Postgraduate Research Conference on Power and Politics 2012

2nd and 3rd of July 2012

Mark Parker Room
University College
University of Otago
315 Leith Street
Dunedin
New Zealand

WELCOME

Dear Participants and Attendees,

It is with great pleasure that I welcome you to the inaugural "Postgraduate Research Conference on Power and Politics" (PRCPP 2012). I hope you find this a challenging and valuable learning experience.

The ability to present research in a precise and concise way is a skill and an asset. It is with this objective in mind that PRCPP 2012 is intended as a forum for aspiring researchers as well as an arena to improve these necessary skills in a cooperative and supportive environment. I hope that this event proves to be a useful and fulfilling one. Thank you for being part of this inaugural event.

This conference has been supported by funding from the New Zealand Political Studies Association, the Otago University Students Association, the Otago University Graduate Research Services and University College Catering. I extend my heartfelt thanks to these groups. Without their generous and enthusiastic support this conference would not have been possible. This has also meant that this conference has been possible without the need for a registration fee.

Finally, this conference could not have been organised without the enthusiastic support of the PRCPP 2012 Conference Committee, to whom my thanks are also extended. The PRCPP 2012 Committee generously donated time and energy without which this conference would not have been possible.

Ms Maria Pozza
Director and Conference Organiser of PRCPP 2012

PRCPP 2012 Committee

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Ms Tara Sincock, Undergraduate, Faculty of Law, University of Otago.
PRCPP 2012 Conference Committee and Abstract Selection Committee

TIMETABLE

PRCPP 2012 Conference: Monday 2nd July 2012

Time/Date	Title	Presenter
08:00-08:30	Registration	Mark Parker Room, University College, University of Otago, 315 Leith St. 03 479 5580
08:30 – 09:00	Welcome	**Mr Mark Brunton**, Facilitator, Research, Māori, University of Otago. Opening of PRCPP 2012 **Ms Maria Pozza**, Director and Organiser of PRCPP 2012. Welcome address. **Dr Charles Tustin** Director of Graduate Research Services, University of Otago. Welcome address.
09:00 – 10:30	Postgraduate Methodology Workshop	**Associate Professor Janine Hayward** **Dr Nickolas Khoo** **Dr Chris Rudd** **Dr Vicki Spencer** *Chair: Mr Eliot Lynch*
10:30 – 10:45	Morning Tea	
10:45 – 12:15	Conference Presentation: Session 1	**Jonathan Sutton** "Nonviolent Tactics and Violent Government Repression: Insights from global data, 1989-2010" **Geniesa Tay** "A New Hope: Confronting Political Power with LOLitics" **Gaye Wall "**The Power of Academic Discourse: A Sociocultural Microgenetic Analysis of Agency and Self-Regulation" **Lin Zeng** "The subversive power of translation" *Chair:Dr Nicholas Khoo*
12:15 – 13:15	Lunch	
13:15 – 14:45	Conference Presentation: Session 2	**Joshua Tait** "American Conservative perspectives on Abraham Lincoln" **Aaron Manby** "When in Rome: The *Pax Deorum* and the Roman Persecution of the Christians" **Thomas Koentges** "Orality and the Stoa: Horace's Potency in Philosophy and Politics" *Chair: Dr Austin Gee*
14:45 – 15:15	Afternoon Tea	
15:15 - 16:45	Conference Presentation: Session 3	**Jill Hayhurst** "Encouraging Traditional and Contemporary Citizenship in Young People Across New Zealand" **Katie James** "Transforming Environmental Governance in New Zealand? Politics, Power and Discourse" **Jacob Kambuta** "Protecting the Human Rights of Migrant Labour: A Case Study of Migrant Dairy Farm Workers in New Zealand" *Chair: Dr Vicki Spencer*
16:45 – 18:15	Conference Presentation: Session 4	**Arie Afriansyah** "International Politics and State Responsibility Determination for Wartime Environmental Damage within the UN Security Council" **Olga Gulyaeva** "What Kind of Power? External Vision of the European Union" **Amy Lewis** "Electoral Authoritarianism and the Role of the Presidency in Ukrainian politics" *Chair: Professor Richard Jackson*

