

Social Movements, Resistance and Social Change 2017

Ka whawhai tonu mātou:

Beyond capitalism – beyond colonisation

Programme, Maps and Abstracts

Twitter: #socmov17



Puatahi



School of People, Environment and Planning

Useful people

Organising komiti

Fiona Te Momo
Helen Potter
Margaret Kawharu
Messina Shaw
Ozan Alakavuklar
Shannon Walsh
Warwick Tie

Assistants

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Ka whawhai tonu mātou

Beyond capitalism – beyond colonisation

As political, economic and ecological crises deepen so does the urgency of our need to find new ideas and new methods of organising.

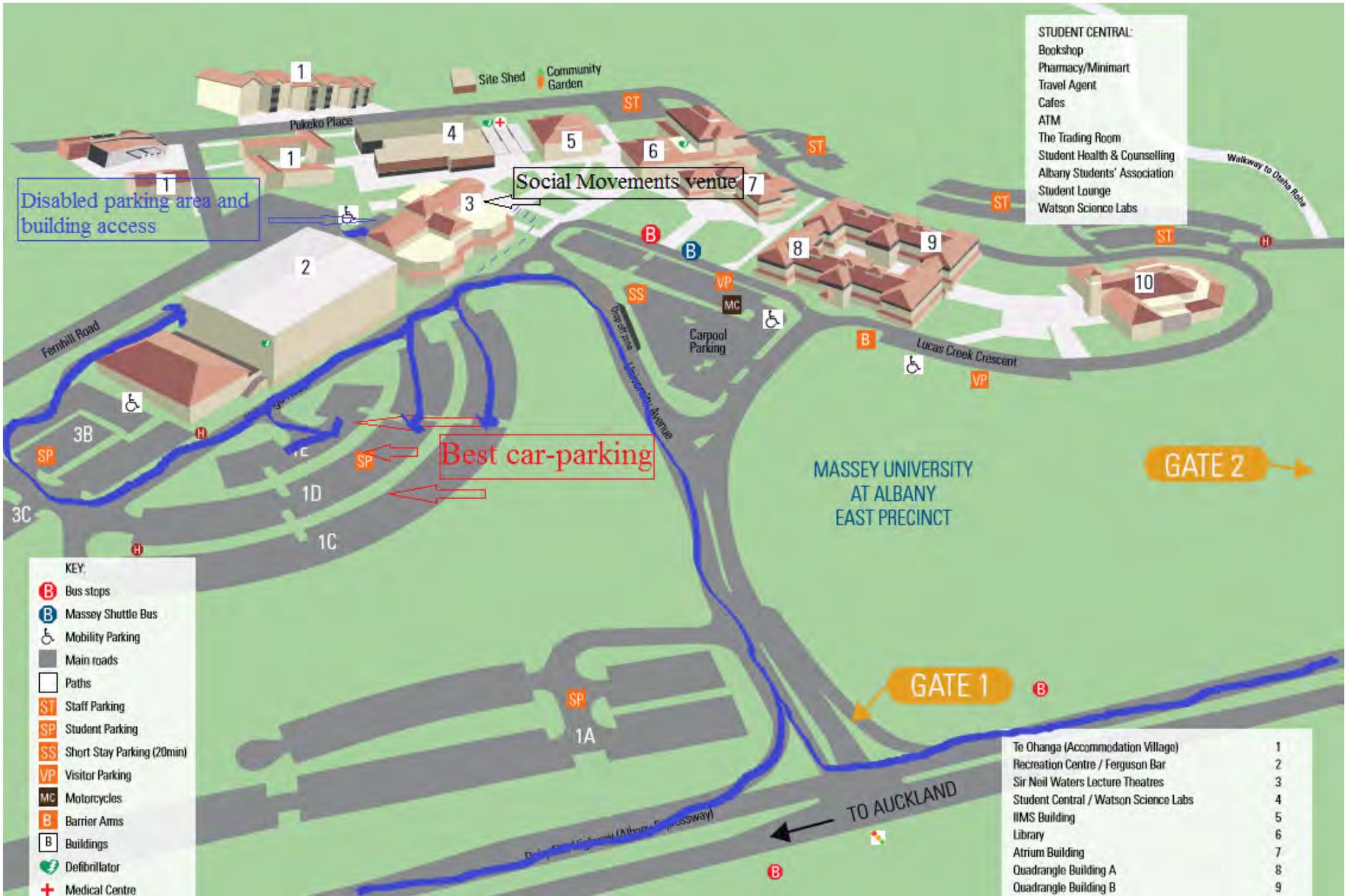
What are the brightest ideas and models emerging from our activist work and from our research?

How do we affirm Te Tiriti o Waitangi while conceiving and working for a future beyond capitalism and colonisation?

How do we find new, effective ways of co-producing knowledge from across the academic-activist divide?

This conference builds on those of previous years. We seek to bring together a diverse range of activists and academics with two key goals:

1. To deepen our understanding of each other's knowledge, experience, methods and solutions.
2. To identify new friends and allies and strengthen existing relationships in our shared work for a constitutionally, economically and ecologically transformed Aotearoa.





