role and how Council could support board members more effectively.</p>

ABSTRACTS

ABSTRACTS, IN ORDER OF DAY AND STREAM

Day and stream: Wednesday 9 th , 9:00-10:30am Stream 2
Authors/presenters Sean Mahoney, Greater Wellington Regional Council
Title The Central Government Local Government Relationship Crisis – “Work without Hope”
Abstract role is in New Zealanders daily lives. At the same time local government has seen its role and purpose challenged by Central Government with claims of poor governance and dysfunction leading to governance reviews and in some cases takeovers at a council level. Growing concern around the ability of local councils to provide and maintain key infrastructure has led to a whole package of reforms in three waters which have the potential to reform local government’s role in the most substantive way since 1876. Many local government leaders have indicated a lack of support for this process and it appears to be happening without community input. This paper focuses on the changes Central Government have placed on local governments ability to “govern” effectively and considers the thresholds for intervention as reflective of a relationship crisis rather than a clear framework. These interventions, often undertaken in an ad-hoc manner provide challenges to local political leadership at times even neutralising the ability for local to lead. Can the future for local government reform agenda provide a reset for this framework and enhance and support local political leadership.

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ABSTRACTS, IN ORDER OF DAY AND STREAM

Day and stream: Wednesday 9 th , 9:00-10:30am
Authors/presenters Juhn Chris P. Espia PhD Candidate, Department of Political Science and International Relations, University of
Title Under Pressure: National-Local Government Relations and the COVID-19 Response in the
Abstract This paper examines the dynamics of national-local government relations in the COVID-19 response in the Philippines and Indonesia. Aside from the wide use of emergency measures and coercive enforcement mechanisms, the pandemic also brought to the fore centralized response which effectively set limits on what subnational governments can do. The Philippines and Indonesia are both Unitary Presidential Systems that have decentralized healthcare and other functions prior to the pandemic. Both countries also have the highest number of COVID-19 positive cases and deaths in Southeast Asia. Drawing from the experience of several subnational governments from both countries, the paper finds that subnational government responses to the pandemic were conditioned by the early centralization push by their national government and the declaration of state of emergency, which gave attenuated powers to the Executive. In the case of Indonesia, subnational governments had to seek approval from central ministries in Jakarta whose focus was addressing the economic impacts of COVID-19. This made for a slower national public health response and left subnational governments to fend for themselves in the early phase. In the case of the Philippines, an early attempt at strong central coordination merely exposed a high degree of central government incompetence. Ties to the Duterte Administration and personalistic politics subsequently shaped access to resources and the decision space for subnational governments. The role of systems of governance and the trade-offs of system design are examined, along with other political and social factors, and how they shape the outcome of COVID-19 response.

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ABSTRACTS, IN ORDER OF DAY AND STREAM

Day and stream: Wednesday 9 th , 9:00-10:30am Stream 3
Authors/presenters Luna Zhao, PhD candidate, Politics and International Relations, University of Auckland
Title Sloppy targeting of Chinese voters in the 2020 New Zealand election: an exploration of National and Labour parties' targeting strategies
Abstract Targeting ethnic Chinese voters in elections is a hidden area in New Zealand politics. As one element of my wider study investigating the targeting of Chinese New Zealanders between the 2008-2020 elections, the discussion presented here explored the targeting strategies of National and Labour in the 2020 election. The analysis is based on multiple primary sources including interviews with political practitioners and Chinese community leaders, content analysis of the press, posters and party election broadcasts and post-election data; and secondary sources information, e.g., coverage in the New Zealand Chinese language media and social media. It finds that National's targeting was directionless and unstructured whilst Labour failed to demonstrate a targeting intention. Neither National nor Labour built their targeting on the understanding of the Chinese community. Nor did they have effective targeting products. Linking to a wider context, National's targeting was the reflection of its messy 2020 election campaign and Labour exhibited a lack of interest in the Chinese community.

ABSTRACTS

ABSTRACTS, IN ORDER OF DAY AND STREAM

Day and stream:

Wednesday 9th, 9:00-10:30am

Authors/presenters

Leah Yu Du, PhD candidate, Department of Politics and International Relations,

Title

Chinese New Zealanders' Online Political Participation: A Contribution to Developing and Maintaining Social Order and Stability

Abstract

Scholars have noted that people in many countries participate more actively in non-institutional political activities than in electoral activities. The Internet offers a new landscape for non-institutional political participation. Based on the observation, this presentation aims to disclose Chinese New Zealanders' online non-institutional political participation. The results mainly come from the interpretive analysis of 38 in-depth interviews of the first-generation Chinese immigrants from mainland China, Hong Kong and Taiwan. Among various forms of online political activities, Chinese New Zealanders often join political talks on WeChat groups and unconsciously cultivate and promote a set of unified social norms during the talks. Meanwhile, some Chinese New Zealanders express counterspeech to refute extremist views and restore a respectful climate for public discussions when encountering radical and uncivil comments that violate social norms. Chinese New Zealanders' engagement in political talks and expression of counterspeech are two forms of political participation that are often denied, ignored, or underestimated by experts and politicians. Their actions benefit the construction and maintenance of social order and stability.

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Day and stream:

Wednesday 9th, 9:00-10:30am

Authors/presenters

Associate Professor Brian S. Roper, University of Otago

Title

The Political Economy of the Covid-19 Pandemic: Origins, Spread, Economic Impact, Policy Responses

Abstract

This paper focuses on the social, economic and political conditions that contributed to the outbreak of the Covid-19 pandemic. It identifies the key developments in the global political economy which facilitated the rapid global spread of the virus. It then considers the economic impact of the pandemic and finally the widely varying policy responses of governments to the pandemic and its economic impact (with a particular focus on China, Britain, the U.S and New Zealand). The central argument is that the pandemic and the global recession it has generated are best understood as the latest crisis within a new epoch of world history that began with the GFC of 2008. In a nutshell this epoch has been characterised by economic crises, major shifts in the global political economy centred around the relationship between China and the US, the crisis of cosmopolitan neoliberalism, the associated rise of economic nationalism and the far right, a global health crisis of which the Covid pandemic is only the most obvious symptom, and an intensification of the global ecological crisis.

ABSTRACTS

ABSTRACTS, IN ORDER OF DAY AND STREAM

Day and stream:

Wednesday 9th, 9:00-10:30am

Authors/presenters

Tracey Nicholls, School of People, Environment & Planning, Massey University

Title

COVID-19: A crisis of structural injustice

Abstract

This year's conference theme, The Politics of Crisis, invites consideration of what is lost and what is gained in framing policy problems as crises. A social tendency to speak of crises as motivations for change can be criticised as a poor way to shift public opinion; fear generated by a crisis undermines the critical thinking needed to respond effectively. But a politics – indeed, a policy-making – of crisis can also be praised as faster or easier to deploy than sustained education campaigns to change public opinion.

There is, also, a transformative potential for crisis language and policy-making to reveal structural inequities in our social institutions. In my own university, an invitation to think about COVID-19's gendered impact on research has provoked sustained analysis of such injustices. There is gender disparity in expectations of who will perform 'pastoral care' obligations (and how) that does not get captured in putatively gender-blind performance evaluations. This disparity exists unacknowledged because 'day one of taking gender into account was the day the job was structured with the expectation that its occupant would have no childcare responsibilities' (MacKinnon 1987, p. 37).

What would valuing care look like if we took a 'day two' to restructure those expectations in our universities? Having seen the value of care in the context of a global pandemic, might we now see ways to use this crisis-revelation as an opportunity for building measurement and formal recognition of 'care labour' into our budget lines, and our appointment and promotions processes?

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ABSTRACTS, IN ORDER OF DAY AND STREAM

Day and stream:

Wednesday 9th, 9:00-10:30am

Authors/presenters

Nina Ives, Dr. David Hall Auckland University of Technology

Title

Through a climate change lens: Aotearoa New Zealand's COVID-19 Response

Abstract

Calls for governments to 'build back better' and finance a 'green recovery' in the wake of the COVID-19 pandemic have echoed around the world. But how green have countries' economic responses really been? This research draws from a comprehensive database of economic stimulus measures since the beginning of the pandemic by the international research consortium Energy Policy Tracker. By analysing Aotearoa New Zealand's COVID-19 fiscal response against the objectives of climate mitigation and adaptation, especially the government budgets of 2020 and 2021, we find a mixture of climate-aligned and misaligned spending. Internationally, New Zealand's economic stimulus programme is positioned in the middle of the field, less invested into fossil fuels than some countries, but also less innovative than others in turning the crisis into an opportunity for climate action. We use the framework of policy styles to explain and critique the New Zealand Government's response (Richardson 1982; Maizer and Richardson 2020), especially the way its reactive style has inhibited its capacity to direct infrastructure spending toward projects and activities that will enhance the country's resilience to future shocks, especially those related to global heating. We also discuss whether retrospective changes to some funding commitments, as well as the Government's forthcoming Emissions Reduction Plan, are signs of a more anticipatory policy style for the future.

