# Women Talking Politics

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# Contents

# From the Editors

**Greta Snyder, Victoria University of Wellington, and Priya Kurian, University of Waikato**

We find ourselves in a moment both hopeful and deeply disturbing when it comes to the politics of sex and gender. To pull out one example on the hopeful end of the spectrum, people are increasingly talking about and responding to sexual assault – whether occurring on university campuses in the U.S., on public transport in India, or at private parties in New Zealand. An example from the opposite end of the spectrum, however, is the way in which the viciously misogynistic speech and actions engaged in by major public figures like U.S. president-elect Donald Trump are explained away by large numbers of people.

In such a fraught context, it continues to be important to have outlets dedicated to the amplification of women's voices. As in other issues, this edition of *Women Talking Politics* accomplishes this in part by highlighting the completed, ongoing or new research projects of female faculty and post-graduate students. The articles featured here span a range of issues from the local to the global, linking gender and indigeneity with the politics of development, empowerment and resistance. **Curtin** contrasts the reluctance in New Zealand to consider gender quotas as a way of increasing the number of women MPs with the outcomes of a recent conference on gender and electoral reform in Penang, Malaysia, which endorsed recommendations, including gender quotas, as a way of both increasing the number of elected women and creating a more inclusive electoral system. **Kanem and Norris** deploy Black feminist frameworks, intersectionality and the matrix of domination, to explore the marginalization of indigenous Marind people of the Papua province through the ongoing processes of colonization by Indonesia – evident in practices of deforestation, destruction of food sources such as sago, and competition for market space. If sago is part of the Marind's indigenous identity, then corn is central to Mexico's national identity. **Pantoja** describes how women activists, such as Adelita San Vicente, have played a significant role in the fight by Mexican nongovernmental organisations to protect maize from genetically modified varieties. Indigenous women's resistance is also evident in the colonized Pacific context of Guåhan (Guam), controlled by the U.S., where **Frain** describes how indigenous Chamoru women have used events such as the Pacific Arts Festival to call for decolonization and demilitarization. The challenges of bringing about structural change despite the possibilities to exercise individual agency is illustrated in **Nandedkar's** analysis of a gender empowerment programme in India. Nandedkar turns the lens on a UNICEF-funded Deepshikha project that works with adolescent girls to explore how ideas of rights, volunteerism and community play out in the policy translation of empowerment into local development contexts. Finally, exploring policy enactment in the New Zealand context, **Smith** describes her on-going work on how schools and parents engage with each other, and the factors that influence such engagement.

The exciting breadth of current research being undertaken by women political science scholars is also evident in the shorter research briefs by **Schick** on critical theory and international ethics; **Townshend** on the impact of religion on the foreign policy of the United Arab Emirates and Qatar; **Greaves** on Maori political attitudes and behaviour; and **Brower** on the gender disparities in the linkage between a Performance Based Research Fund (PBRF) grade and academic rank. By featuring this work and making it more accessible to New Zealand political scientists, we aim to contribute in a small way to ensuring the study of politics in New Zealand reflects the diverse and unique perspectives women have to offer not just on the politics of sex and gender, but on all political issues.

In this issue, we have also introduced two new elements designed to encourage women to develop their political voice and engage in politics. First is a section of book and film reviews that features the work of undergraduate women who have taken political science courses. These reviews speak eloquently to the political topics and issues with which they are currently engaged and by which they are animated. Second is a section of profiles of women political science graduates who have gone on to careers in politics. With these two sections, we reach out to the next generation of female political scientists and politicians and encourage them into the fray. Both politics and political science will doubtlessly be richer for it.

Producing this issue of *Women Talking Politics* would not have been possible without the help of so many individuals. We thank all those who willingly made the time to review articles for us – Jennifer Curtin, Amy Fletcher, Janine Hayward, Anita Lacey, Kate Schick, Rachel Simon-Kumar, and Lena Tan. We thank Georgia Lockie for her superb efficiency as an Editorial Assistant, and Frances Douch for her help in managing the final details of the production. Finally, thank you to all the contributors – it's been wonderful to work with you all!

# Articles

## Reflecting on Gender and Electoral Reform

*Jennifer Curtin, University of Auckland*

On 26-27 August 2016, the Penang Women's Development Corporation and the Penang Institute hosted a National Conference on Gender and Electoral Reform. Women make up 10.8 per cent of federal parliamentarians in Malaysia, 21.9 per cent of Senators, 13 per cent of federal ministers and 11.5 per cent of the state assemblies, and there is a strong desire amongst Malaysian women to see this representation increased. The conference brought together over 100 women parliamentarians, activists and NGO representatives from Malaysia (along with two international speakers), to consider how best to combine these two previously separate claims: that is, the desire to increase the number of women elected, and to establish a fairer, more inclusive electoral system (PWDC 2016).

Historically, it is unusual to see these two claims bound together. Considerable scholarly attention has been given to the relationship between electoral system type and women's representation. Case studies and aggregate level cross-national comparisons indicate consistently that countries with proportional or mixed systems are more likely to result in women's representation reaching 30 per cent (Castles 1981; Lakeman 1976; Norris 1985; Rule 1994). However, it has been rare to see claims for electoral reform framed as an explicit means for achieving gender equality in political representation. Instead, the focus has been on arguments of fairness in terms of ensuring all votes count, how they are reflected in seat share, and the incentives that might lead parties to select a more diverse range of candidates (Electoral Reform Society UK 2016; Electoral Reform Canada 2016). Yet, history also tells us that proportional representation is not a panacea for achieving political gender equality (Curtin 2003). As a result, claims for, and the implementation of, gender quotas, whether in the form of legal quotas, party rules or reserved seats, have proliferated over the past 15 years (IDEA 2016).

My participation in Penang's National Gender and Electoral Reform Conference involved reflecting on New Zealand's transition to the Mixed Member Proportional (MMP) system, but specifically from a gender perspective. This meant re-reading the events that led to the Royal Commission on the Electoral System, its terms of reference, summaries of the submissions made and the stands taken by feminists and women party activists, as well as reviewing the range of quota options considered since that time, and the consequences for women's descriptive representation.

New Zealand's plurality electoral system had been questioned on several occasions prior to the advent of the Royal Commission, both in parliament and by members of the Labour Party (Jackson and McRobie 1998). However, in the end it came down to the persistence of Geoffrey Palmer and his pragmatist colleagues, a number of whom were women, who submitted regular remits on reform to the party's annual conference. By 1981 the promise of the Royal Commission had become official Labour Party Policy. There was widespread support for electoral reform inside the party because Labour attracted more votes than National but fewer seats (Anderton in McRobie 1993). Views differed, however, on a preferred model for change, and there was little discussion of the extent to which reform would facilitate women's election to parliament. Helen Clark did not support MMP and argued against a vote for a proportionality in advance of the 1992 referendum (Clark in McRobie, 1993). By contrast, Margaret Wilson, active member of the Labour Women's Council, favoured MMP (personal correspondence; see also Wilson 1989 for more discussion of the party's pragmatists).

The Royal Commission on the Electoral System reported in 1986, recommending the adoption of MMP. Comprising five members, four men and one Māori woman, its terms of reference focused on a range of criteria including fairness of the system for political parties, effective government and parliament, and the effective representation of Māori, constituent and minority and special interest groups. It is in this latter category that the discussion of women's representation was placed, despite women being neither a minority group nor a special interest. The Report noted that because every candidate must be widely acceptable within the electorate under First Past the Post, "this may deter political parties from selecting candidates

belonging to minority communities and special groups" (including women) (RCES 1986, 238).

A number of submissions expressed concern about the continued under-representation of women, but most focused on the voting method, expressing a preference for proportionality, while over 40 per cent referred to Māori representation (Jackson and McRobie 1998). Even the Women's Electoral Lobby's (WEL) submission made little mention of the gendered nature of the old system nor of strategies to ensure the increase of women's representation under a new system. Indeed, WEL was ambivalent about MMP, preferring instead the option of multi-member constituencies, which they argued would enable voters to select a range of candidates, including women. There was an explicit concern that a party list model would undermine the possibility of electing good local candidates and would anonymise the selection process (WEL 1986).

Nevertheless, WEL was committed to the adoption of some kind of proportional system and its members were active in the Electoral Reform Coalition, a network that proved critical in the campaign for change between 1986 and 1992. More generally, there were mixed reactions in the press by feminists in the lead-up to the 1992 referendum on the preferred model. Mary Varnham, active women's liberationist in the 1970s, noted that "if you are female and less than enamoured with a system which produces an 84 per cent boys club on the hill, there's another persuasive reason to vote for a change to proportional representation: it will almost guarantee more women in parliament" (Varnham 1993, 151). Meanwhile, ex-National MP Marilyn Waring, who was a supporter of Single Transferable Vote (STV), argued that MMP would primarily favour political parties, rather than individual candidates, thereby further entrenching the presence of "a middle-aged white majority regardless of party in office" (Waring 1993, 204). Survey research later found that 68 per cent of those who voted for MMP in 1993 wanted to see more women in parliament (Catt 1997).

