



NZPSA 2022

Reclaiming Common Ground: A Key Challenge for Political Studies

2022 Annual Conference: The University of Waikato

Reclaiming Common Ground: A Key Challenge for Political Studies

The annual conference of the New Zealand Political Studies Association will be held online from **Tuesday 29th November until Thursday 1st December 2022.**



NZPSA 2022 Schedule

Schedule

Note: Zoom links for each session are provided below

NZPSA Day 1 - 29 November

9:30 - 10:15, Day 1, November 29

Conference Opening

Welcome

Announcement of paper prize winners

[Zoom Link \(Main Room\)](#)

10:15 - 10:30, Day 1, November 29

Break

10:30 - 12:00, Day 1, November 29

Opening Plenary

Paul Hunt, Chief Human Rights Commissioner of New Zealand

Postcolonial human rights: A pathway to an inclusive society

Chair: Patrick Barrett

[Zoom Link \(Main Room\)](#)

12:00 - 12:30, Day 1, November 29

Break

12:30 - 14:00, Day 1, November 29

[Paper Session I](#)

Stream 1:

International Relations: Transdisciplinary Dialogues on Terrorism in New Zealand

[Zoom Link \(Main Room\)](#)

Stream 2:

Aotearoa New Zealand Politics: Central and Local Government Politics

[Zoom Link \(Room 2\)](#)

Stream 3:

Political Theory - Colonisation and Indigenous Politics

[Zoom Link \(Room 3\)](#)

Stream 4:

Environmental Policymaking – Critical Developments

[Zoom Link \(Room 4\)](#)

14:00 - 14:15, Day 1, November 29

Break

14:15 - 15:45, Day 1, November 29

Plenary Panel

Politics, Communication and Climate Change Policy: where to next?

Chair: Lisa Ellis

Nevada Huaki-foote, Bronwyn Hayward, David Hall, Steven Ratuva

[Zoom Link \(Main Room\)](#)

15:45 - 16:30, Day 1, November 29

NZPSA Network Meetings

Civics, Citizenship and Political Literacy

Political Communication Network

[Zoom Link \(Main Room\)](#)

16:30 - 17:15, Day 1, November 29

Additional NZPSA Network Meetings

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9:00 - 10:30, Day 2, November 30

[Paper Session II](#)

Stream 1:

International Relations: Trans-disciplinary Dialogues on New Zealand's Approach to Counter terrorism

[Zoom Link \(Main Room\)](#)

Stream 2:

New Zealand Politics and Political Communication

[Zoom Link \(Room 2\)](#)

Stream 3:

Comparative Politics – Experiences of Authoritarianism and Populism

[Zoom Link \(Room 3\)](#)

Stream 4:

Environmental Politics and Policy

[Zoom Link \(Room 4\)](#)

Stream 5:

Roundtable on Women Talking Politics, Gender and Politics Network, and Women's Caucus

[Zoom Link \(Room 5\)](#)

10:30 - 10:50, Day 2, November 30

Break

10:50 - 12:30, Day 2, November 30

Plenary panel

Misogyny in Aotearoa New Zealand Politics

Chair: Tracey Nicholls

Rachel Simon-Kumar, Jan Jordan, Metiria Turei

[Zoom Link \(Main Room\)](#)

12:30 - 13:30, Day 2, November 30

Break

NZPSA Network Meetings

Local Government Research (LGR) Network

Political Theory Network (PTN)

Environmental Politics and Policy Network (EPPN)

[Zoom Link \(Main Room\)](#)

13:30 - 15:00, Day 2, November 30

[Paper Session III](#)

Stream 1:

International Relations - China and the world

[Zoom Link \(Main Room\)](#)

Stream 2:

New Zealand Politics and Chinese New Zealanders

[Zoom Link \(Room 2\)](#)

Stream 3:

Comparative Politics – The Politics of Nationalism, Transitional Justice and Refugee Governance

[Zoom Link \(Room 3\)](#)

Stream 4:

Gender Politics

[Zoom Link \(Room 4\)](#)

Stream 5:

Comparative Pandemic Politics

[Zoom Link \(Room 5\)](#)

15:00 - 15:30, Day 2, November 30

Break

15:30 - 17:00, Day 2, November 30

NZPSA AGM

[Zoom Link \(Main Room\)](#)

NZPSA Day 3 - 1 December

09:00 - 10:30, Day 3, December 1

[Paper Session IV](#)

Stream 1:

Strategic Narratives: China and the US

[Zoom Link \(Main Room\)](#)

Stream 2:

New Zealand Politics: Roundtable on Voting at 16 - International Insights and New Zealand Implications

[Zoom Link \(Room 2\)](#)

Stream 3:

Political Theory: The State, Political Obligation, and Neoliberalism

[Zoom Link \(Room 3\)](#)

Stream 4:

Comparative Politics and Policy

[Zoom Link \(Room 4\)](#)

Stream 5:

Roundtable on Military Abolition: New Zealand's Nonviolent Alternative

[Zoom Link \(Room 5\)](#)

10:30 - 11:00, Day 3, December 1

Break

11:00 - 12:30, Day 3, December 1

Plenary Panel

Possibilities in Pandemic Teaching

Chair: Claire Timperly

Julija Sardelić, Greta Snyder, Ayca Arkilic

[Zoom Link \(Main Room\)](#)

12:30 - 13:00, Day 3, December 1

Break

13:00 - 13:50, Day 3, December 1

President's Address: Richard Shaw

[Zoom Link \(Main Room\)](#)

13:50 - 14:00, Day 3, December 1

Break

14:00 - 15:30, Day 3, December 1

Closing Plenary Panel

Co-governance and the evolution of shared decision-making in Aotearoa

Chair: Richard Shaw

Maria Bargh, Carwyn Jones, Janine Hayward

[Zoom Link \(Main Room\)](#)

Tuesday, November 29: Paper Session I

[Stream 1](#)

[Stream 2](#)

[Stream 3](#)

[Stream 4](#)

12:30 - 14:00, Day 1, November 29

Paper Session I

ZOOM LINK TBC

Stream 1

International Relations: Transdisciplinary Dialogues on Terrorism in New Zealand

[Zoom Link \(Main Room\)](#)

Abstract:

In response to the 15 March 2019 terrorist attacks and the subsequent call from the Royal Commission of Inquiry to develop evidence-based expert knowledge about terrorism and counterterrorism in Aotearoa, this panel brings together a range of research perspectives on terrorism. A companion panel to the Panel on Transdisciplinary Dialogues on New Zealand's Approach to Counter-terrorism, this panel seeks to better understand the terrorism and political violence landscape in New Zealand. Employing a variety of different methodological approaches and disciplinary perspectives, and focused on different types of threats and issues, it explores the variegated and evolving threats posed

by terrorism and political violence, and attempts to provide an empirically grounded critical framework for its understanding.

Chair: Richard Jackson

Papers:

Lydia Le Gros (Otago):

A Genealogy of terrorism: New Zealand's Colonial Counter-Terrorism Prose

Vikrant Desai (Waikato):

Modelling Radicalisation: Applying Situational Action Theory (SAT) to the Christchurch Terror Attacks

Che Tibby and Cameron Bayly (The New Zealand Police):

The current absence of left-wing extremism in New Zealand

Marnie Lloyd (Victoria):

Solidarity and Transnational Volunteer Fighting: New Zealand's 'Unpacked' Legislation

Stream 2

Aotearoa New Zealand Politics: Central and Local Government Politics

[Zoom Link \(Room 2\)](#)

Chair: Peter Skilling

Papers:

Julienne Molineaux and Charles Crothers (AUT):

"Keep politics out of local government"

Karen Webster and Charles Crothers (AUT):

Auckland governance: A decade on from the 2010 reforms

Sean Mahoney et al. :

#cunningbastards [1] – Working towards a framework for Central Government intervention in Local Governance

Janine Hayward and Chris Rudd (Otago):

Dunedin Voters 1960–2020: Stability or Change?

Stream 3

Political Theory - Colonisation and Indigenous Politics

[Zoom Link \(Room 3\)](#)

Chair: Olli Hellman

Papers:

Lucas Knotter (Waikato):

Kōrero me Rangatiratanga: Māori Sovereignty and the Politics of Translation

Anthony Wayne Hobert, Jr. (University of South Carolina):

Locke, Stock, and Two Whiskey Barrels

Callum Stewart (University of Melbourne):

Race, Nation, and Age: theorising White settler futurism

Stream 4

Environmental Policymaking – Critical Developments

[Zoom Link \(Room 4\)](#)

Chair: Sam Crawley

Papers:

Shannon Hodge (Waikato):

Constructing the circular economy: A discourse analysis of conceptualisations of circularity across New Zealand central government agencies

Ben Smith (University of Oslo and Victoria):

What can narratives tell us about the wickedness of problems and solutions for sustainability transitions? The case of agri-food in Norway

Nathan Fioritti (Monash), Christina Schneider (UC San Diego), Robert Thomson (Monash):

Trading Partners, Political Parties and the Promotion of Environmental Standards

Simran Keshwani (Macquarie):

Asia's "Other" Giant: The Political Economy of India's Energy Transition

Wednesday, November 30: Paper Session II

[Stream 1](#)

[Stream 2](#)

[Stream 3](#)

[Stream 4](#)

[Stream 5](#)

9:00 - 10:30, Day 2, November 30

Paper Session II

Stream 1

International Relations: Transdisciplinary Dialogues on New Zealand's Approach to Counterterrorism

[Zoom Link \(Main Room\)](#)

Chair: Damien Rogers

Papers:

Qiwei Kang (Auckland):

Countering Terrorism in Aotearoa New Zealand: How public opinion holds potential in shaping counterterrorism approach

Jeremy Simons (Otago):

Restorative Justice, Bi-culturalism, and Social Cohesion: Time for a new Praxis?

Shirley Gabriella Achieng (Otago):

Towards a decolonial approach to New Zealand's counterterrorism

Richard Jackson, Damien Rogers (Otago, Massey):

PCVE in Aotearoa New Zealand: Towards an Evidence-based Approach

Stream 2

New Zealand Politics and Political Communication

[Zoom Link \(Room 2\)](#)

Chair: Janine Hayward

Papers:

Stacey Howman (Otago):

New Zealand politicians' social media framing: variations across parties and platforms

Katie Ryan (Otago):

Cats, Cricket and Craft Beer: Aotearoa's Politicians and Self-Personalisation on Social Media

Jo Bond:

Intersectionality on the Internet: One Man's Treasure is Another Man's Terror!

Stream 3

Comparative Politics – Experiences of Authoritarianism and Populism

[Zoom Link \(Room 3\)](#)

Chair: Lucas Knotter

Papers:

Berkay Koçak (Waikato):

Authoritarian Consolidation or Return to Democracy? Rethinking Turkey's 2023 in the context of Neoliberal Authoritarianism

Nadine Kreitmeyr (Canterbury):

Social entrepreneurship and the (ab)use of social accountability: authoritarian accountability and neoliberal governance in Egypt, Jordan and Morocco after the 2011 uprisings

William J. Wallace (University of Newcastle):

Bob Katter's Populist Initiatives: Tilting at Windmills or Misplaced Power Seeking?

Indi Akurugoda (University of Ruhuna, Sri Lanka):

Do people gain political consciousness through economic hardships? Transformation of a peaceful protest into a violent riot in Sri Lanka

Stream 4

Environmental Politics and Policy

[Zoom Link \(Room 4\)](#)

Chair: Patrick Barrett

Papers:

Olli Hellmann (Waikato):

Indigenous-washing and colonial amnesia: how New Zealand's nation brand frames the global climate crisis

Sam Crawley (Victoria):

Conservative ideology and the "climate publics" of Aotearoa New Zealand and Australia

Olivia Woodham (Otago):

Gendered Perceptions and Attitudes Towards Climate Change in Aotearoa

Susanna Barthow (Waikato):

Aotearoa New Zealand's Waste Reduction Strategy and the Construction and Demolition Industry: What makes Waste Disposal Levies Effective?