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Day and stream:

Wednesday 9th, 9:00am-10:30am

Stream 4

Authors/presenters

Manqing Cheng, University of Auckland

Title

The Politics of Global Health Crisis: State Dependence of Western Populism and Public Policymaking

Abstract

A series of policy arrangements and conflicts of interests surrounding the public health crisis of global COVID-19 prevention and control not only reflect domestic politics and national governance, but also stir up global politics. In the political and economic landscape that has been dramatically transformed by COVID-19, western populism continues its wave-like development and becomes an important component of political ecosystem under the guise of nationalism, authoritarianism and statism. From the perspectives of the strong return of the nation-state, the expansion of government function, and the causal chain between populism and crisis, this paper takes the rise of right-wing populist parties in Western Europe, which has become an important feature of current European political ecology, as the case study. This paper answers the question why has support for right-wing populist parties in Western Europe continued to fall in the wake of the COVID-19 crisis when crisis has always been a driving force for populism? It studies that although in the short term, under the influence of the bridging of the rift between the public and the elite and the marginalization of immigration issues, right-wing populist parties in Western Europe suffered a temporary setback during the pandemic, the rise in inequality caused by the pandemic will provide a further boost to right-wing populists in the post-pandemic era. New Zealand's robust democracy might not be confronting the same crisis, marked by the rise of anti-system forces and anti-social political movements, as it is elsewhere, but as estimated by this paper, economic recession, strengthening of identity politics, and the internal tension between rationalism and popular sovereignty determine that there is still more room for populism to grow and influence the government's public policymaking in the long run. The combination of populism with nationalism and statism will further promote the right-wing, "white supremacist", and authoritarian trend of thought in western society. This has implications for New Zealand's domestic public policymaking and democracy building. Finally, this paper concludes that to respond to global health crisis such as COVID pandemic, it is essential to promote the repair and reconstruction of political economy supported by powerful public policies and social equity. How could New Zealand address crisis in an inclusive way? As a decisive force in achieving equitable economic development, key political institutions should at least include the following aspects: more employment opportunities for middle and low income groups, equitable access to education through a fairer education system, strengthening rural infrastructure to increase agricultural productivity, and improving the system of redistribution including taxation and fiscal spending policies. This paper also partially validates the author's doctoral research that studies a country's domestic policymaking mechanism which is forged by the interplay and interaction of four clusters of unit-level variables of leader images, domestic institutions, state-society relations, and strategic culture.

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ABSTRACTS, IN ORDER OF DAY AND STREAM

Day and stream: Wednesday 9 th , 9:00-10:30am Stream 5
Authors/presenters Elle Dibrova, PhD candidate in Politics, University of Otago
Title You don't belong here: Othering of LGBT+ people as a part of hegemonic national identity in contemporary Russia
Abstract In my PhD research, I am examining the othering of LGBT+ people in Russia as part of the hegemonic national identity that has been constructed by Putin's political regime since the mid-2000s with the help of various heteronormative state policies. These policies have been essential for the top-down formulation of national belonging along the sexual lines. I am using the concept of sexual citizenship to analyse the traditional values ideology that under Putin's regime has become the crucial manifestation of hegemonic national identity. My empirical study looks at the link between the hegemonic national identity and access to rights for LGBT+ people in contemporary Russia. In particular, I am interested in finding out whether LGBT+ people in the country themselves recognise the existence of this link. For that, I am conducting qualitative research with the help of partial collaborative autoethnography as the primary data collection method in the form of solicited reflexive diaries that I ask my participants to make fortnightly over six months. The obtained data will be analysed with the help of six phases thematic analysis framework. Additionally, I am conducting semi-structured interviews with NGO leaders that deal with LGBT+ people in Russia. These interviews will be used as additional contributors to my understanding of the situation around contemporary Russian sexual citizenship. At the conference, I would like to share initial highlights regarding the obtained data and present some preliminary research findings.

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Day and stream: Wednesday 9 th , 9:00-10:30am
Authors/presenters Nashie Shamoon – School of History, Philosophy, Political Science and International Rela-
Title Shadows of the Past: The Role of Persecution within the Self-identification of Young Assyrians in New Zealand and Australia
Abstract For over a hundred years, the Assyrian peoples — an ethnoreligious, transnational minority which has inhabited Iraq, Syria, Turkey, and Iran — have emigrated to the West due to constant persecution. In turn, the existing Assyrian-focused migration and diaspora literature recognises the impact trauma has had on generations of Assyrians residing in countries such as the United States, Sweden, or the Netherlands. However, there is very little research available on the Assyrian communities in New Zealand and Australia, and especially pressing, none on young Assyrians. Therefore, this paper highlights how the Assyrian identity is being perceived by young, Western-born and/or -raised individuals. It examines whether the rhetoric of persecution, which is ever-present in the Assyrian diaspora, has impacted their viewpoint. This paper applies a qualitative approach in drawing from semi-structured interviews conducted online with Assyrians from Wellington and Auckland, New Zealand and Sydney, Australia in mid-2020. It argues that a disconnection from the Assyrian Homeland has undeniably led to young Oceanic-Assyrians' creation of stable Western-Assyrian identities which do not concentrate on themes of persecution or collective Assyrian suffering. As the prospects of a return to the Homeland are slim, it is paramount that we begin to understand how the younger, predominantly Western-Assyrian generation will assume the responsibility of ensuring Assyrians' continued existence in the future.

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Day and stream:

Wednesday 9th, 9:00am-10:30am

Authors/presenters

Hizkia Respatiadi, University of Otago

Title

Treating Food Importation as a Crisis: The Preference Formation of Food Self-sufficiency in Indonesia

Abstract

The Indonesian government has been persistent in pursuing food self-sufficiency agenda, mainly by restricting food and agricultural imports in favour of domestic farmers. From their perspectives, dependency on food import is a sign of crisis that they need to rectify at the earliest opportunity. This protectionist agenda draws criticism from economic scholars as it goes against the international trade regime that favours free trade as a solution to address food-related issues in the country. The existing literature typically points out material gains (via rent-seeking practices) and domestic political institutions – that facilitate the use of self-sufficiency agenda to attract potential voters – as the main factors that form the preferences of the Indonesian government for food self-sufficiency. However, these explanations have limitations as they do not fully explain how those preferences were formed and how the domestic actors' ideas shape their interests. In this regard, ideational features approach (such as belief that restricting import means protecting domestic farmers' wellbeing) may address these limitations. Nevertheless, this approach is also imperfect as it may be challenging to prove that ideas alone are important enough to steer trade policy preferences.

This study aims to explore the interplay between material gains, domestic political institutions, and ideas in forming policy preferences for food self-sufficiency in Indonesia. It uses qualitative case-study methodology through interviews with relevant domestic actors in Indonesian food and agricultural policy. It uses the Food Law 18/2012 and the Farmers Law 19/2013 as case study to develop process tracing on how those laws were deliberated.

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Day and stream: Wednesday 9 th , 9:00-10:30am
Authors/presenters Ethelyn Ankiambom Chia, National Centre for Peace and Conflict Studies Student and Community Association, and Kalika Kastein, National Centre for Peace and Conflict Studies, University of Otago.
Title Emotional Impact of Social Media and Disinformation in the Context of Crises in Cameroon
Abstract Dependence on media, particularly social media, in times of uncertainty has impacted the two crises in Cameroon: the conflict and the pandemic. Navigating collapsed contexts and disinformation, we reflect on our own experiences consuming media about the situation in Cameroon via social media and identify aspects of the nature of the emotional landscape surrounding social media. We build on our shared experience as educators and our identities as a Cameroonian health worker and an American researcher, taking a phenomenological approach to examine the emotional impact of media with limited context and possible consumption of disinformation shared on social networks through the autoethnographic practice of layered accounts. We specifically use “chatnography” to first recount our feelings of encountering disinformation related to the pandemic and ongoing conflict in Cameroon on social media, and second, to recall our discussions both amongst ourselves and between community members on those topics.

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ABSTRACTS, IN ORDER OF DAY AND STREAM

Day and stream: Wednesday 9 th , 1:00-2:30pm Stream 1
Authors/presenters David Hall and Melody Meng, Auckland University of Technology
Title Unlikely allies?: Financial actors as climate policy intermediaries
Abstract <p>Sustainable finance roadmaps (SFRs) have proliferated in recent years, including China (2016), India (2016), Argentina (2018), the EU (2018), the UK (2018), Canada (2019), New Zealand (2020), and Australia (2020). The purpose of SFRs is to redesign financial systems to enhance resilience to climate-related risks and more broadly to align with the UN Sustainable Development Goals. This pivot toward sustainability and climate alignment is a demand-led adjustment that potentially puts financial sector agencies at the forefront of the low-emissions transition, with an opportunity to influence associated regulation. This article draws on the literature of polycentric climate governance, policy styles and policy entrepreneurship to analyse financial sector agencies as potential intermediaries for climate policy – that is, as catalytic agents that speed up change towards more sustainable socio-technical systems (e.g. Kivimaa et al. 2019; Wurzel, Andersen, and Tobin 2020). To explore this potential, the article focuses on Aotearoa Circle’s Sustainable Finance Forum (SFF) and its recommendations for New Zealand’s financial sector. It draws on literature reviews, SFR documentation, and stakeholder interviews to situate the SFF within the taxonomy of transition intermediaries, to articulate its relationship to the financial regulatory regime, and to critically analyse its potential to disrupt existing socio-technical configurations.</p> <p>Kivimaa, P., Boon, W., Hyysalo, S. and Klerkx, L., 2019. Towards a typology of intermediaries in sustainability transitions: A systematic review and a research agenda. <i>Research Policy</i>, 48(4): 1062-1075.</p> <p>Wurzel, R.K., Andersen, M.S. and Tobin, P. eds., 2020. <i>Climate Governance Across the Globe: Pioneers, Leaders and Followers</i>. Routledge.</p>

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ABSTRACTS, IN ORDER OF DAY AND STREAM

Day and stream: Wednesday 9 th , 1:00-2:30pm
Authors/presenters Shannon Hodge, The University of Waikato
Title Halt: is the vision of electric vehicles obstructing the reality of transitioning to a low carbon society?
Abstract As part of the New Zealand government's strategy to meet emissions reduction targets, the Electric Vehicles (EV) Programme was established in 2016. Despite this emergence of policies directly targeted at supporting EV uptake, the rates of uptake remain low. Using the levels of program verification and societal vindication from Fischer's (1995) four-level evaluative framework, this paper evaluates the effectiveness of the EV Programme to decarbonise the transport sector. Program verification evaluates the extent that the policies making up the programme can support EV uptake. While societal vindication investigates broader societal implications of the programme that could lead to inequitable consequences (Fischer, 1995). Reports from relevant non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and government bodies, along with secondary literature were read to establish barriers to EV uptake, including upfront costs, the lack of charging infrastructure, the limited EV car market in NZ, and misinformation regarding EVs. These barriers were used to evaluate the strengths and weaknesses of each policy within the programme by indicating the extent that it can overcome stated barriers to support EV uptake. The analysis highlights that the current EV Programme is not ambitious enough to increase EV uptake to the extent required to significantly reduce carbon emissions in the transport sector. Additionally, the policies disproportionately impact low-income households and neglect cultural values associated with transport, such as interfering with the ability of Māori to access their whānau, tūrangawaewae, and whanaungatanga (Haerewa et al., 2020). Instead, the transformation that should take place in New Zealand is a shift from a car-dependent society to one where everyone has access to public transport and active transport that can directly challenge the lock-in phenomena of the individual car (Marletto, 2014).