The first MMP election in 1996 led to an increase in the number of women elected (up from 21 per cent to 28.3 per cent of the new 120-member parliament), but over time this upward trajectory has petered out. In the 1999 and 2002 elections, there was little overall increase in the proportion of women elected and it was not until 2005 that the percentage of women parliamentarians surpassed 30 per cent (33.1 per cent). However, it has yet to reach 35 per cent (Curtin 2012; Statistics NZ) and given the major parties seldom select 40 per cent women as candidates, progress for women has stalled.

It is unsurprising then that there have been heated debates, within the left in particular, over the need for some kind of gender quota and the adoption of a target (Curtin 2013; Small 2016). But a cross-party resolution on this issue is unlikely. This contrasts with the outcomes of Penang's National Conference on Gender and Electoral Reform. There, women from an array of parties explicitly recognised the importance of connecting women's representation to demands for electoral reform and drafted a set of recommendations which will be taken up as a practical advocacy tool to underscore the changes needed at the local, state and national levels (PWDC 2016). And invoking gender quotas as a solution is being framed as promoting "capable women", undermining claims of tokenism. New Zealand should watch and learn.


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# Indigenous Women, Traditional Goods, and Identity: Voices of Papuan Women from the Merauke Regency of Papua Province

*Veronica Triariyani Kanem & Adele N. Norris, University of Waikato*

## *Introduction*

Since the 1960s, an Indonesian presence has expanded in West Papua, which has led to a shrinking indigenous presence in traditional market spaces. Tension between the Marind, the largest indigenous tribe located in the Merauke Regency of the Papua Province, and the Indonesian population heightened with the 2010 implementation of the Merauke Integrated Food and Energy Estate (MIFEE). Established to overcome the food and energy crisis in Indonesia, the MIFEE project has led to a massive deforestation of indigenous lands (Ginting and Pye 2011). The clearing of sago trees, specifically, to make space for rice production thwarted both the production and the consumption of the Marind's staple food, sago. As a result, the price of sago has increased, leading indigenous populations to consume rice as a cheaper substitute. Sago, an important part of the Marind's indigenous identity, is traditionally cultivated by indigenous women and sold at the market along with other traditional products such as betel nuts, cassava, bananas and kumara. Given this, indigenous women possess important insights into the effects of the loss of sago in the lives of the local indigenous community.

With the capacity to elucidate the complex power dynamics that reside at the intersections of indigenous and Indonesian women's identity in West Papua, Black feminist frameworks, intersectionality (Crenshaw 1990; McCall 2005) and the matrix of domination (Collins 2000, 2013) are important to further explore the extent an increasing Indonesian presence has impacted indigenous market women's livelihood, specifically with regard to the harvest, sale and consumption of sago. These frameworks allow for the mapping of intersecting social locations (e.g. ethnicity, class and religion) for both groups of women across four interrelated power domains: (1) *structural domain,* which includes social institutions such as corporations, schools, health care, and government agencies; (2) *disciplinary domain* looks at modern bureaucracies' rules and practices; (3) *cultural domain* considers the ideologies that are constructed and shared; and (4) *interpersonal domain* includes the social relations between individuals in everyday life.

The purpose of this paper is to briefly discuss issues related to the deforestation in West Papua and the marginalisation of indigenous women in traditional market spaces. It highlights the intricate relationship among indigeneity, sago and women merchants. This paper concludes by emphasising the need for research that reflects the intimate knowledge of indigenous market women to inform policymakers of the new challenges endured by the local indigenous peoples.

## *The Merauke Integrated Food and Energy Estate Programme (MIFEE)*

According to Ginting and Pye (2011), under the MIFEE programme, state governments are able to claim indigenous lands in order to further economic development within the field of agriculture. Lands classified as 'empty land' are converted into areas of industry by multinational organisations. A significant portion of indigenous lands falls under this category (Ginting and Pye 2011). Consequently, the natural forest ecosystems, which are essential to the survival of indigenous peoples, are being destroyed due to deforestation. This substantial burden is felt on many fronts by indigenous peoples who have relied on the forest for food, water and medicines. More importantly, the forest represents their cultural identity (Dhali 2008). This severance from the forest is exacerbated by a lack of employment opportunities available to indigenous populations after the implementation of economic development projects (Forest Peoples Programme 2013). Without proper knowledge and skills in modern agriculture, the natives are unable to compete with foreign labourers. Indigenous peoples from the Zanegi village, Merauke, for example, struggle to find employment opportunities because the employers of major companies prefer to recruit Indonesians from Java and Kalimantan Island (Girsang 2014). Thus, the consequences of this process of economic development have disrupted the way of life for the indigenous community and created a dependency to a new culture that can be viewed as a form of colonisation through food (Dhali 2008; Raschke and Cheema 2008).

## *Sago Production*

The Marind community consumes sago as their staple food and uses sago flour to prepare a variety of foods such as *Papeda*, *Sagu Sep* and *Bubur Sagu* (sago porridge). Sago usually grows wild in the forest. Annually, one sago tree can produce three baskets of dry flour, which can feed one family for three months (Girsang 2014). In Zanegi village, for example, sago trees were harvested to make way for acacia plantations. The deforestation led to a scarcity of sago flour in the market. Rice, instead, is becoming the main crop in the Merauke regency (Girsang 2014).

Rice is used strategically as a political commodity with the availability and the price of rice being controlled by the Indonesian government (Girsang 2014). The Indonesian government, since the 1960s, has assisted and educated primarily an Indonesian population in agricultural related activities related to rice production. For example, in 2008, Indonesia experienced a prolonged drought, which resulted in a food crisis, and the price of rice dramatically increased (Girsang 2014). Poorer Papuans, of any other group, were adversely affected by this burden. Lacking the means to afford rice, coupled with mass deforestation, the local indigenous population can no longer acquire their staple food, sago, for sale or consumption (Forest Peoples Programme 2013).

## *Intersectionality and Employment: Race/Ethnicity, Gender, Religion and Social Class*

Rice production has important implications for workforce recruitment and market participation. Because the indigenous population lack skills and knowledge in intensive agriculture (Raschke and Cheema 2008), the non-Papuans dominate the agricultural workforce. Naturally skilled in forest related activities, the indigenous population cannot compete with the non-Papuans' expertise in the farming industry (Forest Peoples Programme 2013). Moreover, non-Papuans ushered in a large Islamic influence in the Merauke regency that has further marginalised indigenous groups (Forest Peoples Programme 2013). The unequal power dynamic between indigenous and Indonesian women plays out at the local markets that were once traditionally Papuan. For example, Papuans, especially market women, are pressed by diminishing sago yields, which is further strained by competition from Indonesian women selling traditional indigenous products. Thus, in order to understand to what extent such tension plays out in the market, it is imperative to investigate the experiences of market women and the negotiation of market space at the intersection of race/ethnicity, gender, class and religion.

## *Conclusions*

It is important that the challenges discussed are understood from the perspective of indigenous women wherein their voices are privileged in academic research and in the policy making process. Black feminist frameworks have been used to bring knowledge of subjugated groups to the forefront via analysis that advances the interests of marginalised groups. To better understand and mitigate indigenous women's marginalisation, it is vital that program directors and policymakers are well informed of the complex constraints placed upon them. Furthermore, it is essential for development initiatives to recognise the inextricable link of indigenous cultural identity to the forest, sago consumption, and market space as a central source of empowerment among indigenous women.


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## Local NGOs in Mexico: A Woman in the Defense of Maize

*Yadira Ixchel Martinez Pantoja, University of Auckland*

Corn is part of Mexico's national identity. The culture, traditions, rituals, food, and agricultural practices of Mexico are linked to maize. However, corn diversity may be threatened by the introduction of genetically modified organisms (GMOs) into the cornfields where many Mexican women and their families work. As the 2005 Law of Biosecurity and Genetically Modified Organisms (LBGMO) allows the cultivation of GM crops, environmental NGOs and some groups representing the Mexican peasants have prioritized the protection of native corn, soil and water from the introduction of GM maize and the pesticides used with GMOs. The following short article details the role of women in recent political opposition to GMOs in Mexico and their participation in NGO activities.