PRCPP 2012 Conference: Tuesday 3rd July 2012

Time/Date	Title	Presenter
09:00 – 10:30	Conference Presentation: Session 5	**Eliot Lynch** "Universal Identity and World Government: Islam, Democratic Peace, and US-Persian Gulf Relations" **Chin-Kuei Tsui** "Writing Wars on Terrorism, from Ronald Reagan, Bill Clinton and through to George W. Bush: Discourses, Narratives and National Identity" **Michael Harland** "Niebuhr and the Neocons: Power, Morality and the National Interest" *Chair: Professor Robert Patman*
10:30 – 10:45	Morning Tea	
10:45 – 12:15	Conference Presentation: Session 6	**Margi MacMurdo-Reading** "Surveillance and the Spectacular in Visual Culture" **Weijun Ma** "Power from below: Cultural Politics in Contemporary Chinese TV Drama" **Oliver Jutel** "Populism, the Political and the Field of Power" *Chair: Dr Chris Rudd*
12:15 – 13:15	Lunch	
13:15 – 14:45	Conference Presentation: Session 7	**Emma Tumilty** "Replacing Ethical Review Fear with TEAR (The Ethics Application Repository)" **Kwong Nui Sim** "The Power of Personal Computers" **Mazlina Mustafa** "Power in Politics is also Biophysical" *Chair: Dr Phil Weir*
14:45 - 16:15	Conference Presentation: Session 8	**Huseyn Aliyev** "The Aftershocks of the 'Arab Spring' in the Caucasus: Why Democracy is in Retreat?" **Marie Nissanka** "Questioning the Normative: addressing the values-based discrepancies in humanitarian and peacebuilding approaches in Sri Lanka" **Mai Tamimi** "Two Peoples, Shared Environment and Divergence in Access" **Nilay Baycar** "The Contribution of the Justice and Development Party (JDP) to Democratisation in Turkey: Success or Failure?" *Chair: Ms Maria Pozza*
End		

POSTGRADUATE RESEARCH WORKSHOP

The inaugural Postgraduate Research Conference on Power and Politics (PRCPP 2012) Postgraduate Research Workshop discusses the importance of methodology in the study of power and politics. As power and politics are contested and interdisciplinary concepts, methodology can be considered a key aspect within the study of power and politics. Knowledge and knowledge production itself is a form of power that can be potentially configured to the interests of powerful institutions and discourses within a society and attendant political structures. Methodologies and their implicit normative commitments pose fundamental tensions to the study, understanding, and theorizing of power relationships across disciplines.

This panel discussion will attempt to shed light on the 'big picture' of methodology within the study of power and politics and is aimed at an interdisciplinary postgraduate research audience. Themes covered will include the role of quantitative and qualitative research, methodology of theory building, positivism/empiricism, non-positivism, and the politics of methodology within the humanities and social sciences. We are delighted to have as panellists the following distinguished scholars:

- **Associate Professor Janine Hayward, Department of Politics, University of Otago**
- **Dr. Nicholas Khoo, Department of Politics, University of Otago**
- **Dr. Chris Rudd, Department of Politics, University of Otago**
- **Dr. Vicki Spencer, Department of Politics, University of Otago**

Many thanks to Ms Maria Pozza who has excelled in her role as the PRCPP 2012 Director and Organiser, the PRCPP 2012 Conference Committee, the groups who have generously contributed funding to this conference without which PRCPP 2012 would not be possible and our scholarly panellists for their generous participation in this workshop.

Mr Eliot Lynch
Chair of the PRCPP 2012 Postgraduate Research Workshop

ABSTRACTS

Conference Presentation: **Session 1** (Monday 2nd July 2012. 10:45 – 12:15)

Jonathan Sutton "Nonviolent Tactics and Violent Government Repression: Insights from global data, 1989-2010"

Our understanding of nonviolence has come a long way since Gandhi's *satyagraha*. Democratisation movements in the former U.S.S.R. from 1989-1991, the Colour Revolutions in the early 2000's and the Arab Spring in 2011 have dramatically shown the ability of people power movements to overthrow existing power relations using tactical nonviolent action. These and other major campaigns have been the focus of a significant amount of research in recent years, which has shown the limitations of traditional theories of power and violent conflict. However there has been little empirical data generated to evaluate existing theories. Nor has there been much attention paid to how nonviolence fares in the face of extremely violent government repression. This paper presents a new dataset on nonviolent action met with violent repression from 1989-2010, covering 38 cases. This type of conflict is shown to be uncommon but consistent over time, geographically concentrated in Sub-Saharan Africa and Asia. Possible explanations for the variation in outcomes are offered, with a discussion of how these cases problematise existing research. It is concluded that a quantitative approach offers potential for understanding the complex relationship between violence, nonviolence and power.