Stream 5

Roundtable on Women Talking Politics, Gender and Politics Network, and Women's Caucus

[Zoom Link \(Room 5\)](#)

Chair: TBC

Papers:

Barbara Bedeschi-Lewando, Heather Devere, Nashie Shamoon and Heather Tribe (Victoria and Otago):

Editing a journal collaboratively: Women Talking Politics together

Wednesday, November 30: Paper Session III

[Stream 1](#)

[Stream 2](#)

[Stream 3](#)

[Stream 4](#)

[Stream 5](#)

13:30 - 15:00, Day 2, November 30

Paper Session III

Stream 1

International Relations - China and the world

[Zoom Link \(Main Room\)](#)

Chair: Olli Hellmann

Papers:

[Ben Cherry-Smith \(Adelaide\):](#)

[Articulating Anxiety: Australia 2017 Foreign Policy White Paper, Rules-Based Order, and the Role of China](#)

[Lui, Yanchi \(Canterbury\):](#)

[The complexity of EU-China-US relations](#)

[Brian S. Roper \(Otago\):](#)

[China's Rise and the US Response: Implications for the Global Order and New Zealand](#)

Stream 2

New Zealand Politics and Chinese New Zealanders

[Zoom Link \(Room 2\)](#)

Chair: Janine Hayward

Papers:

Leah Du (Auckland):

We want more than descriptive representation: A case study of Chinese New Zealanders' interaction with Chinese Members of Parliament

Jiancheng Zheng (Waikato):

Diasporic, Media Use, and Political Engagement

Luna Zhao (Auckland):

Being a Chinese voter in New Zealand: an analysis of Chinese New Zealanders' voting behaviour

Stream 3

Comparative Politics – The Politics of Nationalism, Transitional Justice and Refugee Governance

[Zoom Link \(Room 3\)](#)

Chair: Justin Phillips

Papers:

Ainoa Cabada (Adelaide):

“Populist Sovereignty” a Threat to Refugee Rights

Mohammad Abdul-Hwas (Canberra):

The potential and limits of deliberative democracy in the governance of refugee crisis

J. Thumira Gunasena (Auckland):

The impact of long-distance nationalism of Sri Lankan Tamil diaspora on transitional justice development in the country (2009 to 2019).

Stream 4

Gender Politics

[Zoom Link \(Room 4\)](#)

Chair: Tracey Nicholls

Papers:

[Gaayathri Nair \(Auckland\):](#)

[Expanding the Leadership Landscape: Exploring the Role of Ethnic Minority Women Community leaders in Aotearoa](#)

[Flora Galy-Badenas, Rachel Simon-Kumar \(Auckland\), Priya Kurian \(Waikato\): Women of many “firsts”:](#)

[Novelty framing of ethnic women politicians in Aotearoa New Zealand](#)

[Elle Dibrova \(Otago\):](#)

[Hegemonic national identity in contemporary Russia and access to sexual rights for LGBT+ people in the country.](#)

Stream 5

Comparative Pandemic Politics

[Zoom Link \(Room 5\)](#)

Chair: Patrick Barrett

Papers:

[Kristina Grabovska \(James Cook University\):](#)

[Global responses to pandemics: The lessons from SARS 2002-2003](#)

[Roshan Taj Humayun \(Istanbul Sabahattin Zaim University\):](#)

[Post-Pandemic Multilateral Diplomacy: Options for Shanghai Cooperation Organization \(SCO\).](#)

[Patrick Barrett \(Waikato\), Kenton Bird \(Idaho\), Daniel Zirker \(Waikato\):](#)

[Making Sense of the Motives Behind the Unified Parliamentary Grounds Invasion Incident, 2022: The Potential of Populism as a Discursive Style?](#)

[Indi Akurugoda and Manjula Karunaratne \(University of Ruhuna, Sri Lanka\):](#)

[Free education versus online education: The exclusion of underprivileged students from state universities in Sri Lanka during COVID-19](#)

Thursday, December 1: Paper Session IV

[Stream 1](#)

[Stream 2](#)

[Stream 3](#)

[Stream 4](#)

[Stream 5](#)

09:00 - 10:30, Day 3, December 1

Paper Session IV

Stream 1

Strategic Narratives: China and the US

[Zoom Link \(Main Room\)](#)

Chair: Justin Phillips

Papers:

[Geyi Xie and Joanne Wallis \(Adelaide\):](#)

[China's use of strategic narratives in, and about, the Pacific Islands](#)

[Minh, Tran \(Canterbury\):](#)

[Magic Weapon versus Magic Shield: China's united front work in Vietnam](#)

[Timothy Lawler \(University of Auckland\):](#)

[U.S. Presidents and Pre-9/11 Counter-terrorism Policy](#)

Stream 2

New Zealand Politics: Roundtable on Voting at 16 - International Insights and New Zealand Implications

[Zoom Link \(Room 2\)](#)

Chair: Bronwyn Hayward

Papers:

Sanat Singh Make it 16 Co-convenor <sanat@makeit16.org.nz>

Caeden Tipler Make it 16 Co convenor caeden@makeit16.org.nz

Prof Sarah Pickard Sorbonne Nouvelle sarah.pickard@sorbonne-nouvelle.fr

Prof James Sloam Royal Holloway 'James.Sloam@rhul.ac.uk'

Prof Jan Eichhorn University of Edinburgh Jan.Eichhorn@ed.ac.uk

Prof Andy Mycock University of Huddersfield Andrew Mycock a.j.mycock@hud.ac.uk

Stream 3

Political Theory: The State, Political Obligation, and Neoliberalism

[Zoom Link \(Room 3\)](#)

Chair: Berkay Kocak

Papers:

Lucas Knotter (Waikato):

Benedict Anderson and De Facto States: Imagined Communities on the Road to Statehood?

William J. Wallace and Jim Jose (Newcastle):

Explicating the Conception of Political Obligation Embedded in Martin Heidegger's Early Treatises

Toby Boraman (Massey):

Debating the origins of neoliberalism in Aotearoa

Stream 4

Comparative Politics and Policy

[Zoom Link \(Room 4\)](#)

Chair: Patrick Barrett

Papers:

Suthikarn Meechan (Mahasarakham University, Thailand):

Old Bonds and New Ties: Re-examining Local Networks in Thailand

Hoa Vo (Victoria):

Discretion and Policy Implementation: A Vietnamese Case Study

Natalia Chaban (Canterbury) and Ole Elgström (Lund University, Sweden):

Russia's War in Ukraine and Transformation of EU Public Diplomacy: Challenges and Opportunities

Janina Suppers (University of York):

The value of school-based citizenship education to promote young people's participation in a changing democracy: A mixed methods case study with Year 8-10 students from Germany

Stream 5

Roundtable on Military Abolition: New Zealand's Nonviolent Alternative

[Zoom Link \(Room 5\)](#)

Chair: Richard Jackson

Papers:

Richard Jackson, Griffin Leonard, Joseph Llewelyn (Otago):

Military Abolition: New Zealand's Nonviolent Alternative



NZPSA 2022

Reclaiming Common Ground: A Key Challenge for Political Studies

2022 Annual Conference: The University of Waikato

Reclaiming Common Ground: A Key Challenge for Political Studies

Paper authors:

Mohammad Abdul-Hwas

Shirley Gabriella Achieng

Indi Akurugoda

Indi Akurugoda and Manjula Karunaratne

Patrick Barrett, Kenton Bird, and Daniel Zirker

Susanna Barthow

Barbara Bedeschi-Lewando, Heather Devere, Nashie Shamoon and Heather Tribe

Jo Bond

Toby Boraman

Ainoa Cabada

Natalia Chaban and Ole Elgström

Ben Cherry-Smith

Sam Crawley

Vikrant Desai

Elle Dibrova

Leah Du

Nathan Fioritti, Christina Schneider, Robert Thomson

Flora Galy-Badenas, Rachel Simon-Kumar, Priya Kurian

Kristina Grabovska

Lydia Le Gros

J. Thumira Gunasena

Janine Hayward and Chris Rudd

Olli Hellmann

Anthony Wayne Hobert, Jr.

Shannon Hodge

Stacey Howman

Roshan Taj Humayun

Richard Jackson and Damien Rogers

Richard Jackson, Griffin Leonard, and Joseph Llewelyn

Qiwei Kang

Simran Keshwani

Lucas Knotter

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Berkay Koçak

Nadine Kreitmeyr

Timothy Lawler

Marnie Lloyd

Lui, Yanchi

Sean Mahoney, et al.

Suthikarn Meechan

Minh, Tran

Julienne Molineaux and Charles Crothers

Gaayathri Nair

Brian S. Roper

Katie Ryan

Jeremy Simons

[Ben Smith](#)

[Callum Stewart](#)

[Janina Suppers](#)

[Che Tibby and Cameron Bayly](#)

[Hoa Vo](#)

[William J. Wallace](#)

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[Karen Webster and Charles Crothers](#)

[Olivia Woodham](#)

[Geyi Xie and Joanne Wallis](#)

[Luna Zhao](#)

[Jiancheng Zheng](#)

Abstracts and further details

Mohammad Abdul-Hwas

University of Canberra

The potential and limits of deliberative democracy in the governance of refugee crisis

Paper Session III

13:30 - 15:00, Day 2, November 30

The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees describes the Syrian refugee crisis as the largest displacement crisis of our time (UNHCR, 2018). Over eleven years into the Syria conflict, around 13.5 million forcibly displaced Syrian people still require humanitarian assistance, including 6.8 million Syrian refugees worldwide, mainly hosted in neighbouring Turkey, Lebanon and Jordan (UNHCR, 2021). UNHCR and other UN agencies, working with host governments, and humanitarian NGOs take the leadership role in governing the crisis. Based on my PhD dissertation, I investigate the governance of the Syrian refugee crisis from a deliberative systems perspective. Deliberative system is a fitting approach to understand the relationship between vulnerable communities and decision-makers, particularly its normative emphasis on inclusiveness, authenticity, and consequentiality. Using a deliberative systems approach, my research demonstrates the various ways in which decisions that impact the lives of refugees are made.

In my empirical research, I use the case study of Jordan for it has the second highest share of refugees compared to its population next only to Lebanon. After extensive field research including 38 face-to-face semi-structured interviews, I discuss the opportunities for voice and norms of deliberation refugees have experienced inside and outside camps. I argue that refugees had spaces for voice and contestation, where deliberative virtues of inclusion and authenticity were upheld. The problem lies in the consequentiality of these spaces; for many refugees, these spaces have a little significant impact or consequences on the decisions and services provided by the humanitarian actors.

Shirley Gabriella Achieng

The University of Otago

Towards a decolonial approach to New Zealand's counterterrorism

Paper Session II

9:00 - 10:30, Day 2, November 30

Despite its extensive history of enacting comprehensive legislations to deal with terrorism, New Zealand's terrorism experiences have been quite undulated. Moreover, the country's counterterrorism approach, stems from imported models which are predominantly underpinned in the events of 9/11. Since 9/11, knowledge on terrorism has been driven by events and policy demands. New Zealand, for example, enacted the Terrorism Suppression Act 2002 as part of the Global War on Terror (GWOT) campaign. Later, the New Zealand police conducted the infamous 'Operation Eight' police raids of 2007. These developments demonstrate that the country's counterterrorism strategy is firmly embedded in the broader Western security and intelligence architecture. However, the devastating Christchurch terrorism attacks have raised concerns about domestic terrorism in New Zealand. Further, debates have emerged on the efficacy of the Western-centric narrative on terrorism and how it fits within the realities of New Zealand's counterterrorism context. In this regard, this paper explores how the GWOT ideology might be counter-productive and asserts the need for a more nuanced approach for dealing with terrorism. In so doing, this paper invokes decolonial thinking by arguing for epistemic reconstitution and pluriversity of knowledges in how terrorism is understood and dealt with in the New Zealand context.