NGOs' efforts in the defense of maize in Mexico is relevant because NGOs sometimes work closer to citizens due to their nature and goals. Access to technology has allowed NGOs to effectively penetrate states regardless of borders and domestic constituencies to induce political leaders to pay attention to their preferred agendas (Keohane and Nye 1998, 83). NGOs have an impact on the environment, and they combine information, activism, and lobbying, while the media positions them as loud voices in their area (Snow 2006, 20). As a result, some local NGOs in Mexico have sought the preservation of biodiversity and have pressured the government to halt GM crops cultivation. For example, Greenpeace and *Sin Maíz No Hay País* (No Corn, No Country, an NGO that involves a group of 300 organizations against GM maize) protested against GM foods in Mexico City downtown's Plaza on 2013 (Greenpeace 2013). Consequently, GM maize cultivation has been halted because of the efforts of NGOs and some producer groups, and it is not a priority for the current economic policy (Massieu Trigo 2009, 231).

Moreover, in this fight to protect maize, the work of a woman has been prominent. Adelita San Vicente, founder and director of the local NGO *Semillas de Vida* (Seeds of Life), has been at the front cooperating with other domestic and international NGOs in the defense of maize. San Vicente, has been engaged in different activities to prevent GM maize adoption, such as protests, media presentations, and dissemination of information.

The anti-GM food movement in Mexico is huge… there is no country that has been more opposed to GM crops cultivation than Mexico… maize to us is more than a commodity; it is within our hearts. (A. San Vicente, interview by author, February 12 2014).

San Vicente, through *Semillas de Vida*, strongly supports *Sin Maíz No Hay País* which promotes food sovereignty, public policies for agricultural sustainability, and the prohibition of GM maize (Sin Maíz No Hay País 2015). Furthermore, in order to strengthen the defense of maize, San Vicente has liaised with an international well-known activist in the field of GMOs, Vandana Shiva, whose activism in India for the protection of seeds has gained attention from international media and has projected her as an icon of the anti-GMO movement. Shiva's participation in the protection of maize includes public speeches and media presentations in Mexico.

Another action to protect Mexico's maize undertaken by San Vicente along with other domestic NGOs has been a class action lawsuit settlement. In 2013, these NGOs, with the support of Greenpeace, started a class action lawsuit to halt GM maize cultivation and to sue two government agencies, Secretariat of Agriculture and Secretariat to the Environment, as well as biotechnology companies such as Monsanto, DuPont Pioneer, Dow AgroSciences and Syngenta Agro, because of their violation of the right to have a GMO-free biodiversity in the country (Revolución 3.0. 2014). As a result, in October 2013, a federal judge granted a suspension of the permits to plant GM maize at a pilot, experimental or commercial level. This class action lawsuit led by San Vicente is an important civil society milestone because class action lawsuits have never been implemented before in the area of GMOs. As a representative from this class action lawsuit, San Vicente has been considered the woman who faced down Monsanto, an impressive initiative where multinational corporations have the resources to overcome citizen, political, and legal pressures.

San Vicente has also worked closely with small-scale farmers and peasants groups who signal the importance of protecting maize and biodiversity. This protection of maize is primordial because she considers Mexico to be a constantly evolving center of origin and diversification of corn, and the best seeds are linked to the ancestral knowledge that peasants possess.

Peasants continue cultivating and experimenting… if there is going to be maize resistant to drought and climate change, it is a variety that is going to be linked to peasants' knowledge which is threatened by GMO policies. (A. San Vicente, interview by author, February 12 2014).

In summary, the defense of maize in Mexico has been led by this important woman who has promoted NGO activism. Cooperation between local and international NGOs, protests, media presentations, liaison with international activists and local groups of peasants, as well as class action lawsuits, have been the tools that San Vicente has utilized for the protection of maize. Her activism is relevant to help protect the Mexican cultural heritage that this food symbolizes. It also represents the bravery of this woman to speak on behalf of peasants and Mexicans who feel threatened by GM maize. She can be considered an example of the role of women in politics and the protection of the environment.

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# "Free Guåhan! Decolonize Oceania!"

## Strategic Action for Decolonization during the 12th Festival of Pacific Arts Closing Ceremony

*Sylvia Frain, University of Otago*


*Guåhan (Guam) delegates hold banners stating, "Free Guåhan! Decolonize Oceania!" during the closing ceremony of the 12th Festival of Pacific Arts hosted by Guåhan from 22 May- 4 June 2016. Image from Facebook (5 June 2016). Used with permission.*

### *Indigenous Political Rights in the Pacific*

Guåhan (Guam) is an unincorporated organized territory of the United States of America (US), and, along with five other Pacific territories, is featured on the United Nations Non-Self-Governing Territories (NSGTs) list. The residents of these locales have not been able to exercise their right of self-determination to resolve their political status. Remaining as a territory or possession is a violation of indigenous political rights and Article 73 of the 1945 UN Charter as well as the 1960 Resolution 1514.[1]

While the island of Guåhan, located 7,000 miles from Washington, D.C., is considered American sovereign "soil," the indigenous Chamoru residents are not only denied their indigenous political rights but American-style democracy as well (Borja 2015).[2] Chamorus do not vote for the US President, they do not have representation in the US Senate, and locally elect a *nonvoting* delegate to the US Congress. This lack of indigenous autonomy allows for further militarization by granting the US military unrestricted power over the land, sea, air, and even people (Alexander 2015). Guåhan is considered *part of* the United States to recruit its residents into the US military and use the islands and seas to prepare for war, yet the US Congress determines their *sovereignty* (Sagapolutele 2016). It is against this political context that I examine the Festival of Pacific Arts hosted in Guåhan earlier this year.

### *The 12th Festival of Pacific Arts*

Guåhan hosted the Festival of Pacific Arts (FestPac) from 22 May - 4 June 2016. The festival's theme, "*Håfa Iyo-ta, Håfa Guinahå-ta, Håfa Ta Påtte, Dinanña' Sunidu Siha Giya Pasifiku*" or "What We Own, What We Have, What We Share, United Voices of the Pacific", combined traditional and contemporary Pacific arts practices (Festival of Pacific Arts 2015). Artists from twenty-seven Pacific islands traveled across Oceania to perform, collaborate, and learn about each other's creative cultures, as well as colonial histories and contemporary demilitarization struggles.

This FestPac was the first time it occurred in two spaces: live at the multiple venues on Guåhan, and simultaneously on the Internet through social media sites. While the local and visiting media outlets and personnel were quick to feature images and commentary of dancers, chanters, and artisans, the coverage ignored the politics of indigenous rights. The media never addressed the contemporary controversies surrounding Guåhan's territorial status and American expanding militarization, as well as the political contexts of many of the other delegates from Pacific islands which are currently struggling for self-determination and demilitarization.

## *Visual Resistance: Strategic Action During the Closing Ceremony*

For the Chamoru delegation, FestPac served as a public platform to critically address their colonial political status and the planned American military projects. They conceptualized the closing ceremony as an appropriate venue to visually and publically address the politics of indigenous rights and express their camaraderie with the other Pacific peoples. "To decolonize Oceania means that through our solidarity we can see ourselves as more than the legacies that colonization has left us with. It means celebrating ourselves as more than just tourist destinations, nuclear testing sites, airports for transit and bodies for exotic dances" (Bevacqua and Leon Guerrero 2016).

During the closing ceremony, Guåhan's delegation held up banners made from their FestPac uniforms asserting "Decolonize Oceania!" and "Free Guåhan", much to the surprise of the audience.[3] In addition, delegates from across Oceania demonstrated their solidarity by wearing black armbands that read "Decolonize Oceania" and "Demilitarize Oceania" (see Radio New Zealand 2016).

Since the media failed to feature any aspect of these strategic actions, Chamoru women delegates and spectators utilized social media sites to share the images and video of the Guåhan delegation unfurling the banners during their entrance. Kisha Borja-Kicho'cho' Calvo, one of the organizers of the action, posted on her Facebook page:

> *FestPac isn't just about showcasing cultural facets of our Pacific nations; it's also about remembering our peoples' political struggles and resistance movements. We took this action at the FestPac Closing Ceremony to make a statement: We stand in solidarity with our sisters and brothers of Oceania and their struggles, and we want people throughout the region (and the world) to know the status with the status quo for the Chamorus of Guåhan. BIBA FestPac! BIBA Oceania! (Borja-Kicho'cho' 2016a; see also Borja-Qicho'cho'-Calvo 2016b).*

She included the hashtags: #decolonizeoceania, #freeguahan, #freewestpapua, #freekanaky, #freehawai'i, #speakupriseup, #oneOceanonelove.