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Day and stream: Wednesday 9 th , 1:00-2:30pm
Authors/presenters Dr Pii-Tuulia Nikula, Eastern Institute of Technology, EIT, Hawke's Bay
Title Decarbonising Aotearoa – Insights from Climate Proactive Firms
Abstract The objective to decarbonise the New Zealand economy will require climate action from both the public and private sector. In December 2020, the government launched an initiative for the public sector to achieve carbon neutrality by 2025. However, most New Zealand businesses have no legal obligations to manage or reduce their emissions. Firms can help both cause and solve sustainability problems and hence their actions and perceptions are important. This paper discusses the experiences of a group of climate proactive firms in Aotearoa. First, the justifications for voluntary decarbonisation and the tensions these firms have faced are discussed. Second, this paper explores the perspectives of proactive firms on how local or national governments in Aotearoa could incentivise more businesses to decarbonise. Understanding climate action incentives and barriers is useful for policy makers and regulators when new policy measures are considered.

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Day and stream:

Wednesday 9th, 1:00-2:00pm

Authors/presenters

Julia Büdler, University of Auckland

Title

Political elites on democratic innovation: what politicians, policymakers and political advi-

Abstract

Against a sociopolitical backdrop of democratic deficit and malaise, the need to reform currently used participatory approaches in Aotearoa has been widely recognized, and deliberative democracy proposed as a possible source of innovation. However, despite considerable theoretical work in the area, we know little about whether and when political elites are likely/interested in using them.

This presentation draws on interviews I conducted with former and current New Zealand ministers, party leaders, senior advisors and policy analysts to identify key instrumental, normative and substantive arguments for/against deliberative democratic engagement, critically assessed against relevant scholarship. I focus on how political elites envision the potential implementation of deliberative methods in Aotearoa; what place such processes might have in the existing toolkit of participatory practices and consultative approaches; what kind of questions they see as best suited to public deliberation; how determinative said processes should be; differences at local vs national level, and the place of Te Tiriti o Waitangi. This research helps practitioners and scholars alike to envision the implementation and wider sociopolitical implications of deliberative public engagement.

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Day and stream:

Wednesday 9th, 1:00-2:30pm

Authors/presenters

Associate Professor Matheson Russell, Philosophy, Faculty of Arts, The University of Auckland and Dr Tatjana Buklijas, Global Studies & Koi Tū: Centre for Informed Futures, The

Title

Democratic reform in NZ local government: Innovations abroad and their potential uses

Abstract

The Local Government Review, a ‘future thinking exercise’ launched mid-2021, presents an opportunity to reimagine and redesign local government for the 21st century. An important component of the Review’s remit is to address the democratic deficits in the existing systems and structures of local government.

In this presentation, we will draw on the recent scholarship in democratic innovation to consider what solutions could be trialed in Aotearoa New Zealand and under which conditions. The key criteria for consideration will be the ability of these solutions to expand the width (through an increase in both diversity and number of engaged people) and the depth (through the improvement in the quality of democratic engagement), balancing the needs for greater capacity and capability with the needs to maintain efficiencies in terms of time, costs, and resources required. We will focus in particular on the field of empirical deliberative democracy, which with its stress on inclusion and deliberation could be a promising source. Yet we caution against straight importing of processes without considering local political cultures and histories, including obligations to uphold Te Tiriti o Waitangi.

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Day and stream: Wednesday 9 th , 1:00-2:30pm
Authors/presenters James Gluck
Title New Zealand's 'Crisis of Corruption'? Two case studies of recent Trading in Influence scandals
Abstract With the rise of serious and repeated corruption scandals around the world, especially in countries such as the United States and the United Kingdom, there is a sense of a crisis of corruption. In New Zealand however, the reputation for 'clean politics' has, generally continued. There has been comparatively little investigation, however, of Trading in Influence (Johnston 2005), especially in the New Zealand context. This paper presents two case studies of scandals utilized in a PhD thesis which illustrate how this form of corruption operates in this country: the Jami-Lee Ross Donations scandal, and the New Zealand First Foundation scandal. Both of these scandals, which have current Serious Fraud Office cases before the courts (at the time of this abstract) have nuances and key issues beyond the alleged irregularities in relation to donation law. These case studies examine and ultimately show features which match the Trading in Influence syndrome. The two studies are then contrasted and compared, allowing for some triangulation of how this form of corruption is structured and operated within New Zealand. Given this, the paper will pose an important question – how can New Zealand ensure that it can prevent and avoid the kind of crisis of corruption we are seeing elsewhere?

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Day and stream:

Wednesday 9th, 1:00-2:30pm

Authors/presenters

Kate Hellings, University of Otago and Alice Taylor, University of Otago

Title

New Zealand's Three China Policy

Abstract

Currently, New Zealand enjoys vibrant relationships with China and Taiwan. Our ability to have an FTA with both parties is highly unique. It is clear that New Zealand benefits from the current status quo – which is that Taiwan enjoys de facto independence, and China has not reunified Taiwan by peaceful or non-peaceful means. However it is prudent to recognise this status quo is coming under pressure as 2049, or 100 years of the PRC, looms. It is likely that soon New Zealand will have to consider how it navigates its relationship with both parties as increasing hostilities in the international system forces small nations to pledge allegiance to particular causes and interests.

Increasing dispute over Taiwan could produce three potential outcomes. Either the maintenance of the status quo; normalisation of Taiwanese representation at the multi-lateral level; or, increased militarised pressure from China on the reunification of Taiwan to the mainland resulting in the U.S. dropping its 'one China policy.' All these scenarios require New Zealand to consider its relationship with both parties. New Zealand will have to face the dichotomy between its security values and interests relative to its economic values and interests. We will firstly evaluate our current relationship with Taiwan and China. It will then assess the likelihood of change to the status quo. Finally, it will assess the implications of such changes in the relationship between the U.S., China and Taiwan for New Zealand's trade and security interests in the future will be assessed.

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Day and stream:

Wednesday 9th, 1:00-2:30pm

Stream 3

Authors/presenters

Dr Serena Kelly, University of Canterbury

Title

Power dynamics and the EU-NZ FTA

Abstract

This paper is interested in the International Relations concept of power, in relation to one of the EU's most recent Free Trade Agreement (FTA) negotiations currently underway – with New Zealand. A small trading nation on the edge of the Pacific, until 2015 the European Union had categorically ruled out the possibility of a bilateral FTA with New Zealand. The previous lack of interest by the EU in pursuing an FTA with NZ has been ascribed to the lack of economic benefits for the EU as well as competition in agricultural production. Subsequently, the negotiations were fast-tracked in light of what was perceived as a global movement towards protectionism – e.g. Brexit and the election of Donald Trump. Through observing the negotiation rounds, this article not only provides important insights into an under-researched topic – the EU-NZ trading relationship, but also offers important theoretical insights into the EU's 'power' in negotiations. Ultimately, we find that the power imbalance between the two negotiating partners has resulted in a unique, but perhaps unsurprising reaction by New Zealand.

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Day and stream: Wednesday 9 th , 1:00-2:30pm
Authors/presenters Phuong H. Vu, University of Otago
Title Authoritarian Audience Costs and Signaling Resolve: Protests and Vietnam's Calculus in Disputes with China
Abstract Does public opinion matter to authoritarian states' cost calculations to signal resolve during inter-state crises? A significant body of international relations theory suggests not. Standard accounts of audience cost theory tell us that democratic leaders pay attention to public opinion since they will be punished for dishonoring their words. By making public statements, they signal to adversaries their commitment to follow through on threats or promises. In contrast, unless unstable, authoritarian regimes do not need to concern themselves with public opinion or audience costs. However, this thesis argues that audience costs are fundamentally underpinned by <i>a logical sequence of consequences</i> that bind <i>any</i> regime to a set of responses tied to its political survival. In authoritarian contexts, audience costs can arise and culminate in protests, often facilitated in the contemporary era by social media. The costs include reputational and economic ones, as well as an erosion of legitimacy. Qualitative research of protests in Vietnam over the South China Sea disputes with China, showed that audience costs mattered to Vietnam's resolve signaling, regardless of varying perceptions of its political stability. The costs were expensive but not always directly observable. The degree of success in signaling resolve depended on the magnitude and observability of the costs. The thesis concludes that future research may consider 'consensus' costs rather than audience costs, as a more useful concept when examining the relationship of domestic political vulnerabilities and foreign policy signaling.

