
Historical Dimensions of New Zealand`s Nuclear-Free Policy, drawing on the Literature on Social Movements

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1. Introduction

The role of social movements in shaping public policies and their influences on the outcomes of policies are among the basic study fields of conventional social movement literature. In that sense, Giugni, (1998); Cress & Snow (2000); Amenta et al. (2010) made a significant contribution in reviewing social movement-related literature in the past few decades. A large part of social movement studies has been conducted within the framework of the `resource mobilization` approach by Oberschall (1973); Jenkins - Perrow (1977); McCarthy - Zald (1977) and the `political opportunity structure` approach focusing mainly on the effects of social movements on policies, as developed by Tilly (1978); McAdam et al. (1996) especially during the 1970s by student demonstrations and anti-war protests (Giugni, 1998, 377).

Some scholars argue that social movements are generally effective and account for most important political change (Piven, 2006) which was previously explained by Gamson (1990) through the concepts of `acceptance` and `new advantages` thanks to `selective incentives`. Measuring success is relevant to a substantive aim of social movements and involves changes in policies. Gamson`s data suggests the definition of `success` as being linked to participatory and material outcomes. He draws a typology of the political outcomes of mass mobilization for political influence. These are based on participatory gains with elite acceptance of the movement actors as legitimate representatives; material gains with

elite acceptance of new policy; and discursive gains with elite acceptance of new meanings (Gamson, 1990). The literature on social activism is concerned with the consequences of social movements focusing on the two types of outcomes: direct outcomes and indirect outcomes. Gamson's analysis in *The Strategy of Social Protest* focuses on organizational characteristics based on structure, goals, and tactics which are determinants of social movement organizations' success and failure. He argues that opponents that have a single-issue and accordingly goals, provide selective incentives and use disruptive tactics which lead them to be successful.

Although there have been alterations in the intensity of anti-nuclear activism as part of social movements, their impacts on different forms of protests and the way of claiming other alternatives have continued in the past decades. Since the end of the 1960s, successful protest movements have established modes of political participation in advanced democracies (Kitschelt, 1986). For Kitschelt, political opportunity structures consist of specific configurations of resources, institutional arrangements, and historical precedents for social mobilization that facilitate the development of protest movements (Kitschelt, 1986, 57). According to Kitschelt, the role of the national political structure is essential for movements' strategic choices and outcomes. In this line, 'the openness of political regime to new demands' plays a substantial role. Dieter Rucht (1990), in his comparative research, advances the findings of Kitschelt claiming that there are different variations of strategies that are not only based on structural factors but also a range of conjunctural factors such as temporal opportunity structures (for example, a new open-minded government which is more receptive to anti-nuclear arguments), a gradual shift of public opinion on the issue at stake, changing internal conditions of oppositional groups, and contingent events such as the death of an activist or an accident in a nuclear plant (Rucht, 1990, 212).

To understand the changes in or shaping of policies, there is a need to take social movements into account, since they are an important element in bringing the demands which can be considered as overlooked ones, by existing policies onto the agenda (Uba, 2008, 386). Not only influencing the agenda-setting, but they can also actively play a role in the implementation phase which could be against their interests, through blocking the implementation of the policy as planned or putting pressure to change the policy in line with their interests and demands (Andrews, 2001). Scholars, adopting a society-centered approach in analyzing policies, mainly focus on the effectiveness of social dynamics in shaping public policies (Grindle-Thomas, 1989, 217).

The characteristics of the state and third parties affect the availability and utility of a movement's resources. Burnstein and Linton (2002) point out that the established connection between an organization's resources and its influence on governmental bodies (in terms of their responsiveness and reflectiveness toward the contested issue) affects each other and also the outcome of the movement. In that sense, they have gone a step further to analyze various views on organizational resources and activities. In parallel with the views of sociologists working on the same issue, they have determined that the impact of social movement organizations and interest groups will depend on the extent to which they can provide electorally relevant information or resources to elected officials (Burnstein, 2002, 392). They have categorized organizational resources and activities by the resources (numbers of members, size of the budget, etc); directed organizational activity at electoral politics, as well as more diffuse acts such as strikes, and also routine activities focused on the specific issue, such as lobbying.

As for the outcomes of citizen engagement John Gaventa and Gregory Barrett (2010) working on the impact of participation on improved democratic and developmental outcomes, created a

typology of four democratic outcomes (which can be applied to developmental outcomes). These are a construction of citizenship, the strengthening of practices of participation, the strengthening of responsive and accountable states, and the development of inclusive and cohesive societies.