Chamoru women continue to lead the resistance efforts against colonization and militarization across Oceania. Dr. Tiara Na'puti, a Chamoru academic activist, hosted the local radio programme *Beyond the Fence* after the closing ceremony. She devoted episode 248 entitled, "Decolonizing Oceania and the Festival of the Pacific Arts" and interviewed six of the twelve Guåhan delegates who organized the strategic action (KPRG 2016). They continue to call for "unity across Oceania" for decolonization and demilitarization. To learn more about contemporary efforts to "Free Guåhan," please visit the Independence for Guam Task Force Facebook page.

1 American Samoa is categorized as an 'unincorporated unorganized territory' of the United States; Kanaky (New Caledonia) is a 'special collectivity' and Maohi Nui (French Polynesia) is an 'overseas collectivity,' both administered by France; the Pitcairn Islands are an 'overseas territory' of the United Kingdom, and Tokelau is a 'territory' of New Zealand (United Nations 2015). While the UN officially recognizes these islands as colonies, there are four colonized regions in Oceania that are not included on the NSGTs list including the Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands (CNMI), the sovereign Kingdom of Hawai'i, Rapa Nui (Easter Island), and West Papua.

2 Guåhan became a possession of the United States after the 1898 Spanish-American War and the signing of the Treaty of Versailles.

3 Watch the video on the Independence for Guam Task Force Facebook page (17 June 2016) that includes the crowd cheering "Biba Guåhan!" (Available from: https://www.facebook.com/1768523633376324/videos/1798543663707654/). 'Biba' is an exclamation of approval in Chamorro (personal correspondence, June 2014).


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# The Politics of Empowerment: Adolescent Girls, Choice and Agency

*Gauri Nandedkar, University of Waikato*

The neoliberal influence on the development agenda has affected empowerment programmes for adolescent girls in significant ways. The UNICEF-funded *Deepshikha* programme in rural Maharashtra, India has been influenced both positively and critically in its aim of achieving holistic empowerment for adolescent girls. The programme focuses its efforts on reaching adolescent girls living in rural communities[1] with an emphasis on broad life-skills training. As an intergovernmental agency, UNICEF is mandated to work with governments (central, state, and local) in order to build the capacity of government agencies within and across sectors to support children and adolescents.[2] UNICEF Maharashtra[3] works with children and adolescents at the programme level in both urban and rural settings. This paper addresses the distinctions in what this empowerment programme means for the programme participants – adolescent girls – and programme organisers – UNICEF Maharashtra. Drawing on extensive interview data from field research in 2012, I consider three main ideas that emerged as illustrative of UNICEF Maharashtra's translation of empowerment: rights, volunteerism and community. I reflect on what the implications of these ideas are for adolescent girls and their abilities to exercise choice and agency.

The UNICEF language is reflective of broader UN discourse as the organisation uses terms such as *enabling* and *building capacity* which evoke concepts of empowerment (Fairclough 2013; UNICEF 2007; UNICEF 2011; UNICEF 2004; Bratton 1989; Udombana 2000). For example, a female senior-level UNICEF Maharashtra official (UN2) in Mumbai commented that "we are not just creating an empowerment project but creat[ing] an enabling environment" (UN2 2012). Indeed, part of the enabling environment included learning bargaining and negotiation skills for communicating within the private sphere but more importantly for engaging in public spaces. These were seen as essential skills for the empowerment of the young women. In contrast, the adolescent girls found that one of the most positive, useful and relevant features of the programme was information delivered in Module One which included knowledge on menstruation and puberty (UNICEF State Office for Maharashtra 2009). This is a clear indication of the utility of the programme to positively affect the everyday lives of adolescent girls in concrete and tangible ways, embedded in a rights-based approach[4] to empowerment. Training sessions on the body equipped the girls with a sense of autonomy over their bodies. In a context in which adolescent girls have little control over their mobility, their access to food and education, and their place within family hierarchy, autonomy over one's body and knowing how to care for oneself is a great achievement.[5]

It is noteworthy that what was seen as useful and positive by the adolescent girls was not necessarily understood as most useful by programme organisers who had a different set of expectations. That is, post-programme training, adolescent girls were expected to peer-teach, form 'adolescent girls groups', organise community-action initiatives and monitor government-funded schemes – all functional notions of empowerment. All of these activities were expected to be undertaken as a volunteer, that is, as an unpaid worker. These initiatives were in addition to her caring for her family, completing domestic duties, and finishing secondary school.[6] When we speak of empowerment, then, and in particular of enhancing choice and agency, in effect, many such empowerment programmes constrain adolescent girls' agency as their choices are restricted and their access to paid work is limited. Indeed, what is problematic about such schemes, and where tensions within families and communities may result in threats of violence towards adolescent girls, is the question of who has the power to act in public spaces. Certainly, adolescent girls may be subjected to violent encounters within the private sphere – home is not necessarily a source of safety and comfort. However, with the introduction of volunteer work and engaging in public spaces come notions of power, functionalism and instrumentalisation of adolescent girls.

The public space for adolescent girls may, indeed, become a site for the feminisation of the community development space (Chant 2008). As adolescent girls are mobilised to work in adolescent girls groups, they fill specific functions of the state which may contribute to a continued undervaluing of the girl as her worth is measured through her activism in unpaid work. State and intergovernmental agencies, such as UNICEF, rely on adolescent girls to contribute to positive community development. Hence, such programmes may be seen, from a neoliberal perspective, as investing in a workforce made up of cheap, unpaid labour from

a vast army of adolescent girl volunteers. Further, as adolescent girls volunteer in self-help groups, the notion of individual solutions to development issues is perpetuated.[7] Volunteerism and adolescent girls as instruments of change may be useful in individual situations, but such solutions do not address or tackle structural barriers to the empowerment of adolescent girls. While perhaps enhancing individual capacities for agency, such programmes may serve to restrict agency and choice on a structural level.

1 Many of these communities are adivasi (tribal) communities.

2 http://www.unicef.org/; http://www.unicef.org/adolescence/

3 http://unicef.in/StateInfo/Maharashtra/Introduction

4 UNICEF's mandate is embedded in a rights-based approach (UNICEF 2004, 27; 2010, 12-13, 33) and, therefore, the *Deepshikha* programme, and its emphasis on adolescent girls' knowing and understanding their rights, is grounded in a rights-based approach.

5 There is an extensive literature on empowerment and development which examines the term empowerment and critically explores empowerment in the development context. See, for example, Batliwala and Dhanraj (2004), Batliwala (1994, 2007); Mohanty, Russo, and Torres (1991), Mohanty (2003); Bhavnani et al (2003, 2009); and Kabeer (1994, 1999, 2003, 2013).

6 See Bronstein (1982), Moser (1989), Afshar and Barrientos (1999), and Goodkind and Deacon (2004) for further information on the meanings of the term 'triple burden' and the implications for women.

7 Individualisation being one aspect of neoliberalism.


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# Expressed, Enacted, and Experienced: A Case Study of Parental Engagement in Compulsory Education

*Megan Smith, University of Waikato*

A recurring theme in education policy is that of schools engaging with parents in the delivery of compulsory education – that delivery can concern an individual child, a school community or the national system. The terminology and way in which this engagement has occurred has varied throughout New Zealand (NZ) education history, but, at an individual and school level, can be grouped under three main categories: administration and decision-making, participation and collaboration in school life, and information sharing (Mutch and Collins 2012). While these categories encompass a range of parental engagement activities, both formal and informal, few have found specific expression in policy. Foremost examples of specific parental engagement expressed in policy concern are the role of parents as members, and electors, of boards of trustees for school administration (The Education Act 1989), and the requirement of schools to report to parents on their child's learning progress (Education Standards Act 2001; Ministry of Education 2015b). A more general policy expression of parental engagement is found in the NZ Curriculum, which displays a commitment to parental engagement in education through the principle of "Community Engagement: The curriculum has meaning for students, connects with their wider lives, and engages the support of their families, whānau, and communities." (Ministry of Education 2007, 9). The principle is discussed in more depth elsewhere (Ministry of Education 2015a), but ultimately relies on schools and teachers to interpret and enact as they see fit. As indicated by the aforementioned categories of Mutch and Collins (2012), parental engagement occurs in schools in a number of ways.