- STUDENT CENTRAL:**
- Bookshop
 - Pharmacy/Minimart
 - Travel Agent
 - Cafes
 - ATM
 - The Trading Room
 - Student Health & Counselling
 - Albany Students' Association
 - Student Lounge
 - Watson Science Labs

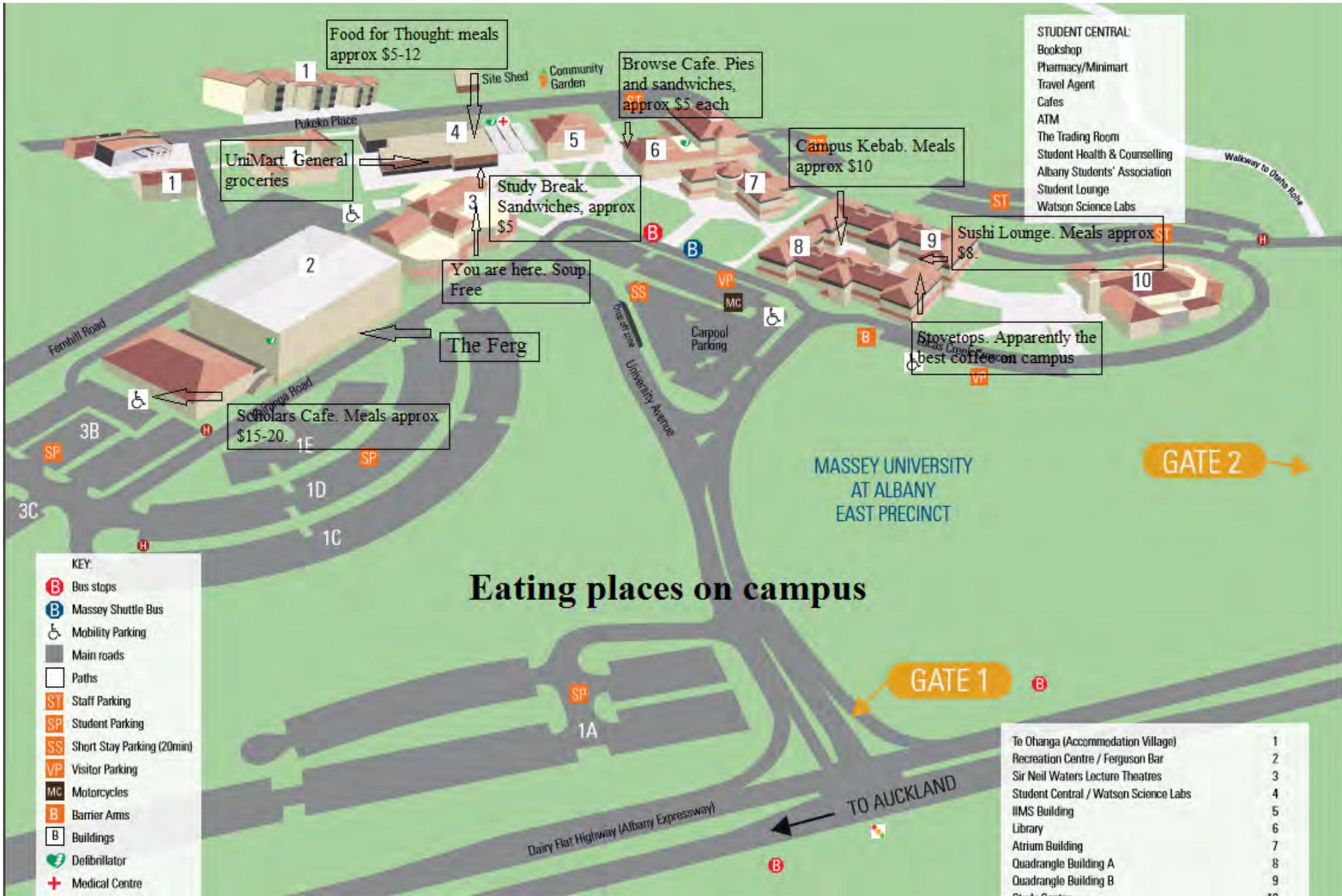
Conference venue rooms

SNW 100, 200 & 300
Main venue

QB 1, 3, 5,
6, 7 & 8

Te Ohanga (Accommodation Village)	1
Recreation Centre / Ferguson Bar	2
Sir Neil Waters Lecture Theatres	3

- KEY:**
- Bus stops
 - Massey Shuttle Bus
 - Mobility Parking
 - Main roads
 - Paths
 - Staff Parking
 - Student Parking
 - Short Stay Parking (20min)
 - Visitor Parking



Food for Thought: meals approx \$5-12

Browse Cafe. Pies and sandwiches, approx \$5 each

UniMart. General groceries

Study Break. Sandwiches, approx \$5

Campus Kebab. Meals approx \$10

STUDENT CENTRAL:
 Bookshop
 Pharmacy/Minimart
 Travel Agent
 Cafes
 ATM
 The Trading Room
 Student Health & Counselling
 Albany Students' Association
 Student Lounge
 Watson Science Labs

Sushi Lounge. Meals approx \$8

You are here. Soup Free

The Ferg

Stove-tops. Apparently the best coffee on campus

Scholars Cafe. Meals approx \$15-20.

