Women Talking Politics

December 2015

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From the Editor

Dr. Lena Tan, University of Otago

I am delighted to present the 2015 issue of *Women Talking Politics,* which introduces exciting and important work engaging women academics, activists and policy practitioners in Australasia.

Several of the research notes and news items showcased here converge, directly and indirectly, on the critical theme of how we can decolonise politics as well as the discipline of political science. Bargh, for example, highlights and questions the problematic absence and omission of Maori academics and content in politics departments in New Zealand while also providing some guidelines and suggestions on the way forward. Beausoleil's research on the politics of listening and receptivity scholarship offers important avenues to explore for both academics and practitioners who are grappling with the complex and challenging issues that arise in methodologies of decolonisation. Delahunty and Davidson, on the other hand, discuss the innovative political and activist work that have and can be done in order to challenge and disrupt the racism and privilege of the political status quo. There are, in other words, not only many interesting and exciting lines of convergences to be found in the research and political work introduced in these pages, but also much that we can learn from each other.

This general critical bent can also be found in Lyons' professional work with the *African Studies Association of Australasia and the Pacific,* Powles' *Women in International Security* initiative, the innovative research of Lam on the feminist theory of embodiment, and Ph.D and MA projects by Bavington, Nandedkar, Bignell, Southgate, and Smith.

I hope that you find much to explore and draw on from the exciting work that are introduced in these pages!

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NZPSA President's Note

Dr. Jennifer Curtin, University of Auckland

Women Talking Politics has been an institution throughout my life as a political scientist. I remember well my first NZPSA conference as a master's student at Waikato University and attending a welcoming and dynamic women's caucus lunch. At that time, the magazine was still in its infancy, but it soon became a place where many of us would send research notes, feminist critiques of current political issues, and reflections on the profession.

Since then, there have been a number of women political scientists who have stepped from the women's caucus into the executive of NZPSA. Vicki Spencer (2014) documents this progression, and Vicki's contribution as President over the past three years has been significant in a number of ways. Under Vicki's leadership, we saw the ratification of a new constitution, became a constituent member of the Royal Society, and applied to become an institutional member of the International Political Science Association. With the help of an amazing executive team, the NZPSA now boasts a new website and we have a thriving graduate membership. These achievements in further professionalising our Association made becoming President of NZPSA a less daunting prospect than it might otherwise have been.

Looking back, there is a history worth documenting; we are only eight years away from turning 50! And the women's caucus has been an important part of that story (Hayward 2014). Looking forward, it would be great to see our academic membership grow to ensure that we continue to have a sustainable and vibrant Association with a strong presence at the International Political Science Association's World Congress to be held in Brisbane in July 2018.

Although we are a comparatively small community of scholars, our size enables us to be flexible in adapting to new challenges. The challenges that I think matter continue to revolve around gender, diversity and the curriculum, and questions about what "counts" as good political science in our teaching and research, especially given the impending PBRF process.

But I would also value hearing what current and potential members think about the state of the discipline, the direction our Association might take, and the strategies that are worth pursuing. So please feel free to email me. And remember, there are grants available for new initiatives – see the NZPSA website.

I look forward to working with you all and my thanks to Lena Tan and all the others who have worked so hard to ensure the legacy of the founders of WTP continues.

Jennifer Curtin

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Spencer, Vicki. (2014) Gender and Leadership in the New Zealand Political Science Association. *Women Talking Politics* 1, 4-5. Available from http://nzpsa.memberlodge.org/_resources/Documents/WTP/wtp-1-2014-colour.pdf

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Views from Outside the Academy

Political Education and Disruption

Catherine Delahunty, MP, New Zealand Greens

I was an activist/ educator for many years prior to entering Parliament in December 2008. In both my roles as a Green politician and lifelong political activist, I am interested in how to change and disrupt the political status quo.

Today, my focus remains broad and I work on the links between social and environmental justice from a Te Tiriti and feminist framework. Working fom the former, for example, means working towards a commitment to the articles of Te Tiriti o Waitangi as a foundation for action, for understanding New Zealand, and for seeking an honourable relationship with tangata whenua in all aspects of work and life despite colonisation.

At the recent 2015 New Zealand Political Science Association Conference, my colleagues, Marama Davidson MP (Ngati Porou/ Ngapuhui), Jack Mac-Donald (Te Atiawa) and I spoke about some of this work. Specifically, we discussed the importance of remaining accountable to marginalised communities and voices, and activists especially in a con-taminated political environment that is riddled with privilege.

I also shared some stories about my activist educa-tion work that disrupts the political status quo and conventional discourses via models developed with tangata whenua educator, Kay Robin (Ngai Ta-manuhiri). Some of these models include the "Ministry of Pakeha Affairs", an activity we invented to highlight the invisible political privileges enjoyed by certain groups within New Zealand as well as the oppressive state assumptions that have been foisted on others. For example, activities that are a part of the Ministry of Pakeha Affairs can demonstrate that every state intervention - ranging from the dangers of the nuclear family to the need for statutory pow-ers to protect children from a family that leaves dead family members alone in funeral parlours - based on the meme of Maori dysfunction can be applied to the Pakeha community as a way of dis-rupting Pakeha assumptions and privilege.

Overall, I believe that with a commitment to crea-tivity, humour and respect, we can challenge the status quo and be politically effective as long as we are accountable to the marginalised rather than the privileged.

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Working Against Inequality and Oppression

Marama Davidson, MP, New Zealand Greens

Tenā koutou katoa. He uri tēnei o ngā iwi o Te Rarawa, Ngāpuhi me Ngāti Porou. Nōku te honore kua tae au ki tēnei rōpu ara ko *Women Talking Politics*. A kei te mihi, kei te mihi, kei te mihi.

My name is Marama Davidson, and on 3 November 2015, I was sworn in as the country's newest Member of Parliament, representing the Green Party. I live in Auckland in Manurewa and my husband and I have six tamariki. As a Māori woman, I am constantly looking for ways to support the people who are challenging and resisting the status quo of privilege. As an MP, I want to be a voice to call out oppressive powers and policies.

The oppression of people and our planet draws its oxygen from an unequal and unjust way of living. More activists also realise now that when injustice is experienced by tangata whenua, it comes from the same breath that marginalises women, transgender people, people with a disability, poor people, indigenous people, non-heterosexual people and so forth. It is a privileged, patriarchal breath that does not want to share power.