Much of what schools do in the parental engagement realm is discussed in the literature as parental involvement (PI). PI is influenced by a variety factors, such as socio-economic group (Groundwater-Smith and Forster 1994; Vincent and Martin 2002), and characterised with a variety of beliefs, including parental deference to the professional expertise of the school and the teachers (Vincent and Martin 2002), to the role of parents in demanding accountability from teachers and schools (Landeros 2007). The successful engagement of parents may also be contingent on parents identifying with a personal role that calls for their active involvement with children's education, and in addition, a sense of efficacy in their belief of being able to successfully assist in their child's education (Hoover-Dempsey and Sandler 1997). Barriers to effective PI have also been examined (see for example, Hornby and Lafaele 2011), but these critiques of influencing factors and barriers do not comprehensively address how schools, as sites of policy enactment, are complex and unique, with multiple contextual dimensions. These contextual dimensions encompass factors that run from buildings and budgets, through to the professional cultures and experience of staff, and the discursive artefacts that reflect parental engagement policy discourses (Ball et al. 2012). Examination of schools as sites of policy enactment may help illuminate the reasons behind the "…clear gaps between the rhetoric on PI found in the literature and typical PI practices found in schools" (Hornby and Lafaele 2011, 38).

Therefore, this doctoral study will examine how policy goals of parental engagement in the provision of compulsory education in NZ are expressed, enacted and experienced, with a particular interest in the impact of contextual dimensions at schools as sites of enactment. The research context will focus on a single bounded case in the English-medium (state-not integrated) part of the primary sector. The following questions will guide the research: how, and in what ways, do schools and parents engage with each other? And, how, and in what ways, do contextual factors affect that engagement? In order to uncover and explore how parental engagement occurs in schools, policy enactment has been chosen as the methodological approach. Policy enactment provides a multi-method way of examining the rhetoric and reality of parental engagement policy which acknowledges how, for example, education policy enters diverse environments, as each school has its "…different histories, buildings and infrastructures, staffing profiles and teaching and learning challenges" (Maguire et al. 2010, 157). It will provide a rich description of parental engagement within a NZ school, examining the way in which the concept is expressed, enacted, and experienced by the various policy actors and stakeholders. As "…an important basis for refining action options and expectations" (Stake 2005, 460), this case study offers policy makers, schools, teachers, and parents vicarious experience of parental engagement,

through the contextual, creative, and negotiated process of policy enactment. While being cautious of the ability to generalise from a single case, there is the opportunity to identify principles of parental engagement that have the potential to inform policy and practice elsewhere. Therefore, the study will increase the knowledge and understanding of the reality of parental engagement as it is enacted and experienced in a NZ school setting.


*Education Act 1989.*

*Education Standards Act 2001.*

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# Briefs

## Towards Vulnerable Relationality: Critical Theory and International Ethics

*Kate Schick, Victoria University of Wellington*

Critical approaches to international ethics stem from a variety of intellectual traditions but they also have multiple points of commonality. In this chapter, I address some of the tensions between critical theory and traditional approaches to ethics, highlighting the rationalism that dominates traditional approaches and the attempt to counter this in critical international ethics.

In the first part of the chapter, I argue that critical engagements with international ethics challenge the orthodox approach of seeking abstract universal rules for solving ethical problems. Rationalist rules-based ethics elevate a particular form of knowing that closes off debate and contestation, silences the historical, social, political and economic conditions that create ethical problems, prevents the accommodation of difference, and obscures the self and its place in moral judgement. These approaches pursue 'useful knowledge' (Geuss 2005, 3) that might be wielded to solve global problems, elevating invulnerability and self-mastery in an attempt to shut down insecurity. Critical approaches eschew both the instrumental rationality of traditional ethics and the elevation of security and invulnerability as incontrovertible goods. Instead, they see ethical behaviour as springing from an exploration of relationality and our vulnerable subjectivity.

In the second part of the chapter, I illustrate some of the diverse ways that this kind of sensibility enriches our understanding of international ethics by drawing out some key strands of contemporary critical thought, including post-foundational ethics, agonism, and the ethics of autoethnography.

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Kate Schick's chapter is forthcoming in Steele, B. and Heinze, E. (eds.) (in press) *Routledge Handbook on Ethics in International Relations.* London: Routledge.

## The Contrasting Impact of Religion on Foreign Policy in the United Arab Emirates and Qatar

*Estelle Townshend, University of Waikato*

My PhD research aims to assess the impact of religion on foreign policy by comparing the respective strategies of the United Arab Emirates (UAE) and Qatar in response to the repercussions and events of the Arab Spring. It starts with an analysis of Secularisation Theory, which posits that the separation of church and state is an inevitable consequence of modernization (Thomas 2005, 52-53; Casanova 1994, 19-20). This theory has recently been challenged by a global religious resurgence, which is particularly evident in the Middle East where economic modernization has developed alongside Islam instead of displacing it. However, it does not appear to have been a stabilising dynamic as the outbreak of uprisings in 2011, known as the Arab Spring, have increased sectarianism and revealed significant tensions between the rulers and the ruled.

A key debate in the scholarship is centred on the extent of Islam's role in governance (Bayat 2013, 587-601), with Iran and Qatar, alongside other states, seeking to influence domestic events and power struggles inside other countries such as Syria and Egypt. Complicating this is the fact that the small wealthy Sunni Gulf states, Qatar and the UAE, have adopted contrasting approaches to the Arab Spring and its aftermath. This was seen most dramatically in Egypt where Qatar supported the now ousted Muslim Brotherhood government from 2012 until 2013 (Sabry 2013). This contrasts with the UAE's staunchly anti-Islamist foreign policy and support for General Sisi and his crackdown on the Muslim Brotherhood movement (Parasie and Solomon 2015). The conflicting positions of Iran and Qatar is also evident now in Libya where the two are waging a proxy war. Qatar, alongside Turkey and Sudan, supports the Islamist-led government in Tripoli. In contrast, the UAE, with Egypt, backs the anti-Islamist Tobruk based government (Caffiero and Wagner 2015). Overall, the potentially different role played by religion in shaping the foreign policies of Qatar and the UAE remains an unexplored topic in the scholarship.

It is noteworthy that International Relations theory has little to say on religion given that the field of IR predominantly emerged in the West, where the

development of the Westphalian state system is characterised by an emphasis on the separation of church and state. However, efforts to incorporate religion into IR theory are underway. My research aims to contribute to this effort within the context of transnational religion and globalisation in the Middle East. This research begins with analysing a number of documents of significance to the foreign policies of Qatar and the UAE, including official statements from governments, public announcements from religious bodies, as well as media reports, to identify whether and in what ways the religious elements of Islam may be embedded in them. The research will then explore the implications of this analysis for the enactment of the foreign policies of the two countries.


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## Māori Political Attitudes and Behaviour


*Lara Greaves, University of Auckland*


At age 18 I enrolled to vote. Why? Because that is what everyone does. I filled out the form, name, address, occupation. Māori ancestry? Well, sure. I didn't think much about it. Fast forward to age 23 and the Māori electoral roll option opened. Now politically engaged, I wanted to switch to the Māori roll. The window is tied to the census and open every five years for four months. How do Māori know the window is open? Advertisements run, largely on Māori Television, and everyone with Māori descent is sent a form via post.

However, Māori are a very mobile population; more than 60 percent of Māori moved between 2001 and 2006. This happened to me: as both Māori and a student I had kept my electoral roll address at my parents' place. Who has time to update it when they move every six months? By the time I had sent off my enrolment pack it was too late: I was stuck on the general roll for another five years and two elections.

This experience led me to my PhD research, which is in the field of political and social psychology. My aim is to explore the predictors of Māori political engagement in (Western) political contexts, like being on the Māori electoral roll, voting, and political party support. I use varying measures of ethnic identity, from simple ethnic group affiliation, to whether someone is on the Māori electoral roll or general roll, to scores on a scale of Māori-specific identity to predict an array of political outcomes. As part of a team, I collected data from a large national sample of Māori. I will then explore the similarities and differences across Māori in these outcomes at a 'big picture' level.

## Women in Academia, or What I Learned Last Summer

*Ann Brower, Lincoln University*

Last summer I took a course in econometrics. As an old dog wanting to learn new tricks, I decided I would gather a simple dataset to practice with. So I issued an Official Information Act request to the Tertiary Education Commission to compare Performance Based Research Fund (PBRF) grade with academic rank, by gender. It seemed reasonable to ask whether the relationship between grade and rank is different for men than for women.

As it turns out, it's very different. A man graded A or B is twice as likely to be at least one rank above a female of equal grade (Associate Professor vs Senior Lecturer, or Professor vs Associate Professor), and well over 3 times as likely to be a Professor than a woman with the same PBRF grade. A bit surprised by the size and statistical significance of the difference, we presented this research on a poster at the New Zealand Association of Economists (NZAE) conference in July (Brower, Menclova and Webb 2016).

If there's anyone who can explain away something, it's a group of economists. But they didn't. Instead they gave us the two top prizes – from the NZAE and the New Zealand Institute of Economics Research (NZIER).