Geniesa Tay "A New Hope: Confronting Political Power with LOLitics"

Ordinary citizens interact with information in countless ways online, which can result in active media creation powerful enough to 'set the agenda' in some cultural spaces. This paper examines 'LOLitics', which are popular culture products that exist in the intersection between pleasure-driven 'play' and (arguably) genuine political discourse. The focus is on citizen-made online political humor memes. These comprise of photographs of political figures altered either by captions or image editing software. User creations are driven mostly by the enjoyment in talking about politics, and ridiculing political figures, usually by referring to popular culture texts. Examples include the subversion of Vladimir Putin's power through formats similar to fanfiction-writing, 'zombifying' a candid photograph of John McCain, and more recently, an iPhone app mocking Mitt Romney's incorrect spelling of 'America'. The inherent power in political figures are negotiated, and ultimately, diminished within citizen (popular) culture. It is argued that through the 'safety net' of humor, citizens are empowered to freely communicate and engage in political discourse that relate to their interests. The 'viral' and easily-spreadable nature of these texts also allow them the power to dominate political discourse, especially in online popular culture and citizen-driven spaces.

Gaye Wall "The Power of Academic Discourse: A Sociocultural Microgenetic Analysis of Agency and Self-Regulation"

While academic writing abilities are highly valued, skills prerequisite for critical academic discourse engagement are seldom explicitly taught. The language of the academy remains a powerful tool indicative of hegemonic social order (Hyland, 2009). Academic positioning determines how the gatekeepers and newcomers negotiate their power and identities. Power inequality and sociocultural constraints, left unaddressed, impede academic excellence across disciplines. This sociocultural theory-based presentation focuses on one case study where a doctoral candidate is caught in a power struggle while composing from sources. The case is one of several from a dissertation that examines writing behaviours of six tertiary students, following four-week explicit instruction on self-regulatory strategies and argumentation rhetoric. Data from self-report questionnaires, self-reflection report and transcripts from video-recorded data during a reading-to-write task and an interview are triangulated to examine participants' agency and self-regulation during their writing activities.
Data indicates that following assisted empowerment the learner demonstrates conceptual and epistemological changes. A leap forward in her self-regulation and agentic interaction with academic writing tasks becomes evident. Findings raise pedagogical implications which point to the needs to investigate not only how academic discourse can be promoted but also how sociocultural obstacles impeding academic empowerment may be addressed.
Reference:
Hyland, K. (2009). *Academic Discourse*. London: Continuum International Publishing Group.

Lin Zeng "The subversive power of translation"

In this paper I intend to review the literature concerning the unstable balance between the power that one culture can exert over another manifested in the practice of translation, and examine cultural hegemony as an important factor in the process of translation. The paper looks at literary translation from non-Western cultures (peripheral cultures) to Western languages (in this case, to English) from a perspective that takes into account the complex functioning of translations in a given culture. The thesis that the paper aims to explore is that translation can become a form of control and a practice of adulteration so as to make the TT (target text) conform to the ideology, cultural values and norms of the West, and also to bring the TT into line with a series of preconceived stereotypes about a given culture. To illustrate the point, the paper will examine the case of Yin Cheng Gu Shi (*Silver City*) by Li Rui, a Chinese contemporary fictional work translated by the American translator, Howard Goldblatt. This analysis brings home the fact that the translator, who is "governed by institutionally defined power relations between the languages" (Asad, 1986: 157), can become a true author by determining what part of the history and culture is more familiar to the target audience and selecting the vocabulary/parts of the ST (source text) that he prefers to present; or simply deleting the parts of the ST that were deemed too exotic for the target culture and just adding a created plot and characters to the original work.

Conference Presentation: **Session 2** (Monday 2nd July 2012. *13:15 – 14:45*)

Joshua Tait "American Conservative perspectives on Abraham Lincoln"

Abraham Lincoln, by virtue of his statesmanship during the American Civil War, has become an overwhelming symbol of presidential and American greatness. It has become a trope in American public thought and life to draw on and associate with Lincoln. Although Lincoln is consistently rated the greatest American president in polls, there are divisions on both the left and right regarding his legacy. Modern American conservatives have had a problematic relationship with Lincoln. Some find Lincoln to be a powerful transmitter of universal truths into the American political tradition while others have rejected him outright as a dangerous centraliser and a threat to civil liberties. Still others have written that the Northern victory precipitated a tragic shift in the course of American culture. American conservatism as an intellectual movement formed around the middle of the twentieth century as an ecumenical alliance between libertarians, traditionalists, and anti-communists. A fusionist philosophy was achieved but it remained a relatively unstable movement with differing emphases, if not quite totally incompatible principles. The particular conservatism a thinker places emphasis on is essential in how they receive Lincoln. This presentation will outline some of the major criticisms and disputes concerning Lincoln from within the conservative movement.