In November 2015, I had the privilege of presenting at the NZPSA Conference at Massey University. Together with Green MP, Catherine Delahunty, and former Green Party candidate for Te Tai Hauāuru, Jack McDonald, we spoke about indigenous people and our allies working to disrupt colonised political norms. In particular, I highlighted my work with Oceania Interrupted where Maori and Pacific women used performance to co-opt public spaces to raise awareness of the West Papuans' fight for self-determination. Our Pakeha allies helped by engaging with the audience by handing out flyers and talking to the public. I also focused on grassroots activism, e.g. the work of the East Coast Iwi, Te Whānau A Apanui and their successful campaign against the deep sea oil moguls, Petrobras.

Overall, I hope to earn the trust of those who do not see themselves as part of our so-called democracy. There are also visions and ideas from those who know the current realities and have dreams of something better. I am in a privileged position to give my breath to those people.

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News Items

Women in the African Studies Association of Australasia and the Pacific (AFSAAP)

Dr. Tanya Lyons, University of Flinders

The African Studies Association of Australasia and the Pacific (AFSAAP) was established in 1978 by Australian and New Zealand academics to provide a forum for scholars conducting research on African issues. As a symbol linking Africanists across the Tasman, the Benin Bronze statues that are held at both the Canterbury Museum in Christchurch and the South Australian Museum in Adelaide were thus chosen as the association's logo.

Over the last 38 years, there have been 14 presidents of this association and three of them have been female academics – the late Prof. Cherry Gertzel of Flinders University (1982-86), Dr. Fernanda Claudio of University of Queensland (2010-11), and myself, Dr. Tanya Lyons of Flinders University (2012-present). While there have been fewer women presidents, women have presided over the association for over a third of its existence.

Even as we may want to celebrate the role of women in leading African Studies in this region (noting also that Gertzel, Lyons and Helen Ware have, between them, shared the role as editor of AFSAAP's journal, the *Australasian Review of African Studies* for 36 volumes), we need to acknowledge that the association has had even fewer Africans serving in executive roles, despite the majority of members being African.

Critics who noticed the current AFSAAP Executive's pale complexions after the association's elections at its annual general meeting should step up to volunteer to serve on this executive committee in the future. As the number of African-Australians and African-New Zealanders increases due to humanitarian resettlement schemes, more are entering the tertiary sector, and many are also researching on African issues in the diaspora and in Africa. These researchers need to be embraced and supported by their universities and encouraged to go on in the academy, and thus be in a position to take on the demanding but rewarding task of volunteering for a professional academic association.

AFSAAP aims to promote African Studies in this region and has focused on issues of social justice, equality and democracy, and liberation for all peoples through intellectual debate and discussion at its annual conferences held in Australia and New Zealand. The fact that women have kept this association going over 38 years really should be celebrated!

Women In International Security Aotearoa New Zealand

Dr. Anna Powles, Massey University

Women In International Security (WIIS) is a global network advancing women's leadership in the fields of international peace and security across 47 countries. I was a member of WIIS Canberra while pursuing my doctorate at the Australian National University, and a leading figure in WIIS Canberra was the late but indomitable Coral Bell – often referred to as the grandmother of international relations and one of my role models. When I returned to New Zealand in 2013 after seven years of working in Timor Leste, I was struck by the absence of women in New Zealand's 'international security' arena, which was not because of an actual lack of terrific women international relations scholars and practitioners.

I established the New Zealand affiliate of Women in International Security (WIIS NZ) on International Woman's Day in March 2014 in response to this. WIIS NZ is generously hosted by the Centre for Defence and Security Studies at Massey University. Over the past two years, WIIS NZ's advocacy focus has been on the development of New Zealand's National Action Plan (NAP) for the implementation of

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United Nations Security Council resolutions on Women, Peace and Security (WPS), including the landmark UNSCR 1325. In 2015 WIIS NZ co-hosted the public consultation workshop on the NZ NAP with Amnesty International NZ, and in 2016, WIIS NZ and Amnesty International NZ will co-host a national symposium on the NAP's progress. WIIS NZ will play a key role alongside other civil society organisations in the monitoring of the NAP.

In addition, my role as Director includes advising the New Zealand Defence Force on Women, Peace and Security issues to ensure that they are prioritised in operational planning and doctrine development; hosting speakers, and leading women in international security such as former United Nations Under-Secretary General for Field Operations, Ameerah Haq, and New Zealand's chief spymaster, Rebecca Kitteridge, and the Inspector-General of Intelligence and Security, Cheryl Gwyn; speaking to the media, and at academic conferences and events such as the 2016 Te Whare Pora feminist hui in Wanaka.

An aspect of my role which I enjoy the most is engaging in community outreach work such as talking to young women at university or high school levels about career options in the fields of international relations, peace and security and the challenges women continue to face in these fields – the very reason we need to get involved, speak up and, most importantly, support, encourage and mentor other women.

Against the Militarisation of Guam: Activism and Research

Sylvia Frain, University of Otago

I am a Ph.D. candidate and activist involved in an ongoing collaboration of artists, activists and academics that explore peace, resistance, solidarity, decolonisation and demilitarisation efforts in Oceania from a feminist and visual perspective.

Today, my work as an activist and researcher is mainly concentrated on the militarisation of the Mariana Archipelago, including Guam (Guåhan), the unincorporated island territory of the United States in the Western Pacific, and the Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands (CNMI). Guåhan has been selected by the United States Department of Defense (DOD) as the site to construct additional live-fire training facilities and to relocate 5,000 Marines and their dependents from Okinawa, Japan (Zotomayor 2015). Decided by the DOD, promoted by the Guam Chamber of Commerce and lobbied by military contractors, the Record of Decision (ROD) was 29 August 2015 (Frain 2015).

This decision, however, has been imposed on the community without the residents' consent as Guåhan's political status constructs the residents as second-class U.S. citizens, without direct political representation in the U.S. Congress and without a vote for the commander-in-chief (Camacho 2012). Furthermore, Guåhan's locally elected governor, the *Maga' lahi* (male leader) of the island, Eddie Calvo, has remained uncritical of the military 'build-up'.