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Day and stream:

Wednesday 9th, 1:00-2:30pm

Authors/presenters

Maria Armoudian and Katherine Smits (University of Auckland)

Title

How Soon we Forget: Memory entrepreneurs, modern public diplomacy and the remak-

Abstract

In the current global controversies over public statues of historical figures involved in slavery and colonial exploitation, an unusual statue in Wellington, New Zealand, has largely escaped attention. The Atatürk Memorial Park, situated on a site overlooking Wellington Harbour, includes a memorial displaying a bust of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, first President of the Republic of Turkey after the fall of the Ottoman Empire. The memorial, dedicated on April 26, 1990, is described by New Zealand's national encyclopedia, Te Ara, as honoring Turkey's dead in the Allied campaign at Gallipoli in the First World War, but also the emergence of modern Turkey (Maclean, 2016). It is unique as the only statue in the country of a foreign leader against whose forces New Zealanders fought in battle and is usually interpreted as symbolic of the 'enduring friendship' between former enemies ('A Unique Friendship,' 2015). But as we argue here, it symbolizes a complete reversal of New Zealand policy and public opinion about Turkey, and the historical erasure of the country's public outrage over the genocide committed by Turks, including under Kemal's rule, before, during and shortly after the First World War. This erasure of historical memory is notable not only because of the change in New Zealand policy, but also because of the country's contemporary refusal to recognize the Armenian Genocide, despite New Zealand's public commitment to human rights. This research explores these revisions in New Zealand public attitudes and policy, in diplomatic allegiances with the region, and in the construction of Turks and Armenians in the country's historical memory. Beginning with an examination of New Zealand's newspapers, official acts, and statements just before, during and after World War I, it compares, on one hand, the depiction of the Turkish government and soldiers, and on the other, the Armenian victims of pogroms, massacres, and genocide. It then compares these with the more modern portrayals, relations, and attitudes in news media and official acts or statements, most notably in the late Twentieth Century, after which, we argue, little has changed. To demonstrate this reversal, we focus on the memorialization of the War, the parties involved, the erecting of monuments honouring Kemal Atatürk, the emergence of bilateral trade relations, and New Zealand's refusal to recognize the Armenian Genocide.

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Day and stream:

Wednesday 9th, 1:00-2:30pm

Authors/presenters

Dr Tim Fadgen, University of Auckland

Title

Deportation and Policy Transfer: The Policy and Practice of Exclusion in Aotearoa New Zealand

Abstract

Aotearoa New Zealand, like many countries, increasingly uses deportation as a policy tool within already strict migration policies. Some scholars refer to this trend as the 'deportation turn' (Gibney 2008). Yet, this policy shift also presents an apparent paradox. While states have increasingly relied on this tool, it is widely regarded as "brutal, expensive and ineffective" (Schuster 2005). There is no indication that these punitive policy regimes are waning or likely to become more humane. This growing disjuncture between policy and public opinion runs parallel to observations advanced by the "new punitiveness" scholarship (Pratt et al 2013), which emphasises the diffusion of punitive criminal justice practices but has recently begun to consider implications for immigration policy. This paper will consider Aotearoa New Zealand's deportations policy and legal framework in historical perspective, including the relatively recent adoption of the Returning Offenders Information Management Act (ROMI) 2015, which created vast post-conviction government monitoring powers of deportees returned to New Zealand and its subsequent policy transfer to Samoa in 2019. This paper will consider these policy changes on deportee flows in the region.

References

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Pratt, J., Brown, D., Brown, M., Hallsworth, S., & Morrison, W. (Eds.). (2013). *The new punitiveness*. Routledge.

Returned Offenders (Management and Information) Act (NZ) 2015.

Schuster L (2005) A sledgehammer to crack a nut: Deportation, detention and dispersal in Europe. *Social Policy and Administration* 39(6): 606–621.

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Day and stream: Wednesday 9 th , 1:00pm-2:30pm
Authors/presenters Fiona Barker and Kate McMillan, Te Herenga Waka—Victoria University of Wellington
Title Who belongs on the "Team of Five Million"?
Abstract The 2020 election campaign unfolded in a rare period of almost zero immigration, which dramatically altered and dampened explicit debate on migration by political parties. Against the backdrop of COVID-19, media coverage highlighted labour shortages and the separation of long-term migrants from their families, sparking regular public debate. This paper uses NZ Election Study data to explore voters' views in 2020 on who should be let into the country when borders reopen in the future, and about the shape of future migration in general. Did voters express preferences for permanent or temporary immigration flows, and who did they envisage admitting into the "Team of Five Million" in the future? Finally, in the unusual 2020 election period did we observe change or continuity in voters views of immigration?

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Day and stream: Wednesday 9 th , 1:00-2:30pm
Authors/presenters Andrew Lim, University of Auckland
Title COVID-19 and health-oriented party advertisements during the 2020 New Zealand general election
Abstract Due to the global COVID-19 pandemic, health and COVID-19 management regularly surfaced in political parties' advertisements during the 2020 New Zealand general election. Dubbed the "COVID election," the New Zealand Government's successful management of the COVID-19 pandemic and Jacinda Ardern's popularity became crucial in securing Labour's landslide re-election victory. Using Robinson's political marketing advertising framework, this paper compares how several NZ political parties campaigned on COVID-19 and health issues during the 2020 election. It seeks to address several questions. What do these ads tell us about the party's ideological product and target audience? How did they respond to the needs and interests of voters? Finally, what light do they shed on the parties' competitive orientation?

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Day and stream:

Wednesday 9th, 1:00-2:30pm

Authors/presenters

Valerie Cooper (p), Te Herenga Waka—Victoria University of Wellington and

Title

Mapping New Zealand’s public diplomacy initiatives: Instruments and content

Abstract

New Zealand government public diplomacy has leveraged the country's location and cultural ties to build strategic links to Pacific Island and Asia-Pacific nations. While the New Zealand government’s stated goals are aligned with the ideology of New Public Diplomacy, the diverse initiatives that fall under the umbrella of public diplomacy have not yet been interrogated in terms of more recent public diplomacy frameworks. This study addresses this gap, mapping New Zealand’s public diplomacy through two frameworks: that of d’Hooghe (2015), which considers policy, economics and cultural domains within the divisions of content and instrument; and that of Zaharna (2009), which considers New Public Diplomacy’s emphasis on relationship-building. Using a qualitative approach to discourse analysis from documents and interviews with officials in New Zealand’s Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade, this research will include initiatives from Asia to the Americas to expand on Mark’s (2018) focus on the Pacific Reset, a region in which New Zealand sees itself as having a public diplomacy advantage due in part to proximity, significant demographic ties, and what has been described as a uniquely Kiwi approach (Mark, 2018; Tertiary Education Commission, 2020). A particular focus of this study is to better understand this notion of a uniquely ‘Kiwi’ approach to public diplomacy, and the extent to which New Zealand’s public diplomacy displays this.

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Day and stream: Wednesday 9 th , 1:00-2:30pm
Authors/presenters Natalia Chaban, Canterbury University
Title Theorising Images and Narratives in International Relations: Communicating the EU as a Human Rights International Actor
Abstract Positioning its inquiry within the “cognitive turn” in the scholarship of International Relations, this paper explores the intersection of the two factors in communicating key foreign policy partners -- the perceived alignment of the actor’s policies with local interests and the perceived normative like-mindedness behind the actions. In theoretical terms, the paper looks into a novel synergy between IR’s image theory (Herrmann 1984; 2013) and strategic narrative theory (Miskimmon, O’Loughlin and Roselle 2013, 2017). Empirical observations focus on perceptions and images of the European Union (EU) in the issue-area of human rights among national policy- and decision-makers, university students, general public and in leading agenda-setting press in 13 countries: Brazil, Canada, China, Colombia, India, Indonesia, Japan, Mexico, Nigeria, Russia, South Africa, South Korea, and the US. Findings are discussed in the context of the (public) diplomacy of international organisations at times when the multilateral world order is challenged.

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Day and stream: Wednesday 9 th , 2:50-4:20pm
Authors/presenters David Peetz, Griffith University
Title Where do new bargaining regimes sit with modern conceptions of policy and power?
Abstract New Zealand policy is moving to greater acceptance of industry or multi-employer collective bargaining, as opposed to single employer ('enterprise') bargaining. The Opposition party in Australia also supports this, though the government is firmly against it. This paper locates these policy debates in the context of global trends and thinking on policy and power, as espoused by the Organisation of Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) and as reflected in modern thinking in labour economics. After long support for decentralisation, the OECD has shifted to support multi-employer ('sectoral') bargaining as a means of facilitating structural adjustment to external shocks. Separately, the development of theories of 'monopsony' in labour markets have not only underpinned new analyses of the employment implications of minimum wages, they also point to the need for countervailing power in labour markets, through trade unions and multi-employer bargaining that might even extend beyond one industry. Understanding this depends on analysis of new forms of economic organisation, and a recognition that the concept of monopsony is one of power in labour markets.

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Day and stream:

Wednesday 9th, 2:50pm-4:20pm

Authors/presenters

Gemma Piercy-Cameron, Waikato University and Erling Rasmussen, Auckland University

Title

Vocational education and training reforms before, under and beyond the Covid-19 pan-

Abstract

The reform of vocational education (RoVE), which was announced in 2018, represents the biggest shift in skill formation policy since the radical reforms from the late 1980s onwards, including the 1992 Industry Training Act. Since the 1990s, there has been some disquiet about the ability to deliver sufficient skill formation and the initial aims of RoVE was to address shortcomings in the provision of vocational education by tertiary education organisations. The Covid-19 pandemic has put pressure on RoVE's original aims and processes and current tensions appear to be: first, the unresolved demands to import skilled labour and second, the uncertainties provoked by the pandemic's global nature, such as international travel and supply chains. The paper suggest that these challenges have called into question the timing and nature of RoVE's comprehensive reforms and instead some initiatives in vocational training have become reactive responses to immediate industry dislocation and growth issues. It is questioned what role RoVE will play in respect of the pandemic's negative labour market impacts and whether RoVE can deliver long-term, suitable improvements of vocational training efforts. Thus, New Zealand appears to be at another crucial turning point in respect of developing a comprehensive, sustainable training culture.

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Day and stream:

Wednesday 9th, 2:50-4:20pm

Stream 1

Authors/presenters

Danaë Anderson, Auckland University of Technology and Nigel Haworth, University of Auckland

Title

Transformational employment relations in NZ?