Considering the outcomes, it can be claimed that citizen participation in every sphere of society with a responsive state producing positive effects. In this regard, democratic openness in the political context plays an important role. According to their cross-national case study, strong democracies characterized by a high experience of positive engagements and interactions between citizen and state and shorter histories of democratic participation affect the outcome to a greater degree. In order to explore assumptions, they looked at the characteristics and democratic quality of political regimes (with a particular focus on the quality of governance, political participation, and political culture) for 20 countries, including New Zealand. They found that engagement can make positive differences through the practice of citizen participation (through local associations, social movements, campaigns, and formal participatory government spaces) and responsive as well as accountable states (p.347).

Irvin and Stansbury (2004) focus on the advantages of citizen participation in government decision-making for environmental management. For them, participation has two positive advantageous impacts on citizens and government in terms of decisions and outcomes. In the decision process, citizens enjoy educational benefits (through informing each other); improve persuasion skills (on enlightening government by activists and building trust by governmental officials), and gain a sense of activist citizenship and legitimacy of decisions. As part of outcomes, this relation is reciprocal when considering better policy and implementation decisions (Irvin and Stansbury, 2004, 56).

2. Historical Background of Nuclear-Free-Zone Law

New Zealand's early nuclear history goes back to the young physicists supported to work on the Manhattan Project; the plans for a heavy water plant in the north island of New Zealand (Wairakei); prospecting for uranium on the West Coast of the South Island; plans for a nuclear power station on the Kaipara Harbor near Auckland with the aim of supplying 80% of Auckland's electricity needs by 1990; and many scientists and medical professionals who have worked with nuclear technology. Despite this, the nation created such a strong counter stance with a strong nuclear - free identity (Priestley, 2010, 4).

The seeds of coordination for actions were sown with huge attention to see what is going on internationally. One of the most important ones took place following the US bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki in August 1945, which resulted in the world's first anti-nuclear lecture held at the University of Canterbury in Christchurch in August 1945 and the Hiroshima day march in 1947. Following this, the Stockholm Peace Appeal calling for an absolute ban on nuclear weapons worldwide with 20.000 signatures signed in 1950 (Dewes and Green, 1999, 9).

Through the continuation of nuclear testing elevated this attention inside the country. Academics and church people (such as the Quakers) gathered and local campaigns organized actions in order to end the nuclear weapons test and call for disarmament. Following the establishment of the British Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, launched in London in 1958, local groups in Wellington, Dunedin, and Christchurch (major New Zealand cities) formed the New Zealand Campaign for Disarmament with the purpose of stopping nuclear testing and eliminating nuclear weapons. Subsequently, the campaign focused on the flood of information on the danger of any nuclear-related activity and its potential effects on not only the country but also the atmosphere and

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human health. This campaign was successful in getting considerable attention from the people thanks to the enormous participation such as televised marches, activist campaigns, pamphlets, and popular artistic events such as street theater, public galleries, and movie screenings.

New Zealand participated in the Korean War by sending 3794 troops resulted in 37 casualties and 8 wounded soldiers. Out of this incident, the ANZUS Pact (as a collective security agreement between New Zealand, Australia, and the US) emerged despite the dissatisfaction of New Zealand people (Locke, 1992, 149). Not only the process from the Korean War to the Vietnam War but also the continuation of French testing throughout the mid-60s was the final straw for the New Zealand peace movement. The focus on opposition to the Vietnam War was based on the reason for New Zealand's involvement between 1965 and 1972; being part of ANZUS and accordingly sending troops to Vietnam. At this time, an outspoken anti-militarist movement was created blaming the New Zealand government for following the US into participation in the war. This movement based its opposition on the moral obligation to protect civilian lives and galvanized opposition to the war-syndrome in the country. Anti-war slogans and messages spread over the major cities together with the solidarity of the whole nation through rallies, demonstrations, and riots. Among their chief targets for criticism was the New Zealand Prime Minister Mr. Keith Holyoake from the National Party (VietnamWar.govt.nz).

After the Second World War the United States, along with its French and British allies, frequently tested nuclear weapons in the Pacific region and Australia (317 nuclear weapons in total between 1945 - 1995). In this regard, the mid-1960s were the crucial time for protesting over nuclear testing in French Polynesia. A number of atmospheric tests carried out by France on the French Polynesian atolls (44 atmospheric tests concentrated on Moruroa and

Fangataufa between 1966 - 1974) were the final straw for New Zealanders and led the public to protests (nzhistory.govt.nz). The continuous nuclear tests caused radioactive fall-out on Australian and New Zealand territory. Both governments took France to the International Court of Justice in order to challenge the legality of the tests. In 1970, the Auckland Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (CND) petitioned the government, 'either alone or with other protesting nations, to take action in the General Assembly of the United Nations and the South Pacific Commission on the question of the infringement of human rights and international law by France.' (Dewes and Green, 1999).