In contrast, the indigenous Chamorro community members, led by *Maga'håga (female leaders)* and made up of students and organizations such *as I Nasion Chamoru, Fuetsan Famalao'an and Our Islands Are Sacred*, continue to hold their elected officials accountable. Successfully resisting the initial proposed build-up in 2010 (Na'puti and Bevacqua 2015), they continue to demand answers regarding the use of resources and the strain it will cause on already fragile infrastructure. They are extremely concerned about the young marines and their history of violence against women and children in Okinawa (Kirk and Okazawa-Rey 2004; Natividad 2010 #222). Opposition remains the strongest against the construction of live-fire Range Training Areas (RTAs) above the sacred lands of Litekyan, currently the Ritidian National Wildlife Refuge, located at the northern part of the island.

I am and have been fortunate enough to work with these community organizations as well as *We Are Guåhan, the Guåhan Coalition for Peace and Justice,* and *Alternative Zero Coalition* to resist the colonial-military plans for their islands. Through participatory action research (PAR), I am utilising academic activism to share theoretical scholarly work, and online spaces to promote transnational solidarity actions.

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These online spaces form part of a network of social media sites used by many protectors and activists to educate and inform each other while also collaborating with similar indigenous movements around Oceania and throughout the world.

Camacho, K. L. (2012) After 9/11: Militarized Borders and Social Movements in the Mariana Islands. *American Quarterly* 64**,** 685-713.

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Na'puti, T. R. & Bevacqua, M. L. (2015) Militarization and Resistance from Guåhan: Protecting and Defending Pågat. *American Quarterly,* 67**,** 837-858.

Zotomayor, A. V. (2015) Marianas to Play Key Role in National, Regional Security: Expert. *Mariana Variety*, 5 May 2015.

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Research Notes

Contexts for decolonising the discipline of Political Science in Aotearoa New Zealand

Dr. Maria Bargh, Victoria University Wellington

'Decolonising the Discipline' was a major theme of the 2015 New Zealand Political Science Association conference at Massey University in Palmerston North. This has been the subject of much debate between myself and other Māori colleagues, many who teach politics outside political science departments. The two questions that I began by asking at the conference on a panel about Decolonising the Discipline were: Why should teachers and students of political science in New Zealand decolonise? And, how would they go about decolonising?

The first question can be answered by reflecting on the ongoing practices and impact of colonisation in academia and the political arena. Many Māori and indigenous scholars have highlighted how colonial structures and institutionalised attitudes towards Māori and other indigenous peoples have very real and ongoing personal, political and academic consequences (Mikaere 2011; Alfred 1999; Robson 2007). Some of these consequences are visible at universities where there are, for example, very few Māori academics teaching in politics departments and where the Māori aspects of New Zealand political history are often marginalised. Besides universities, their effects can also be seen in other government institutions such as local government where Māori levels of representation are a far cry from the tino rangatiratanga reaffirmed in Te Tiriti o Waitangi 1840.

From this angle, the discipline needs decolonising in order to address the ongoing practices of colonisation and hierarchical power dynamics that are embedded in the 'way things are' (Zalewski 1996) within universities and our constitutional arrangements. Decolonising the 'ways things are' in teaching and researching politics are very likely to have tangible effects for political institutions like local government.

In terms of the question of how to go about decolonising, one place to begin may be by paying more careful attention to New Zealand political history. The Waitangi Tribunal's 2014 report *Te Paparahi o te Raki: Northland Inquiry Part One*, stated that "Māori did not cede sovereignty to the British Crown in 1840" (Waitangi Tribunal 2014, xxii). For many non-Māori, this finding might come as a surprise, as might the account of Māori interaction with the British in the 1820s and 1830s detailed in the Tribunal's report. One interaction in particular deserves mention: a petition signed in 1831 by 13 Ngā Puhi rangatira to King William IV, which proposed an alliance. In 1833, the King, via British Resident James Busby, acknowledged a "friendship and alliance" between "Nu Tireni and Great Britain" (Waitangi Tribunal 2014, 137). Two years later came He Whakaputanga o te Rangatiratanga o Nu Tireni (Declaration of Independence). While these details of New Zealand's political history are crucial for considering the legal obligations that arise, and the subsequent responsibilities of universities as New Zealand public institutions, many people are unaware of them. Political science departments can begin the decolonising process by ensuring that *all* those teaching politics are aware of this history and the corresponding obligations on the universities in which they work. This understanding may make them re-evaluate whether not having any Māori academics in their department is a reflection of the value placed on those obligations. Ensuring that politics students know about key aspects of Māori political history in New Zealand politics courses is also vital to the decolonising process.

One of the challenges for advocates of decolonising New Zealand in general - and not just in Political Science - is appreciating that it cannot be a job left solely for Māori (Smith 1999). Pākehā in Treaty education networks have acknowledged the need for Pākehā to educate Pākehā in order to relieve some

of the burden from Māori. (See Network Waitangi, or Treaty Resource Centre.) A number of scholars, including Jen Margaret and Rachel Fabish, have argued that Pākehā have a social justice responsibility to support Māori and have examined how Pākehā might work as allies (Margaret 2013). Some of the strategies they propose include 'acknowledging privilege', 'sitting with discomfort' and 'learning to be affected', which Fabish suggests 'unmakes Pākehā identity and opens opportunities for belonging' (Fabish 2014, 241). These kinds of strategies can be employed by Pākehā scholars when they are considering how to teach their courses, conduct their research, engage Māori students or collaborate with Māori. There are many Pākehā scholars who do work in this way, e.g. Tim McCreanor at the Whariki Research Centre, and Richard Hill and Lydia Wevers at the Stout Research Centre.

In summary, there are ongoing effects of colonisation, which can be seen in many places and institutions including universities. Effects like the very few Māori academics teaching in political science departments and the skimming over of the Māori aspects of New Zealand political history need to be addressed. Therefore, there are two key ways to begin decolonising the discipline. The first is for political science departments to better acknowledge the Treaty obligations that universities have by employing more Māori academic staff. The second is for those who teach and those who are taught political science in New Zealand to have a much more intimate knowledge of New Zealand political history. Having a better understanding of the history of this country by teachers and students alike will ensure a better understanding of the ongoing colonial attitudes and practices that are being reinforced through participation in public and political institutions in New Zealand. With more information, peo-ple can then make more informed decisions about whether they wish to remain complicit with ongoing colonial practices.