Abstract

The Labour Party came to power in 2017 promising 'transformational government'. It was a promise in which employment relations played a limited role. Their first three-year term (2017-2020) was marked by constraints on policy initiatives brought about by coalition requirements. These delayed the introduction of the flagship employment relations measure, Industry Standards Agreements, renamed Fair Pay Agreements. Nonetheless, some reforms in employment relations occurred, including the establishment of a Future of Work Tripartite Forum, limiting 90-day trials, strengthening of union rights and collective bargaining, The triangular contracts provision, significant minimum wage increases, along with protections for workers who are victims of family violence were also legislated. Tripartism also received a boost.

Since re-election in October 2020 with an outright majority, progress has included additional days of sick leave, extending paid parental leave, and redressing pay equity. Signalled priorities are Fair Pay Agreements, to be introduced in 2022, and the exploration of an innovative Social Unemployment Insurance scheme, providing limited-term support for those made unemployed. These reforms should be seen against a backdrop of pressure from unions to improve workers' rights as, simultaneously, representative business organisations have been calling for restraint in employment relations reform.

This paper explores the political and policy context of government employment relations measures since 2017. That context is marked by the impact of the MMP environment and coalition politics as well as crises and policy 'crowding out' from Christchurch terrorism to Covid-19 pandemic. It is also

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Day and stream: Wednesday 9 th , 2:50-4:20pm
Authors/presenters Jean Drage
Title Another 'Revolutionary Refit'? The ongoing debate, the continuing political struggle
Abstract <p>In outlining the 'revolutionary refit' that occurred when local government was restructured in 1989, Graham Bush suggested it would be judged a success 'if local bodies are enabled to serve their communities measurably better, if the voice of local government comes to be treated with greater respect, and if local government assumes a distinctly upgraded functional role'. 30 years on, today's assessment must also include the impact of more recent change, the current political debate and the long-term effects on our local councils of today's rapidly changing environment.</p> <p>My paper highlights the ideological debate and struggles that continue between local and central government in the uneven landscape of New Zealand politics and suggests that unless long term issues are resolved between these two levels of government, future reforms will go the same way as those that came before them.</p>

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Day and stream:

Wednesday 9th, 2:50-4:20pm

Stream 2

Authors/presenters

Mike Reid, Local Government New Zealand and contributing lecturer to the School of

Title

Never waste a good crisis: What the “crises” in Zealand’s water and resource manage-

Abstract

The apparent crises in New Zealand’s resource management system and the operation of its drinking, waste, and storm water services has led to proposal for comprehensive reform that will shift decision-making from local communities to regional and pan-regional bodies that lack any form of democratic accountability. The shifts, as proposed, represent a major challenge to the role of our elected local governments, as it has historically been undertaken, as well as new opportunities, given that a substantial review of local government’s roles and functions is now underway.

The paper will explore the nature of local democracy and its contribution to the health and efficacy of democracy at a national level and reflect on the degree to which alternative versions of local government, version in which councils cease to be significant service providers, can meet the expectations citizens have of being able to shape the communities and places in which they live, work and play.

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Day and stream:

Wednesday 9th, 2:50-4:20pm

Stream 2

Authors/presenters

Jeff McNeill, Massey University

Title

'Reviewing' the future for local government

Abstract

After some thirty years of skirmishing central government has embarked on an incremental but determined restructuring of New Zealand's local government sector. The existing model resulted from the radical 1989 local government reforms that saw the replacement of some 700 city, district, county councils catchment boards and commissions and any number of ad-hoc local bodies established under a plethora of legislation with a one-size-fits-all model of 70 territorial local authorities and regional councils under the Local Government Act. Elements of the restructuring were hotly contested at the time, with demands at the time to disestablish the regional councils, demands resisted given their core functions under the Resource Management Act. Other quasi-local government bodies, such as district health boards and individual schools' boards of trustees were also established but kept separate from local government.

Now, the government has sought to incrementally change local government with its proposals to reorganise potable, waste and storm water management and delivery; and the replacement of the RMA with the proposed Natural and Built Environments legislation. As well the government is abolishing the district health boards and reformulating education governance. Parallel, the Minister of Local Government established a 'Review on the Future for Local Government'. All of these initiatives also introduce strong co-governance mandates for iwi.

This introductory paper overviews these initiatives and identifies key implications for local governance before making some tentative suggestions for the reshaping of local governance that will determine who has a say on what in the future.

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ABSTRACTS, IN ORDER OF DAY AND STREAM

Day and stream: Wednesday 9 th , 2:50-4:20pm
Authors/presenters Lara Greaves (University of Auckland) Ella Morgan (University of Auckland) Luke Oldfield (University of Auckland) Tracey Nicholls (Massey University) Olli Hellmann (Waikato) Emily Beausoleil (Te Herenga Waka-Victoria University of Wellington) Claire Timperley (Te Herenga Waka-VUW), chair/moderator
Title Ako (Teaching and Learning) Roundtable
Abstract There have been substantial developments in political science pedagogy over the past decade, alongside the establishment of teaching and learning networks or groups in many of the major professional political science organisations in recent years. Some of these groups have emerged in recognition of the importance of teaching to the discipline, while others have sought to respond to urgent calls to decolonise or diversify the curriculum and teaching practices. Against this backdrop of increased attention to teaching and learning in the discipline, the global pandemic has forced political science educators to grapple with complex questions and dilemmas related to teaching. This roundtable is an opportunity for scholars and teachers of political science to reflect on their teaching practices, with a particular emphasis on what it means to teach political science in contemporary Aotearoa. Chair: Claire Timperley, Te Herenga Waka—Victoria University of Wellington.

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Day and stream: Thursday 10 th , 9:50-11:20am
Authors/presenters Lara M. Greaves, University of Auckland, Luke D. Oldfield, University of Auckland and Jack Vowles, Te Herenga Waka—Victoria University of Wellington
Title NZES 2020: How do we run an Election Study? A brief history, methods, and future challenges
Abstract 2020 represents 30 years of the New Zealand Election Study, although this certainly was the first wave conducted in a global pandemic! This paper presents an overview of the method for the 2020 New Zealand Election Study. The presentation sets up the methods for both panels, which draw on data from the study. We then move to a roundtable with the three speakers. We discuss the challenges of running such a study alongside COVID-19, but also the declining response rates, the decision to pay participants for their time, and our thoughts on the future of survey research methods in public opinion research in Aotearoa.

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Day and stream:

Thursday 10th, 9:50-11:20am

Authors/presenters

Jennifer Curtin (p), V.K.G. Woodman and Lara M. Greaves, University of Auckland

Title

NZES 2020: Gendering leadership and policy during COVID19: Jacinda Ardern and the women's vote

Abstract

During the first six months of 2020, international media attention focused on whether women political leaders, national and subnational, were more effective than their male counterparts, at managing the COVID-19 crisis. New Zealand's Prime Minister Jacinda Ardern was front and centre in most of these analyses, given her government's decision to lock-down and her effective messaging and inclusive and reassuring style. What much of the international media missed however, is that the Ardern-led government's economic recovery packages focused largely on traditional (male) jobs, with little investment in the social infrastructure, and marginal support for those on benefits. In this paper, we explore the extent to which New Zealand voters' views reflect the international awe with Ardern's leadership and whether women's opinions on key policy issues shed a light on whether they felt sufficiently included in the "Team of Five Million" – a sporting metaphor that might appeal more to men than women.

ABSTRACTS

ABSTRACTS, IN ORDER OF DAY AND STREAM

Day and stream:

Thursday 10th, 9:50-11:20am

Stream 1

Authors/presenters

Jack Vowles and Sam Bigwood,

Te Herenga Waka—Victoria University of Wellington

Title

NZES 2020: Capitalising on the Crisis?

Abstract

While the effectiveness of the COVID-19 response undoubtedly contributed to Labour's success, other factors were evident. Effective leadership and clear communication enhanced the soaring popularity of Prime Minister Jacinda Ardern. A strong stimulus attenuated the economic effects. The ethos best illustrated by Ardern's phase a "Team of Five Million" may even have revived confidence in government-led collective action and the advantages of social cohesion, thus prompting an ideological shift to the left. This paper opens up debate about the consequences of the COVID-19 in public opinion and electoral outcomes.

ABSTRACTS

ABSTRACTS, IN ORDER OF DAY AND STREAM

Day and stream: Thursday 10 th , 9:50-11:20am
Authors/presenters Dr Thomas Gregory, University of Auckland
Title Visualising Civilian Casualties
Abstract While coalition forces were initially reluctant to count civilian casualties in Afghanistan, General David McKiernan established the Civilian Casualty Tracking Cell (CCTC) in 2008 to help improve situational awareness and reduce civilian harm. As well as collecting data on the total number of civilians killed, the CCTC also collected data on how these civilians were killed, who was responsible for killing them and what weapons were involved, producing various graphs, charts and diagrams to visible problems that were previously invisible. Focusing on these visual representations of civilian casualties, this paper will examine how the coalition made noncombatants visible within its debates about war. Drawing on the work of Roland Bleiker, Jacques Ranciere and Judith Butler, I will argue that these representations of civilian harm helped to transform the issue into a strategic problem that required a simple technical fix rather than a complex legal or moral question about the horrors of war. While these graphs helped to make civilian casualties more present in some ways, the death and destruction caused by the conflict remained just as absent, as did the pain and suffering of ordinary Afghans.