Since the findings were described on Morning Report, we have had enquiries from the Human Resources departments, Deputy Vice Chancellors, and Equity Offices of the Universities of Otago and Auckland. We have also been contacted by many individual members of staff from many universities.

There are many researchers who think a lot about gender disparities from many perspectives – political, sociological, economic, and anthropological. Our research seems fairly unique in the literature, since we are able to research performance constant and it's so hard to measure performance. I wonder if it is worth the *Women in Politics* group considering writing an article for *Policy Quarterly* about the different relationship between performance and rank, whether it's a problem, and what we might do about it.

Brower A., Menclova, A. and Webb, R. (2016) Is the relationship between research grade and academic rank different for men than for women in New Zealand universities? Poster presented at the *57th NZ Association of Economists Annual Conference*. Auckland, 23-30 June 2016.

# Book and Film Reviews

## Book review: Carol J. Adams (1990) *The Sexual Politics of Meat: A Feminist-Vegetarian Critical Theory.* New York: Continuum.

*Sarah Bradley, Victoria University of Wellington*

With *The Sexual Politics of Meat*, Carol J. Adams attempts to establish a fundamental connection between feminism and vegetarian/veganism. In 2016, these two concepts are each more socially and politically mainstreamed than ever. Combine them, however, and you get a theory that seemingly exudes second-wave radicalism and fringe politics. From its confronting title to its dietary implications, Adams' book might be difficult for many readers to swallow. Yet, if approached with an open mind, it is startlingly persuasive, and composed of resonant, well-supported and well-reasoned arguments in favour of a feminist-vegetarian agenda.

Adams outlines her thesis in three parts. The first, most substantial part outlines historical and contemporary gendered messages attached to meat-eating. Particular emphasis is placed on the role of language in shaping meat-eating norms and practices, including the discursive marginalisation of vegetarian ideas, and the way that the language of consumption can be used interchangeably to describe butchery and sexual exploitation (the most obvious example being women who have been treated like a "piece of meat"). In Part 2, Adams outlines the historical recognition of feminist-vegetarianism in first-wave and proto-feminism, and makes a normative case for feminist-vegetarianism as a theory and lifestyle in Part 3.

Anyone concerned with the objectification and exploitation of women (or for that matter, any group that has ever been considered sub-human) is urged to consider the way that these practices can be justified by reference to the farming and butchery of animals. This message fits neatly within the current cultural conversation. Increasing numbers of people are reducing meat consumption for environmental reasons, and feminism has become an accepted, and often expected paradigm – surely if there was ever a time for feminist-vegetarianism to emerge from the theoretical fringes, it is now.

This combination of apparent radicalism and cultural relevance makes *The Sexual Politics of Meat* a fitting candidate for inclusion in political science classrooms. It could slot comfortably into any course on feminist theory, providing an unorthodox alternative perspective to intersectionality discussions. It poses difficult questions about the nature of feminist inclusiveness – does including animal rights in feminism undermine its cohesiveness? Is it unethical to equate animal concerns with human concerns within feminism, when some groups are still fighting for full human rights and dignities? It demonstrates some of the contradictions within feminist thought and practice, and the difficult choices that must be made to achieve consistency.

Further, this book would make an exciting addition to introductory political ideology courses. Confronting and paradigm-shifting, it demonstrates the lengths to which political theory can be taken, while remaining within the realm of students' everyday experiences. Attempting to articulate why such a theory is or is not persuasive, and assessing its compatibility with mainstream political thought, would be a useful exercise for students encountering political science for the first time. Though *The Sexual Politics of Meat* does not satisfactorily resolve every issue it raises, it can demonstrate to students the role of political theory in uncovering the layers of contested meanings that comprise our everyday thoughts and lives.

# Book Review: Ani Mikaere (2011) *Colonising Myths, Māori Realities: He Rukuruku Whakaaro.* Wellington: Huia Publishers.

*Eleanor Green, Victoria University of Wellington*

This collection of essays from Ani Mikaere demonstrates a cohesive, developed world view in which she outlines her manifesto for feminist Māori activism in New Zealand. Using her lens as a feminist legal scholar, Mikaere demonstrates the intersectionality of civil rights in New Zealand. It is a must read for those working in the New Zealand political sphere, especially students. Mikaere holds a unique standpoint of being both within the system, and out of it. Through her years of academic and legal work, she fully understands New Zealand's current power structures and has succeeded through her ability to work within them. However, she is also a thorn in the side of the establishment, constantly working to change the system and pointing out its systematic failings. This kind of criticism is vital for political science students.

Not only this, Mikaere includes important critiques on the fallibility of New Zealand's power structures, challenging prevalent ideas that the patriarchy is innate and has always existed in society, and the failure of the bicultural mission so far. Mikaere argues that pre-colonial Māori society consisted of a balance of power between the genders, a balance that was lost and forgotten during colonisation. Therefore, the patriarchy and white supremacy are both myths that serve the colonial enterprise. Decolonisation and the end of Pākehā guilt are not possible until these myths are deconstructed. Mikaere's work is well researched and draws on the work of many other New Zealand scholars in the same field, serving as a good introduction to the state of postcolonial dialogue in New Zealand.

This book deserves a place on the reading list of many political science courses. I was only prescribed it in my third and final year of my BA, when I could have done with it far earlier. This would serve students well in 100-level political thought and theory courses, and well as introductory New Zealand politics classes. It is a perspective often only touched on and normally in a vague way with little specific discussion. As a country, New Zealand has decided that truly engaging in a debate about our bicultural status and the injustices of colonisation is far too hard. Within the field of political science we must avoid falling in to this lazy trap. Such debate can yield results, but the current too-hard basket is unimaginative and insufficient. We can do better, and we have academics who are leading the way, if we just cared to engage.

Mikaere's writing is clear, concise and incredibly valuable. While much of it can be subjected to criticism, it sparks a conversation that is well overdue in New Zealand politics. Only through having this conversation can we chart the future of New Zealand politics.

# Book Review: Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie (2014) We Should All Be Feminists. London: Fourth Estate

*Elaine Gyde, University of Waikato*

On 20 September 2014, I listened to all of Beyoncé's self-titled album including the song ****Flawless*, which famously features Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie reading her "We Should All Be Feminists" speech, as I drove down to Wellington to door knock for the Labour Party. That General Election saw only 31% women MPs elected, a number which has barely moved since 1996 (New Zealand Parliamentary Service 2014). It was also at that election when women-only quotas and lists had been quite aggressively attacked and dismissed. Less than a third women MPs is not good enough in a representative democracy, and in that election an effort to raise representation had been labelled by the media as a "man ban" (Small 2013). It is in this political context that I read Adichie's essay, *We Should All Be Feminists*.

Adichie comments in this essay, "[a] feminist is a person who believes in the *social, political and economic equality* of the sexes" (emphasis added). I first thought that Adichie, given how confidently she says it, had written this sentence, but it is in fact a dictionary definition of a feminist. Adichie starts and finishes her text with describing how her friend Okoloma Maduewesi called her a feminist when she was 14 years old, and she had to look up the meaning of the word. This resonated as a metaphor for the way in which political ideas like feminism gain popularity, in that most children today (hopefully I am right on this) would have some general idea of what feminism means, as the ideas of feminism have reached pop culture. That resurgence, however, has also meant that feminism in some ways has had to become a lifestyle brand. Feminism has had to craft itself as a unified political movement that has very simple and clear demands as opposed to a political movement with difficult and complex demands that challenge patriarchal norms and structures. An example of this is the way that Adichie discusses solutions, writing that "[g]ender matters everywhere in the world. And I would like today to ask that we should begin to dream about and plan for a different world. A fairer world. A world of happier men and happier women who are truer to themselves. And this is how to start: we must raise our daughters differently. We must also raise our sons differently." Adichie's demands are hopeful and broad rather than critical and specific.

It is important to recognise the tension between feminism as mass appeal and feminism as radical critique. Adichie's statement that "we should all be feminists" and the way in which it is used by Beyoncé illustrates how pop culture can be used to translate feminism to have mass appeal, by making it easier and simpler to understand. Adichie's essay is thus a great example of how feminism can be made more accessible and aspirational. This makes the essay invaluable as an introductory text for a political science class, given its easy style and powerful words. Ultimately we should all be feminists, but feminism shouldn't have to simplify or be vague about its goals for that to happen.