Alfred, T. (1999) *Peace, Power and Righteousness*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Fabish, R. (2014) *Black Rainbow*. Unpublished PhD thesis, Wellington: Victoria University of Wellington.

Kenny, K. (2014) 'Māori did not give up sovereignty: Waitangi Tribunal" *Stuff News online*, 14 November.http://www.stuff.co.nz/national/politics/63196127/Māori-did-not-give-up-sovereignty-Waitangi-Tribunal

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Zalewski, M. (1996) All these theories, yet the bodies keep piling up: theories, theorists, theorising. In Smith, S., Booth, K., Zalewski, M. (eds.). *International theory: positivism and beyond*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

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Marginalised Voices, Dominant Listening: Designing for Democratic Engagement in Unequal Societies

Dr. Emily Beausoleil, Massey University

If anything binds my research over the years, it is the ongoing question of how communication, collective decision-making, and coexistence are possible in diverse societies, especially in conditions of inequality. I began to explore this question through an examination of the performing arts as forms of democratic engagement, with an interest in the particular 'voice' such modes offer to marginalised groups. Recent and current work shifts the emphasis from *voice* to the attendant challenges and conditions of *listening*: specifically, the affective and embodied dimensions of receptivity, and how these might be harnessed to facilitate listening in politics.

Listening became the focus in my work as soon as I started to explore the issue of response and responsibility among dominant groups – those who historically have the privilege of and benefit from failing to listen to marginalised positions and claims. Behind every call to include currently marginalised voices is the demand to learn to listen, yet democratic theory's traditional focus on 'voice' has meant that little is currently known about the politics of listening. As someone speaking, and listening, from a privileged vantage - a white, able body, a tongue accustomed to Anglo-Saxon acoustics, inheritor of a sense of place in the world rooted in historical taking that too easily slips from view – it seems vital to refocus the analytic gaze to facilitate the listening that democratic engagement requires.

A burgeoning scholarship on the politics of listening has revealed the political significance and practical complexity of this issue. While we know receptivity, empathy and responsiveness are pivotal in determining the effectiveness of democratic institutions and civic processes (Morrell 2010; Dobson 2014), we now understand the extent to which these capacities are influenced by environmental and affective factors as subtle as room temperature, smell, or posture (Duclos et al. 1989; Izjerman et al. 2009; Liljenquist et al. 2010). This makes clear that conventional approaches to democratic process design that privilege voice and reason-giving are insufficient to the task. It also gestures to the role that en-

vironmental, affective and embodied strategies might play in fostering receptivity within encounters across difference. And yet, with a few notable exceptions, this scholarship has yet to investigate the essential question of how we might design democratic processes to cultivate the conditions for listening.

In seeking to answer this question, I keep stumbling into the most unexpected and fruitful places. First, affect theory and neuroscience have shed light on how physiological processes shape if and how we encounter 'others'. Second, postcolonial theory and the field of ethics have been vital in developing rigorous yet sensitive terms with which to design and evaluate diverse forms of engagement across difference. And finally, artistic performance and therapy have informed the discovery of new and highly potent approaches to communicating marginalised and challenging positions and claims. My emerging research project attempts to bring these lively resources together to inform the design of new forms of democratic engagement regarding one of the most pressing issues in New Zealand today: socioeconomic inequality.

New Zealand has, by some measures, the fastest growing gap between rich and poor among OECD countries (Perry 2012; Rashbrooke 2013). Yet this issue has failed to gain traction and momentum in public discourse and policy despite the incontestability of the data and concerted efforts by civil and government organisations to date. I will interview and observe the seven organisations across New Zealand that are most active in sensitising and engaging the general public about inequality to identify current practices and the challenges and opportunities therein. I will then turn to four sectors most attuned to the dynamics of listening in difficult conditions, and yet currently written out of political theorising: *therapy*, which creates environments safe enough for the expression of and reflection on sensitive experiences; *education,* which facilitates critical integration of new information; *performance,* given its art of garnering and holding audience

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attention concerning challenging perspectives; and *conflict mediation,* so adept in shifting interpersonal impasse. Through interviews and field observation of these 'master listeners', I will work to discern what listening entails and requires in their practice, and how they create conditions of safety and receptivity for others.

After learning about listening from each of these four sectors on their own terms, I plan to bring these experts into exchange with one another as well as with the seven advocacy organisations consulted at the outset of the project, through a national consortium. Here, 'master listeners' will share their particular philosophies and practices of engagement, and collectively apply such expertise to design new modes of civic engagement regarding socioeconomic inequality. The particular audiences and substance of these processes will be determined by advocacy organisations expert in the issue of inequality, while procedural designs will be shaped by environmental, behavioural, and discursive resources identified by cross-sectoral experts in listening. The final stage will work in partnership with key advocacy organisations to implement two of these designs, and monitor their impact through field observation and interviews.

Ultimately, I hope this interdisciplinary and experimental approach to the question of listening can shed light on how we can achieve this crucial dimension of democratic politics. When academic and practical worlds often work in isolation, it will be wonderful to have an opportunity to 'close the loop' of research so that practical sectors inform current receptivity scholarship, while research recommendations can find their way back into practical application where they are needed most at the same time. These findings would ideally serve current efforts to stimulate and deepen civic dialogue in

New Zealand about socioeconomic inequality, but they might also show us how, in more general terms, we might facilitate listening in unequal societies.

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The Politics of Reproduction and Post-Constructionism

Dr. Carla Lam, University of Otago

My work in politics has been shaped by a long-term project in political theory that concerns feminist theory of embodiment. My recently published book, *New Reproductive Technology and Disembodiment: Feminist and Material Resolutions*, engages in the nature/nurture, or biology/society, debate in an era of biotechnology. I trace how discourse surrounding biotechnology conforms to polarized theorizations that amount to restatements of the biology/society debate. My research then focuses on how this biosocial tension has been the basis of a central dilemma within feminist theory: the social constructionist and biological essentialist impasse.