Indi Akurugoda

University of Ruhuna, Sri Lanka

Do people gain political consciousness through economic hardships? Transformation of a peaceful protest into a violent riot in Sri Lanka

Paper Session II

9:00 - 10:30, Day 2, November 30

The use of undemocratic ways to oust democratically elected governments and political representatives has become a current trend in many countries. Peaceful public protests seem transforming into violent riots creating a threat to democracy. The Sri Lanka's Executive President who was elected by the people in November 2019 had been forced to resign by a continuous protest initiated by the people, especially the younger generation during the period from April to July 2022. This resulted in ousting the democratically elected Executive President and driving the country towards anarchism. The leftist and nationalist parties and groups, including several trade unions pretended that they were the drivers of the protest and tried to grab the state power spreading violence and proposing to form a government outside the democratically elected Parliament.

This research examines the different trends and directions of such protest and asks why the majority of people who elected the Executive President initiated a protest to oust him and later proposed to form a government outside the Parliament. The study relied on qualitative data gathered through conducting unstructured interviews with selected protesters, trade union leaders, civil society organization activists and politicians. To collect additional information, media reports and relevant websites were observed. The findings suggest that a majority of people who believed in misinformation and voted for the winner candidate in the Presidential election, later joined the protests not because they have gained political consciousness, but due to the economic hardships they faced during the short tenure of the ousted President.

Indi Akurugoda and Manjula Karunarathne

University of Ruhuna, Sri Lanka

Free education versus online education: The exclusion of underprivileged students from state universities in Sri Lanka during COVID-19

Paper Session III

13:30 - 15:00, Day 2, November 30

COVID-19 pandemic made ‘social distancing’ a compulsory human activity. Governments forced people to work virtually from home. Educational institutions faced the same challenge towards converting face-to-face teaching into virtual teaching via various online platforms. Since 1945, Sri Lanka has implemented free education policies. Education, therefore, is free from primary school onwards until a student obtains a first degree from a state university. Through this, many students who face economic hardships receive opportunities to reach a higher social status obtaining educational qualifications. The government’s sudden decision to introduce virtual teaching resulted in excluding a large number of underprivileged students from the free education system.

This research specifically focuses on state universities in Sri Lanka. It asks why online education challenges the free education policy in Sri Lanka and examines the potential possibilities of teaching and learning at universities via virtual platforms. The research relied on qualitative data collected through conducting semi-structured interviews with university students, academics, administrators and union leaders in selected three state universities in Sri Lanka. In addition, research reports and journal articles related to online education were referred.

The findings suggest that the state universities in Sri Lanka did not widely practice online education as a major policy prior to COVID-19. Due to lack of facilities and training to work with virtual platforms, online education resulted in failures at the implementation stage. Consideration of the needs of underprivileged students and introduction of mechanisms to provide relevant facilities and training could improve the potential possibilities of university online education.

Patrick Barrett, Kenton Bird, and Daniel Zirker

University of Waikato, University of Idaho, University of Waikato

Making Sense of the Motives Behind the Unified Parliamentary Grounds Invasion Incident, 2022: The Potential of Populism as a Discursive Style?

Paper Session III

13:30 - 15:00, Day 2, November 30

The invasion of New Zealand’s parliamentary grounds over three weeks in February and early March, 2022, was ostensibly an anti-vaccination and anti-mandate “demonstration” by groups such as Voices for Freedom, the Freedom Alliance, the NZ Outdoors & Freedom Party, and the Freedoms and Rights Coalition, but it also included elements of a far-right agenda, conspiracy theories, references to Trumpism, white nationalism, and Christian fundamentalism. There were, therefore, multiple groups, diverse motivations, and a related absence of coordinated leadership. This raises the question: How might we understand the coming together of these diverse motivations in a unified parliamentary grounds invasion? In the following paper we present a brief macro-analytical examination, largely of journalistic accounts, that reflects on the usefulness of a populist frame, particularly populism as a discursive style, to explain the coalescence of these diverse actors. Specifically, we draw on Hofstadter’s (1964) ‘paranoid style’ of politics which is a type of rhetoric and mode of expression characterised by heated exaggeration, suspiciousness, and an apocalyptic conspiratorial worldview (Gidron and Bonikowski 2013). The paper concludes by reflecting on how we might respond to this type of populism and address the challenge of reclaiming common political ground.

Gidron, Noam, and Bart Bonikowski. 2013. Weatherhead Center for International Affairs, Harvard University, Working Paper Series, No. 4 *Varieties of Populism: Literature Review and Research Agenda*.

Hofstadter, Richard. 2008 (1964). *The Paranoid Style in American Politics and Other Essays*. New York: Vintage Books.

Susanna Barthow

University of Waikato

Aotearoa New Zealand's Waste Reduction Strategy and the Construction and Demolition Industry: What makes Waste Disposal Levies Effective?

Paper Session II

9:00 - 10:30, Day 2, November 30

Aotearoa New Zealand generates one of the highest amounts of waste per capita in the developed world and as much as 50% of this is construction and demolition (C & D) waste (Ministry for Environment, 2021; Building Research Association of New Zealand, 2022). Currently, the Ministry for the Environment (MfE) is developing a new waste strategy and has proposed changes to the Waste Minimisation Act 2008 with three main objectives of reducing waste and emissions, shifting to a circular economy, and being guided by the principles of Te Tiriti. The changes include expanding the scope of the waste disposal levy to include C & D waste.

This paper reviews the international literature on the effectiveness of using waste disposal levies as a policy tool for diverting C & D waste from landfill. Three key themes for effective application of this tool are identified, namely inclusion and choice; incentives and alternatives; and a higher levy rate. An examination of the revised levy in helping MfE achieve its three objectives concludes that the current strategy is unlikely to generate a depth of commitment to overall policy objectives, and the waste disposal levy, by itself, will be ineffective.

Barbara Bedeschi-Lewando, Heather Devere, Nashie Shamoon and Heather Tribe

Victoria University of Wellington and University of Otago

Editing a journal collaboratively: Women Talking Politics together

Paper Session II

9:00 - 10:30, Day 2, November 30

Women Talking Politics: The Research Magazine for the New Zealand Political Studies Association/Te Kāhui Tātai Tōrangapū o Aotearoa began as a newsletter in 1987. In an online session of the 2021 NZPSA Conference, there was a call for new editors for Women Talking Politics. Three people were interested, two PhD students and a Master's student. A recently retired academic, who had been involved in the early days of the women and politics newsletters, volunteered to mentor them. Together we have worked on the issue for 2022. In this paper we summarise previous editorships, and then discuss some of the lessons learned from working collaboratively, the gains and the challenges, and how this small journal has contributed toward inclusivity in the discipline of political studies/science to re/claim a positive place for gender discourse in Aotearoa New Zealand.

Jo Bond

Intersectionality on the Internet: One Man's Treasure is Another Man's Terror!

Paper Session II

9:00 - 10:30, Day 2, November 30

Recent events, such as the Covid 19 pandemic and the Christchurch terror attack have seen a rise in division in society, much of it can be seen online. With concerns around hate crime, misinformation and disinformation, is there a way forward that balances the needs of vulnerable communities against the right to free speech?

By examining overseas social media laws, the Christchurch Call, hate speech legislation in Aotearoa New Zealand and social media content, this paper will explore various solutions to the problem of online social division. There are many vulnerable communities in Aotearoa New Zealand such as people with disabilities, ethnic minorities, rainbow communities and isolated individuals. Will changing online algorithms, controlling online content and engagement lead to better outcomes for these groups or will it compromise free speech? Where is the line between healthy free speech and harmful free speech? Are there solutions that will satisfy both sides of the debate? Let us find out.

Toby Boraman

Massey University

'Debating the origins of neoliberalism in Aotearoa'

Paper Session IV

09:00 - 10:30, Day 3, December 1

Although there is a vast literature on neoliberalism in Aotearoa, the subject of the origins of neoliberalism in Aotearoa has been somewhat neglected after an initially flurry of publications on the subject during the 1980s and 1990s. This is despite neoliberalism's arguably deep and long-lasting impacts today. This publication re-examines various theories about why neoliberalism was introduced in Aotearoa during the 1980s, despite how most people were unfamiliar with neoliberalism. Indeed, neoliberalism itself was originally elite driven. I argue most critical accounts of neoliberalism's adoption, while useful, are state-centric. They tend to see neoliberalism as either a paradigmatic shift from Keynesian to neoliberal government policies or as a pervasive ideology which captured key policy makers. In contrast to these dominant approaches, this presentation will attempt to apply David Harvey's theory—that neoliberalism was not just about ideas, or simply a set of government policies, but was instead an attempt to 'restore class power' after a large-scale and broad revolt in the 1970s—to the origins of neoliberalism in Aotearoa during the late 1970s and 1980s. It will examine the many strengths and weaknesses of this approach. The presentation will also assess theories from people like Quinn Slobodian and others that neoliberalism did not constitute a hollowing out of the state, but instead aimed to increase the state's power to protect markets from political, social and industrial 'interference'.

Ainoa Cabada

University of Adelaide

“Populist Sovereignty” a Threat to Refugee Rights

Paper Session III

13:30 - 15:00, Day 2, November 30

Populism is on the rise, bringing with it a potential new form of sovereignty which was identified as “Populist Sovereignty”. The analysis focuses on the type of authority and power employed by the nation-state under the governance of a populist leader or, more generally, by global leaders who manifest the political strategy of the nation bolstered by ideological discourse and socio-cultural rhetoric. It is argued that this new form of sovereignty presents a threat to the protection of refugee rights as it obscures the obligations that states have towards non-citizens due to their lack of commitment to the norms that conform the refugee protection regime. This is examined drawing upon corrosive narratives and disproportionate policy decisions under the most radical populist sentiment but also under non-populist leaders who are influenced by populist rhetoric.

Firstly, I introduce a potential definition of “populist sovereignty” and key characteristics of this new notion. Secondly, I lay down the facts on why “populist sovereignty” is a new phenomenon and how it differs from the notion of “popular sovereignty”. Thirdly, I analyse how “populist sovereignty” presents a threat to refugee rights by drawing on discourse and domestic policies adopted by both populist and non-populist leaders.

Natalia Chaban and Ole Elgström

University of Canterbury, Lund University, Sweden

Russia’s War in Ukraine and Transformation of EU Public Diplomacy: Challenges and Opportunities

Paper Session IV

09:00 - 10:30, Day 3, December 1

This paper explores one aspect of Europe’s transformation in the context of Russia’s war against Ukraine – the transformation of the EU’s public diplomacy. This article contributes to the theorisation of public diplomacy by positioning it within a perceptual approach to EU foreign policy studies and hypothesises opportunities for EU public diplomacy when gaps in perceptions are diminished as a result of relational practices guided by a collaborative perspective. We explore perceptions over time and distinguish between changes in EU policy on the candidacy of Ukraine, contextual changes as a result of the war, and changes in Ukraine’s attitudes towards itself and the EU. We also consider challenges facing EU public diplomacy: Does Europe buy the narrative of Ukraine as a proactive actor? Does Europe truly know and understand Ukraine? How to address and explain the probably long process from candidacy to actual membership negotiations?