Aaron Manby "When in Rome: The Pax Deorum and the Roman Persecution of the Christians"

History has often illustrated that the admixture of religion and government can result in circumstances unfavorable to those who find themselves in the ideological minority. One example of this volatile confluence can be observed in the evolution of the Roman-Christian dynamic during the first three centuries of the Common Era. During this period adherents to the tenets of the catholic church suffered exile, torture and death in a manner which stood without conclusive legal precedent, a deficiency which did not go unnoticed by Christian apologists. This paper will attempt to explicate this phenomenon through a discussion of the *Pax Deorum*, a religio-political construct which will be defined through observation of both legislative acts as well as emanations from the *vox populi*. It will subsequently be suggested that this construct allowed Christians to be portrayed as enemies of the empire, providing adequate motivation and justification for Roman magistrates and mobs alike to execute an energetic - if inconsistent - persecution of the Christian sect prior to the advent of the Constantinian regime.

Thomas Koentges "Orality and the Stoa: Horace's Potency in Philosophy and Politics"

While Octavian, Anthony, and Republicans were struggling for power in the first century BC, Horace slowly claimed literary glory and eventually became friends with the later princeps. Hence, it does not surprise that the poet's Epodes are full of political references. But when in his 8th Epode the young Horace or the poetical persona encourages his Stoic sexual partner to use her lips instead of the philosophical books to motivate him for intercourse, some reader might be unpleasantly surprised of the frivolous path the Augustan poet decided to take. And indeed, the content of the poem was so blunt, offensive, and sexual that translators long refrained from translating it. Reading the poem in Latin or translation, even modern readers might be uneasy with Horace talking rough and dirty. However, whoever ignores this poem because of their taste impedes themselves from discovering an invective against Stoic philosophy. Not only Horace's sexual partner

is under attack in the climax of the poem, but the Stoic school in general. And although the poem remains sexual it also contributes to the philosophical discussion of the time. My paper will provide historical context to the tasteless poem and show Horace's potency in philosophy and politics.

*Conference Presentation: **Session 3** (*Monday 2nd July 2012. *15:15 - 16:45*)

Jill Hayhurst "Encouraging Traditional and Contemporary Citizenship in Young People Across New Zealand"

Evidence suggests that civic engagement in New Zealand is on the decline, and young people are exhibiting especially low levels of political interest and sense of social responsibility. The decline of youth citizenship deserves particular attention, as levels of engagement solidify during adolescence and often continue into adulthood.

Two studies are reported. Firstly, age related differences in traditional (i.e. intention to vote) and contemporary (i.e. intention to volunteer) aspects of citizenship are explored in a national sample of 277 (age 11-30) young people. Secondly, a series of 2-5 day national events run by the ReGeneration Trust are explored in terms of their effectiveness at increasing aspects of citizenship (n=242, age 13-30).

Findings indicate that older people have significantly higher levels of civic engagement. Participation in ReGeneration events, however, significantly increases engagement (e.g. sense of civic duty and civic skills) for all participants.

Many researchers believe that youth are no longer finding meaningful opportunities in traditional forms of citizenship. The present studies elucidate means by which to foster citizenship in youth. The links between youth wellbeing and that of civil society will also be discussed, as well as whether conventional understandings of citizenship adequately capture young people's interests and activities.

Katie James "Transforming Environmental Governance in New Zealand? Politics, Power and Discourse"

Good governance is an essential platform for solving the complex threats facing modern society. There is growing acceptance that socio-economic and environmental issues are inextricably linked and holistic solutions must be sought - a strong body of literature now focuses on achieving social-ecological sustainability through collaborative and adaptive forms of governance. In New Zealand, terminology associated with this transformative turn in theory has become part of the everyday environmental policy discourse. However, at the same time, the dominance of neoliberal ideology embedded in our political and economic institutions has inhibited the transformation of environmental governance. Through critical discourse analysis I highlight how different political-economic contexts and the influence of power have shaped environmental governance in New Zealand over the last several decades. Identifying some of the main barriers to effective environmental governance existing today, I evaluate the potential for achieving better governance in New Zealand as we go forward.

Jacob Kambuta "Protecting the Human Rights of Migrant Labour: A Case Study of Migrant Dairy Farm Workers in New Zealand"

In the last decade discussions on international human rights regimes and post-national citizenship have been gaining popularity. The emergence of supra-national human rights institutions, such as the UN, UNHCR, European Court of Justice, ILO, and such documents as the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and other international covenants and conventions, including the UN International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of their Families and the ILO Migrant Workers Convention, are cited as examples of this trend. There is a view of these developments as indicative of a shift from a state-based to a more individual-based universal conception of rights, or from national citizenship to post-national citizenship. Migrants in many European countries and in North America have gained certain legal rights which coincide with the moral principles prescribed by the above international conventions. However, migrants continue to suffer human rights violations despite the existence of legal frameworks that protect them. There may be various reasons why migrants may not be able to fully exercise the legal rights extended to them by the receiving states. In this study I will argue that even though legal access to some economic rights may be extended to non-citizens residing on a national territory of sovereign nation-states, the exercise of these rights may be thwarted by the denial of social membership in the national community to these non-citizens.