New Zealand Parliamentary Service (2014) *Female representation in parliament and local government*. Available from: http://www.stats.govt.nz/browse_for_stats/snapshots-of-nz/nz-social-indicators/Home/Trust%20and%20participation%20in%20government/female-rep-parl-local-govt.aspx

Small, V. (2013) Shearer against 'man ban'. *Stuff* [online] 5 July. Available from: http://www.stuff.co.nz/national/politics/8880664/Shearer-against-man-ban

# Film Review: *Hands-On: Women, Climate, Change* (2014). Directed by Liz Miller, Nupur Basu, Mary Kiio, Iphigenie Marcoux-Fortier and Karen Winther. Canada: IAWRT.

*Rebecca Palmer, University of Waikato*

The 2014 film *Hands-On: Women, Climate, Change* directed by Karen Winther, Nupur Basu, Iphigenie Marcoux-Fortier, Liz Miller and Mary Kiio reports the stories of five women in four different corners of the world and their struggle with climate change. Each of the stories offers insight into how different the impacts of climate change can be, yet how inter-related all the issues are. This film effectively communicates how in each of the four regions women have a vital role in ensuring the future of their community for the next generations, whether that community is a poor fishing village in India, or an affluent city in Norway.

Silje Lundberg is the leader of Nature and Youth in Norway. Her story highlights the struggles faced in leading Norway away from the highly lucrative, yet highly destructive, oil industry. Next the documentary introduces Maheshvari, who explains how the devastation of the 2011 Cyclone Thane in Veerampattinam, India, taught the small fishing community the importance of sharing information to protect themselves from the harsh impacts of the environment. This value of education is shared by researcher Jose Gerin-Lajoie in Canada. Not only does Jose work to share knowledge, she is also passionate about ensuring that climate research takes into account those most impacted. This involves working with the native people who have a far greater understanding of the impacts of nature. The documentary then moves to Kenya where Annabell Waititu has also recognized the importance of including those most impacted by climate change in finding the solution. Annabell works to train female farmers on how to implement more sustainable practices and ensure that their voices are heard with regards to climate issues. Finally, the film returns to Canada where Jasmine Thomas explains the negative impacts of the tar sands pipeline and why she, as a sovereign member of the Saik'uz territory, is working to prevent the destruction of her local environment and waterways.

In the first story, Silje Lundberg alludes to a controversial but important issue in climate justice when speaking of her fight against oil extraction in the North Sea. Silje comments that "if the world's richest country can't stop their oil reliance, who else will have the resources to find an alternative?" This idea is important because it considers that a nation's responsibility to act depends on its ability to change. This idea aligns with a central principle of international climate policy of 'common but differentiated responsibilities' whereby each nation must work to protect the environment from climate change, but in a way that aligns with their abilities.

All the stories, but particularly that of Annabell Waititu of Kenya, talk about the unique relationship women have with the environment. In Kenya, it is common for the women to be responsible for tending the farms. This shows how any initiative to protect the environment needs to directly involve the women. This is supported by other research conducted around environmental politics which has found that many policies are not effective if women are not involved in the decision making process (Karl 1995). This film would be useful in political science classrooms with a focus on either gender or the environment for illustrating the real, positive impact women can have on climate issues. It would help to enforce the importance of women's role and why their opinions must be considered when finding a solution.

Karl, M. (1995) *Women and Empowerment: Participation and Decision Making*. London: Zed Books.

# Book Review: Robin Lee Riley (2013) *Depicting the Veil: Transnational Sexism and the War on Terror.* London: Zed Books.

*Molly Robson, Victoria University of Wellington*

Robin Lee Riley's book, *Depicting the Veil,* exposes an unforgivable oversight in both media coverage and academic literature on the war on terror: the egregious impact ten years of American occupation in Iraq and Afghanistan has wrought on women. Through an intersectional lens, Riley diagnoses mainstream media as rife with transnational sexism, offering an Orientalist paradox that presents the female Muslim subject as both devastatingly oppressed and yet innately demonic. In both accounts, the Western male prevails as the ultimate saviour, performing this role in the physical occupation of Iraq and Afghanistan during the war on terror. Thus, Riley argues, transnational sexism is wielded as a means of justifying the war on terror: an assertion that, come the closing page, becomes difficult to dispute.

Across five chapters, Riley guides the reader through a comprehensive exposition of Western depictions of Afghan and Iraqi women, locating the root of these images firmly at the feet of the United States government and its media infrastructures. Her analysis examines evidence she accrued across a 10-year period, ranging from white-saviour narratives in national news provision to the Orientalist undercurrents of *Sex and the City 2.* Riley reprimands a number of self-proclaimed feminists (including Hillary Clinton and Diane Sawyer) for sensationalising Islamic violence while ignoring more abhorrent structures of global violences – such as militaries – which have largely fostered the rise of patriarchal extremism. Her conclusion condemns the absence of media attention to the lives of ordinary women who continue to survive in everyday post-war Iraq, marked by rape, sex-work, death and kidnappings, which have only proliferated in the wake of American invasion.

From a media studies perspective, Riley's analysis is tainted by her somewhat reductive approach to "the media" as a single capitalist entity. She dissects a vast breadth of Western media, but simplifies the nexus of conflicting interests within which news provision operates – crucial to any discussion of media depictions and their consequences. More problematic is that Riley leaves her own identity as a white American woman unacknowledged. Given that one of her most fundamental criticisms is that Afghan and Iraqi women are denied autonomy over their own narratives, Riley's book offers little respite from this trend, and raises questions about her own decided authority to speak on behalf of women of colour.

Overall, however, the book's drawbacks are outweighed by the provocative discussion it inspires in an academic field that has long neglected the topic. Despite her Western identity, Riley takes unapologetic strides to indict the violent residue of Western imperialism, unpack the gendered dimension of Orientalist tropes in Western media, and complicate dominant feminist thought regarding Muslim women: the paternal, single-axis approach that upholds white women as icons of freedom and liberation. Despite being of little value to advanced Media Studies students, this book would be a beneficial source for undergraduate studies of gender and race, particularly those examining Middle Eastern identities. *Depicting the Veil* sheds light on just one head of the modern patriarchal hydra – transnational sexism – and reminds us all to take seriously the nexus of global imperialist forces within which it operates.

# Book Review: Khaled Hosseini (2007) *A Thousand Splendid Suns.* New York: Riverhead Books.

*Holly Shanks, University of Waikato*

*A Thousand Splendid Suns* is a story of two Afghan women and their cities from the early 1960s to early 2000. It follows their separate journeys, until bombings, death, and misery bring their paths together. This military turmoil stems initially from the occupation of Afghanistan by the former Soviet Union and then the rule by the Taliban. The two women, Mariam from Herat and Laila from Kabul, are both thrown into a marriage neither of them agreed to, to the same man. Their bond strengthens from the brutality and aggression of their husband, and they draw power and courage from each other. Mariam is the illegitimate daughter of a wealthy Herati man and his unmarried maid. Mariam and her mother are made to live in exile and Mariam's life is lived in the shadows of the shame her existence brings in Afghan society. This shame denies Mariam access to a decent education and the life skills that her legitimate half brothers and sisters got. Laila, in contrast to Mariam, comes from an educated family, where her father is an educator and makes it his duty to allow Laila to gain knowledge, which, he says, is the key to a prosperous future. Laila's childhood is a carefree existence until the realities of war set in. The differences in Mariam and Laila's lives add to the strength and power they obtain from each other. True to Khaled Hosseini's writing style, the story does not finish with a clichéd happy ending. Rather it finishes open-ended and it is up to the reader to decide where and how Mairam and Laila's stories end.

Hosseini includes in horrific and savage detail the violence both within the women's home and outside. Yet, through it all, we see Mariam and Laila's journey of empowerment. Throughout the story, the bravery that radiates from the women living under an oppressive government is something that stayed with me well after I put this book back on the shelf. Mariam and Laila are subject to an abusive husband, have restrictions on their clothing, and are unable to go places independently. These seem unfamiliar and distant from life in a western society. However, Hosseini has written in such a way that the reader is able to connect to and experience such oppressions through Mariam's and Laila's lives. This helps to challenge our preconceived notions about Afghan women and a connection is made between us and the women of Afghanistan.

Hosseini's writing is so captivating it makes the reader reluctant to put the book down. The writing style is developed in such a way that it weaves the historical context and political turmoil of the time neatly into a powerful storyline. This makes the book a perfect candidate for a politics class in international relations or comparative politics as it looks at the effects of oppressive governments and war on society, in particular on the women of that society.