Ben Cherry-Smith

Department of Politics and International Relations, University of Adelaide

Articulating Anxiety: Australia 2017 Foreign Policy White Paper, Rules-Based Order, and the Role of China

Paper Session III

13:30 - 15:00, Day 2, November 30

As a middle power, Australia has a vested interest in maintaining and proliferating the American-led rules-based world order. While this stance has been standard Commonwealth policy for decades, the 2017 Foreign Policy White Paper outlines how critical the rules-based world order and American leadership are for Australian security. It can be argued that Australia's desire to maintain the rules-based world order is a way to limit the power of a growing China and its regional ambitions and admonish its past actions. However, the clear articulation of a critical aspect of Australian policy showcases that Australian security is not solely rested on conceptions of security beyond physical security but also on ontological security. Australian foreign policy and aspects of its security are derived from a status quo within the international order, a status quo of American leadership and a set of international rules derived from and supported by institutions created by the Western world post-World War II. Viewing the 2017 Foreign Policy White Paper through an ontological security lens, what can be seen is an Australia that is deeply anxious about a shifting international order and peer competition between global superpowers within its region. The policy steps taken after its publication are, in some respects, driven by this anxiety and what it means for an international 'Australian' identity and the influence that American-led rules-based world order gives Australia.

Sam Crawley

Victoria University of Wellington

Conservative ideology and the “climate publics” of Aotearoa New Zealand and Australia

Paper Session II

9:00 - 10:30, Day 2, November 30

Public opinion on climate change is complex, comprising dimensions such as people's beliefs that climate change exists and is serious, their degree of support for government action, and the relative importance they attach to climate change compared to other issues (issue salience). Survey research has investigated these different aspects of climate opinion and identified a number of “publics”, or groups with shared views of climate change. Political ideology has previously been found to relate strongly to public opinion on climate change, but few studies have investigated how people's political orientation relates to their membership of a climate public. In this study, I use original survey data (N = 1650) from members of the public in Aotearoa New Zealand and Australia to identify the climate publics in each country. I then investigate the extent to which conservative ideology relates to membership of these publics. This analysis allows for a comparison between two countries that have a shared political history and similar political contexts, although with quite different climate policy programmes. Given that public opinion can shape policy, broadening our understanding of the connections between ideology and climate opinion can help to shed light on the reasons why politicians continue to be slow to act on climate change.

Vikrant Desai

The University of Waikato

Modelling Radicalisation: Applying Situational Action Theory (SAT) to the Christchurch Terror Attacks

Paper Session I

12:30 - 14:00, Day 1, November 29

On 15 March 2019, New Zealand, a peaceful island country, added itself to the list of nations recently experiencing a deadly terror attack on their soil. There have been past instances of Kiwi nationals becoming the foreign terrorist fighters and Jihadi brides in Iraq/Syria. Now with the latest lone terror act at Lynn Mall in Auckland on 3 September 2021, the pressing need to institute effective measures to prevent such incidents in future has initiated concerns about radicalisation- the first step in the social and psychological process by which people come to support terrorism or become terrorists. Considering the peculiar domestic factors and the threat scenario, can we derive a radicalisation model specific to a particular setting? The paper attempts to understand the concept of radicalisation while considering the psychological and political research that emerges in the scholarly terrorism studies aimed at discerning the contributory factors to modern terrorism. It also analyses the unique domestic factors and carries out threat evaluation of extremism in New Zealand. Why out of millions of people facing similar conditions, only the few become terrorists? The paper identifies the reasons behind it and applies the recently formulated Situational Action Theory of Crime by the crime scientists to derive a radicalisation model applicable to the settings similar to that of New Zealand. Finally, the paper recommends specific interventions for the law enforcement agencies to thwart future terrorists.

Elle Dibrova

University of Otago

Hegemonic national identity in contemporary Russia and access to sexual rights for LGBT+ people in the country

Paper Session III

13:30 - 15:00, Day 2, November 30

In my PhD research, I am analysing the link between access to sexual rights for LGBT+ people in Russia and the Russian hegemonic national identity that has been constructed by Putin's political regime since the mid-2000s with the help of various heteronormative state policies. This research aims to provide space for the perspectives of LGBT+ people in Russia to be articulated. Moreover, the thesis demonstrates the complex interplay between authoritarian nationalism and othering of LGBT+ people, which is manifesting itself in pushing them out of the understanding of the national and framing them as less deserving rights and social protection, which, in turn, reinforces social inequality.

My empirical study examines the link between national identity and access to sexual rights as LGBT+ people in Russia perceive it. For that, I have conducted qualitative research with the help of partial collaborative autoethnography as the primary data collection method. This autoethnography included solicited reflexive diaries that were written by the LGBT+ participants on a regular basis over six months, as well as photo-elicitation (taking photos by the participants of anything that reminded them of LGBT+ and commenting on them). In the end, follow-up interviews with the participants were also conducted. The obtained data have been analysed with the help of six phases thematic analysis framework. At the conference, I would like to share my research findings and demonstrate the themes I identified within the collected data that helped me to answer my research question.

Leah Du

Department of Political Science and International Relations, University of Auckland

We want more than descriptive representation: A case study of Chinese New Zealanders' interaction with Chinese Members of Parliament

Paper Session III

13:30 - 15:00, Day 2, November 30

This paper explores Chinese New Zealanders' interaction with Chinese MPs and their performance in protecting the Chinese community's interests in Parliament. The findings result from an interpretive analysis of 38 Chinese New Zealanders' in-depth interviews. Many people felt powerless to affect public decision-making because Chinese MPs failed to accommodate and defend their interests when formulating public policies. Their feelings primarily resulted from Chinese MPs' identities as backbenchers, the understanding gap between Chinese MPs and interviewees regarding their principal-agent relations, and the diverse political interests among Chinese New Zealanders. People wanted more than the existence of Chinese politicians in Parliament. They wanted Chinese MPs to have real power in drafting and implementing policies. The findings indicate that ethnic minorities' descriptive representation does not necessarily improve their substantive representation. Nor does it necessarily enhance minorities' feelings of political efficacy. The paper enriches our knowledge of Chinese New Zealanders' political participation. It also broadens our knowledge of ethnic minority representation in New Zealand.

Nathan Fioritti, Christina Schneider, Robert Thomson

Monash University, University of California, San Diego, Monash University

Trading Partners, Political Parties and the Promotion of Environmental Standards

Paper Session I

12:30 - 14:00, Day 1, November 29

This paper adds to a growing body of research on how environmental standards in one jurisdiction can influence those in another. It investigates how trade with partners who have higher climate standards – as an indicator of environmental standards more generally – impacts domestic environmental politics by observing changes in environmental emphasis in national-level party manifestos. Politicians and parties support domestic policies that facilitate international trade as well as policies related to environmental standards. Our argument is that states that prioritise environmental issues and uphold high environmental standards are more likely to trade with each other, and when states pursue higher environmental standards, this creates pressure for their trading partners to consider their own environmental objectives to maintain or expand trade. Therefore, parties pay more attention to environmental issues domestically when important trading partners have higher standards. Our mixed-methods study design utilises established measures including the Climate Change Cooperation Index, Direction of Trade Statistics, Manifesto Project dataset and World Development Indicators. Our study includes manifestos from parties in 30 OECD states between 1996 and 2008. While previous research focuses on domestic determinants of parties' environmental emphases, our study explores the relevance of international factors. Our key explanatory variable is a combined yearly measure of the climate standards of each states' trading partners. We also test whether the economic importance of trade, environmental issue salience, parties' cabinet experience and ideological positions lead to variations in our findings. Our theory is illustrated in more detail through case studies of Australian major parties.

Flora Galy-Badenas, Rachel Simon-Kumar, Priya Kurian

University of Auckland, University of Waikato

Women of many “firsts”: Novelty framing of ethnic women politicians in Aotearoa New Zealand

Paper Session III

13:30 - 15:00, Day 2, November 30

This paper explores the novelty framing of ethnic women politicians (EWP) in Aotearoa New Zealand, and contributes to the literature on media representations of minority women politicians outside of the North-American context. Drawing from Meek's (2013) “novelty labels”, an intersectional lens is used to expand on the concept. As such, the study analyses how media use social identity framing (e.g. gender, ethnicity...) and uniqueness framing (e.g. first Indian woman, sole Asian woman MP). To do so, the paper focuses on nine women politicians who are both ethnic and either “first” in their political role or in a unique position. A thematic analysis of news stories (N = 216) from five ethnic media (The Migrant Times, Sri Lanka NZ, Filipin Migrant News, Indian News Link, and Indian Weekender) and three mainstream media (The Dominion Post, The Press, and The New Zealand Herald) was conducted. The analysis suggests that explicit ethnic framing eclipses gender framing (albeit still present) in both ethnic and mainstream media. However, ethnic and mainstream media foreground EWPs' ethnicity differently. While ethnic media frame EWPs as legitimate, competent, and illustrative of a healthy democracy representative of its various communities, mainstream media frame EWPs as the product of the mixed member proportional representation system and the result of a strategy of diversification. Finally, echoing previous studies, the analysis shows that media use the “first” frame in coverage of Pansy Wong – first Asian EWP in Parliament – throughout her career, but barely frame subsequent “first” ethnic women MP as such.

Meeks, L. (2013). All the gender that's fit to print: How the New York Times covered Hillary Clinton and Sarah Palin in 2008. *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly*, 90(3), 520-539.

Kristina Grabovska

James Cook University, Australia

Global responses to pandemics: The lessons from SARS 2002-2003

Paper Session III

13:30 - 15:00, Day 2, November 30

The COVID-19 pandemic acted as a catalyst for widespread debate on the future of multilateral cooperation and global governance. The first weeks of the pandemic were characterized by a breakdown of international cooperation, with multilateral institutions and national governments pursuing diverging strategies in confronting the crisis. The World Health Organization (WHO), as a key global governance institution in the field of global health and the leader in the international response to the pandemic, was heavily criticised for its slow response, delayed declaration of COVID-19 as a pandemic, and its subordination to geopolitical interests.

These debates have led to a renewed focus within international relations literature on the global health security threats, prompting scholars to revisit earlier health crisis and the way they were handled. This paper conducts an overview of the English and French literature on the international response to the SARS pandemic in 2002-2003. SARS was widely recognised as the first severe new infections disease of the 21st century and was successfully contained within six months through mutual efforts by international institutions and national governments. By presenting a succinct overview of the global response to SARS through the literature lens, this paper examines what lessons have been previously heeded from that outbreak that could be applied to future pandemics.

Lydia Le Gros

The University of Otago

A Genealogy of terrorism: New Zealand's Colonial Counter-Terrorism Prose

Paper Session I

12:30 - 14:00, Day 1, November 29

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, New Zealand. This tragic event was labelled by the media as New Zealand's 'loss of innocence' and in a parliament sitting four days later, Members of Parliament described the attack as 'foreign' and 'imported'. In looking to New Zealand's past, however, it is clear this is not the case. Prior to the Christchurch terrorist attacks, there were many incidents in New Zealand's history that fall under the legal definition of terrorism. Further, the New Zealand government has long been both legislating and taking military action against threats it sees as posing 'exceptional' political risk. This paper argues that the New Zealand Government's counter-terrorism approach and use of the terrorism label is not reactive and objective, but is instead shaped by a logic and architecture stretching back to the early colonial period. Just as nineteenth century legislation saw Māori violence as inherently more threatening and 'savage', twenty-first century legislation is predicated on the idea that some parts and peoples of the world are inherently predisposed towards religious militancy and terrorism. This research finds that the colonial rhetoric and logic of exceptionalism continues to influence how the New Zealand government identifies and responds to threat, as exemplified in the adoption of the *Terrorism Suppression Act 2002*, the *Countering Terrorist Fighters Bill 2014*, additions made to the Official Terrorism Watchlist, and the participation of the NZDF in the Global War on Terror.

J. Thumira Gunasena

University of Auckland.