ABSTRACTS

ABSTRACTS, IN ORDER OF DAY AND STREAM

Day and stream:

Thursday 10th, 9:50-11:20am

Authors/presenters

Jeremy Moses and Geoff Ford, Department of Political Science and International Rela-

Title

Money and Expertise in the US Military-Industrial Complex: The Case of CNAS and LAWS

Abstract

This paper examines the influence of weapons industry money on the debate over lethal autonomous weapons systems (LAWS). In particular, it reveals the linkages between a range of interested corporations and the work of the Center for a New American Security (CNAS), which has had a significant impact in shaping the debate over new weapons technologies since its creation in 2007. The paper first discusses the establishment of CNAS in order to build an understanding of its purposes and principles. It then traces the careers of some of the key figures at CNAS, including Robert Work, Paul Scharre, and the late Shawn Brimley - who have played and continue to play a significant role in the debate over emerging weapons technologies both within the US Government and at CNAS. Drawing upon existing critiques of the relationship between think tanks and the interests of their major donors, the paper shows just how tightly embedded (via donor dependency relationships) the beneficiaries of US Government military contracts are with the research bodies that are most influential in promoting the need for investment in the military technology sector. The paper concludes with the argument that these relationships between industry and think tanks need to be more openly and transparently acknowledged and taken into account when research and advocacy on LAWS is being conducted.

ABSTRACTS

ABSTRACTS, IN ORDER OF DAY AND STREAM

Day and stream: Thursday 10 th , 9:50-11:20am
Authors/presenters Sian Troath and Geoff Ford, University of Canterbury
Title The lethal autonomous weapons debate in Australia
Abstract Across government, military, industry, and activist spaces, debate on the use, regulation, and banning of lethal autonomous weapons (LAWS) has been growing. There are various strands to the arguments being produced in relation to LAWS, including three major strands which can be categorised as: saving lives, saving money, and military advantage. It is often claimed that LAWS are able to save both civilian and military lives, that they can save money that would otherwise be spent on more expensive capabilities or deployments, and that they allow for military advantage through increased lethality and force multiplying effects. In this paper I will be exploring how these debates are unfolding in Australia. In Australia, these matters sit within a context of perceptions of growing strategic contestation and uncertainty, alliance dynamics, and ethical concerns regarding not only autonomy but also the use of data and machine learning. The Australian context means that the three strands of saving lives, saving money, and military advantage will emerge in particular ways.

ABSTRACTS

ABSTRACTS, IN ORDER OF DAY AND STREAM

Day and stream: Thursday 10 th , 9:50-11:20am Stream 2
Authors/presenters Jeremy Moses, Geoff Ford, and Sian Troath Department of Political Science and International Relations, University of Canterbury
Title New Zealand and the Lethal Autonomous Weapons Debate
Abstract New Zealand's Minister for Disarmament and Arms Control, Phil Twyford, has spoken frequently about the need for New Zealand to develop a policy response to mitigate the risks of emerging lethal autonomous weapons (LAWS) technologies since his appointment to the role in 2020. Twyford's speeches on the subject have often gestured towards New Zealand's history as a leader in prior campaigns for disarmament and arms control, particularly in relation to nuclear weapons and landmines. New Zealand has not, however, been amongst the states that have been most pro-active in seeking a ban or regulation of LAWS over the past decade. This paper seeks to explain why New Zealand has been hesitant on this matter and what may be the best course of action from this point on. It does so by first relating the history of the Convention on Conventional Weapons (CCW) process and New Zealand's contributions to it. It then examines the details of Twyford's push for a strong voice for New Zealand in the negotiations, before considering the two main roadblocks that may be inhibiting such a leadership role: management of the military alliance with Australia and the desire to not prevent technological research and development in the country. Finally, it considers what, if any, avenues could be explored in order to overcome these obstacles.

ABSTRACTS

ABSTRACTS, IN ORDER OF DAY AND STREAM

Day and stream: Thursday 10 th , 9:50-11:20am
Authors/presenters Justin Phillips, Waikato University
Title Aotearoa print media and tangata whenua: A 'big' data perspective
Abstract From Police Ten 7 to Stuff's mea culpa, a great deal has recently been said about how Māori are negatively framed in our media. Detailed qualitative research in Aotearoa has well documented this persistent issue in New Zealand media. This paper contributes to this body of knowledge by using the novel methods of data science and natural language processing to explore how Māori are covered in NZ's print media. Across roughly one million sentences – spanning two decades in print media – this research investigates the size and scope of this phenomenon, while exposing whether there is reason for optimism, or pessimism, going forward.

ABSTRACTS

ABSTRACTS, IN ORDER OF DAY AND STREAM

Day and stream:

Thursday 10th, 9:50-11:20am

Authors/presenters

Mona Krewel, Te Herenga Waka—Victoria University of Wellington and

Title

The Effects of Fact-Checking: How Fake News Coverage Can Influence Political Campaigning in Small Media Markets

Abstract

Does publicly covering fake news affect political campaigns? A large body of research has been dedicated to detecting fake news and the creation of fact-checking systems to debunk fake news on politics. Several studies have also been conducted on the willingness of citizens to accept fact-checks of misleading claims from parties and candidates in campaigns. However, far less is known about the effects of fact-checks on the campaigns themselves. As fact-checking becomes more prominent it is worth to examine how parties and candidates respond to coverage on fake news in their campaigns. Does it reduce the amount of fake news in an ongoing campaign when the parties and candidates are aware of being fact-checked? Can fact-checking even have a deterrent effect on campaigns regarding their decisions whether to take liberties with the truth in their communication or not? To fill this gap, in this paper we look at the example of the 2020 New Zealand election during which we have closely monitored and fact-checked the Facebook campaigns of all parties and candidates. The results on the use of fake news have been widely published in the media during the campaign and journalists have also confronted the parties with these results. We argue that New Zealand is a most-likely case to find effects of fake news coverage on party and candidate behavior. New Zealand has a small media market, where fake news coverage can get a lot of media attention. Political elites must fear serious reputational damages when being called out for the spread of fake news compared to larger markets supplying an abundance of data and analysis. Drawing on data from a quantitative text analysis of over 3,000 scraped Facebook posts in the last four weeks of the campaign, we show that the amount of fake news also declined over the course of the campaign once fact-checking results had been published and widely discussed in the media. To examine whether fact-checking actually had an effect on the campaigns and can be considered the cause behind this over-time decline in fake news, we utilize interrupted time-series analysis which allows us to estimate the effect of fact-checking on the spread of fake news and elicit the causal effect of the fact-checking intervention.

ABSTRACTS

ABSTRACTS, IN ORDER OF DAY AND STREAM

Day and stream: Thursday 10 th , 09:50am-11:20am
Authors/presenters Professor Geoffrey Craig, Auckland University of Technology
Title Evaluating Critique across the 'Institutions of Critique': Politics, Journalism, and the Academy
Abstract This study evaluates the role of critique across politics, journalism, and the collection of academic disciplines and sub-disciplines which specifically scrutinize politics and journalistic reportage of politics: politics and political communication, journalism, and media and communication studies. Politics, journalism, and the academy are identified as particular institutions where critique is central to their practice as they generate knowledge production integral to democracy. These institutions of critique are also identified as particular 'fields' (Bourdieu 1991), governed by power relations, both within and across the institutional domains. The study highlights critique as a sociological phenomenon, immanent to the studied institutions, but it offers criticism of the dominant institutional expressions of critique, arguing that such expressions construct a negative, 'externalized' form of critique which protects the unity and power of the critiquing subject and outsources the justification of the critique to public opinion. In contrast, the study attempts to recast critique, emphasizing in a more positive manner, its pluralistic, provisional and relational condition. That is, the study attempts to open up a more productive understanding of critique, foregrounding it as an ethical-political gesture towards the other which assists in the manifestation of dialogical communicative potential.

ABSTRACTS

ABSTRACTS, IN ORDER OF DAY AND STREAM

Day and stream: Thursday 10 th , 9:50-11:20am
Authors/presenters Cathrine Dyer, Doctoral Candidate, University of Auckland
Title The rhetoric behind strategic policy underreactions in Aotearoa New Zealand's climate change response
Abstract Climate governance is characterised by inconsistencies between rhetoric, intentions and actions, suggesting that more needs to be done to make governments accountable. In political science, disproportionate policymaking has long been attributed to bounded rationality and cognitive decision-making errors – a view that is often reflected in explanations for climate inaction generally. Is this a reasonable assumption to make in the case of climate governance though? An emerging position suggests that a sustained lack of climate policy action is likely to be strategic rather than accidental. In this study I examined the way that consecutive governments and their ministers framed climate action over a period of 15 years from 2005 in Aotearoa New Zealand. I identify a set of rhetorical tactics which, taken together, indicate strategic intent designed to stave off public pressure to act. Incentives for sustained climate policy underreactions were found to be driven by both economic cost considerations and blame avoidance. These are underpinned by the ability of successive governments to shift risk and responsibility onto future generations and to export it to vulnerable communities abroad, contributing to the growth of global inequality predicted to result from climate change. Identification of approaches that increase the costs of inaction for incumbents and develop public resistance to political misinformation and ignorance-building tactics are recommended.

ABSTRACTS

ABSTRACTS, IN ORDER OF DAY AND STREAM

Day and stream:

Thursday 10th, 9:50-11:20am

Authors/presenters

Olli Hellmann, University of Waikato

Title

Collective memory of environmental change and environmentalist identity: Survey evi-

Abstract

Based on an original survey of 1,100+ adults in Aotearoa New Zealand, this paper shows that collective memory of environmental change and environmentalist identity are closely interlinked: what we know and believe about human-caused environmental change in the past shapes how we perceive ourselves in relationship to nature in the present. The analysis identifies two potential causal mechanisms: a 'precarious existence of life' mechanism (environmental change as 'evidence' that the natural balance is fragile) and a 'collective regret' mechanism (ensuring that our duties towards nature will not be violated again in the future). These findings have significant implications in that they highlight opportunities for the field of collective memory studies to contribute to meeting the social-ecological challenges of the Anthropocene. The paper concludes by proposing a new research agenda, outlining different ways in which we can improve our understanding of how collective remembering can create more environmentally-conscious citizens.