Eating places on campus

- KEY:**
-  Bus stops
 -  Massey Shuttle Bus
 -  Mobility Parking
 -  Main roads
 -  Paths
 -  Staff Parking
 -  Student Parking
 -  Short Stay Parking (20min)
 -  Visitor Parking
 -  Motorcycles
 -  Barrier Arms
 -  Buildings
 -  Defibrillator
 -  Medical Centre

- Te Ohanga (Accommodation Village) 1
- Recreation Centre / Ferguson Bar 2
- Sir Neil Waters Lecture Theatres 3
- Student Central / Watson Science Labs 4
- IIMS Building 5
- Library 6
- Atrium Building 7
- Quadrangle Building A 8
- Quadrangle Building B 9
- Quadrangle Building C 10

Programme: Wednesday 6 September							
9.00	Registrations open (SNW foyer)						
10.00	Powhiri (SNW 300)						
	Morning tea (SNW foyer)						
10.50	Plenary notices (SNW 300)						
11.00	Keynote speakers: Mereana Pitman and Moana Jackson Question and answer session. (SNW 300)						
1.00	Lunch: various eating places on campus						
2.00	Concurrent Streams A	<p><i>Panel discussion: Animal rights</i> (SNW 100)</p> <p>Jasmijn de Boo: Making Your Agenda Their Agenda – veganism, animal advocacy and consumer change</p> <p>Mary Murray: Which way for the animal advocacy movement?</p> <p>Jordan Wyatt: INVSOC: Creative Vegan Animal Rights Activism in Invercargill</p>	<p><i>Democracy and power</i> (SNW 200. Facilitator: James Roberts)</p> <p>Lisa Woods: Reinventing democracy</p> <p>Ian Anderson: 'New Zealand'? Publics in Aotearoa/New Zealand</p> <p>General Election Discourse</p> <p>Cameron Walker: The Terrorism Suppression Act 2002 and potential criminalisation of left movements</p>	<p><i>Colonisation-decolonisation</i> (SNW300. Facilitator – Fiona Te Momo)</p> <p>Jo Wrigley and Nicolina Newcombe: Middle class Pākehā women talk about decolonisation</p> <p>Tim Howard: Shall we sing the 'Internationale' in Aotearoa?</p> <p>Sue Abel: Examining Whiteness, Decolonialisation and Te Tiriti</p>	<p><i>Panel discussion: Making our Rights Real: Putting the UN Convention for the Rights of Persons with Disabilities into practice in NZ</i> (QB1)</p> <p>Áine Kelly-Costello, Ezekiel Robson, and Emma Cooper-Williams</p>	<p><i>Panel discussion: Te Moananui a Kiwa: Navigating the nuances and implications of colonisation</i> (QB3)</p> <p>Brown Paper Bags.</p>	<p><i>Workshop: Te Tiriti-based health practice</i> (QB6)</p> <p>Maria Rameka, Claire Doole, Nicole Coupe & Heather Came</p>
3.30	Afternoon tea (SNW foyer)						

4.00	Concurrent Streams B	<p><i>Organisational practices</i> (SNW 100. Facilitator: Jonathan King)</p> <p>Andrea Bates and Gary Platz: A Word on Madness</p> <p>Joe Hendren: Impact of the Campaign Against Foreign Control of Aotearoa (CAFCA)</p> <p>Richard Hill: Corporate-funded think tanks</p> <p>Alistair Russell and Vanessa Cole: We talk politics here!</p>	<p><i>Lifestyle activism</i> (SNW200. Facilitator: Stella Pennell)</p> <p>Barry McLernon: Potential Alternatives - Counter-narratives to consumer culture within Aotearoa's ecovillages</p> <p>Corrina Tucker: Green lifestyles, social movements and politics</p> <p>Jennie Watts: Lifestyle movement activism and the New Zealand foodie</p>	<p><i>Transforming economy</i> (SNW300. Facilitator: James Roberts)</p> <p>Gareth Seymour: Raupatu Tuarua: The imposition of the Fiscal Envelope on Māori and why we're worse off after 20 years.</p> <p>Matthew Sorola and Matthew Scobie: Accounting for Progressive Social Change: A review of developments in Critical Accounting</p> <p>Campbell Jones: The planned economy</p>	<p><i>Workshop: West Papua - Emerging solidarity and resistance in Aotearoa</i> (QB1)</p> <p>Catherine Delahunty and Oceania Interrupted</p>	<p><i>Workshop: White privilege - Access, acknowledgement and solidarity</i> (QB3)</p> <p>Lillian Hanly, Ella Grace</p>	<p><i>Workshop: Indigenous resistance and action</i> (QB6)</p> <p>Sina Brown-Davis and Te Rama Thomas Pene</p>
5.30	Closing plenary: Kassie Hardendorp; Ozan Alakavuklar (SNW 300)						
6.00	Counterfutures: Left Thought and Practice - launch of Issue 4 (The Ferg – the campus pub)						
6.30	Hanging out in The Ferg						