The impact of long-distance nationalism of Sri Lankan Tamil diaspora on transitional justice development in the country (2009 to 2019)

Paper Session III

13:30 - 15:00, Day 2, November 30

Sri Lanka's ethnic conflict resulted in an exodus of Tamils, and about one million were hosted mainly by India, Canada, the U.K., and Australia today. During the 2009 last phase of the war, the Tamil diaspora staged massive global protests persuading Western countries to call for a cease-fire. During post-war, they used genocide framing to legitimize claims for self-determination and retain financial and public support. This paper presents the outcomes of encounters between the U.N. proposed transitional justice (T.J.) and long-distance ethnonationalism of the Tamil diaspora. The U.N. investigations admitted both parties had committed violence, but it refrained from using genocide in the case of Sri Lanka. The combination of normative demands for self-determination and justification of the violence committed by the Liberation Tigers Tamil Eelam creates a paradox for the host countries. Given the Tamil diaspora voter base, some countries support the war crimes claims. Despite their support for the U.N. stance, the Western powers remain suspicious about Tamil diasporas' true identity. Further, many use human rights as a political tool to achieve national interests. The overwhelming Chinese presence in Sri Lanka trapped itself in the human rights debate pushed by the U.S. and its allies. Thus, emphasizing genocide and accountability work as an impediment in the domestic application of T.J. and diaspora activism has manifested another confrontational leverage of the T.J. process. Without support for separatism, the Tamil diaspora has to use their transnational activism to connect with the rest of the world to find a lasting political solution.

Janine Hayward and Chris Rudd

University of Otago

Dunedin Voters 1960–2020: Stability or Change?

Paper Session I

12:30 - 14:00, Day 1, November 29

In 1960, political scientist Austin Mitchell surveyed just over 500 Dunedin voters to understand what was influencing their vote. In particular, he was looking for factors which predicted the vote including age, gender, religion, education, social class, as well as where in the city voters resided. He concluded overall that socio-economic factors were the clearest guide to predicting voting behaviour, providing a two-to-one chance of predicting a voter's preference. Following the 2020 general election, we surveyed over 500 Dunedin voters in order to determine whether Mitchell's findings about predicting the vote (amongst other things) still held. This paper presents our key findings.

Olli Hellmann

University of Waikato

Indigenous-washing and colonial amnesia: how New Zealand's nation brand frames the global climate crisis

Paper Session II

9:00 - 10:30, Day 2, November 30

New Zealand's nation brand has drawn ever louder accusations of "greenwashing" the country's image in recent years. Through a critical semiotic analysis of Air New Zealand's "Tiaki & The Guardians" safety briefing video, this paper shows that brand managers have responded with a strategy of "Indigenous-washing," appropriating the Māori worldview to deflect attention from intensive farming's carbon footprint and other environmentally unfriendly activities. More broadly, the paper makes an important contribution to the growing critical literature on nation branding by revealing the trans-national effects of image management practices. New Zealand's nation brand not only positions the South Pacific country as an "untouched land," but it also produces and disseminates a particular framing of the global ecological crisis, in that it obscures the role of colonialism in causing climate change and sidelines alternative futures proposed by Indigenous peoples.

Anthony Wayne Hobert, Jr.

University of South Carolina.

Locke, Stock, and Two Whiskey Barrels

Paper Session I

12:30 - 14:00, Day 1, November 29

In 1823, John Marshall wrote the United States Supreme Court decision in *Johnson & Graham's Lessee v. McIntosh* (21 U.S. 543)—a decision establishing the Discovery Doctrine, which provided the U.S. government the cover it needed to justify taking indigenous land. This decision of first impression was later directly cited in decisions issued from the high courts and the Privy Council for several former colonies of the British Empire to justify the seizure of indigenous territory, including New Zealand (*Queen v. Symonds*, 1847), Canada (*St. Catharine's Milling and Lumber Co. v. the Queen*, 1887), and Australia (*Milirrpum v Nabalco Pty Ltd.*, 1971), among others. It remains a controlling precedent in American jurisprudence.

In this article, I examine the theoretical underpinnings of Marshall's widely-cited decision, and tease out the ways in which this decision's roots are directly embedded in discussions of the position of "the Indian" relative to the state of nature in Locke's *Second Treatise*. The article critiques the position of Locke/Marshall, and considers indigenous property rights through other theories of property that were likely available to Marshall, as well as several contemporary theories. I conclude the article by considering examples provided by New Zealand (Aotearoa) for policy recommendations that might allow the United States to develop a more just and equitable relationship with its indigenous population.

Shannon Hodge

University of Waikato

Constructing the circular economy: A discourse analysis of conceptualisations of circularity across New Zealand central government agencies

Paper Session I

12:30 - 14:00, Day 1, November 29

Against the backdrop of growing environmental crises, the concept of a circular economy has increasingly gained academic and policy-maker attention in Aotearoa New Zealand. The circular economy is described as an alternative economic system that aims to limit waste and pollution, keep products in use, and regenerate systems to protect natural resources (Ellen MacArthur Foundation, 2015). The Ministry for the Environment and the Ministry of Business, Innovation and Employment are the predominant central government agencies that have taken charge of building an understanding of circularity and its place in New Zealand. However, despite the promising future the concept envisages, there is currently no agreed conceptualisation of the circular economy. Given the power of discourse to frame public debate and shape policy settings, this paper asks: What are the current discourses that inform understandings of the circular economy within New Zealand central government agencies, and what are the implications for ensuring ecological sustainability outcomes? The paper examines references to circularity within documents published by the Ministry for the Environment and the Ministry of Business, Innovation and Employment using an analytical framework that emphasises four themes: problematisations of the linear economy, policy tools, responsibility allocation, and overall rationale for the transition to circularity in New Zealand. The analysis highlights that the Ministry for the Environment and the Ministry of Business, Innovation and Employment have articulated weak circularity discourses that largely neglect the radical potential of a circular economy agenda to move New Zealand towards ecological sustainability.

Stacey Howman

University of Otago

New Zealand politicians' social media framing: variations across parties and platforms

Paper Session II

9:00 - 10:30, Day 2, November 30

Social media platforms provide an avenue for politicians to construct and disseminate their own frames directly to a wide audience. How they communicate through these mediums depends on a variety of contextual factors. My research examines the frames within selected New Zealand politicians' Facebook and Twitter content to explore the relationship between a politician's party, the platform they are using, and their framing efforts. I will collect data (and the attached metadata) in 2022 and 2023 from the Twitter and Facebook posts of politicians from each of the five parties in government. I explore whether there are variations in issue focus across different political parties, how closely individual politician's social media posts aligns with their broader party's values and policies, as well as the extent to which personalisation is evident in their content. In each of these categories I also aim to compare the content of the same politicians across the two platforms. My analysis will be explorative and qualitative in nature, finding topic focuses through coding of key words and phrases. As my research is still a work in progress, this paper will focus on the data gathered during the 2022 time period, the analysis to be conducted on this, and the conclusions I expect to find based upon existing literature

Roshan Taj Humayun

Istanbul Sabahattin Zaim University

Post-Pandemic Multilateral Diplomacy: Options for Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO)

Paper Session III

13:30 - 15:00, Day 2, November 30

The outbreak of COVID-19 pandemic has not only impacted the world healthcare system, but it, rather, likely will change the post-COVID geopolitical world order. The covid-19 infection has brought serious threats to the further development of the member states of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO), firstly, the covid-19 infection slows down the economic growth of the SCO member states and lastly, the effectiveness of containing the coronavirus infection depends more on authoritative and holistic methods of government, their intention to take full responsibility for the situation and activate reserves, leadership, effectiveness officials. Moreover, Covid-19 has seriously impacted the regional security environment in the SCO member states. The governments of different countries do not have sufficient experience in dealing with the sudden spread of this disease. It is noted that the new Chinese initiative to create a health community, development community, security community, humanistic community will have great positive impact on the restoration of the development of the social economy and the creation of public order in the member countries of the organization. At the end of the article, problems and solutions are considered in the course of the implementations of the creation of these four communities in the SCO space. The SCO plus regime offers a platform for member states with external actors to develop and strengthen cooperation in a bilateral format and helps to reduce the gap in the economic development of countries in the SCO space. Strengthening the status of the organization in terms of legitimacy and the search for common stakeholders in coordination and consultations between the Russian Federation and China provide a favourable environment for the further development of the organization.

Richard Jackson and Damien Rogers

The University of Otago, Massey University

PCVE in Aotearoa New Zealand: Towards an Evidence-based Approach

Paper Session II

9:00 - 10:30, Day 2, November 30

Following the call of the Royal Commission of Inquiry into the 15 March 2019 Christchurch terrorist attacks to develop evidence-based responses to the threat of terrorism and violent extremism, this paper presents an assessment of the current state of evidence relating to Preventing and Countering Violent Extremism (PCVE). While the field suffers from a general lack of empirical research, some robust empirical findings about what works are nonetheless starting to emerge. These findings strongly suggest that punitive, securitised approaches are ineffectual, while community-based rehabilitative approaches show real promise. The significance of this research is that it provides a fairly solid basis for developing evidence-based PCVE policies for Aotearoa New Zealand which could be rooted in indigenous restorative justice philosophies. In addition, the current government's commitment to following scientific evidence in public policy presents a genuine opportunity for New Zealand to adopt an approach to PCVE which is not only tailored to the New Zealand context, but which focuses on community cohesion, violence prevention and social justice, instead of the current dominant security-based war on terror approach.

Richard Jackson, Griffin Leonard, and Joseph Llewelyn

The University of Otago

Military Abolition: New Zealand's Nonviolent Alternative

Paper Session IV

09:00 - 10:30, Day 3, December 1

This paper offers a summary of the main arguments we are making in a book being published by BWB texts on why the NZDF should be abolished and replaced with nonviolent alternatives. It suggests that arguments in favour of retaining the NZDF are based on a series of myths about the what the NZDF does, what it is capable of doing, its necessity for meeting NZ's international obligations, its role in the maintenance of national identity, the benefits and value for money it provides and the absence of realistic and viable alternatives to national military security. A sober and objective analysis suggests that all the main arguments in favour of retaining the NZDF fall short, and in fact, there are a great many reasons why it would be far more beneficial to NZ to abolish the NZDF and replace some of its current functions with other more appropriate and less costly alternatives. The paper also argues that even when we take into account the re-emergence of contemporary military threats such as the invasion of Ukraine, there are realistic alternatives to military-based national defence. These alternatives, and the other benefits which would accrue from dismantling the NZDF, would be more likely to increase and improve the security of New Zealanders than the current maintenance of the NZDF. At the very least, the veracity and validity of the arguments we present suggest that a rigorous public discussion on the subject is well overdue.

Qiwei Kang

The University of Auckland

Countering Terrorism in Aotearoa New Zealand: How public opinion holds potential in shaping counterterrorism approach

Paper Session II

9:00 - 10:30, Day 2, November 30

After the Christchurch terror attacks in 2019, as a form of public discourse, the Royal Commission of Inquiry reflects a fraction of how terrorism was being understood in New Zealand. This paper is interested in the relationship between the public and countering terrorism in New Zealand; more specifically, this paper investigates how the public perceives terrorism under a domestic lens. In achieving this goal, this paper applies the theory of public opinion and proposal the research question of "what has constituted the public opinion on terrorism in New Zealand". With the research question in mind, this paper first offers a background of New Zealand terrorism and its effects on counterterrorism, and this paragraph will demonstrate how such historical background contribute to the public opinion on terrorism in New Zealand. Then, this paper examines the discourse of terrorism in New Zealand before the Christchurch terror attacks; this section will be divided into a few parts, where through analysing both political discourse and public discourse, this paper further explores how the public opinion on terrorism is formed during the process. Lastly, this paper provides an analysis of why reshaping our public opinion is important and how it could contribute to countering terrorism.