ABSTRACTS

ABSTRACTS, IN ORDER OF DAY AND STREAM

Day and stream:

Thursday 10th, 9:50-11:20am

Authors/presenters

Dominic Pink, Auckland University of Technology

Title

Dissensus on the ecological crisis

Abstract

The existential threats posed by the ecological crisis demand new ways of imagining the future, new ways of being and relating to the environment, to each other, and fundamentally, new ways of doing politics. We are living in a new geological epoch, one in which the window of opportunity to minimise cascading catastrophe is rapidly narrowing, and yet, our political consensus remains stuck in business-as-usual. Put another way, our economic system is destroying our planetary system, and only one of these systems can be changed (Klein, 2014). My research is focused on critiquing the common sense concerning the ecological crisis and exploring creative ways to articulate a dissensus. Jacques Rancière's notion of dissensus offers a useful way of rethinking politics and making an intervention. Dissensus is "not a conflict of interests, opinions, or values; it is a division put in the common sense" (Rancière, 2015, p. 77). For Rancière, politics exists when the dominant status quo is challenged, and artistic practices, such as filmmaking, are one way of changing the frame through dissensus. I want to explore ecological thinking as a dissensus from our liberal-capitalist-colonialist common sense, including the many ways of reimagining society occurring in fields such as political ecology, eco-Marxism, world-systems, ecofeminism and degrowth. I am interested in how my proposed cinematic exploration of alternative ways of being and knowing might constitute an 'ecological dissensus'.

ABSTRACTS

ABSTRACTS, IN ORDER OF DAY AND STREAM

Day and stream:

Thursday 10th, 9:50-11:20am

Stream 4

Authors/presenters

Jacqui Dickson, The University of Waikato

Title

The Window is Rapidly Closing: Analysing the effectiveness of the “Time-Critical Necessary Actions” and “Necessary Actions” identified in the Climate Change Commission’s 2021 Draft Advice for Consultation report.

Abstract

Climate change is arguably the most pressing issue facing humanity today. In New Zealand, the Climate Change Commission was established as a requirement of the Zero Carbon Act to independently advise the Government in taking strong, decisive action to address climate change (Climate Change Commission, n.d.). The Commission issued its draft advice in early 2021, seeking feedback from the general public on its integrated recommendations across multiple sectors. The aim of this paper is to analyse the effectiveness of the seven “Time-Critical Necessary Actions” and nineteen “Necessary Actions” identified by the Climate Change Commission in its 2021 Draft Advice for Consultation report, at a national level in New Zealand. These recommended actions are those addressed specifically to the first emissions budget period.

This study aims to add to the growing literature surrounding New Zealand’s policy response to climate change. Secondary data, including scientific climate data, New Zealand environmental policies and policy analysis, stakeholder submissions, news articles, and New Zealand climate literature, were gathered, synthesised, and evaluated using an adapted version of Fischer’s (1995) logic for policy evaluation to assess whether the recommended actions were appropriate and adequate to meet New Zealand’s commitments under the Zero Carbon Act. The findings demonstrate that the recommended actions fulfil their objectives for the first emissions budget period; are relevant to meeting New Zealand’s commitments under the Zero Carbon Act; their intended outcomes have value for New Zealand society; and New Zealanders’ shared values provide a basis for resolving conflicts that may arise. Overall, the recommended actions are found to be ambitious enough to get New Zealand on track to meet its commitments.

Note: This paper was written before the final advice of the Climate Change Commission “Ināia tonu nei: a low emissions future for Aotearoa” was released.

ABSTRACTS

ABSTRACTS, IN ORDER OF DAY AND STREAM

Day and stream: Thursday 10 th , 11:40am-1:10pm Stream 1
Authors/presenters Lara M. Greaves (p), University of Auckland, Ella Morgan, University of Auckland and
Title NZES 2020: The Māori Party's return to Parliament
Abstract The Māori Party's exit from parliament in 2017 took many by surprise but was predictable given the decline in its support over previous elections. The return of the party to parliament in 2020 was not so predictable. In fact, given the Labour Party's historic election result, the Māori Party's success in having a candidate elected by ousting a Labour candidate requires analysis and explanation. This paper asks where votes and support for the Māori party came from in 2020 and tests a number of explanations suggested since the election. Did the Party shift to the left in 2020 and did that win them greater support? Did the party benefit from a change in leadership after the 2017 defeat? Was Labour's handling of issues of concern to Māori (such as COVID-19 and Ihumātao) responsible for its increased support? The paper also considers Māori voters within the context of the "Team of Five Million". It continues analysis comparing data from the 2017 election relating to Māori opinions of leaders, participation and engagement in politics to demonstrate how Māori political engagement differs from that other groups.

ABSTRACTS

ABSTRACTS, IN ORDER OF DAY AND STREAM

Day and stream:

Thursday 10th, 11:40-1:10

Authors/presenters

Sam Crawley, Te Herenga Waka—Victoria University of Wellington

Title

NZES 2020: What happened to climate change in Election 2020

Abstract

There are indications that a consensus among elites on climate change has been growing in NZ. The Climate Change Act 2019 received cross-party support in parliament, and prior to the 2020 election, the government had reached agreement with farming leaders on including agricultural emissions in the emissions trading scheme. Recent studies have suggested there is a similar consensus among the general public in NZ (Milfont et al, 2017), despite earlier surveys showing that NZ exhibited higher levels of climate denial than the US and Australia. This paper examines what happened to the issue of climate change in the election, given the high-profile focus on both the pandemic and its economic ramifications. Were the recent movements towards elite consensus reflected in the opinions of the general public of NZ? To what extent does the New Zealand public accept that climate change is happening, is primarily caused by humans and is a significant risk to humanity, and do opinions differ across the political spectrum? And if climate change is no longer a “wedge” issue, does this mean that the metaphor of "Team of Five Million" can be harnessed beyond the COVID-19 crisis to support ongoing action on climate change?

ABSTRACTS

ABSTRACTS, IN ORDER OF DAY AND STREAM

Day and stream:

Thursday 10th, 11:40am-1:10pm

Stream 1

Authors/presenters

Ass. Prof. Rachel Simon-Kumar, (The University of Auckland) Prof. Priya Kurian, (The University of Waikato), Hye Ji (Erica) Lee, (The University of Auckland)

Title

In the Intersections of Race, Gender and Politics: Profiling New Zealand's Ethnic Women Politicians

Abstract

Minority ethnic women – Black, Asian, Latina, refugee, migrant, of diverse religions and sexual orientations – in countries ranging from the United Kingdom, Netherlands, France, US, and, Germany, among others, are starting to stand for, and be successful, in political office that have traditionally been the domain of white men. In most cases, they signify a politics of change, of deliberately constructed crises, as part of an agenda of radical transformation.

New Zealand too appears to be following this trend. In its 2020 General Election, New Zealand elected its most diverse parliament to date with the entry of a record number of women, sexually diverse, and cultural minority candidates inclusive of Māori, Pasifika, and ethnic migrants. This election was a particularly triumphant moment for women candidates from New Zealand's ethnic minority/migrant communities: a record 19 ethnic women stood as candidates across five major and minor parties, including also a number of young ethnic women among them. Of these, seven elected representatives from three parties (Labour, National and Greens) form part of the current 53rd Parliament. For a minority group that represents around 16 per cent of New Zealand's population, this is indeed a significant achievement.

The *Ethnic Women in New Zealand Politics* (EWP) is a multi-disciplinary research project examining a suite of issues around ethnic women's political representation in Parliament and local government, including the enablers and barriers to entering politics, their leadership styles, media coverage, questions of identity, political ideology and affiliation, and experiences of racism and sexism. This presentation introduces the project and its objectives; offers an overview of the key findings from an international literature review on minority women and politics, and outlines a summary profile of New Zealand ethnic minority women politicians from 1996 to date. The paper explores the role of transformation and the perceived 'crisis' of intersectionality politics to the status quo that accompanies ethnic women's involvement in political office.

1 The term 'ethnic' used here draws on the official definition used by the Ministry of Ethnic Communities of New Zealand and refers to peoples from the countries of Asia, Latin America, Africa, Middle East, and Continental Europe, and includes both recent migrants to New Zealand and established communities who have been resident in New Zealand since the 19th Century or earlier.

ABSTRACTS

ABSTRACTS, IN ORDER OF DAY AND STREAM

Day and stream:

Thursday 10th, 11:40am-1:10pm

Authors/presenters

Anne-Mette Sundahl, Te Herenga Waka—Victoria University of Wellington

Title

Personality cult or a mere matter of popularity?

Abstract

This paper introduces a model for distinguishing between mere popularity and personality cults as there currently is an inflated use of the personality cult concept, especially in news media, attaching it to significantly different phenomena. The model is based on Weber's concept of charismatic authority and consists of three parameters, widespread symbolic elevation, resilience, and religious parallels, covering a representational and social practice dimension. Both dimensions are needed to constitute a personality cult. Trump, Putin and Ardern are used as examples of the model's ability to distinguish between cult and non-cult phenomena. The comparison shows that only Trump and Putin have a cult on both dimensions. Mere popular politicians like Ardern are more comparable to celebrities as these do not have the same authority and power over the followers as leaders with a personality cult – despite potentially showing some cultlike tendencies on the representational dimension. Popular politicians are thus especially characterized by lacking the key social practice aspect of personality cults. As they might still exhibit some cultlike characteristics, the different phenomena are best perceived as being on a continuum ranging from mere admiration or popularity to a personality cult.