Programme: Thursday 7 September								
9.00	Registrations open (SNW foyer)							
9.50	Plenary notices (SNW300)							
10.00	Plenary speakers – Tracey McIntosh and Juan Tauri (SNW300)							
11.00	Morning tea (SNW foyer)							
11.30	Concurrent Streams C	<p><i>Organisation and resistance</i> (QB8. Facilitator: Fiona Te Momo)</p> <p>Danielle Davies and Ross Teppett: Mapping Subaltern Discourse et.</p> <p>Jane Parker and Ozan Nadir Alakavuklar: Social movement unionism: where to from here?</p> <p>Catherine Cumming: Finance and Colonisation in Aotearoa/ New Zealand</p> <p>James Roberts: Politics organisation and economic planning</p>	<p><i>Activist academy</i> (SNW 100. Facilitator: Shannon Walsh)</p> <p>Alice Beban: Encountering land conflict in Cambodia</p> <p>Marcelle Dawson: Against the neoliberal, neocolonial university</p> <p>Kalym Lipsey and Adele Norris: Racism and Mass Incarceration</p>	<p><i>Democracy and power</i> (SNW200. Facilitator: Warwick Tie)</p> <p>Ben Rosamond: Countersovereignty: Moving Beyond the Sovereign Concept of Power</p> <p>Joseph Llewellyn: Listen, Leftist! Violence is not Revolutionary</p> <p>Daphne Lawless: Conservative Leftism: Danger! Dead End!</p>	<p><i>Panel discussion: Unfolding tensions within the social order of iwi</i> (SNW 300)</p> <p>Jason Paul Mika, Graham Hingangaroa Smith, Annemarie Gillies, and Fiona Wiremu</p>	<p><i>Affect and capitalism</i> (QB1. Facilitator: Helen Potter)</p> <p>Justine Sachs and Rachel Cho: In Defence of Love: Understanding the Role of Capitalism in Modern Romantic Relations</p> <p>Anne Russell: The ideological nature of love and intimacy</p> <p>Karen Nairn: ‘Hope’ in a time distinguished by ‘end of the world’ narratives</p> <p>Sophie Bond, et al: The violence of (in)action: communities, climate and business-as-usual</p>	<p><i>Media activism</i> (QB6. Facilitator: Rand Hazou)</p> <p>Jenny Rankine: Relevance of a project against online racism about Māori to other social justice struggles in Aotearoa/New Zealand.</p> <p>Lincoln Dahlberg Social Media Activism: A case study and discussion of strategies and possibilities (a)</p> <p>Murdoch Stevens Social Media Activism: A case study and discussion of strategies and possibilities (b)</p>	<p><i>Workshop: Tangata Tiriti: immigration and settler colonialism</i> (QB7)</p> <p>Khayreyah Amani Wahaab, Quishile Charan</p>
1.00	Lunch: various places on campus							

2.00	Concurrent Streams D	<p><i>Organisational practices</i> (SNW 100. Facilitator: Vanessa Cole)</p> <p>Chau Doan-Bao: Catalyst model in the participatory process for social movements.</p> <p>David Tolich: Work Trusts and Cooperatives</p>	<p><i>Income</i> (SNW200. Facilitator: Campbell Jones)</p> <p>Bill Rosenberg: A brief history of labour's share of income in New Zealand 1939-2016</p> <p>Iain Middleton: Basic Income Calculator</p> <p>Lowell Manning and Michael Kane: Assessing the impact of basic income on society</p> <p>Mat Danahar and Maria Puaula: Living Wage Movement Aotearoa New Zealand</p>	<p><i>Colonisation-decolonisation</i> (SNW300. Facilitator: Ben Rosamond)</p> <p>Alex McConville: 'Defrosting the Deep Freeze' and Other Untold Anzac Day Stories: A Case-Based Exploration into Banal Counter-Hegemony.</p> <p>Fiona Te Momo: What is Tiriti- centred biculturalism to Hapū?</p> <p>Tamsin Hanly: Treaty and histories curriculum in NZ schools</p>	<p><i>Panel discussion: Whose kaupapa for a climate justice coalition?</i> (QB1)</p> <p>Oil Free Wellington, Auckland Peace Action, and Pacific Panthers Network</p>	<p><i>Workshop: Brown girls speak: On decolonising the Ivory Tower</i> (QB6)</p> <p>Anisha Sankar, Kassie Hartendorp and Gaayathri Nair.</p>	<p><i>Panel discussion: Beyond customary land as a barrier to economic development: understanding 'bisnis' on customary land in the Pacific</i> (QB7)</p> <p>Regina Scheyvens, Glenn Banks, Suliasi Vunibola, Hennah Steven, Jenny Bryant-Tokalau</p>
3.30	Afternoon tea (SNW foyer)						
4.00	Concurrent Streams E	<p><i>Panel discussion: Animal rights</i> (SNW 100)</p> <p>Ursela Edgington: Compassionate Conservation for Positive Social Change</p> <p>Lynley Tulloch: Starfish Bobbycalf: Anti-dairy activism</p> <p>Clyde Graf: The Graf Boys</p> <p>Paul Judge: Conscious in the Machine: Video Activism and Animal Rights</p>	<p><i>Social change at work</i> (SNW200: Facilitator – Fiona Te Momo)</p> <p>Peter Howland: It's capitalism Jim... but not as we do it.</p> <p>Victoria Thompson: Young people's attitudes to civic engagement and gender equality</p> <p>Sandy Lee: Starting Small: Diversity Policies, Acts of Resistance and Social Change within the Workplace</p>	<p><i>Panel discussion: Researching poverty to make a difference: Rediscovering the scholar activist tradition in psychology</i> (SNW300)</p> <p>Clifford van Ommen, Mohi Rua, Darrin Hodgetts, Rebekah Graham</p>	<p><i>Workshop: Rebuilding the Kāinga as the primary social & economic unit</i> (QB6)</p> <p>Jade Kake, Patrick Gemmell, Aroha Shelford, Ricky Houghten</p>	<p><i>Colonisation-decolonisation</i> (QB7. Facilitator: Sue Abel)</p> <p>Juan Marcellus Tauri and Paora Moyle: Indigenous Peoples and the Mystification of Family Group Conferencing</p> <p>Amanda Thomas: Imagining the decolonised city in Aotearoa New Zealand</p> <p>Shane Malva: Indigenous knowledge, continental philosophy and the political Real</p>	<p><i>Creative social change</i> (QB8. Facilitator: Alice Beban)</p> <p>Makanaka Tuwe: Kora - The Third Culture Research Project</p> <p>Ralph Bathurst: Tonalties of Rebellion</p> <p>Rand Hazou: Theatre in Prison: Paremoremo, Resistance and Social Change</p>