# Graduate Profiles

## Nathalie Blakely

Nathalie Blakely completed her Honours degree in International Relations and Diplomacy at the University of Canterbury in 2015. She was then offered a Freyberg Scholarship at the Australian National University to undertake her Masters on Strategic Studies. Nathalie has since been elected as the Women's Officer in the Postgraduate and Research Students Association (PARSA), and the Director of the Women in Masters of Strategic Studies group (WMSS). In both positions she applies her politics degree daily. For example, Nathalie often refers back to Sherry Arnstein's 'Ladder of Citizen Participation' (1969) and finds it has improved the way she engages with university stakeholders. She has shared this with other student representatives, and encourages them to strive for 'partnership' with the university – rather than mere 'participation'. Next year, Nathalie will be working with the Ministry of Defence in New Zealand, where she looks forward to applying her degree further.

Arnstein, S. R. (1969) A Ladder of Citizen Participation. *Journal of the American Institute of Planners*, 35(4), 216-224.

## Charlotte Dawber-Ashley

Charlotte Dawber-Ashley completed her Bachelor of Arts with Honours at Victoria University studying Criminology (undergraduate only), Political Science and International Relations. She was fortunate enough to participate in Professor Stephen Levine's Parliamentary Internship course during her Honours year in 2011 and has not left Parliament since! Charlotte's first role as a Graduate was as a Report-Writer in Select Committees, where she was able to utilise her research and writing skills honed at university. This role also gave her a fascinating insight into New Zealand's famed legislative scrutiny system.

Charlotte's next role in the Policy Team developed her interest in Parliamentary Procedure as she worked on the 2014 editions of *Standing Orders* and *Speaker's Rulings*. Charlotte's role today has enabled her to focus on her passion of international relations and is centred on two key elements: developing and managing the outward Inter-Parliamentary Relations programme for Members of Parliament, and providing secretariat support to the New Zealand and Pacific Commonwealth Women Parliamentarians.

Inter-Parliamentary Relations constitutes parliamentary diplomacy activities, such as the promotion of New Zealand's national interest by peaceful means, participating in dialogue to increase mutual understanding between countries, promoting best parliamentary practice, and taking an active role in the international parliamentary community. One of the most rewarding areas of this work is the technical assistance, parliamentary strengthening and capacity-building activities undertaken by the New Zealand Parliament in the Pacific. Find out more here: https://www.parliament.nz/en/pb/parliamentary-relations/about-parliamentary-relations/

The Commonwealth Women Parliamentarians Group is a unique forum for women parliamentarians from across the political spectrum to come together and work towards increasing women's participation in Parliament, act on gender-related issues, and mainstream gender considerations in the development of policy and legislation. All political parties making up the current Parliament are represented in the New Zealand Group. The Group's work plan over the past year has involved organising and hosting a mentoring programme for junior women parliamentarians from across the Pacific, protecting girls from underage and forced marriage, and working with Countdown and The Salvation Army to promote the Women's Hygiene Bundle initiative, which donates sanitary items to girls and women living in hardship and schools and universities in low income areas. Find out more here: http://www.cpahq.org/cpahq/Main/About/Organisation/CWP/Commonwealth_Women_Parliamentarians.aspx

## Rebecca Fraser

Rebecca Fraser graduated with a Bachelor of Social Sciences with Honours in Political Science in 2010, and a Master of Social Sciences in Women's and Gender Studies in 2011. Since the early 2000s, alongside her studies and subsequently, she has worked in the not-for-profit sector, beginning with Refugee Services and the Hamilton Multicultural Services Trust (HMST). In 2007 Rebecca became the Director of HMST, running the Waikato Migrant Resource Centre, the Hamilton Interpreting Service and delivering health promotion activities, settlement support and various other projects, including the Ethnic Soccer Festival. She became manager of Link House Trust in 2011, an organisation that provides counselling and social work for single

parent families. In 2013 she also took over management of Birthright Waikato, a similar organisation, and has been running both organisations together under the collaborative banner of Single Parent Services Waikato. In addition, she is a national board member of the Women's Self Defence Network – Wahine Toa, through which she teaches feminist defence skills to groups of women and girls. Rebecca is also interested in addressing rape culture and has worked in a small group, Campaign for Consent, to develop population-based advocacy and information, including the widespread distribution of information about consent during university orientation weeks, and developing networking opportunities for organisations working in the area of sexual violence in the Waikato. Rebecca is a board member of Web Access Waikato and Ethnic New Zealand, and also parents her fifteen-year-old daughter.

## Stephanie Gard'ner

Stephanie Gard'ner is a Policy Analyst at the Ministry for the Environment. She completed her Bachelor of Arts with Honours in Political Science at the University of Canterbury, and then took a gap year teaching English in China before doing a Master of Public Policy at the University of Auckland. Her dissertation research focused on comparing sustainability policies in Auckland and Vancouver. After graduating, Stephanie worked for the Democracy Services department in Auckland Council as part of their graduate programme before moving to her current position working on urban resource management policy, based in the Auckland Policy Office.

## Henrietta McNeill

Henrietta McNeill completed her Bachelor of Arts in Political Science, and her Honours and Masters in European Union Studies at the University of Canterbury focussing on development aid and regional integration.

Henrietta's career journey has been varied: from an internship at the European Parliament under a British MEP, to working in policy and strategy in local government, trade and export policy in a Samoan NGO, while also advising on youth policies at UN forums and the Y20 (part of the G20). Nowadays, Henrietta is at the Ministry of Business, Innovation and Employment doing international strategy, which means she has had the opportunity to help turn a Pacific regional organisation into a legal entity with diplomatic immunities, and she regularly advises on New Zealand's perspective on Pacific immigration issues.

Henrietta's politics degree has helped her to do this to the extent that she understands the broader benefits (as well as problems) of international cooperation, and by making her think strategically about how we should best approach international relations with different countries. Henrietta is passionate about the Pacific, having lived in and travelled around the region, and is incredibly grateful to be able to work in a field that she loves.

## Amy Ninnes

Amy Ninnes is a policy analyst in the Community and Social Policy department at Auckland Council. She graduated from the University of Waikato with a Bachelor of Arts in Anthropology, a Graduate Diploma in Screen and Media Studies and a Bachelor of Social Sciences with Honours in Public Policy. The skills and conceptual frameworks that she gained at university are put into practice every day in her role, and the experience she gained working with the community in Hamilton has equipped her with knowledge about how policy can play out on the ground. Amy has a passion for community engagement and social justice that informs her desire to create meaningful and long-lasting change, and support the diverse communities of Auckland.

## Katia Schnellecke

Katia Schnellecke completed both the Master of Arts degree in European Governance from the University of Osnabrück, Germany, and the Master of International Relations programme at Victoria University of Wellington, New Zealand. Katia's main focus in both programmes was on international and European politics, with particular focus on development cooperation, women in politics and the welfare state.

Katia is now working as a desk officer at the Middle East and North Africa Department of the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, a German political foundation that provides development aid and political education and promotes democracy. Katia is responsible for Israel and Palestine as well as the department's regional projects. Her daily tasks include writing and editing publications, organising meetings and workshops with and for relevant partners, providing policy advice for partner institutions, and occasional visits to the region.

Both of Katia's Masters degrees have been highly relevant for her work and have provided her with the necessary skill set to perform her current role successfully. Not only did she acquire expertise in

international politics, conflicts, different regions and policy areas, but she also developed knowledge in how to most effectively research and evaluate information in order to make decisions and be able to provide advice on issues within a short time frame.

## Sophia Seo

Sophia Seo completed a Bachelor of Arts with First Class Honours in Political Science and International Relations at Victoria University of Wellington (VUW). During her studies, she interned in the office of a Member of Parliament as part of VUW's Parliamentary internship programme. Since graduating, Sophia has worked in the Ministry of Social Development, first as an Advisor, then as a Policy Analyst, where she was involved in improving outcomes for young people. Currently, she works as a Policy Analyst at the New Zealand Customs Service.

Sophia's degree has been particularly useful for her work, which requires excellent writing and analytical skills, the ability to think outside the box, and an inquisitive mind – skills refined and further developed through a BA.

Outside of work, Sophia's interests are international affairs, travel and language.

## Erika Webb

Erika Webb completed a Bachelor of Arts in Political Science and Philosophy, followed by Honours in International Relations, at Victoria University of Wellington. She now works at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade as a Policy Officer. Her current role involves being the Wellington-based lead on three diplomatic relationships (Brunei, Malaysia and Timor-Leste); working with overseas posts and New Zealand Government agencies to achieve New Zealand's objectives; and developing briefings and policy advice. She has found Political Science useful due to its focus on analysing political systems, relationships and dynamics around the world – this has helped her to develop the background knowledge and analytical ability necessary to formulate sound advice. Erika is interested in continuing work in foreign policy, including a diplomatic posting.

# Women Talking Politics

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