Within this context, I revisit feminist political theorist, Mary O'Brien's classic work of feminist thought, *The Politics of Reproduction,* drawing out insights while acknowledging critiques of third-wave, Anglo-American feminism, and the accelerated development of new reproductive technologies (NRTs). I situate my work as part of the "post-constructionist turn" in social and political theory, that emphasizes materiality as a kind of workable settlement between biological determinism and social essentialism which both perpetuate longstanding patriarchal dualism in its various and overlapping manifestations most explicit in Descartes' mind/body separation. My approach ultimately attempts to mitigate this polarization and its effects by focusing on biosocial approaches to embodiment (and identity) as evident in the work of myriad scholars from across diverse disciplines not limited to the humanities and often referred to as "new" materialisms or post-constructionism (for e.g., Alaimo and Hekman 2008; Lykke 2010).

Ultimately, I conclude that feminist theory, like mainstream western political theory, has abandoned "the body" in its material dimensions and in doing so, contributes to patriarchal hegemony based on Cartesian dualism. I call for a re-membering of the material dimensions of bodies and their political and philosophical significance by mediating various instances of such dualism that is so deeply entrenched in western culture and politics that it has become almost invisible. This includes a recognition of the bodies that most challenge oppressive cultural norms by representing all that we would deny; that is, our mortal origins and lack of "control" over disease, death and suffering/disability. I argue that these experiences, including pregnancy and birth, highlight inter-dependency that despite its negative connotation in western societies, should not be avoided as opposite to independence and autonomy. Instead they are fundamental to the profoundly humanizing (if undeniably paradoxical) potential of material corporeality.

My current research investigates links between the theme of technologically-assisted disembodiment (in various forms) with ageing studies and disability studies, centering on such concepts as vulnerability and misfits. I start from disability theorist Rosemarie Garland-Thomson's (2011) work on "misfits" as a feminist materialist disability concept (or in my terms – a postconstructionist feminism), examining normative concepts of the human as about particular embodiments, rather than about particular encounters with the world in which some bodies fit and experience ability, while others don't and experience disability as a result. The central point of difference between postconstructionism and other feminist approaches to embodiment is an emphasis on biology as active, rather than passive matter. In other words, the postconstructionist material turn understands its object of analysis, the 'material,' as itself an active participant in the processes of life, rather than something that precedes human life activity in its complex natural-sociality.

For instance, feminist scientist, Karen Barad's (2003) concept of *intra-action* is important to disability as misfits since it signifies difference as enacted everywhere, all of the time, through each engagement with the environment. Intra-action marks a profound conceptual shift in the subject / object relationship, making bounded and autonomous agents not the precondition of relationality, but rather its outcome. For example, in each daily interaction in the world, we act but are also acted upon or changed. Eating, moving, absorbing heat, cooling down, or exercising are all intra-actions – or engage-

ments with the material world of which we are irreducibly a part – and in which we are changed by, and effecting change on, the environment. Thus, in an important sense, we both make and are made by our daily biosocial or material engagements with the world, no matter how seemingly insignificant. In like vein, feminist theorist Stacey Alaimo's notion of *transcorporeality* (Alaimo and Hekman 2008, 238) similarly explodes the nature versus culture separation by breaking down the notion of the human as neatly separate from the greater environment. Some good examples of how fitting this concept is in contemporary global life include issues of environmental health (for e.g. how antidepressants and birth control pills change water systems and aquatic life), environmental justice (for instance surrounding hurricane Katrina), genetic engineering and the traffic in toxins (239).

Misfits, as part of new feminist materialism(s), radically re-conceives the ground of spatial mobility by focusing on moments of misfit in ever changing and universally human, daily, material encounters with the world. Garland-Thomson writes: "A misfit occurs when world fails flesh in the environment one encounters---whether it is a flight of stairs, a boardroom full of misogynists, an illness or injury, a whites-only country club, subzero temperatures, or a natural disaster" (600). In linking vulnerability to constant and ever-changing material intra-actions, Garland-Thomson opens up disability as a universally human area of concern and engages the power relations in situations that are unavoidable as part of the embodied life course (we will all age, get sick, and eventually die).

In my work the concept of misfits is an invitation for analytic approaches rooted in the nexus of gender, disability and other axes of marginalization and power, as a basis for more equitable social practice. Undermining the misrepresentations of human corporeality has implications, for example, for recognising women as reproductive misfits in patriarchal cultures and aiming toward social and economic policies to correct for the disadvantage that pregnancy, birth and lactation (women's reproductive roles) typically present in androcentric societies founded on liberal individualism.

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PhD Research

The Policies on Hyperandrogenism in Elite Female Athletes are Not *Just* 'Sex' Tests

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'Sex' testing has long been a controversial issue in women's sport. For decades, the International Association of Athletics Federations (IAAF) and International Olympic Committee (IOC) have perpetuated widespread misunderstanding regarding the diversity and complexity of sex development (Jordan-Young and Karkazis 2012) by using a singular biological marker of 'sex' (e.g. chromosomes) to determine an athlete's eligibility to compete in the female category. Over the years, officials have responded to criticism of 'sex' testing by maintaining that the aim has been to prevent male imposters—or men masquerading as women—from competing in women's events. Yet, this purported rationale is not reflected in official documents and no 'male imposters' (or men) have been found (Ferguson-Smith and Bavington 2014). Rather, these protocols have targeted and sought to exclude women with atypical sex traits—variously referred to as 'abnormal women', 'hybrid beings', 'sexual anomalies' and 'ambiguous females'—which has resulted in stigma, discrimination, psychological trauma and harm for those women so targeted.

In May 2011 and June 2012, the IAAF and IOC respectively introduced regulations on hyperandrogenism—a term used to denote the excessive production of testosterone—in elite female athletes (IAAF 2011, IOC 2012). The policies stipulate that an athlete assigned female at birth is eligible to compete in accordance with her legal sex if her endogenous testosterone levels are below the lower limit of the 'normal' male range. A woman whose testosterone levels exceed this lower limit, without an associated androgen resistance, must comply with conditions as determined by an expert panel to remain eligible to compete in female events. An athlete who fails to meet these conditions—that may include hormone therapy, gonadectomy and other medical interventions—will not be eligible to compete against other women (Jordan-Young *et al*. 2014). Policy-makers insist that regulating hyperandrogenism in elite female athletes does not continue the problematic legacy of 'sex' testing in women's sport (Sanchez *et al*. 2013) and constitutes a vast improvement over previous attempts to ensure 'fairness' for all (Bermon *et al*. 2013).