Simran Keshwani

Macquarie University

Asia's "Other" Giant: The Political Economy of India's Energy Transition

Paper Session I

12:30 - 14:00, Day 1, November 29

India has achieved a 5700% increase in solar power since 2010, and has emerged as the 5th largest user of solar energy. With the creation of a new industry – that of renewables – India has announced ambitious plans to become a net exporter of green hydrogen (a downstream product of solar). Policymaking elite at the Ministry of New and Renewable Energy (MNRE) have mandated the use of green hydrogen in the heavy industry sector, as chemical feedstock to undertake “greening” of the construction processes involved in heavy industries. What explains India’s shift towards a green hydrogen-based economy in its heavy industry sector? This research argues that India’s focus on becoming a producer and exporter of green hydrogen, whilst utilizing it to decarbonize hard-to-abate sectors such as heavy industry, which forms the backbone of infrastructural development in the country is an exercise in economic statecraft. Economic statecraft comprises the study of strategic initiatives for economic growth which are driven by geopolitical and geoeconomic drivers. In addition to geopolitical drivers such as frequent border clashes with China and geoeconomic drivers such as China’s weaponization of the renewables value chain, India’s economic statecraft towards making a switch to green hydrogen is achieved by creating ‘hybridized industrial ecosystems’ or the collection of public-private agencies across the entire green hydrogen value chain. Through the creation of hybridized industrial ecosystems, the Indian economy has undertaken robust structural reforms, recasting its position in the international system, and prompting a reconceptualization of its categorization as a “weak state”.

Lucas Knotter

The University of Waikato

Benedict Anderson and De Facto States: Imagined Communities on the Road to Statehood?

Paper Session IV

09:00 - 10:30, Day 3, December 1

In the absence of international legal state recognition, the ‘statehood’ of de facto states has been prominently conceptualised as based not on absolute physical political power, but on overlapping, networked, improvised, discursive, constructed, and/or performative social processes (e.g. Isachenko 2012; McConnell 2016; Visoka 2018). In a sense, such scholarship argues, de facto states are recognised imaginatively, before they are recognised legally or materialised politically. The statehood of de facto states may be legally non-recognised, but is nonetheless realised through the imagination of local elites and populations. In that light, it is rather puzzling that scholars of de facto statehood pay so little heed to Benedict Anderson’s Imagined Communities. While this classic work on nationalism is occasionally referred to in passing, its foregrounding of national imagination(s) in relation to state sovereignty receives surprisingly little attention in de facto states scholarship. This paper aims to remedy this caveat. It brings common theories of de facto statehood in conversation with Anderson’s foundational piece on nationalism, revealing how such a conversation could offer a deeper understanding of the distinctions between imagined political communities and ‘real’ (de facto) statehood.

Lucas Knotter

University of Waikato

Kōrero me Rangatiratanga: Māori Sovereignty and the Politics of Translation

Paper Session I

12:30 - 14:00, Day 1, November 29

This paper aims to combine the burgeoning field of study of ‘the politics of translation’ in IR (Capan, dos Reis, and Grasten 2021; Caraccioli et al. 2021) with Aotearoa New Zealand’s ongoing sense-making of its ‘sovereignty history’. Analysing the written declarations of He Whakaputanga (1835) and Te Tiriti (1840), as well as more contemporary assessments of Māori sovereignty (e.g. Matike Mai Aotearoa 2016; Waitangi Tribunal 2014), this paper strives to uncover the importance of distinguishing between ‘conceptual’ and ‘translational’ politics in both the drafting and interpreting of indigenous sovereignty claims in Aotearoa. While nowadays it is pretty firmly established that Māori never actually ceded ‘English-language’ sovereignty to the British Crown, this establishment has ostensibly not actually invoked (more) unitary or definitive conceptions of Māori sovereignty itself. This paper's premise, however, is that resolutions to such ambiguity cannot be found in practices of translation, but in the (re)conceptualisation and (re)interpretation of Māori tino rangatiratanga. In Aotearoa, to highlight the idea of two different languages (te reo Māori and English) rather than different conceptions of sovereignty is to depoliticise and efface the normative and conceptual contestation over Māori rights, privileges, and powers in New Zealand. One of this paper's aspirations is to supplement common post-positivist assertions in IR scholarship about the unsettledness and western-centrism of the sovereignty concept. Its most important goal, however, is not to whitenplain to indigenous (Māori) communities their sovereignty’s ‘real make-up’, but instead to show that any uncertainty over Māori sovereignty in Aotearoa is not borne out of ‘translational contestation’ between English and te reo, but out of contestation over conceptual usage and interpretation.

Berkay Koçak

University of Waikato

Authoritarian Consolidation or Return to Democracy? Rethinking Turkey’s 2023 in the context of Neoliberal Authoritarianism

Paper Session II

9:00 - 10:30, Day 2, November 30

Turkey’s political regime in the first quarter of the century was mostly analyzed on the basis of authoritarianism and democratic recession. Several studies have examined the Turkish regime through the changes in democratic institutional structuring, such as the literature on ‘democratic backsliding’ or ‘competitive authoritarianism’ (Bermeo, 2016, Levitsky & Way, 2010). Under Erdogan, Turkish democracy underwent an authoritarian transformation, coinciding with its capitalism’s need to reorient itself to global markets to remain competitive. For this reason, it is necessary to look beyond the institutional changes under Erdogan’s AKP in order to contextualize these political and economic changes. With a focus on macroeconomic infrastructure trends, financial integration, and growth models, the neo-liberal authoritarianism framework defines political transformation through a critical political economy approach. In comparison to mainstream approaches, the neo-liberal authoritarianism framework set offers a comprehensive explanation for understanding Turkey in this context. In recent years, particularly after the last general elections, Turkey has seen a structural political and economic downturn, which has weakened Erdogan’s electoral popularity, which could present Turkey with an opportunity for political innovation and structural change with the upcoming 2023 elections. The goal of this seminar is to investigate whether 2023, the hundredth anniversary of the establishment of the republican regime, could be a symbolic date for Turkey to restructure itself to deal with the economic, social, and political transformations taking place around the world today.

Nadine Kreitmeyr

University of Canterbury

Social entrepreneurship and the (ab)use of social accountability: authoritarian accountability and neoliberal governance in Egypt, Jordan and Morocco after the 2011 uprisings

Paper Session II

9:00 - 10:30, Day 2, November 30

Social entrepreneurship has been ‘booming’ in the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) since the Arab uprisings. Regime and business elites, social actors as well as international actors in particular have taken an interest in this phenomenon as a new approach to address socio-economic issues plaguing Arab societies via cross-sector partnerships. Also, it enables them to create the image of responsible and accountable action. A plethora of actors and initiatives, often crossing the boundaries of the civil society space, have expanded their activities and new ones were launched. As a consequence, business elites position themselves as part of civil society, widely defined, who uphold social accountability as a means to resist corrupted states. Thus, social entrepreneurship constitutes a case of social accountability and neoliberal governance under authoritarianism, i.e. benefitting the rulers and elites as well as social and international actors while not touching upon the status quo of power relations. This paper inquires into social entrepreneurship as a case of social accountability; more specifically, it focuses on the (ab)use and hollowing out of social accountability by business elites and social actors under authoritarian neoliberalism. It does so through a comparative case study of Jordan, Egypt and Morocco. Whereas the cases of Jordan and Morocco highlight how regimes are using business elites and social entrepreneurship to offload social responsibility, the case of Egypt demonstrates how business elites make creative use of social accountability and entrepreneurship to polish a dented reputation vis-à-vis society at large. The net result for improved accountability of elites is, therefore, questionable. This paper draws on qualitative data (inter alia interviews and reports) collected during field work in Egypt, Jordan and Morocco between 2011 and 2015.

Timothy Lawler

University of Auckland

U.S. Presidents and Pre-9/11 Counter-terrorism Policy

Paper Session IV

09:00 - 10:30, Day 3, December 1

This research studies the president and human rights, with a focus on counter-terrorism policy as my case study. I analysed two key moments in the history of pre-9/11 counter-terrorism policy: Richard Nixon’s counter-terrorism policy post the 1972 Munich Olympic attacks and Jimmy Carter’s counter-terrorism policy post the 1979 Iran hostage crisis. I used the opportunity structure model as my theoretical lens and examined primary and secondary sources to show what human rights were afforded to ‘terrorist suspects’ and what role the president played in this. Both Nixon and Carter played crucial roles in authorizing counter-terrorism policies in the immediate aftermath of terrorist attacks. In each case actors in civil society argued that these policies violated the civil rights of Arab and Iranian communities. Each president took advantage of opportunities, or gaps in structure, to advance policies, and in so doing limited or expanded the opportunities available to them and their successors through shaping the opportunity structure.

Marnie Lloyd

Victoria University of Wellington

Solidarity and Transnational Volunteer Fighting: New Zealand's 'Unpacked' Legislation

Paper Session I

12:30 - 14:00, Day 1, November 29

New Zealand's law – like that of several other states – restricts its prohibition of foreign fighting to the legal binary of the 'mercenary' and the 'foreign terrorist fighter'. The law contains no specific prohibition of foreign fighting conceived more broadly. And yet the scenario of transnational volunteer fighters - foreigners taking up arms in solidarity with a cause, unpaid and uninvolved in terrorist activity, indeed, often motivated to fight *against* terrorism or other abuses - continues to divide opinion about its legality and its desirability on policy grounds. Contemporary examples include foreign volunteer fighters with minority groups in Burma/Myanmar, the Kurdish People's Protection Forces in Syria, or on both sides of fighting in Ukraine, including the 2022 call from Ukraine for volunteers from around the world to support its fight against the Russian aggression. Through an analysis of relevant legislation, historical discourse and political debate, this paper explores this 'gap' in New Zealand's legislation, and the lawfulness or unlawfulness of such transnational volunteer fighting. It argues that transnational volunteer fighting is left unpacked in the law, making it largely unreflective as to the applicable international legal obligations towards other states, and the positive and negative policy interests presented by such transnational volunteer combatants. This sheds light on the importance of seeking a richer and more historically-situated understanding of the legal, political and social stakes still to be unpacked regarding solidarity and transnational volunteer fighting.

Lui, Yanchi

University of Canterbury

The complexity of EU-China-US relations

Paper Session III

13:30 - 15:00, Day 2, November 30

Together, the EU, China and the US make up the major share of world GDP as the three biggest trading blocs, and they possess global military power as well as normative and political influence. But each side of this triangle of relations has a different polity, and more importantly they have different pursuits. These substantial divergences could greatly hinder further cooperation which is important for the international order. This contradiction is the first challenge in understanding the complexity of this triangle of relations. The second challenge is to select appropriate theories to apply because the triangle of relations is not only about individual country or union experiences, given wider implications for other areas and countries. The third challenge is the complicated international system that surrounds them. The liberal international order dominated by the US is being challenged and questioned by many scholars. The debate of whether the US is falling, or Xi's expression of "East rising West falling", is becoming increasingly harsh, and the EU reserves its own way to promote its normative power. Therefore, this background underpins the complexity and challenge in understanding international relations incidents and policy.

Sean Mahoney, et al.

#cunningbastards [1] – Working towards a framework for Central Government intervention in Local Governance

Paper Session I

12:30 - 14:00, Day 1, November 29

The Future for Local Government review (FFLG) places local governance the “how and why we make decisions” as a key consideration. Since the last major local government reform in 2002, there have been a range of interventions by central government into the operations and decision-making of local governance, with a variety of outcomes. These interventions have not always been clear in either their scope or consistency of approach. While the Local Government Act contains a process for interventions this is often an arbitrary standard and some of these interventions have taken a form not prescribed in law.