This paper examines the experiences of migrant workers employed in the dairy industry in New Zealand. The goal is to assess the extent to which New Zealand affords rights and protection to migrant dairy farm workers. I argue that whereas legal access to economic rights has been extended to non-citizens residing in the national territory of sovereign nation-states, membership in the national community has often been denied to them, as a result preventing them from exercising the rights to which they have been granted legal access.

*Conference Presentation: Session 4 (*Monday 2nd July 2012. *16:45 – 18:15*)

Arie Afriansyah "International Politics and State Responsibility Determination for Wartime Environmental Damage within the UN Security Council"

As a corollary of our collective experience with warfare, a major concern has arisen - that the environment is ineffectively protected during armed conflicts. Some contend that international law does not have enough rules to prevent states committing wanton environmental destruction during war. Consequently, the adoption of a new and specific convention devoted to protecting the environment during armed conflict has been proposed as necessary. This concern has been exacerbated by the fact that international law appears to favour powerful states over weak ones, especially in inter-state post-conflict settlement(s), when responsibility for wartime damage, including environmental damage, is allocated.

However, it is argued that such situations were not due to a paucity of provisions protecting the environment during wartime. Instead, it is contended that the real problem lies in how the international community (fail to) implement the applicable international rules - particularly holding appropriate states responsible for making reparation. In responding to this unfortunate fact, there is a promising avenue to improve such environmental protection in the future. With its political nature, in fact, the UN Security Council has a great potential to allocate fairly post-conflict environmental responsibility to the appropriate belligerent state(s) by modifying its decision making processes with the involvement of fact-finding mission(s).

Olga Gulyaeva "What Kind of Power? External Vision of the European Union"

Since the European Union (EU) started to perceive itself as a normative power, there has been a fundamental debate of what kind of power the EU actually is. The EU might consider itself as a superpower; however, elite communities of the non-EU countries might reflect on the EU's external profiles differently.

This research examines the status of the EU as a superpower by looking at external vision of the EU. Particularly, this presentation presents results of empirical research, conducted among Russian political, business, social and media elites between October 2011 and December 2011. This research addresses the problem of the international economic, political and social place of the EU in the visions of Russia's elites. The crucial concern is to look at the EU from external perspective. The goals are 1) to explore the perceived importance of the EU in influential Russian community; 2) to cover the comprehensive mosaic of the EU as a global power; 3) to highlight the mainstream of elite's opinion regarding the EU's actions. The research states that understanding external perception contributes to critical reflection on EU's wide-ranging global involvement and its capabilities.

Amy Lewis "Electoral Authoritarianism and the Role of the Presidency in Ukrainian politics"

The trend amongst former Soviet republics has been to create a presidential-parliamentary political system with executive power bifurcated between a president and a prime minister. This arrangement was viewed as beneficial in establishing strong independent and democratic nations, recovering from the colonial legacy of the Soviet Empire. However, it is now held that in establishing a strong presidency, one has overshadowed the democratic gains that it originally claimed to promote. This paper will discuss the framework of political power in Ukraine with a focus on the development of increasing authoritarianism of the presidency. It will then discuss the implications that these increased powers have on the other branches of government and the future of Ukrainian politics.

Conference Presentation: Session 5 (Tuesday 3rd July 2012. 09:00 – 10:30)

Eliot Lynch "Universal Identity and World Government: Islam, Democratic Peace, and US-Persian Gulf Relations"

This paper will compare and contrast the visions of world peace articulated in Islam and Liberal democratic peace theory. The paper will focus, in particular, on how universal human identity is conceived in Islam and Liberal democratic peace theory (with a particular focus on Kant) and the means through which universalization and homogenization of human identity, or lack thereof, is to be achieved as a component of world peace. It is argued that in their respective visions of world peace, democratic peace and Islam differ quite substantially in the comprehensiveness of their conception of universal human identity as a means to achieving world peace.

In contrast to Political Liberalism and its derivative democratic peace theory, a potentially much broader definition of Liberalism can be derived from Economic Liberalism, embodied in the thought of Adam Smith and Karl Marx and the atomizing processes of contemporary economic globalization. Thus, a core unresolved tension within Liberal thought

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remains the nature and extent of Liberalism as a historical project. Is Liberalism centred on the nation-state and a democratic peace among nation-states? Or has 'Liberalism' through a series of economic globalizations since the 19th century unwittingly turned into a global-scale universal civilization, the nature and extent of which remain substantially unresolved in the 21st century.