My research examines the supposed neutrality of regulating testosterone in women, which presumes the separation of biology from history, culture and politics on the one hand, and 'sex' from different aspects of social identity on the other. Drawing empirical data from archival records, interviews with policy-makers and official documents, I: (1) disrupt the history of the current policies through which official claims that 'sex' testing has been 'abandoned' are made believable; (2) establish hyperandrogenism as a particular kind of 'problem' in elite women's competition, which produces differential effects of harm in female athletes; and (3) reveal how dominant notions of 'fairness' for all articulate with policy to locate women in varying degrees of penalty and privilege relative to the 'problem' under consideration (Hankivsky 2012). I argue that the policies on hyperandrogenism in elite female athletes are not *just* 'sex' tests. They are a Western intervention to a 'problem' that emerges at the intersections of race, nation and other social locations, and one that is inseparable from related systems and structures of oppression (e.g. racism, colonialism) that secure and reproduce consensus for the biomedical control of young women from the Global South, particularly from Africa.

Despite pressing medical and ethical concerns (Sonksen *et al.* 2015), recommendations about how to 'improve justice' within the bounds of the hyperandrogenism regulations persist (Ha *et al*. 2014). This search for alternatives or *better* policies, however, fails to acknowledge the ways in which the hyperandrogenism rule is reliant upon Western constructs of sex and gender that are products of colonialism, scientific racism and national contexts,

which have shaped and continue to drive the rationale for 'sex' testing in women's sport (Cooky *et al.* 2013). Indeed, the higher rate of investigation of women from Africa and reported outcomes involving four young athletes from 'developing' nations—who underwent unnecessary medical interventions for the purposes of eligibility at the IAAF specialist center in France—are telling (in Fénichel *et al.* 2013). These policies should not only elicit concerns about medical imperialism, as Karkazis and Jordan-Young (2013) have argued, but also raise questions about how the hyperandrogenism rule functions: as a violent extension of 'sex' testing's historical legacy and Western medicine's colonial one.

Note: *On 27 July 2015, the Court of Arbitration for Sport (CAS) suspended the IAAF Regulations for a period of up to two years following a legal challenge by an Indian runner who was barred from competing in the female category at the 2014 Commonwealth Games in Glasgow. The CAS panel ruled that in the absence of evidence regarding the relationship between testosterone and advantage in female athletes, the IAAF did not establish that the Hyperandrogenism Regulation is necessary for fair competition.*

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Empowerment and adolescent girls: Reflections on a feminist framework

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Local NGOs, intergovernmental organisations and the experiences of adolescent girls are contributing to the re-shaping and reframing of ideas around meanings of empowerment. The ideas around empowerment are grounded in local cultures and linked to broader concepts of development. A large body of Third World feminist scholarship exists on women's empowerment. Yet, adolescent girls remain on the fringes of academic study. This essay draws on PhD field research in rural Maharashtra, India and selected scholarship. It explores Millennium Development Goal (MDG) 3 – 'to promote gender equality and empower women' (United Nations 2003) – with a specific focus on adolescent girls. The essay extends Kabeer's articulation of the three dimensions of women's empowerment – 'resources, agency and achievements' (Kabeer 1999) – to demonstrate how feminist frameworks may be enhanced by including a new perspective on the position of adolescent girls and meanings of empowerment in the context of the Third World. Such an extension allows the inclusion of the particular social, political and economic circumstances of adolescent girls that acknowledges their location and helps reposition these young women as active citizens.

A vast scholarship on empowerment within the development context demonstrates that empowerment is a contested term (Alexander & Mohanty 1997; Batliwala 1994; Batliwala 2007; Batliwala & Dhanraj 2004; Kabeer 2005; Mohanty 2003). One common element across definitions, however, is the idea that empowerment is a process and not merely an outcome (Mosedale 2005, 244). The notion of empowerment as a process was reflected in my research interviews with UNICEF in Maharashtra, in which social empowerment was viewed as a foundation for multiple dimensions of empowerment (political, economic, and legal). Social empowerment was deemed to be significant for adolescent girls as it was the realm in which they were able to exert influence during interactions with family and community (UN1, UN2 research interviews 2012; Sambodhi Research & Communications 14 March 2014; UNICEF State Office for Maharashtra 2012).

Yet, within the multiple dimensions of empowerment, it is worth examining the relevance of how women's empowerment is articulated in Kabeer's framework of resources, agency and achievements, grounded as it is in women´s capacity to exercise choice (Kabeer 1999, 437). Kabeer's framework is embedded in the notion of empowerment as a process (Kabeer 1999, 435). Although it is undeniable that empowerment requires the ability to exercise choice, what choice may mean for adolescent girls in rural India is clearly different from what it may mean for women – a difference that is not accommodated in Kabeer´s framework. We can, therefore, reflect on *resources, agency and achievements* in the following way. Firstly, if we consider *resources*, adolescent girls differ from women in that women would normally have access to bank accounts and means of earning wages (Kabeer 1999, 437-439). Adolescent girls do not have such support; their resources are their bodies, that is, their well-being physically, emotionally and sexually. The dominant discourse in research interviews with programme participants, facilitators, and local NGOs in rural Maharashtra demonstrated that adolescent girls should have the ability to exercise control over their bodies in their daily movements and physical safety, their access to nutrition and during menstruation (UN1, UN2, UN4, T1, T2, NGO2 research interview 2012).

Secondly, Kabeer defines *agency* as 'the ability to define one's goals and act upon them' (Kabeer 1999, 438). For women, in a development context, this is the ability to reflect and assess their position in relation to men vis-à-vis family structure, community and society (Kabeer 1999). For adolescent girls, however, agency is seen as self-determination with reference to self-respect and self-sufficiency. Adolescent girls may challenge models of family structure which privilege boys' education over that of girls, and they may contribute to shifts in cultural perceptions of the roles of girls and boys within family and community (UN1, UN2, UN4, NGO1, research interview 2012).

Finally, Kabeer articulates *achievements* as women reflecting and thinking critically about the creation

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and implementation of development programmes and their intended goals (Kabeer 1999, 438-439). This is made possible by investing in women's education as a driving force behind participation in planning, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of programmes. Adolescent girls' achievements - (in my research context -) lie in the activities to link adolescent girl groups across districts and regions, potentially contributing to regional, state and national development schemes (UN1, UN2, UN4 research interview 2012).