5.30	Closing plenary: Amanda Thomas; Dylan Taylor (SNW 300)
6.00	<i>Book launch:</i> Clifford van Ommen, Shiloh Groot, Bridgette Masters-Awatere & Natasha Tassell-Matamua (2017) <i>Precurity: Uncertain, insecure and unequal lives in Aotearoa New Zealand</i> , Massey University Press. (The Ferg).
6.30	The Ferg. Hui re 2018 conference, in The Ferg

Programme: Friday 8 September

9.00	Registration/ morning tea (SNW foyer)					
9.45	Plenary notices (SNW 300)					
10.00	Concurrent Streams F	<p><i>Sites of struggle</i> (SNW 100. Facilitator: Shane Malva)</p> <p>Katarina Gray-Sharp: Heteronomy</p> <p>John Carberry: Who counts: Indigenous demography and the conceptualisation of Māori health</p> <p>Omer Nazir: Modern Slavery: Exploring conditions of exploitation in brick kilns of India</p>	<p><i>Panel discussion: What is to be done? A panel on alternatives to prison</i> (SNW 200)</p> <p>People Against Prisons Aotearoa: Ti Lamusse, Emilie Rāketē, Huriana Kopeke-Te Aho and Ary Jansen.</p>	<p><i>Panel discussion: Constitutional Transformation in Aotearoa – the Matike Mai project</i> (SNW 300)</p> <p>Veronica MH Tawhai; Karena Karauria + other rangatahi; Kohukohurangi Isaac-Sharland + other rangatahi; Mereana Pitman.</p>	<p><i>Workshop: Agency and accountability: violence and abuse on the Left</i> (QB5)</p>	<p><i>Panel discussion: A post-capitalist politics of care and activism</i> (QB6)</p> <p>Community Economies Research Network (CERN) and Community Economies Collective (CEC): Kelly Dombroski, Gradon Diprose, Emma Sharp, and Joanne Waitoa-Hall.</p>
11.30	Closing Plenary: Margaret Kawharu and Moana Jackson (SNW 300)					
12.30	Poroporoaki (SNW 300)					

Abstracts

Presentations

Examining whiteness, decolonialisation and Te Tiriti

Sue Abel

I choose to use the relatively unfamiliar word ‘decolonialisation’ rather than ‘decolonisation’ because I see decolonisation as something that indigenous peoples do for themselves, to free themselves psychologically, politically, economically and socially from colonisation and its continuing aftermaths in settler societies. Decolonialisation, on the other hand, is aimed at those who have benefitted from colonisation. As Steve Lang points out, decolonialism “is the work that the colonizers of indigenous people need to do, both internally and in amending systems, to rid themselves of vestigial control and domination. This, often subconscious, form of oppression frequently exists within colonizers’ hearts and minds and within their organizational systems” (2006, p.559).

My particular interest in this paper is considering how the “often subconscious form of oppression [which] frequently exists within colonizers’ hearts and minds” can be addressed. Here I draw on Whiteness Studies, and summarise this field of study with Richard Dyer’s much-quoted argument that “White power ...reproduces itself regardless of intention, power differences and goodwill, and overwhelmingly because it is not seen as whiteness but as normal. White people need to learn to see themselves as white, to see their particularity.” (1997, p. 10). Research has shown that even those who belong to dominant groups and who work in anti-racist and/or pro-indigenous movements can still see through a “white lens”. Whiteness, then, needs to be examined as a first step towards decolonialisation and a fuller honouring of Te Tiriti which goes beyond just issues of social justice (important as they are).

‘New Zealand’? Publics in Aotearoa/New Zealand General Election discourse

Ian Anderson

2011 saw the lowest voter turnout in Aotearoa/New Zealand since women won the right to vote (Vowles, 2014). This decline in participation aligns with trends elsewhere in the Anglosphere (Ailes, 2015; Hansard, 2015). This organic crisis poses new questions for notions of the ‘public sphere’ and ‘publics’ – the forms of political engagement with citizens in a mass-mediated society. Fraser (1990) contends that in theorising the “limits of actually existing late capitalist democracy” (p. 57), we need a notion of pluralised and contesting ‘publics’ (ibid). The project asks how political parties named the ‘public’ (or publics) in the 2011 and 2014 Aotearoa / New Zealand General Elections. In order to consider the dominance of these political articulations, research will also consider whether these invocations of ‘the public’ found coverage in the national press. This is not intended as a sociological examination of actually existing publics, but an examination of dominant encoding (Hall, 2001). This analysis tests the thesis that dominant cross-partisan electoral discourses defined the ‘public’ in terms of dual identification with productive work and capital, in opposition to named subaltern publics. This formulation suggests that workers are called to identify with capital, following from Gramsci’s (2011) theorisation of bourgeois hegemony. Research begins with a content analysis of party press releases and mainstream coverage during the 2011 & 2014 General Elections, when official discourses hailing ‘the public’ are intensified. Content analysis quantifies nouns used for publics – for example, ‘taxpayer’, ‘New Zealander’, or even ‘the public’. From this content analysis, the project proceeds to a critical discourse analysis, which seeks to historically contextualise and explain the patterns in content. Reworking Ernesto Laclau’s (2005a) theorisation of populism to factor in the left/right axis (which Laclau considered outmoded), this critical discourse analysis considers what ‘public’ alliances are articulated, and what political programmes these articulations serve.

