Copyright is owned by the Author of the thesis. Permission is given for a copy to be downloaded by an individual for the purpose of research and private study only. The thesis may not be reproduced elsewhere without the permission of the Author.

# Making Resistance Politics: the Opposition to Genetic Engineering in Aotearoa New Zealand

A thesis presented in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

in

Sociology

Corrina Adele Tucker

2011

#### **Abstract**

The politics making of genetic engineering resistance in Aotearoa New Zealand involves a complex interplay between a diverse core of movement network actors and a broad, mediated collective identity. The movement's organisational structure and cultural meanings comprise both diversity and cohesion, which enhance each other, making for successful politics making. This thesis demonstrates how these seemingly contradictory movement features were able to coexist. Drawing on in-depth interviews with 18 key activists, this research investigated how the movement was structurally and culturally organised. Previous social movement analyses have tended to separate structure from culture, resulting in one-sided interpretations that have not adequately addressed the role both elements play in making politics. To overcome this shortcoming, this thesis developed a complementary approach to methodology and analysis that drew on social network analysis to investigate organisational structure, and framing to explore meaning-making and the achievement of collective identity. The network structure of the movement is decentralised, non-hierarchical, flexible and This has enabled both diversity (seen in movement sub-groups, strategic and tactical disparities), and coordination (seen in the significant overlap of relational ties and the convergence of actors in mass mobilisations), to exist at the same time. The same kinds of characteristics are evident when looking to framing and movement collective identity. Activists relayed a broad range of oppositions to genetic engineering, but at the same time their concerns were shared at an elementary level, and were posed as challenging common understandings of Aotearoa New Zealand. The movement was therefore deeply engaged with and embedded in the wider cultural context of this country. The characteristics of flexibility and embeddedness displayed in this movement are a powerful combination for movement mobilisation and endurance. Until there is a commercial release of a genetically engineered crop in this country, the potential for future mobilisation remains.

### Acknowledgements

There are many people that I wish to acknowledge for their contribution and support throughout the long journey that has been this PhD thesis. My chief supervisor, Dr Brennon Wood, has been the greatest supervisor that I could possibly have hoped for. Brennon has pushed me to do the best I can (and the best that I didn't think I could do), and has been supportive of the challenges that I have faced throughout this PhD. Thank you so much Brennon – it has been a privilege and honour working with you.

There were 18 people that directly took part in this thesis as research participants. I appreciated the time that you made available to me for interviews, and for the enthusiasm, knowledge and insights that you imparted in the process. It was these 18 people and my appreciation of their time and the stories they had to tell that at times kept my momentum going during this thesis. I am indebted to all of you for sharing a part of your lives with me.

There are many other people who since I first enrolled in this PhD have played some role in supporting and assisting me. In particular I want to acknowledge Kathy Stuart who has been a pillar of strength throughout my thesis, and who has provided me with invaluable critique of my work. I cannot thank you enough, in particular for the time and encouragement that you contributed in the last gruelling weeks of my thesis. I also wish to especially acknowledge Matt Russell, who has been ever-encouraging and supportive in particular as this thesis neared completion.

I wish to furthermore acknowledge the following people who have at different times and in different ways contributed their support: Robyn Andrews, Doug Ashwell, Henry Barnard, Avril Bell, April Bennett, Maria Borovnik, Alix Coleman, Julie Collins, Chamsy El-Ojieli, Trisia Farrelly, Nicky Hager, Jill Hancock, Ang Jury, Jude Marshall, Ruth McManus, Carolyn Morris, Lesley Patterson, Paul Perry, Mary Roberts, Chris & Jennifer Russell, Allanah Ryan, Catherine Scheele, Ross Strong, Sue Tait, Marianne Tremaine, and Avril Ward.

Finally, I want to acknowledge my family. Mum and Dad have patiently been waiting for me to complete this PhD, and I know you are proud of me. Thank you for being so supportive of me throughout my studies. Sage and Lenaia, my two 'big kids', have seen me studying for just about their whole lives. Thank you for being great kids in your enduring understanding of my need to often work at night time and on weekends, when I would much rather have been spending the time with you both. Lastly I want to acknowledge Finnley, my 'baby'. Having you mid-way during my PhD certainly was not the easiest thing in the world, but you have enriched our lives more than I could have ever imagined.

## Table of Contents

Chapter One	
Politics-making: The GE Resistance Movement of Aotearoa New Zealand 1.1 GE: Terminology, Significance, Resistance 1.2 Resistance Through Time: Revolutions, Social Movements, Networks 1.3 Political Resistance and GE 1.4 Chapter Outline	1 3 11 15 23
Chapter Two	
Theorising GE Resistance in Aotearoa New Zealand 2.1 Politics as Structure 2.2 Politics as Culture 2.3 Enter Globalisation 2.4 The Way Forward 2.5 Summary and Conclusion	27 31 37 43 49 57
Chapter Three Researching GE Resistance: a Methodology 3.1 Data 3.2 The Analytical Tools 3.3 Conclusion	59 60 72 84
Chapter Four A Networked Movement: Multiplicity is its Power. The Big Song Sheet 4.1 What's in a Name? 4.2 GE Resistance: a Movement Snapshot 4.3 Movement Structural Dynamics 4.4 Tactical Repertoires 4.5 Unity and Diversity 4.6 Actors Speak on Organisation and Relationships 4.7 Conclusion	85 86 90 98 104 108 110 124
Chapter Five Collective Identity: Value Politics. The Same Tune 5.1 Us and Them 5.2 Collective Action Frames 5.3 Master Frames 5.4 Conclusion	129 131 138 154 167

Chapter Six	
GE Resistance Politics-making: Fluid and Negotiable	171
6.1 Methodological and Theoretical Conclusions	173
6.2 Structure, Organisation and Networks	174
6.3 Culture and Collective identity	178
6.4 Future Research	181
6.5 Research Limitations	183
6.6 Reflections and Futures	185
References	189
Appendix A	213
Appendix B	216

## List of Figures

Figure 1. Basic social network structures	75
Figure 2. Directed nominations of most important movement alliances and relationships (MDS layout)	92
Figure 3. Individual affiliations with GE resistance organisations (2-mode, MDS layout)	94
Figure 4. Four central movement group's networks (2-mode, MDS layout)	96
Figure 5. Four peripheral movement group's networks (2-mode, MDS layout)	97
Figure 6. Movement individuals and groups 1996 to December 1999 (2-mode, MDS layout)	99
Figure 7. Movement individuals and groups December 1999 to October 2003 (2-mode, MDS layout)	100
Figure 8. Movement individuals and groups October 2003 to 2005 (2-mode, MDS layout)	100
Figure 9. Networks of three 'lawful process' movement activities (2-mode, MDS layout)	105
Figure 10. Networks of three 'direct-radical' movement activities (2-mode, MDS layout)	106
Figure 11. Tactical repertoire continuum (2-mode).	107