It will be concluded that Islam may pose a fundamental problem to Liberal theory in the sense that Liberalism and democratic peace theory has been content to focus on political form and much less the content and potential comprehensiveness of Liberalism as a universal Way of Life.

Chin-Kuei Tsui "Writing Wars on Terrorism, from Ronald Reagan, Bill Clinton and through to George W. Bush: Discourses, Narratives and National Identity"

Following the tragedy of September 11, 2001, there has been a considerable amount of literature discussing the Bush-led war on terror, and a small amount of research has been done on Reagan's war on terrorism. However, with very few exceptions, there is a notable lack of discussion about Clinton's discourse on terrorism and his counter-terrorism initiatives. This paper aims to fill the gap in the existing literature by comparing the discursive dimensions of counter-terrorism between different American administrations, and also by illustrating how the "reality" of counter-terrorism was constituted through the discursive constructions. By adopting a constructivist approach, with the aid of a critical discourse analysis (CDA), this paper argues that the quintessence of the discourses on U.S. terrorism and counter-terrorism is the interpretation of American identity, and national spirit and values, which are embraced and followed by most Americans. The language and narratives used in the discourse on terrorism explicitly articulate the differences between Americans and the "otherness", i.e. evil terrorists and rogue states. By using this specific language, the U.S. could, then, justify and rationalise its counter-terrorism initiatives. Finally, this paper, through its research findings, argues and illustrates that the discursive construction of threat and danger not only framed the subject of terrorism but also suggested a military-originated, counter-terrorism policy to address so-called terrorist threat.

Michael Harland "Niebuhr and the Neocons: Power, Morality and the National Interest"

Over the past decade, few political philosophies have generated as much controversy as "neoconservatism." Once considered a marginal faction in the American right, neoconservatism found its moment following the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001. Neoconservative policymakers, such as Paul Wolfowitz, Douglas Feith, David Frum and Abram Shulsky, were appointed to high-ranking positions in the administration of President George W. Bush. They convincingly argued that, in the wake of the attacks, the United States needed to adopt a strategy based around military strength, moral clarity and pre-emptive war against rogue states. The neoconservative's views on foreign affairs had no shortage of critics. Among the most vocal were realist academics. Several of these figures reached back to the classical realism of Hans Morganthau and George Kennan to analyse contemporary policy. This paper builds on such efforts by assessing neoconservative attitudes against the views of American theologian and realist scholar, Reinhold Niebuhr. In his 1952 book, *The Irony of American History*, in particular, Niebuhr warned that the conflation of power with universal moral standards could lead to ideological "crusades." Niebuhr's brand of realism, this paper suggests, recognised the inherent fallibility of even the most powerful of nations.

Conference Presentation: **Session 6** (Tuesday 3rd July 2012. 10:45 – 12:15)

Margi MacMurdo-Reading "Surveillance and the Spectacular in Visual Culture"

We live in what has been called a "viewer society" (T. Mathieson, 1997) and a "society of the spectacle" (G. Debord, 1968). "Surveillance", then, is a topic too vast to be considered in isolation, and should be considered in discourse employing critical concepts derived from several academic disciplines pertinent to cultural, political, film and other media text studies, where it can be more thoroughly debated.

The literature is vast regarding Foucault's work on Jeremy Bentham's concept of the Panopticon, where "the one sees the many". Thomas Mathieson proposes an opposite, vital phenomenon he calls "Synopticon", defined as "the many seeing the few". This process is especially evident in mass media such as television. When the two operate in combination as they most certainly do in contemporary society, the capabilities of controlling populations becomes exponential. The best example of this is the infamous Jamie Bulger case that took place in 1993 in the UK, when a surveillance camera recorded the toddler being led to his death by two 10 year old boys, and the image was endlessly replayed on Television news. This paper will discuss some further ramifications of Panopticon/Synopticon through the lens of mass media, film, and visual culture.

Weijun Ma "Power from below: Cultural Politics in Contemporary Chinese TV Drama"

This paper examines cultural politics in contemporary Chinese TV drama. Chinese TV drama has been recognized as a location for a wide range of alternative discourses under the commercialization and marketization of the TV drama industry. However, these discourses very rarely include resistance. In contrast, this paper shows that oppositional discourses and practices can be discerned in Chinese TV drama. Some TV dramas engage with contemporary politics very directly and even explore political taboos (e.g. political reform and democratization) in a way that is unprecedented in the history of both Chinese television drama and film. I argue that these discourses and practices demonstrate that a bottom-up power at practice in Chinese TV drama.