A word on madness

Gary Platz and Andrea Bates

Mad Pride is a mass movement of mental health service users, former users, and their allies. As stated in The New York Times "Just as gay-rights activists reclaimed the word queer as a badge of honour rather than a slur, these advocates proudly call themselves mad; they say their conditions do not preclude them from productive lives." The living testimony of hundreds of people we know, and a closer look into the history of the human race, provides us with an abundance of evidence that those who have been in madness, seen through their madness and lived beyond their madness, have been productive in sharing what they have gained. Some of this 'production' has been smaller as in the sphere of whānau, some in the sphere of local communities, some in the sphere of whole countries and some in the sphere of the very planet we all share – though not very equally.

This movement through madness has always been in every culture that has ever existed. In this modern world, where economics and production create the mantra of 'the bottom line', above the line is productive and below is not. The Mad are placed firmly below as unproductive, economic burdens. It is very difficult for us not to feel the shame and humiliation of being placed well below that line. A vital part of rising to a place of social self-respect and 'productivity' is finding a place to have a voice – www.madinaotearoa.nz is one small but growing place for that. Philosophy says that principles are generators of action. Te Tiriti o Waitangi principles of partnership, participation and protection are generally considered to be living principles, so they develop as we develop and that is the theme we want to discuss. Those groups of us who have been effectively been placed below the myth of "the bottom line" can rise to 'social production' of 'heart motivated exchanging of gifts' through partnership, participation and protection.

Tonalities of rebellion

Ralph Bathurst

In this session I would like to explore Billy Joel's song "My Life", situating it within an analysis of the ways that Western tonalities have changed through the influence of what Isaiah Berlin calls the "Romantic Rebellion". Specifically, this seminar will problematise Billy Joel's song and the paired tonalities of D and B flat which begin and end that work. I will explore how we can make sense of this by discussing how tonalities have broken out of diatonic hegemony to embrace concepts of tonal pairing and progressive tonality, through 19th-century art music. This analysis will act as an analogue to understand the sonics of this age.

Encountering land conflict in Cambodia: Reflections on how researchers can support social movements in violent contexts

Alice Beban

My paper will reflect on my experiences researching land conflict in Cambodia and the insights I gained into the roles researchers can play to support social movements. I began research committed to supporting rural social movements through my long-term ethnographic research, but my attempts to conduct research inside land conflict areas were continually thwarted by state officials who intimidated me and blocked me from entering villages. Networks of powerful state-military-corporate actors regularly intimidate, criminalise and evict rural people from their land to make way for agribusiness concessions. NGOs and researchers supporting rural social movements focus overwhelmingly on formalising private and communal land claims in Cambodian law and practice, forms of advocacy 'safe' than other forms of resistance (such as protests) as it does not raise the ire of the state. But state officials delay land claims, intimidate activists, and violently assert the claims of powerful investors' over smallholder farmers and indigenous land claimants. In the environment of pervasive fear inside

Cambodia's land concessions, NGO and researcher advocacy efforts are often at odds with the priorities of rural people.

When moments of fear and uncertainty re-occurred throughout my research, I became scared about what my presence in the field may mean for my research participants and myself. Through these experiences, I began to understand how uncertainty and fear constitute the everyday violence of land conflict, and I began to approach fieldwork in different ways. I became more attuned to the manifestation of fear in my encounters with people both in and beyond sites of land conflicts. In this paper, I argue for a different approach to working with social movements, that is based in the researchers' openness; or what I term 'affective encounters' with social movements. I became more aware of rural collective action that resists state power through a determination not to be reduced to/produced as subjects in relation (only) to the state. In this paper I outline the work that social movement activists do to subvert fear through their activism with two examples of collective action that foregrounds people's connections with land and community. I suggest that researchers who partner with social movements have a role to play in opening ourselves to listening to, and making visible, forms of resistance that NGOs and academics may not even recognize as resistance.

This paper connects with the 'beyond the neoliberal academy' theme of new insights into the coproduction of knowledge between the academic and activist worlds. Although based in a distant place that might be unfamiliar to many conference attendees, I believe that the questions I raise about the potential for (well-meaning) researchers to work against the interests of social movements, and the potential for different forms of partnership based on researchers' openness and attunement, will also resonate with people working in Aotearoa NZ and other contexts.

The violence of (in)action: communities, climate and business-as-usual

Sophie Bond, Amanda Thomas, Gradon Diprose and Jule Barth

In May 2016, as part of the global 'Break Free' actions 350.org mobilised to demand action on climate change, groups of climate activists blockaded three ANZ bank branches for a day in Dunedin. Their goal was to encourage the bank to divest from fossil fuels. While blockaders adopted a non-violent kaupapa, their experiences were very different to other blockades of ANZ banks around the country. The Dunedin ANZ banks opened and the activists were subject to violence from members of the public who were encouraged by police to push through the blockade. The narrative that was reported in mainstream media pitched decent citizen-consumers against 'unemployable', 'disrespectful' protesters; with the police as benign supporters of decency, and the bank as an apolitical service provider. Broader debates about climate justice and corporate responsibility were not heard in media reporting. Through interviews with activists we use this case study to illustrate the complexity of contemporary climate activism. We draw on the work of Judith Butler to show how violence and stigma are used to discipline certain bodies who contest more dominant development trajectories and investment. We conclude with some thoughts about how to foster ongoing care and a commitment to climate activism in spite of this violence and stigma.