The 2019-2022 triennium saw an increase in interest and calls for interventions especially with the rise of ‘dysfunctional’ councils which were often seen as a failure in governance. The ongoing rise of candidates with single issue agendas or those standing on antigovernment platforms is likely to heighten this dysfunction in the coming term. This paper considers the ongoing risk of continued ministerial intervention in an unstructured or biased way and the need for a framework within the FFLG that protects both local governance and local government.

[1] Simon Bridges Tweet on the appointment of a Commission for Tauranga City Council.

Suthikarn Meechan

Maharakham University, Thailand

Old Bonds and New Ties: Re-examining Local Networks in Thailand

Paper Session IV

09:00 - 10:30, Day 3, December 1

This article studies the transformation of local networks in Thailand. It found that regime changes following the 2006 and 2014 coups have widened the gap between political parties and local politicians. Also, their aftermaths influence local networks to participate in the contestation between electoral and bureaucratic powers at the local level. The challenge, however, is that institutional engineering and the de-democratisation process have undermined local authorities. The article argues that while traditional patron-client ties remain, they have been gradually replaced by the ‘clientelistic cluster network’. This new form of the network consists of three clusters, namely clan, machine and operator, and their adaptive roles in gaining access to political resources. Furthermore, the network also rearranges relationships among the clusters, which can be dependent on and independent of external forces. Finally, this article illustrates how local powers have influenced national politics and the mapping of networks in current local Thai politics, particularly in the 2023 general election.

Minh, Tran

Univeristy of Canterbury

Magic Weapon versus Magic Shield: China's united front work in Vietnam

Paper Session IV

09:00 - 10:30, Day 3, December 1

Since coming to power in 2012, Chinese President Xi Jinping has expanded its united front work abroad. United front work is a Leninist tactic to form alliances of convenience with other factions outside the Leninist party to strengthen the party's overall position and destroy the enemies one by one. Various research has examined China's united front work in many countries, especially democratic ones. Little attention has been focused on China's united front work in a non-democratic regime. This research aims to fill this gap by examining China's united front work in the communist party state of Vietnam. It seeks to answer several important questions: First, does China conduct any political interference activities in Vietnam using united front work? Second, if it does, how does it carry them out? Given that Vietnam is an authoritarian regime and that the Vietnamese Communist Party (VCP) has shared a complicated history with the CCP for decades, what united front tactics does the CCP use in the case of Vietnam? Lastly, what is the impact of China's united front work in Vietnam? In answering these research questions, the thesis employs Professor Anne-Marie Brady's "Magic Weapon" template on CCP united front work to examine the extent of China's foreign united front work in Vietnam.

Julienne Molineaux and Charles Crothers

Auckland University of Technology

"Keep politics out of local government"

Paper Session I

12:30 - 14:00, Day 1, November 29

This paper reports on a survey that seeks to find out more about the decision making of local government candidates in Aotearoa New Zealand around the labels (or branding) they adopt when they stand for election. While some candidates run for political parties and others for local tickets, many run as 'independents' or leave the affiliation section of their ballot paper blank.

While the reasons for this phenomenon can be speculated on, our research seeks to find out more about what successful candidates think, and how they may use labels or affiliations on ballot papers in strategic ways.

The lack of political party affiliation is all the more striking because central government politics has political parties as an organising concept, and our electoral system includes a party vote, yet the use of 'Independent' has long been popular in local elections.

Gaayathri Nair

School of Population Health, University of Auckland

Expanding the Leadership Landscape: Exploring the Role of Ethnic Minority Women Community leaders in Aotearoa

Paper Session III

13:30 - 15:00, Day 2, November 30

Ethnic minority women leaders have been at the forefront of advocating for migrant peoples to be able to live lives free from violence and discrimination in Aotearoa. One example of this is seen in the role the Islamic Women's Council played in holding the government to account in the wake of the 2019 Christchurch mosque shootings. Beyond this, the many formal and informal women's networks, organisations and NGOs that have arisen in the last 20-30 years are a testament to the thriving leadership of ethnic and migrant women. This advocacy exists in direct opposition to the rise of far-right extremisms and to disinformation campaigns about their communities. It also at times operates in a complex relationship with their own communities' cultural beliefs about the roles of women. Despite the multi-faceted contributions of women community leaders, the profile, journey to leadership, impact, and challenges of ethnic minority women community leaders is erased and under-studied. Based on an emerging PhD project, this presentation aims to shine a light on the role ethnic minority women play in the integration of ethnic minority communities in Aotearoa. Further, it critically appraises the role they play in social cohesion. The presentation will cover the current literature surrounding ethnic minority women community leaders; the usefulness and limitations of an intersectional post-colonial feminist lens; and a generalised overview of ethnic minority community leaders in Aotearoa New Zealand.

Brian S. Roper

University of Otago

China's Rise and the US Response: Implications for the Global Order and New Zealand

Paper Session III

13:30 - 15:00, Day 2, November 30

The Chinese government adopted a broadly neoliberal approach to economic management in 1978. Importantly the national government gave more power to the provincial governments in the mid-1980s allowing them to compete, among other things, to attract foreign direct investment and promote economic development. Attracted by comparatively low wages for relatively skilled labour, and the absence of free trade unions, foreign direct investment streamed into the country in huge volumes. Trade barriers were reduced, culminating in China's admission to membership of the WTO in 2002, and China benefitted from massive trade surpluses. High levels of foreign and domestic private sector investment combined with heavy state investment in infrastructure has generated an extraordinarily high rate of economic growth over several decades. This has enabled China's central government to expand and modernise its military.

The US responded to China's rise with Obama's 'pivot towards Asia' committing 60 percent of its naval forces to the Asia Pacific region centrally aimed at achieving 'the military encirclement of China' (Smith, 2013: 25). The Trump Administration maintained this approach militarily while launching a trade war in 2018 - introducing a broad range of tariffs on Chinese imports. So far, the Biden Administration has maintained Obama's pivot and Trump's tariffs. Increasing US aggression towards China, combined with China's increasing assertiveness in international affairs, has led to escalating tensions. International relations and the global political economy are likely to be propelled, at least in part, by the intensifying geopolitical, economic, and military rivalry between China and the US. This has interesting and important implications for New Zealand in view of the configuration of its trade, security, and military relations.

Katie Ryan

University of Otago

Cats, Cricket and Craft Beer: Aotearoa's Politicians and Self-Personalisation on Social Media

Paper Session II

9:00 - 10:30, Day 2, November 30

Abstract: As a growing emphasis on personalisation permeates media coverage of political activity, candidate personality has become a significant factor in determining voter behaviour. To cultivate an attractive public persona, politicians are increasingly employing the mechanisms of social media. While constructing a personable and relatable public image, strategic use of social media enables the development of long-term supportive bonds between politician and online voter. A key process within this phenomenon is self-personalisation, which entails politicians sharing moments from their private, personal lives on social media. Studies have demonstrated that self-personalisation produces higher levels of engagement from online consumers, facilitates parasocial relationships between politicians and their supporters, and sustains rich affective networks within online spaces. Such functions generally produce positive attitudes toward politicians and may even translate to votes. My research focuses on varying subjects of personal life (e.g. family, pets, hobbies, religion) within the overarching phenomenon of self-personalisation. I have recorded public engagement with different subjects of personal life posted on social media by Aotearoa's politicians and have analysed variation in online public responses. Furthermore, I examine if Aotearoa's politicians post different subjects of personal life based upon their own personal background, incorporating considerations of gender, age, ethnicity and partisanship. Analysing public response to self-personalisation shows what kind of private identity is supposedly desirable in Aotearoa's politicians.

Jeremy Simons

University of Otago

Restorative Justice, Bi-culturalism, and Social Cohesion: Time for a new Praxis?

Paper Session II

9:00 - 10:30, Day 2, November 30

This paper takes as a starting point recommendation 27 of the Royal Commission of Inquiry Report on the 2019 Christchurch Mosque attacks (hereafter, the RCOI) that the government discuss with survivors "what, if any, restorative justice processes might be desired and how such processes might be designed and resourced." The "restorativeness" or restorative potentials of New Zealand's counter-terrorism approach as it is currently articulated and evolving after the attacks will be analysed by applying a restorative lens to current policies, activities, and discussions in the NZ government's efforts to implement the recommendations of the RCOI into the Christchurch attacks. In taking a bi-cultural and socio-anthropological approach, the emergence of Māori resistance and peace-making efforts is highlighted as a grassroots (flax-roots?) manifestation of indigenous leadership and cultural engagement. Utilising a restorative peacebuilding lens highlights the need for the further development of bi-cultural/multi-peoples leadership in order to build social cohesion and restore social capital. This discussion consequently moves beyond the RCOI conceptualisation of RJ by articulating key restorative actions in a restorative movement for social justice. These five domains of restorative action compose a new framework for building social cohesion in response to violent extremism more broadly. Finally, articulating this within the current New Zealand context also reveals the need for expansion of the framework in order to enable restorative responses to extremism and polarisation circulation through online/offline ecosystems.

Ben Smith

University of Oslo, Norway and Victoria University of Wellington

What can narratives tell us about the wickedness of problems and solutions for sustainability transitions? The case of agri-food in Norway

Paper Session I

12:30 - 14:00, Day 1, November 29

Mission-orientated innovation policy approaches have been proposed as a means of tackling “wicked” societal problems encountered in sustainability transitions (Hekkert et al., 2020; Larrue, 2021; Mazzucato, 2018). However, this literature tends to invoke wickedness rhetorically and has yet to engage with more analytical conceptualisations from the policy sciences, where wickedness is unpacked into varying degrees and dimensions. Further empirical operationalisation of the wickedness concept has been suggested (Wanzenböck et al., 2020), which may inform the design of these policy approaches.

This paper contributes by exploring the use of narratives in analysing the relative wickedness of problems and their solutions. This approach is unique in combining the Narrative Policy Framework (Jones & McBeth, 2010) with Head’s (2022) three dimensions of wickedness: complexity, uncertainty and value divergence (contestation). The combined analytical framework is tested on a singular case: the policy problem of greenhouse gas emissions from the Norwegian agri-food system. By mapping the three dimensions, the framework provides a more granular picture of relative wickedness. The data is sourced from the public consultation responses of organisations to a landmark climate policy assessment.

The analysis shows how agri-food stakeholders adopt narratives of complexity and uncertainty to justify their divergent values on problems and solutions. The results highlight differences in wickedness between problems and solutions, with the most transformative solutions framed as the most complex, uncertain and contested. The paper concludes with implications for the inclusion of transformative and wicked solutions in mission-orientated innovation policy approaches.

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Callum Stewart

University of Melbourne

Race, Nation, and Age: theorising White settler futurism

Paper Session I

12:30 - 14:00, Day 1, November 29

Political theory predominantly takes modernity, or the modern age, as its object of study. Modernity is widely conceived as the present and final age of human civilisation. Through their histories of modernity, however, decolonial theory and settler colonial studies argue that modernity is defined by the colonial structures of race and nation respectively. My research therefore seeks to shift critical attention away from modernity towards the possibilities of decolonial futures by asking, ‘when is the end of modernity?’. I explore this question through consideration of the colonial temporal structure which I refer to as White settler futurism in global and Australian contexts. White settler futurism works to affirm, valorise, and reproduce colonial structures of race, nation, and age. It renders the White settler future of modernity as the only possible future. By bringing into view the end of modernity, my research aims to reorient White settlers away from the White settler future of modernity, and towards Indigenous resurgence and decolonial futures.