ABSTRACTS

ABSTRACTS, IN ORDER OF DAY AND STREAM

Day and stream: Thursday 10 th , 11:40am-1:10pm
Authors/presenters Edward Elder, University of Auckland
Title Communicating Leadership during the COVID-19 Pandemic
Abstract This paper will examine how New Zealand's two major party leaders, Jacinda Ardern and Judith Collins, communicated the qualities of responsiveness, leadership and credibility in the leadup to the 2020 New Zealand General Election through both verbal and non-verbal cues. In particular, it will focus on this communication in relation to the issue that dominated the 2020 New Zealand General Election, COVID-19. In doing so, the paper will highlight how Ardern was able to utilise campaign-oriented government communication and social marketing, her established image as a compassionate, responsive and relatable governing leader and the success of the Government's COVID-19 management strategy to present a well-rounded leadership image. It will also highlight how Collins, partly due to being new in the leadership position as well as a number of unforced errors in strategy, was unable to capitalise on the usual benefits of being the challenger in order to present herself as a credible and compassionate alternative.

ABSTRACTS

ABSTRACTS, IN ORDER OF DAY AND STREAM

Day and stream:

Thursday 10th, 11:40am-1:10pm

Authors/presenters

Olli Hellmann, Waikato University

Title

Visual narratives of environmental change: memory and identity at New Zealand heritage sites

Abstract

This paper interrogates historical photographs exhibited at public heritage sites in Aotearoa New Zealand. The analysis reveals that the photographs – by portraying nineteenth-century environmental change as a ‘heroic’ narrative of ‘progress’ – construct New Zealand national identity in opposition to nature, rather than promote a sense of connectedness with the natural environment. The paper thus makes three important contributions to the literature on the visualisation of environmental and climate change. First, the empirical case study demonstrates that visual narratives shape our social identities in relation to nature. Second, the analysis highlights that when we investigate photographs in terms of the stories they tell we have to apply a multimodal approach that takes into consideration the wider communicative context. Third, by borrowing ideas from the literature on collective memory, the paper shows that historical photographs – even though they depict scenes that are set in the distant past – can still influence environmental attitudes and behaviours in the present.

ABSTRACTS

ABSTRACTS, IN ORDER OF DAY AND STREAM

Day and stream:

Thursday 10th, 11.40am-1:10pm

Stream 3

Authors/presenters

Maria Armoudian, University of Auckland

Title

Barriers to Justice for Survivors of Egregious Human Rights Violations: Political Intersections and Solutions

Abstract

Survivors of egregious human rights abuses, such as torture, genocide, and slavery, face unique barriers to justice, not simply because of the legal and political systems and structure but because of a litany of impediments that have not been recognized as political problems. Thus while scholars of law and politics have aptly analysed barriers arising from international laws, such as sovereignty and jurisdiction and failures of international tribunals, a wider lens of analysis is needed to understand these barriers, individually and in their totality. For example, trauma and fear prevent many survivors and witnesses from coming forward. Physical and geographical barriers, including dangers, border controls, and visa restrictions block fact-finding, legal procedures, and advocates' access to witnesses, evidence, or their own clients. Poverty and economic disincentives limit survivors' access to counsel because few can afford the risks of representing them in years or decades-long procedures. Ideological barriers, which have valued economic development above the lives of poor or indigenous communities, have stifled preventive or corrective policies. And environmental destruction upends indigenous survivors' capacity to survive and thrive. Through interviews, court records, government and media reports, and previous scholarship, this paper explores these impediments to justice as political problems, both individually and collectively, in an effort to present a holistic analysis and toward building more reliable pathways to justice.

ABSTRACTS

ABSTRACTS, IN ORDER OF DAY AND STREAM

Day and stream:

Thursday 10th, 11:40am-1:10pm

Authors/presenters

J.T.S (Thumira) Gunasena, PhD student at University of Auckland

Title

Holistic approach towards the application of transitional justice in Sri Lanka: prospects and challenges (2009 -2015)

Abstract

Transitional justice (TJ) is internationally accepted and applied in local contexts in transitions from conflict to peaceful or authoritarian to democratic society, as the most suitable method of dealing with the past gross human rights violations, making either states or individuals accountable for such. The United Nations Human Rights Council (UNHRC) pressures governments to adopt TJ mechanisms perceived to be “appropriate”. It and other international organizations produce and promote international standards and teach sovereign states TJ norms which is called as social identity formation at international level.

Between 2009-2015, the UNHRC pushed the Sri Lankan government to adopt accountability measures to deal with alleged war crimes. However, domestic policy makers consider the repercussions of these measures accompanied by a logic of consequences.

Using thematic analysis this paper presents an analysis of international TJ project as one dominant construction of TJ representing logic of appropriateness while the domestic application of it as another dominant construction. Domain shift in Sinhala Buddhist nationalism, identity formation political patronage, political survival, and regime consolidation are some of elements in domestic construction of TJ. The clash of these two led to an emerging construction of TJ in Sri Lanka.

This paper argues that, in the Sri Lankan context, transitional justice is neither a complete denial nor a total acceptance. It shows how international and local actors and institutions positioned themselves to resolve crises and how the nationalization of international TJ project describes the unique constellation of TJ in Sri Lanka.

ABSTRACTS

ABSTRACTS, IN ORDER OF DAY AND STREAM

Day and stream: Thursday 10 th , 11:40am-1:10pm
Authors/presenters Erkan Eroglu, Doctoral Candidate, Politics and International Relations, The University of
Title Living in Limbo: Syrian refugees in Turkey during the resilience-era of international humanitarian aid
Abstract The civil war in Syria has led to millions of Syrians being displaced since 2011, and over 3.6 million of them living in Turkey by 2021. But little is known about how Turkey manages these refugees and how the refugees are coping. This paper lifts the veil and uncovers a complex dynamic that starts with the unequal distribution of refugees among Western countries and the efforts of the EU to keep refugees in Turkey through resilience-based models of humanitarian aid provided in cooperation with local authorities to strengthen the self-sufficiency of refugees and hosts against crises. Meanwhile, Turkey has not granted permanent legal status to Syrians for over ten years, which live in a limbo situation that drives them to live and work precariously. This paper will help us think about what resilience and precarity mean for Syrians in practical terms and offer a window into who benefits from the refugee resilience policies in Turkey.

ABSTRACTS

ABSTRACTS, IN ORDER OF DAY AND STREAM

Day and stream: Thursday 10 th , 11:40am-1:10pm Stream 4
Authors/presenters Xavier Marquez, Te Herenga Waka—Victoria University of Wellington
Title Ancient Tyranny and Modern Dictatorship: The Changing Face of Political Pathology
Abstract Terms like 'tyranny', 'despotism', 'autocracy', and 'dictatorship' have come to denote key forms of political pathology, though the frequency of their usage has varied over time, and some of them have not always had a purely negative valence. Classical thought understood tyranny as a moral phenomenon, where the personalization of power in the hands of the tyrant had corrosive moral effects on both the tyrant and those tyrannized. Modern dictatorship, by contrast, has come to be understood as the specific pathology of republican forms of government -- that is, forms of government that claim to be based on the consent of the governed. Discussion of what phenomena fall under the banner of 'dictatorship' (and associated controversies) has thus tended to point to the variety of ways in which consent, and choice, are coerced, manipulated, or made null and void, in particular political contexts in ways that are not always incompatible with the forms of democracy or the exercise of impersonal power. Modern 'dictatorship' is thus quite diverse in its forms. This shift in focus in discussions of political pathology from the corrosive moral effect of tyranny to the consent-destroying effect of dictatorship is itself a symptom of the wider spread of 'modernity'.

ABSTRACTS

ABSTRACTS, IN ORDER OF DAY AND STREAM

Day and stream:

Thursday 10th, 11:40am-1:10pm

Authors/presenters

Berkay Koçak, PhD Candidate at The University of Waikato

Title

Politics of Kant's Universalism: The Ideological Context of Freedom, Equality, Property &

Abstract

After the French Revolution in 1789, Immanuel Kant's dedication to a rational-universalist philosophy distinguished him from his contemporaries as he sought to counterbalance and redefine the intellectual turbulence that emerged in the Revolution's wake. While the politics of the Revolution polarized the German intelligentsia into romanticist/conservative and enlightened/revolutionary camps, Kant managed to counterbalance this intellectual turbulence by redefining the controversial themes of the time. By consolidating the 'Rival Enlightenments' of Prussia under a highly rational, universalist philosophy, Kant's universalism offered revisions to the politics of the French Revolution on certain key concepts such as freedom, equality, property, and state. In doing so, he laid the foundations of modern theories of international relations and the concept of a cosmopolitan republican state/order (Weltbürgerrecht). By revisiting some of his classic works, including the Perpetual Peace (1795) and the Metaphysics of Morals (1797), this presentation critically analyses how Kant redefined the key concepts of the Revolution through universalism in relation to the reformation project of the rising bureaucratic class (Bildungsbürgertum) in the Prussian state.

ABSTRACTS

ABSTRACTS, IN ORDER OF DAY AND STREAM

Day and stream:
Authors/presenters
Distinguished Professor Steven Ratuva Macmillan Brown Centre for Pacific Studies, University of Canterbury
Title
The Crisis of Racialized Knowledge and Power: Reflections on the neo-colonial Pacific
Abstract
<p>The controversial insinuation by the “Auckland University Seven” that indigenous knowledge “is not science” is just a surface manifestation of the deep-seated crisis of racialized knowledge, which has roots in the social Darwinian thought of the “European enlightenment,” and normalized institutionally and perpetuated in subconscious ways through colonialism and spills over into modern geopolitics, education and development discourses. This has implications on how Pacific knowledge and power have been framed in mainstream cultural and political discourse. This paper critically discusses the dominant “intellectual supremacy” narrative by (a) critiquing the claims to knowledge supremacy; (b) examining how neo-liberalism and the marketization of knowledge have further racialized epistemic and political inequity and the further subalternization of indigenous epistemic systems; (c) examining the implications of these on expressions of Pacific indigenous knowledge, politics, culture and power (d) identifying the potential to leverage these to decolonize and empower.</p>