Along with the governmental action level, the 'nuclear issue' also sparked public concern about nuclear fallout affecting both personal health and the environment. This resulted in anti-nuclear demonstrations led by public organizations, which made the nuclear issue a pressing public concern (Boyd, 2016, 8). Thanks to the persistent public pressure, the matter of nuclear testing became a hot-button election issue forcing each political party to adopt a policy arrangement. Public activities for opposition to nuclear testing were supported by the churches, local bodies, community organizations, trade unions, student and youth organizations 'in a vigilant democratic society' (Locke, 1992, 298). The transition from a grassroots political movement to wider social awareness with ordinary New Zealanders was acknowledged by government officials.

The International Court of Justice created an avenue for public protests and it spread nationwide thanks to the Labor Party's leading role with significant support by the 29th New Zealand Prime Minister Norman Kirk (in office between 1972-1974) who was in favor of being nuclear-free and promoted a Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty and South Pacific Nuclear Free Zone (SPNFZ). Like Australia, New Zealand requested an environmental impact assessment from France and a declaration that 'the conduct by the

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French Government of nuclear tests in the South Pacific region that give rise to radioactive fallout constitutes a violation of New Zealand's rights under international law, and that these rights will be violated by any further such tests`. In June 1973, the International Court of Justice agreed and ordered France to refrain from further testing. This later resulted in contesting the use of France's power of veto as part of being a mandate to enforce international law and thus the growing condemnation of France by N. Kirk's call for international attention and pressure to this matter (Dewes and Green, 1999). Although it is a small nation, New Zealand's long campaigns and protest against French nuclear testing in the Pacific backed by international law and institutions can be seen as a milestone in its nuclear history.

After the death of PM N. Kirk, the National Party was re-elected and ruled New Zealand between November 1974 - July 1984 with conservative and pro-US and ANZUS approaches. The invitation for the US and UK` nuclear warship visits by the National party, where eight nuclear-powered and potentially, nuclear-armed, US ships visited New Zealand, was not acceptable for the public action groups and created anger. The Peace Squadron emerged amid dramatic campaigns involving activists using small, privately-owned vessels to blockade New Zealand harbors to prevent nuclear warships from entering. Thanks to the Peace Squadron, these protests gained more public attention in media and were accompanied by large marches of many thousands of people on cities' main streets. These protest activities significantly increased public awareness of the nuclear threat. Amid these campaigns, homes and schools declared themselves nuclear-free; Devonport borough announced itself the first nuclear-free zone in the country in 1981; and Christchurch was the first nuclear-free city in the world (Fletcher, 2017).

Thanks to public participation and seeking accountability by electorates, small-scale anti-nuclear challenge turned out to be a widespread peace movement through developing a network with around 300 small neighborhood groups. These were strongly motivated local communities where people took initiative for lobbying their local politicians. This action resonated in the national election as `anti-nuclear votes` when the Labor Party pledged to pass nuclear-free legislation outlawing both nuclear weapons and nuclear power, promoting a South Pacific Nuclear Free Zone (SPNFZ), and renegotiating the ANZUS agreement (Dewes and Green, 1999). These promises resulted in snap elections in 1984, with the victory of the New Zealand Labor Party led by David Lange. The Labor Party` supportive actions toward anti-nuclearization process significantly continued and was announced as an `official rejection`.

In this regard, mid-80s can be considered as the start of a new era in being a nuclear-free nation. It is also a crucial year in the whole process due to refusing the nuclear capable American vessel USS Buchanan access to New Zealand ports (in February 1985), the intervention of Prime Minister David Lange, and the subsequent bombing of the Greenpeace ship Rainbow Warrior (in July, 1985) by the French secret service agents which resulted in the death of one of the crew (greenpeace.org).

Furthermore, the Chernobyl Disaster in April 1986 created a tremendous impact, leading to the further mobilization of anti-nuclear groups and creating a strong argument for opposing any form of nuclear activity not only in the Western world but also within the New Zealand context. In the anti-nuclear big picture, New Zealand's stance presented a strong opposition where 92% of the population opposed the presence of nuclear weapons and 69% opposed warship visits; and last but importantly not least 88% supported the promotion of nuclear-free zones (The Defence Committee of Enquiry, 1986).