Making your agenda their agenda – veganism, animal advocacy and consumer change

Jasmijn de Boo

With veganism and interest in plant-based diets growing worldwide, we need to review where the animal justice and vegan movement are at, and how we can build on positive trends. As former CEO of The Vegan Society—the largest in the world, which doubled staff and income between 2012 and 2016—and as current SAFE CEO, I will be discussing tactics, messages and socio-economic factors that provide opportunities to scale up effective and pragmatic advocacy. One tactic includes forging strategic partnerships with kindred and non-vegan organisations and the media to advance the animal justice or vegan agenda.

In keeping with the conference theme, we acknowledge that capitalism has contributed to substantial global human and non-human animal suffering, as well as untold environmental damage. Free trade agreements and other capitalist frameworks prevent certain exploitative practices from being banned. However, ultimately, it is citizens' awareness of and concern for others (particularly vulnerable beings), and willingness to change their role within these systems, that will drive most of the change. 'Voting with your feet' within our existing consumerist society can directly lead to an increase in ethical shopping behaviour. As Lush (UK) once put it, "the vegan pound is very strong". In New Zealand, awareness of animal cruelty is growing, and an increasing number of people are seeking to reduce their impact on animals and the environment. Now is the time to take these people with us on our journey. Social change takes time and is always imperfect, which is why the focus should be on intention and progress.

Who counts: Indigenous demography and the conceptualisation of Māori health

JJ Carberry

Although demographers have come to recognise the Eurocentric and A-political assumptions that underpin demography, an implicit regard for the States resources and funding prevails. As such, our analysis of Māori health and wellbeing is curtailed, as we are obliged to conform to demographic conventions that more readily validate our need for State funding. We further question the appropriateness of gathering Māori specific data for and on behalf of the Crown who have a well-documented history of employing policy designed to assimilate Maori and suppress Māori knowledge and institutions

This paper discusses the potential of a hapū based indigenous demography as an alternative approach to interpreting and addressing Māori health and wellbeing. This approach takes for granted the rangatiratanga of hapū and the right of Māori to define our own vital statistics and thereby ascertain interventions and development strategies that we ourselves deem relevant. Furthermore, this approach places great value on the collective capacities and resources of the hapū and in doing so envisages alternative interventions from those that presuppose the authority of the State .

Anti Rodeo Action

Lynn Charlton

In this presentation I discuss my activist work in the anti-rodeo movement. This centres around collecting footage from rodeo events and analysing it to establish if a breach to the rodeo Code of Welfare has occurred. If a breach to the code is found, a complaint is made to the Ministry for Primary Industries (MPI). Anti Rodeo Action NZ works to show the public what animals experience at rodeos, and challenge the myth that animals do not suffer at these events. I began this work in January 2013 when I attended two rodeos on my own and had an article on them published in the NZ Herald. The following rodeo season 5 others joined me at Huntly rodeo. A complaint was laid with the MPI as a result of footage we took at Huntly Rodeo and they received 3 formal warnings under the Animal Welfare Act: to a contractor, a rodeo competitor and the organisers. After this success the Huntly Rodeo was voluntarily closed down for good. This generated media interest and kicked off the anti-rodeo movement in earnest. I will be discussing these strategies and the work of Anti Rodeo Action NZ, which formed following the Huntly win.

Catalyst model in the participatory process for social movements: Evaluating the model of LIN Centre for Community Development in Ho Chi Minh City, Vietnam

Chau Doan-Bao

In the process of social movement, a catalyst (individual/organisation) plays an important role in creating dialogue within the community, leading to collective actions and providing solutions for common problems. In urban communities, this role is more essential because of the complexities in population and social issues. This research aimed to evaluate the impact of such a catalyst on urban community development in Ho Chi Minh city, one of the largest cities in East Asia (World Bank, 2015) through the case study of LIN Center for Community Development (LIN). LIN's activities focus on enabling local non-profit organisations (NPOs) through different programmes all of which engage a participatory communication approach. In evaluating LIN's work, the research project employed the Integrated model for measuring social change processes and their outcomes by Figueroa, Kincaid, Rani, & Lewis (2002). Data was collected through ethnographic non-participant observation, in-depth semi-structured interviews and the secondary data.

This research shows that LIN is considered as a catalyst model in creating social movements, especially in community development of HCMC. Due to LIN's work, NPOs have altered their self-perception from being 'charity organisations' to be a part of the community development process in HCMC. NPOs are more confident on their own capacities and have more stable financial support. NPOs also started collaborating with the corporate sector and the public. In the meantime, the corporate sector (skilled volunteers and donors) have developed a better understanding about non-profit sector and stronger contribution for the development of NPOs in HCMC.