Ultimately, empowerment strategies and, in particular, those inspired by MDG 3 need solid conceptual foundations to strengthen practical policies and programme interventions for adolescent girls. This can be considered in two ways. Firstly, for programmes and policies to be successful, they must involve the young women and adolescent girls who are meant to be targets of an intervention. Providing appropriate opportunities for education and training allow young women and adolescent girls to be active and critical participants in planning, implementation and monitoring processes. Secondly, education for empowerment must include challenges to the status quo and not merely replicate established gender roles and patriarchal hierarchies. Re-envisioning feminist frameworks to include adolescent girls may offer a new perspective on the position of adolescent girls, meanings of empowerment and the transformational changes they can potentially lead within their communities.

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The Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN): Dynamics of Resistance to Sovereignty Violation

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The Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) is a political and economic regional organisation comprising of ten Southeast Asian states. Since its establishment in 1967, it has varyingly been credited with enhancing cooperation between states, and with bringing peace and stability to a region once characterised by conflict. The Treaty of Amity and Cooperation (TAC) in Southeast Asia is a peace treaty established by the member states of ASEAN. The TAC codifies six fundamental principles designed to structure relations within the institution, and with actors external to the region.

One principle is of particular interest to this dissertation project: 'the right of every state to lead its national existence free from external interference, subversion or coercion' (ASEAN, Treaty of Amity and Cooperation, Art. 2b). This principle is not unique to ASEAN. The United Nations (UN) endorsed this concept of sovereignty in 1945. For many, the principle of non-intervention is therefore the key element of sovereign statehood (Krasner 1999). The important point to note is that the principle of sovereignty has often been contravened. External actor intervention in state domestic authority structures is the most common form of sovereignty violation. As powerful states often intervene in the internal affairs of less powerful states, the latter have always been the strongest supporters of the rule of non-intervention.

This project seeks to understand ASEAN's record of success at upholding the sovereignty principle in the following key cases in ASEAN's history: the Indonesian invasion of East Timor (1975), the Third Indochina War (1978-91) and the East Timor humanitarian crisis (1999). In particular, when has ASEAN state resistance to sovereignty violation succeeded, and when has it failed? The existing literature regarding ASEAN's record on sovereignty violation is polarised. Over the last two decades, a highly influential group of theorists associated closely with the constructivist perspective has emphasised ASEAN's autonomy and ability to uphold regional order despite challenges (Acharya 2014; Ba 2009; Haacke 2003). Yet, in practice, this autonomy has been repeatedly violated. A second perspective has been advanced by theorists of a realist persuasion, who emphasise ASEAN's lack of autonomy in the face of sovereignty challenges, and reliance on external actors' sufferance (Jones & Smith 2006; Leifer 1989). However, this group has difficulty explaining ASEAN's record of success in resisting intervention by external powers. Finally, a third approach associated with critical theory explains ASEAN's record on sovereignty as a function of social forces within individual ASEAN states (Jones 2012). And yet this theory's overwhelming focus on domestic factors ignores a variety of other critical factors that can more adequately explain state behaviour.

This study attempts to contribute to the literature by advancing a fourth perspective, also rooted in realist theory, which I have termed a vanguard state theory. According to this theory, ASEAN's history is understood in terms of the relationship between an ASEAN state with the most compelling interests at stake in a given issue, which I call a 'vanguard state,' and selected external powers. This study contends that a convergence in interests between an ASEAN vanguard state and an external actor will cause the success of ASEAN vanguard state resistance to sovereignty violation.

When an ASEAN vanguard state has interests that converge with those of an external power, it has an active and substantial role in resisting sovereignty violation. In addition to seeking external power guarantees, a vanguard state will also seek to secure its own interests within the Association. It will do so by attempting to set ASEAN's agenda, by garnering great power security commitments, and seeking to portray a united ASEAN front in support of vanguard state policy. Conversely, an absence of interest convergence between the ASEAN vanguard state and a designated external actor will cause the failure of the ASEAN vanguard state (and by extension ASEAN) to resist violations to its sovereignty.

While the ASEAN vanguard state clearly has an important role to play in preventing external actor intervention, an equally important factor explaining ASEAN resistance to sovereignty violation resides in the critical role played by selected external powers.

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Indeed, this dissertation seeks to show how ASEAN is unable to resist challenges to its sovereignty when its interests do not converge with those of an external actor. This view represents a serious challenge to much of the existing scholarship, which either over-emphasises or under-emphasises ASEAN's ability to defend regional autonomy from external intervention.

By recognising the dual and important role of ASEAN and external powers, this dissertation attempts to make a distinct contribution to the scholarship on the international relations of Asia. ASEAN is neither as central to Asia's international relations, nor as peripheral, as the current literature contends.

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Political Science, Ethnography, and Members of Parliament: A Political Ethnography of the Green Party in Parliament

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New Zealand's Parliament is one of the most publicly scrutinized institutions in the country, covered daily by over 40 full members of the Press Gallery, commented on by a range of social media and blogging personalities, and studied by academics across a range of disciplines. Yet, a lot of everyday practices of Parliament are not well known, and we know very little about the day-to-day work of MPs or the internal work of political parties' Parliamentary offices. My PhD research seeks to open up the world of New Zealand's Parliament further using ethnographic fieldwork undertaken with Green Party MPs during 2013 with the aim of understanding their working lives and culture. In this research note, I discuss the use and strengths of an ethnographic approach in my research.

Ethnography is a richly detailed and in-depth explanation of a particular culture based primarily on participant-observation fieldwork. The aim is to see the world through the eyes of research participants and to come to understand what it is that they think they are doing. Ethnography based on participant-observation fieldwork allows the researcher to work from the level of seemingly mundane and everyday occurrences which produce larger social structures and cultures.

The field of political science is increasingly using ethnography as a research method, building on the earlier history of its use in United States congressional studies by Fenno (1990) and Glaser (1996). Wedeen (2010) provides a good overview of the use of ethnography in political science following on from the publication of Schatz's (2009) edited volume on the subject. Additionally, Aronoff and Kubik's (2013) *Anthropology and Political Science: A Convergent Approach* discusses the ontological assumptions of each field and provides several case study examples of how the two disciplines can add value to each other's work. The field of International Relations is also contending with the rising use of ethnography, which MacKay and Levin (2015) have discussed recently. Overall, political science is increasingly seeing the value of long-term immersion with participants as well as the emphasis on understanding beliefs and practices from the point of view of the people or institutions being studied.