These events and incidents paved the way for the strong nationwide anti-nuclear stance with a strong opposition where overwhelming public opinion and the Labor Party worked together on a sole mission: the creation of a nuclear-free zone. As a result, the Nuclear Free Act was passed in June 1987. The legislation includes the prohibition of any nuclear weapon or other explosive devices capable of releasing nuclear energy in all of the land, territory, and inland waters within the territorial limits of New Zealand. Manufacturing, acquiring, possessing, or having control over any nuclear explosive device and weapons of mass destruction was also strictly forbidden (legislation.govt.nz). Taking all of this into account, this achievement together with successfully legitimating New Zealand's global anti-nuclear commitments can be seen as an important benchmark in anti-nuclear history and proves what can be achieved when citizens unite and stand together for a nuclear-free nation.

3. The Case of New Zealand in Understanding Contemporary Social Movements

In social movements, the typical form of action is based on public demonstrations with alliances targeting the policy-makers in order for their voices to be heard and demands to meet. Not only this, the creation of particular campaigns, and petitions on the particular issue with a clear target, and conscious-raising activities such as educational ones are essential in making the most of actions. The dynamics of nuclear-free society in New Zealand are based on having broad and effective strategies and public engagement in the decision making process which is intrinsically embedded in the nature of New Zealand politics. In that sense, I would first like to focus briefly on the action repertoires and forms of actions with anti-nuclear consensus which developed over the course of mobilization. These actions for which Clements states as ``a small nation`s

attempt obstinately for aligned superpowers so as to limit their nuclear options` play a significant role.

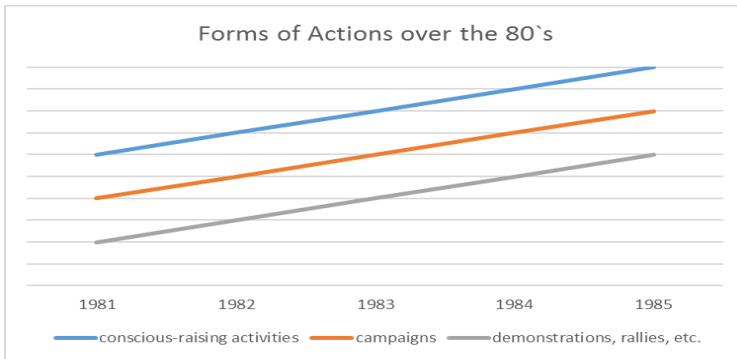
Anti-nuclear actors organized several campaigns. Notably, it is not easy to mention all the campaigns involved in the movement due to the high number. One of the well-known campaigns is Peace Squadron to lobby and confront the visiting Nuclear warships ships between 1976 – 84. They presented radical acts of protest such as civil disobedience. The head of the campaign is George Armstrong with a high profile action produced media attention and generated public interest with the focus on stopping nuclear ship visits per se.

The Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament New Zealand (CNDN NZ) provided materials for mobilization and actions. They reached the government by faxes, letters, and petitions, and also lobbied closely with the New Zealand government. The members of the campaign carefully watchdogged the process. Mr. Larry Ross and the New Zealand NFZ Committee organized the first New Zealand Nuclear Free Zone Campaign Tour throughout the country in 1982. This local campaign was successful in terms of dissemination widely. The campaign targeted to achieve the political policy goal by mobilizing the mainstream general public to lobby the New Zealand government for adopting the policy. The campaign leaders provided a national strategy and a template for autonomous Peace Groups to become effective in this work. The strategy was rooted in the 1978 UN Resolutions on the value of governments becoming Nuclear Free Zone countries or regions as a valuable contribution toward international nuclear disarmament and non-proliferation (Interview, Laurie Ross, 3 July 2018).

Apart from nationwide campaigns, demonstrations and rallies were organized. The biggest events were organized every time a nuclear warship or submarine came into the New Zealand harbors. Internationally important days (Hiroshima Day, mother`s days, etc.) and national holidays (Christmas holidays) were appropriate for the

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creation of time and going to the streets. Auckland protest marches and rallies organized with massive participation and giant human Peace Symbol in 1983. The intensity of the demonstrations increased especially after each specific event related to increased public attention regardless of race, gender, age.



This graph on mobilization showing the increase in the 1980s.