Janina Suppers

University of York

The value of school-based citizenship education to promote young people’s participation in a changing democracy: A mixed methods case study with Year 8-10 students from Germany

Paper Session IV

09:00 - 10:30, Day 3, December 1

The context for this paper is young people’s political participation in changing democratic societies, particularly outside of formal political spaces, referred to as emerging in this paper, such as through selective consumerism, raising social justice issues, or school-based citizenship. Based on reviewing current research, seven emerging citizenship contexts were identified, explored and translated into a theoretical framework which is explored in this paper. These contexts include unofficial, individual, glocal, sporadic, online, issues-based, and justice-oriented. The paper also provides insights into the value and missed opportunities of school-based citizenship education, for young people’s uptake of emerging citizenship activities. The context for exploring school-based citizenship education, is a newly introduced citizenship education subject in Germany. The paper addresses two research questions, namely: “Which emerging citizenship activities are Year 8-10 students engaged in?” and “What is the value of Year 8-10 citizenship education for students’ uptake of emerging citizenship activities?” The methods used to address these questions, include eleven teacher interviews, eight focus groups (n=26) and a qualitative questionnaire (n=106) with young people aged 13-17 from Germany. Results suggest that participants particularly engaged in glocal, unofficial, sporadic, and issues-based and less in individual, online, and justice-oriented citizenship activities. Regarding citizenship education, results indicate that community volunteering, unofficial citizenship activities, active and practical pedagogical approaches, and a democratic classroom environment were important to participants but were often not included in lessons. Barriers preventing these approaches from being used, included an overcrowded curriculum, low contact time, and low student agency, rooted in the school system.

Ché Tibby and Cameron Bayly

The New Zealand Police

The current absence of left-wing extremism in New Zealand

Paper Session I

12:30 - 14:00, Day 1, November 29

Accusations of left-wing extremist violence have recently become commonplace, but mobilisation to violence among left-wing extremists is currently uncommon compared to right-wing or other extremism, is concentrated in a limited number of comparable countries, and is rarely fatal. This paper argues that while left-wing extremist violence is not currently occurring in Aotearoa/New Zealand, it is useful to provide a series of high-level indicators that are likely to provide early warning of nascent violence. Observation of these indicators would allow law enforcement to remain aware of developments and *potential* violent extremism without application of overly intrusive identification and monitoring of individuals.

Hoa Vo

Victoria University of Wellington

Discretion and Policy Implementation: A Vietnamese Case Study

Paper Session IV

09:00 - 10:30, Day 3, December 1

Literature shows that Vietnamese policies appear to fail more often than succeed, with a big gap between policy aspiration and policy outcomes. This gap is often blamed on the extensive discretion of local authorities. However, the arguments often isolate discretion from other factors in policy implementation. The judgements concerning the reasons for discretion and the consequences of discretion for policy implementation in Vietnam are largely descriptive. Furthermore, the arguments are primarily based on case studies before or during the Renovation Era (the late 1980s to early 2000s). At the time, Vietnam went through a political-economic transition in which regulations on many central socio-economic relations did not exist. Most importantly, what is missing in the literature on Vietnamese public policy is a suitable answer to the question of What influences the operation and what are the implications?

This research aims to better understand the operation of discretion in policy implementation in the Vietnamese context. The investigation into discretion is pursued through thematic analysis of documents and semi-structured interviews. In addition, the research used policies on farmland, residential land, housing and sanitary water for poor ethnic minorities between 2002 and 2020, referred to for simplicity as “Farmland policy”, as material for the investigation. The framework draws on policy success and failure, local discretion, policy ambiguity, and accountability literature. In this framework, the more descriptive literature on policy success and failure has been blended with a more concentrated expansion of elements from other literature that could offer explanatory power.

William J. Wallace

University of Newcastle

Bob Katter's Populist Initiatives: Tilting at Windmills or Misplaced Power Seeking?

Paper Session II

9:00 - 10:30, Day 2, November 30

Abstract: Over the past decade Bob Katter and his eponymous Katter's Australian Party (KAP) have established a niche position within the Australian political landscape – one member of the House of Representatives and three members of the Queensland parliament. Katter aimed to attract specific groups of 'rusted off' voters to KAP's policy agenda, and in so doing develop a broader base of support amongst rural and regional voters. However, success in gaining electoral representation is one thing, success in translating that into realising policy objectives is another. This paper compares KAP's stated policy objectives and the legislative program it has pursued in the federal parliament. A thematic content analysis provides the basis for determining the degree of fit between KAP's policy objectives and the legislative agenda KAP has pursued within the federal parliament. The paper argues that while there is a substantial degree of consistency between KAP's policy objectives and its legislative initiatives, Katter has not been able to translate those initiatives into actual legislative outcomes. The paper also considers what this might tell us about Katter's (and KAP's) particular form of populism.

William J. Wallace

University of Newcastle, and Jim Jose, University of Newcastle

Explicating the Conception of Political Obligation Embedded in Martin Heidegger's Early Treatises

Paper Session IV

09:00 - 10:30, Day 3, December 1

Abstract: The foundational political concepts embedded in Martin Heidegger's treatises, in particular that of political obligation, have largely been neglected. Further underscoring the exigency of this task, is the considerable interest a number of anti-liberal democratic scholars have taken in developing a Heideggerian political philosophy. This paper will elucidate the conception of political obligation embedded in Heidegger's pre-Kehre works. It will be argued that Heidegger's magnum opus *Being and Time* and his address as Rector of Freiburg contain a latent associative account of political obligation. The ontological framework disclosed in *Being and Time* and the more concrete policy prescriptions of the Rectoral Address reveal a communitarian ethos which animates the early Heideggerian canon and grounds his account of political obligation. For Heidegger, *Dasein* must be connected to a particular community's ontological heritage in order to delimit its ontical possibilities in concrete situations. It will be argued that this relationship, between ontological heritage and ontical possibilities, is what defines political obligation for Heidegger.

Karen Webster and Charles Crothers

Auckland University of Technology

Auckland governance: A decade on from the 2010 reforms

Paper Session I

12:30 - 14:00, Day 1, November 29

As the population of the Auckland region in New Zealand, becomes markedly more super-diverse, the question of fair and effective representation becomes increasingly relevant. This paper explores who stood, and who was elected to local office, in the three Auckland triennial local elections, following the 2010 amalgamation of the regions local authorities. It addresses the question of how representative the electoral candidates and elected members of local government in Auckland were of the diverse population they serve. A quantitative analysis of the gender and ethnicity of the Auckland Council candidates and elected members in the 2013, 2016 and 2019 triennial elections was undertaken and the gender and ethnicity compared with that of the Auckland population. Our findings show that under the two-tiered shared governance model established by the Local Government Act (Auckland Council) 2009, electoral candidates have become more ethnically and gender representative of Aucklanders at the local level, while at the regional level, divergence from predominantly New Zealand European, male local representatives is emerging, albeit with less pace. These findings warrant further investigation, but overall, the research presents a cautiously optimistic picture of Auckland local democracy, in terms of increasing representational diversity.

Olivia Woodham

University of Otago

Gendered Perceptions and Attitudes Towards Climate Change in Aotearoa

Paper Session II

9:00 - 10:30, Day 2, November 30

This study tests theoretical arguments about gender socialization theory and gender roles in relation to perceptions and attitudes towards climate change in Aotearoa. Gender socialization theory argues that there are different values and social expectations that are conferred to boys and girls via socialization. This theory emerged from the social and political psychology of gender, which is the theoretical focus of the study. Research suggests that there are gendered impacts due to climate change occurring now and into the future. This research investigates the extent to which perceptions and attitudes towards climate change here in Aotearoa are shaped by gender. The research question is: In Aotearoa, are perceptions and attitudes towards climate change gendered, and if so, to what extent? This research uses an interpretative phenomenological approach to the qualitative study. Semi-structured in-depth interviews have been conducted with young male, female, transgender and takatāpui people (18-24) in Ōtepoti. The results were thematically organized and discussed in relation to gender socialization theory. While this research is not statistically representative, women and gender diverse people tended to show a more a more social and political perception of climate change while men showed a more technical and scientific perception. Women and gender diverse people also showed more concern for the climate than men. However, it must be noted that these differences were marginal and represented one time in the participant's lives. Analyzing perceptions and attitudes towards climate change indicates how people believe policy makers should deal with the issue and indicates people's awareness of the issue.

Geyi Xie and Joanne Wallis

University of Adelaide

China's use of strategic narratives in, and about, the Pacific Islands

Paper Session IV

09:00 - 10:30, Day 3, December 1

Existing analyses of China's role in the Pacific Islands have focused almost exclusively on China's expenditure of material resources. More recently, attention has turned to the potential for China to use its "influence" to acquire a military presence in the region. However, this leads to incomplete arguments regarding the increasing Chinese influence in the region.

In this paper, we are interested in what specific narratives China has used and what China has been trying to do with its narratives. We ask about what was China's strategy when deploying specific narratives. We use discourse analysis techniques to analyse the dominant frames used to characterise China's role and interests in the Pacific Islands in Chinese official discourse over the last decade (2012-2022).

First, we start from the historical narrative that binds China with the Pacific Islands' colonial past. Second, we assess how the South-South cooperation narrative is constructed for developing countries. Third, we investigate how the Belt and Road Initiatives is framed as an "opportunity". Finally, we discuss China's perspective on Australia's role in the region. By situating our analytical frames in historical and cultural context, we argue that China constructs its narratives with absolute care and strategic considerations.

Luna Zhao

University of Auckland

Being a Chinese voter in New Zealand: an analysis of Chinese New Zealanders' voting behaviour

Paper Session III

13:30 - 15:00, Day 2, November 30

Unlike in the UK and Australia where immigrant groups vote disproportionate for Labour, migrant groups in New Zealand do not flock to one party in elections, particularly Chinese voters. Since 2008 New Zealand major parties, National and Labour, have competed for Chinese votes in elections. And both believed their targeting efforts paid off.

This raises two research questions. First, how does New Zealand Chinese voters' support for parties differ? When taking the diversity of New Zealand Chinese community into consideration, are there differences between the sub-groups in terms of their party choice? Second, what are the factors that have impact on New Zealand Chinese voters' party support? Most existing literature on ethnic minorities' political behaviour highlight the role of ethnicity in shaping these voters party choice. Is this true for Chinese New Zealanders? Given that Chinese voters support for a party is conditional on several factors, e.g., socioeconomic and demographic characteristics, migrant experience, ethnic-related attitudes, which factors are related to Chinese voters' support for National and Labour?

Using a survey on Chinese voters conducted after the 2020 New Zealand general election, I examine Chinese New Zealanders' voting behaviour. My findings showed that New Zealand-born Chinese were more likely to support parties of the left and their overseas-born counterparts supported National in higher rates. My analysis also identified the factors that have influence on Chinese voters' party support for National and Labour, e.g., homeownership, ethnic-related attitudes, and a party's targeting efforts.

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Diasporic, Media Use, and Political Engagement

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Chinese immigrants began to live in New Zealand in the 19th century (The Encyclopedia of New Zealand, n.d.). In order to help immigrant fit into New Zealand mainstream society, ethnic media began to develop and evolved into a multi-platform model, including radio, newspapers, television, social media, and digital platforms (Li, 2013). Hopmann et al. (2012) state that the media influences policy issues that the public considers important. Therefore, it is valuable for new residents to receive information on different media and for the media to provide diverse information.

Past research has confirmed that ethnic traditional Chinese media, including radio and newspapers, approach general elections from particular positions of interest, with more coverage of the National Party than other parties. This situation hinders Chinese New Zealanders from knowing about other small party policies and possibly voting for them (McMillan & Barker, 2021). This paper draws on Agenda Setting, Diaspora, and Limited Effects theories, within a Circuit of Culture model to analyze ethnic Chinese media coverage of the 2020 election, and to explore interaction between Chinese New Zealanders, media sphere, and politicians. It is hoped that this study will inform political parties' campaign strategy in the 2023 general election. For Chinese New Zealanders, understanding the diversity of media in Aotearoa New Zealand is likely to have a positive effect on their voting and encourage more independent thinking on government policies.

References:

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