There have been few ethnographies of MPs and Ministers from the level of daily practice but the two most prominent scholars in the area are Crewe and Rhodes. Both study people involved in the British system of government. Crewe (2005, 2015) has written about both the House of Lords and House of Commons, providing a broad but detailed overview of each institution. Rhodes' (2011) major work *Everyday Life in British Government* examines the lives of ministers, again offering a broad overview of their work and beliefs. Both Crewe and Rhodes emphasize the value of ethnography for understanding political systems, allowing for greater examination of 'webs of significance' and productive practices that people undertake in their working lives.

For my research, I undertook fieldwork with four Green Party MPs during 2013 for 2.5 months each, gaining extensive and unprecedented access. I observed their working lives on a day-to-day basis in sites ranging from meetings with select committees and sector groups, speaking in the House, internal meetings, strategy meetings about campaigns and media coverage, and public protests. I also undertook some travel with them.

One example of the advantages of an ethnographic approach for my research was in understanding the marked difference that can occur between an MP's day as scheduled in the dairy and what actually happens. Writing about British Ministers, Rhodes (2011, p.75) stated that "Of course there is no such thing as a typical day. All days come with a surprise, with stress, with last-minute changes." One MP described it to me: "There is a theoretical day in the diary, which you cling to like a drowning person. It's like 'I've got to do these meetings; I've got to do this.' And then there's the unexpected. I don't think it's possible to anticipate what you're going to do in a day. Well, not for me." The Diary is never a complete record of the day ahead and 'being there' with

MPs allowed me to see what actually happened as their day unfolded.

This approach is different to how Green Parties and political parties in Parliament have been studied historically. There is no ethnographic research about the New Zealand Green Party, except for the study of the Party's Policy Committee I completed for my Master's degree (Bignell 2012). Most research about the Greens is written from an outside perspective, which takes a comparative approach or evaluates their electoral impact and success. Furthermore, examinations of internal party processes are rare, even in political science (Lawson 1994). Rarer still are examinations of caucuses, which have not been extensively studied. Research which focuses on the internal life of a party's parliamentary wing therefore fills a significant gap in current political and anthropological knowledge, and opens up the world of parliament further for the public.

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MA Research

Examining transport policy: priorities, process and privilege revealed

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Encouraging cycling as a mode of transport (utility cycling) has been a focus of central government and local authorities through a variety of supportive policy approaches (Hamilton City Council 2010; Ministry of Transport 2005; 2008; Waikato Regional Council 2009). Despite these efforts, utility cycling levels in New Zealand (NZ) have remained at persistently low levels (below 2.5% of mode share for all age groups, MOT 2015,7). My master's research examines the apparent disparity between policy intent and policy result for utility cycling during the period of 2008-2013. I use critical discourse analysis (CDA) to analyse land transport documents from various institutions of government, with a focus on the Waikato region and Hamilton city. The research examines how cycling is positioned in contemporary NZ transport policy documents, and explores whose priorities are shaping transport policy and their implications for utility cycling.

The CDA approach, grounded in the work of van Dijk (1997) and Fairclough (1992a; 1992b), draws on ideas from the interpretive tradition of discourse analysis, inspired by Foucault's (1980) concepts of knowledge and power. This approach reveals the position of utility cycling by exposing the framing, dominant discourses, and discursive strategies that privilege certain transport objectives and activities over others.

The findings show that transport is promoted almost exclusively by the central government as an activity to facilitate economic growth and efficiency despite its potential (and actual) impact on health and well-being, social justice, and environmental sustainability. The government's discursive practices privilege private motor vehicle use, helping to both legitimise and maintain that privilege at all levels of government, while positioning utility cycling as a marginalised mode of transport. I argue, using the CDA concepts of 'genre' and 'genre chains', that this is largely facilitated through the dominance of the Government Policy Statement on Land Transport (GPS).

Genre "implies not only a particular text-type, but also particular processes of producing, distributing and consuming texts" (Fairclough 1992b). Within the transport policy genre, the GPS forms part of a framework of documents that influence and shape each other in a generally hierarchical way. The processes of this genre help to distribute the dominant discourses of the GPS, influencing transport policy produced by regional and local authorities. Thus, while there is a flow of projects from regional programmes to the national programme, those projects are already guided by the GPS priorities, thereby retaining the influence of central government. This influence is particularly evident in the prioritisation of motorised transport for economic growth outcomes in the timeframe examined.

Genre chains are, in turn, genres linked together in ways which are transformational (Fairclough 2003). They are evident in the transformation of policy documents over the duration of a timeframe, where neoliberal framing and an emphasis on economic growth moved from genre to genre – from statutory documents (published by more than one ministry) to strategic and planning documents to legislation (not to mention websites, press releases and the like, although they are not the focus of this particular study). The transformation of this specific policy issue to a neoliberal frame privileged motorised transport as the way to achieve the economic growth outcomes sought by central government.

This privilege was also maintained through the government's approach to land transport investment (via the GPS) where cycling for transport received minimal support. The walking and cycling funding activity class, for example, received less than 1% of funding for 2011/12, while the funding range for 2012/13 leaves 60% of the potential maximum allocation as 'vulnerable' (MOT 2011,14). This funding is further restricted through work category definitions

which promote infrastructure over promotional and educational activities. Regional and local authority discourse indicates some priority for cycling, but constraints abound due to the lack of available funding from central government (WRC 2009, 32; 2011 58; 2012 31). Likewise, the Waikato Regional Council has highlighted the power and influence of the Minister of Transport through the GPS (WRC 2011, 148), and the need for the Regional Transport Committee to be advocates for greater funding for alternative transport modes such as cycling (WRC 2011, 73). This type of challenge and advocacy may have contributed to the injection of funding through the one-off Urban Cycleways Programme (New Zealand Transport Agency 2015), but it has not created a change in priority or approach to funding the national land transport programme at this stage.

This thesis contributes to scholarship on utility cycling and land transport policy in NZ by identifying how the discursive strategies of government control the position of utility cycling in NZ. This study underscores the need for a central government-led, long-term strategic vision for a genuinely integrated, multi-modal transport system in order for the benefits of utility cycling to be fully maximised.

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