A determined opposition from the left political parties and radical stance of vocal activists against all nuclear-capable warships (and also aircrafts) allowed both sides to act in harmony and made the Labor Party gain victory in the 1984 election. Labor Party promised that they would ban the entry of nuclear-armed and nuclear-powered ships from New Zealand ports (Lamare 1991, 473). The parallel line between shared trust and values in the Labor Party by mobilizing actors and the understanding of public evaluations by politicians influenced each other and provided a desired domestic decision making. The presence of a 'progressive' government, the degree of access to policy makers created the opportunities for the movement on the long term. As Marie Pianta et al. (2012) pointed out that the existence of a broad coalition with wide public opinion support and alliances with relevant institutional actors, the interaction of activists with policy makers, officials and

the community of experts facilitates the implementation of policy reforms as we witness in the New Zealand case.

Particularly, the decision of the National Party (which was not an alliance to the movement) on the involvement in the Vietnam War resonated as a political crisis in New Zealand with condemnation by the public. All anger toward the US together with the acceptance of US warships by the National Government geared up the movement gradually.

The National Party's victory in 1975 was a catalyzer in the revival process of mobilization due to the two major issues; proactively acceptance of the nuclearized US ships and keeping a close eye on the continuation of French nuclear tests. The organizations such as Greenpeace, Peace Media Organization and political parties such as Labor Party and New Zealand Values Party helped to transform the movement from being anti-nuclear sentiment-driven small society with conscious to a strong social movement with determination (Clement, 1988, 88). In the 1984 snap election, anti-nuclear 3 of 4 parties (Labor, the New Zealand Party, and Social Credit) gained 63.4% of the total votes and defeated the National Party (Ibid, 123).

There are two important names from the Labor Party for being supportive of the movement: PM Norman Kirk in the 1970s and PM David Lange in the 1980s. The Labor Party had a victory at the election of 1972 and the country was presented by PM Norman Kirk over the three years. He was entirely against the French nuclear testing and supportive of New Zealand's stand at the campaigns. Interestingly, The Royal New Zealand Navy sent a frigate to protest French nuclear testing in the Pacific in 1973 and PM N. Kirk played a significant role in this initiative. After the death of him, the Labor Party was defeated by the National Party over the elections by 1984.

It is important to note that the Labor Party's longstanding commitment to nuclear-free New Zealand status and their

supportiveness in the campaigns over the first-mid 80s made the party successful in the 1984 election. The Labor Party promised to write the policy into law as part of the 1984 election manifesto (White, 1998). Thanks to the victory of Labor Party in 1984, PM David Lange stood up for his country outside and its nuclear-free policy at the United Nations disarmament conference for arms control saying that `when the opportunity is given to any country to pursue a serious and balanced measure of arm control, then that country has a duty to all of us to undertake that measure` (Lange, 1990, 117).

The desired election result and consequent incidents such as refusal of Buchanan ship and bombing of the Rainbow Warrior in 1985 helped to implement a strict policy option in legislation. In order to eliminate the security contradiction and obtain a self-determined nation statue in the democratic arena. A year later, the nuclear-free bill introduced and then New Zealand chose withdrawal from the security umbrella ANZUS (The Australia, New Zealand and United States Security Treaty). All of them not only helped the country to be an independent nation but also drawn a positive image on international anti-nuclear societies although criticized by the other governments (Clements, 1988).

Not only this, after the Rainbow Warrior incidence, the government announced two peace trusts for peaceful development, peace education, environmental protection in the South Pacific, protection of human rights which were used for conferences, publications, speaking tours, and campaigns (Leadbeater, 2013, 156).

4. Conclusion

As agreed by many others, geographically small but politically big-headed structure of New Zealand can be seen as a paragon of

political activism-literature. The events in New Zealand demonstrate that a small state commitment with state and non-state actors can and do use pressure through various channels when appropriate. This opportunity-laden structure used rationally by societal actors benefited as a desired policy outcome.

Nuclear danger recognized through the Hiroshima Bombing and Rainbow Warrior, and a new dimension through justice and rights gained by indigenous and pacific people. All of them embodied under their conscious-raising activities, campaigns, demonstrations and other forms of action helped them to create a peaceful nation and nuclear-free country. The parallel line between the disarmament campaigns and the Labor Party's leftist and anti-war stance helped this fight to win in a meaningful way. Acknowledgement of anti-nuclear activism as part of peace movement made sense to the peace heroes of New Zealand,

The outcome was based on the assessment of what could be done by the people of New Zealand for the whole country and is needed to be done by politicians for security accordingly. Addressing the challenges and unwanted incidences by movement actors and attention to growing public concerns by politicians played an important role in intermediation between open-minded state and vibrant society with the Sherlock Holmes-ian investigation coupled with the concentration of the issue.

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