I define this complex bottom-up practice as *mainstreaming resistance*. Based on Michel Foucault and Michel De Certeau's theories about power relations in everyday life, I contend that *mainstreaming resistance* goes beyond the elitist definition of Chinese cultural resistance, which regards resistance as non-conformist, radical, political opposition. Instead *mainstreaming resistance* takes a new hybrid form to break down division between high-brow and low brow, between mainstream and counterculture, between resistance and cooperation. A study on *mainstreaming resistance* in Chinese TV drama will show us another possibly more fertile, productive ground on which Chinese cultural resistance is carried out in a particular way with its own origin, dynamics, and political significance.

Oliver Jutel "Populism, the Political and the Field of Power"

The emergence of the Tea Party as a specifically mediatized, populist movement owing its success and pledging allegiance to *Fox News* is emblematic of the new political economy of the media field. The traditional Fordist model of a unified mass audience, commodified or rented out to industrial capital, has been superseded by the new audience commodity of immaterial labour. Audiences no longer merely consume media but actively construct the very communication networks that are used to surveil for the minutia of personal taste preferences. In incorporating forms of free audience labour the media simultaneously perfect the audience commodity while opening up the field of power to the social logics of difference and equivalence which represent the political (Laclau 2005). *Fox News* viewers do not simply consume the news but make it as Tea Party protestors. The implications of a new logic of commodification and accumulation need not assume such a populist commercialism in that the incorporation of free labour is voluntary and signals the positive agency of mediatized subjects.

Conference Presentation: **Session 7** *(Tuesday 3rd July 2012. 13:15 – 14:45)*

Emma Tumilty "Replacing Ethical Review Fear with TEAR (The Ethics Application Repository)"

Guidelines written to aid researchers in presenting and explaining ethically sound projects to ethics committees leave many questions unanswered, especially for the inexperienced researcher.   To cover all areas of research, guidelines sacrifice depth for range and there is an expectation that gaining ethics approval takes months. The ethics committee usually reviews in camera reinforcing power imbalances; knowledge transfer is something only to be gained post-review rather than prior. This then leads to, arguably unnecessary, frustrations for the applicant researcher and ethics committee, when expectations are not met and further work is required.   Is there a way to disrupt this power imbalance? TEAR (The Ethics Application Repository) is an online, open-access repository of exemplary ethics applications donated by senior researchers. It was developed at the University of Otago by an interdisplinary team including myself.   The aim of the repository is to bridge the chasm between applicant researcher and ethics committee. TEAR allows novice researchers access to best practice examples of how to, not only conduct research ethically, but how to explain it well to an ethics committee. Its goal is to redistribute privilege allowing inexperienced novice researchers to gain a better understanding of application rather than just theory when relating ethical principles to their work.   TEAR creates the open dialogue and knowledge transfer currently lacking.   In power terms, TEAR is one step toward levelling the power field.

Kwong Nui Sim "The Power of Personal Computers"

Background: My research project is about how powerful personal computers support learning in higher education. It is a scoping study that examined the degree to which undergraduate students used their personal computers to support their academic practice in their daily study habits. *Method*: I am working from a constructivist, interpretative perspective employing Constructivist Grounded Theory (Charmaz). I matched students' self-reports (perceptions) of their ability and use of computers to support their studies with objective natural occurring data. Software that tracked computer use by programme type and duration was downloaded onto the personal computers of five third year students undertaking one summer school paper at the University of Otago. Through the computer activity data obtained from the software, the

students' strategies or approaches of personal computer usage were identified. *Results*: The data shows a big contrast between students' self-perception and actual practice of academic and non-academic use of computer technology in their daily study practice. Also, there is no significant pattern between the use of computer technology and the students' study schedule.

Discussion: The findings of this exploratory study helped informing us on how powerful actually the role of computer technology is in students' daily study practice in comparison to common assumptions.

Mazlina Mustafa "Power in Politics is also Biophysical"

Power in politics offers a human ecological interpretation. This is of contemporary political significance as global resource, social and financial crises point to a common source in human ecological dysfunctionality. So it is not only a pun that power in politics is inseparable from the availability of the physical energy sources for society. The political mode of such power is however found in the institutional structures of organizations rather than democratic processes. So, how such power affects people is a topic of human resource development. From this perspective, the case of the political dimension of human resource management of the Malaysian electricity generation industry is discussed. Its highlights that the political dimension refers to the context defined by strategic management and by the degree of diversity allowed in the formation of teams. How this directly relates to the success or otherwise of the provision of physical power in the form of electricity energy is detailed, thus indicating how power in politics is helped by a human ecological interpretation. Namely, power partly operates within society in a tacit way through the key organizations providing physical power on which all social activities are based, and failure to recognize this makes the critical consideration of power within society and politics ineffective.

Conference Presentation: **Session 8** (Tuesday 3rd July 2012. 14:45 - 16:15)

Huseyn Aliyev "The Aftershocks of the 'Arab Spring' in the Caucasus: Why Democracy is in Retreat?"

This study is an analysis of the impact of 'Arab Spring' on democracy and civil society in the former Soviet region of the Caucasus. Located on an intersection between the Europe and Middle East, the Caucasus, ruled by autocratic post-Soviet regimes (both in the Russian North Caucasus and independent South Caucasus), has managed to narrowly avoid the echoes of the 'Arab Spring' and, yet, the consequences of dramatic events in the Middle East could not but left an imprint on democratization in the Caucasus. Whilst organized, inspired and closely resembling the 'Arab Spring' anti-authoritarian uprisings, the pro-democracy protests, which have engulfed the Caucasus in 2011, were short-lived, lacked popular support and were swiftly suppressed by the state. This research insists that the aftershocks of the 'Arab Spring' which led to a wave of pro-democratic protests in the Caucasus resulted in further entrenchment of autocratic governments in the region and the reduction of civil freedoms and association, rather than in democratic progress.

Marie Nissanka "Questioning the Normative: addressing the values-based discrepancies in humanitarian and peacebuilding approaches in Sri Lanka"

Strategically, the Government of Sri Lanka (GoSL) was successful in eradicating terrorism with their military victory against the LTTE in May 2009. Despite the accusations of civilian human rights violations made by the majority of Western nations in the United Nations General Assembly, (as well as multitudes of local and international civil society organisations), the GoSL has stood firm in their justifications in the measures undertaken to eradicate terrorism and protect Sri Lanka's sovereignty by any means necessary, inferring a difference in normative values.

This research involved analysing the organisational learning behind seven humanitarian NGOs in Sri Lanka. The findings indicated the NGOs and civil society organisations are high normative (or values-based) learners, even though they varied in the other types of learning which was investigated. However, the main weaknesses in peace advocacy programmes conducted in Sri Lanka, was their overly ambitious goal of helping Sri Lanka reaching a stage of positive peace, while failing to recognise a discrepancy in normative values with actors who had power over the progress of their desired goal. This research highlights the importance of addressing power relationships while recognising the differences in normative values. By addressing the differences and misconceptions in normative values as well as the imperishable, political power structures which prevail in Sri Lanka, it can be hoped that the long term goal of a state of positive peace can be reached within three to four generations of work undertaken towards peacefully integrating segregated societies, provided there are no spoilers to the process.

1.The types of learning which was investigated was normative (values-based), contextual / political (learning from the environment), relational (learning from stakeholders), and operational (technical learning).

Mai Tamimi "Two Peoples, Shared Environment and Divergence in Access"

Access to the natural environment in contemporary Palestine is an example of how power over land has been determined by politics. Two peoples' environmental narratives are different: Palestinians value the land and nature with a particular focus on sovereignty and territory while the Israeli's narrative focuses on quality of life on this land. The two perspectives are greatly impacted by how much power over land each side has. Politics have played an enormous role in granting different rights to the two peoples sharing the one land and accordingly has impacted on peoples' contact with the natural environment. Findings of a recent research on young Palestinians' environmental relationships highlighted that the continuous political conflict and its consequences stand as the main reasons for the decline in young Palestinians' access to the natural environment, together with other social, educational and cultural factors

Nilay Baycar "The Contribution of the Justice and Development Party (JDP) to Democratisation in Turkey: Success or Failure?

Democratisation has become an aspirational phenomenon in many parts of the world. This paper analyses the role of Turkey's ruling Justice and Development Party (the 'JDP') in Turkey's current democratisation process. In order to analyse the democratisation process led by the JDP government, we must understand the nature of the JDP. Critics argue that the JDP, though professing to be a conservative democratic party, is in fact a fundamentalist Islamic party with a hidden agenda to establish a Sharia-based regime in Turkey. They feel that the JDP, in hiding its real aims, performs a game of dissimulation (takiyye) in order to achieve political legitimacy and sufficient political and constitutional power to realise its hidden agenda. This argument raises a number of questions: Can a pro-EU party like the JDP, which gained significant and increasing support in the 2002, 2007 and 2011 Turkish general elections, have an Islamist hidden agenda? How would we explain the increasing public support for the JDP and the genuine democratisation reforms led by it? Could Conservative Democracy, the political identity of the JDP, be regarded as an appropriate political approach for Turkey? Is the 'hidden agenda' hypothesis real or imagined? These are some of the key questions being discussed by Turkey's elites in relation to the JDP. Regardless of the point of view we take to answer these questions, there remains a grey zone, which the writer of this paper will attempt to clarify.