However, LIN's catalyst model still faces challenges, particularly in applying Western concepts in the Vietnamese context. Firstly, LIN does not emphasise the importance of playing a leader's role for LIN staff and NPOs in an environment which lacks understanding of what it means to be an independent leader due to the Marxist-Leninist foundation and Confucianism influence in the society and politics. Secondly, LIN assumes that all NPOs understand the Western community development terms LIN brings to Vietnam (community fund, non – profit organisation and skilled volunteering), while many NPOs do not understand these concepts correctly. Thirdly, due to barriers of power-distance in an Asian society as Vietnam, it is difficult for all NPOs to dialogue equally when working together. As a result, an emerging catalyst model on urban community development in Vietnam is suggested with three crucial elements: leadership strategy for catalyst and NPOs, context understanding (local context and stakeholders' characteristics) and impact evaluation framework based on the local context. These elements need to be taken into consideration in both interpersonal communication and multimedia activities. When these elements are prepared carefully, activities organised by the catalyst will be more effective, leading to stakeholders' individual change to become catalysts of their own communities and providing positive social movements.

"We talk politics here!"

Vanessa Cole and Allister Russell

The material conditions and treatment of unemployed workers in Aotearoa/ New Zealand is a direct consequence of our economic and social conditions. Poverty is a political and economic choice by those in power, so that the wealthy can continue to profit. Our current welfare system is characterised by punishment and intimidation as a consequence of 40 years of neoliberal capitalist attacks which blames unemployment on the unemployed.

Neoliberalism has not only impacted on welfare police, but on social work, social services and community development. Here, community development is strictly confined through funder capture and the "no politics" embargo of the Charities Commission. These realities sit comfortably within the oppression perpetrated by capitalism and colonialism.

Auckland Action Against Poverty (AAAP) has created a model of working with people which rejects the discourse of 'clients' and 'professionals'. Instead, AAAP uses a model of competent solidarity to work alongside beneficiaries, unemployed and low-waged workers.

This presentation will provide an overview of competent solidarity as a model for working with people, discuss the problems with apolitical social service delivery, provide an overview of the work AAAP does with unemployed workers, and propose some possibilities for the future of beneficiary organisations in creating social change.

Finance and Colonisation in Aotearoa/ New Zealand

Catherine Cumming

The ascendance of finance capital in mature capitalist economies since the 1970s constitutes a profound structural change that has been the object of much scholarly consideration in recent decades. This paper seeks to explore the implications of the growing predominance of finance capital for anti-colonial and anti-capitalist struggle. I argue that, given the centrality of finance in present and historical practices of colonisation, contemporary forms of anti-colonial struggle must grapple directly with finance if they are to be effective. The starting point for this paper, then, is to elucidate the ways in which finance is and has always been a central instrument in material practices of colonisation. Indeed, the first serious attempts to colonise Aotearoa were initiated in Britain by a joint-stock company and financed by private speculators, something which is overlooked when Crown actions become the dominant focus of anti-colonial demands and struggles. Analysing the role of finance in concrete practices of colonisation makes evident that the economic cannot be separated from state actions, and that it is not peripheral to material practices of colonisation but rather inextricable from them. Finance continues to play a central role in buttressing the political hegemony of the colonial state in Aotearoa. For instance, the terms upon which Māori and their claims as tangata whenua are recognised by the state are overwhelmingly 'financialised' – to the extent that the ability of an iwi to maximise returns on their settlement package is interpreted as a marker of maturity, autonomy and success. Indigenous self-determination is co-opted by the metrics, logics and rhetoric of finance capital. In terms of contemporary practical politics, this suggests that finance must be directly engaged with rather than insulated from or presupposed by anti-colonial critique. To refuse colonisation, past, present and future, necessitates a refusal of the terms of finance capital.

Social media activism: A case study and discussion of strategies and possibilities

Lincoln Dahlberg

This presentation will explore the possibilities and strategies for progressive activist use of social media, drawing on historical actions globally and audience experiences. It will interact with the presentation by Murdoch Stephens on the Doing Our Bit Campaign. Lincoln will provide an overview of progressive digital social media strategies, practices, and limits, drawing on examples globally and historically. He will highlight some general potentials as well as drawbacks, particularly problems with seeing and being seen (gaining visibility and engagement) in a context of state surveillance and control, "post-truth" debates/practices, the dominance of a few for-profit corporations, and the commodification of every aspect of social media practice.

Against the neoliberal, neocolonial university

Marcelle Dawson

The legacies of colonialism and neoliberal globalisation, as they have played out on university campuses around the world, have sparked significant protests and fierce debate about the role of the university in the twenty-first century and its potential—as an agent of socialisation—to bring about social change. As it stands, the neocolonial, neoliberal university serves merely to intensify existing social fault lines. Debates and struggles that have centred either on the decolonisation or on the decommmodification of

education—although valuable in their own right—have tended to overlook the closely intertwined nature of race and class oppression that continues to contradict the idea of the university as a public good and detract from its role as the critic and conscience of society. This paper explores the meaning and considers the value of concepts such as, ‘neoliberal racism’ and ‘racial neoliberalism’ for understanding contemporary struggles against the neocolonial, neoliberal university.

Mapping subaltern discourse: An historical analysis of communicating union values

Danielle Davies and Ross Teppett

The New Zealand union movement is an essential force in representing the rights of working people and progressing social change. Despite hegemonic economic and political forces, the union movement has employed the politics of discourse to maintain its ideological aims. By illustrating popular union campaign material, this paper identifies the enduring use of intrinsic value messaging throughout the shifting economic, political and social contexts.

Compassionate conservation for positive social change

Ursula Edgington

Aerial use of Compound 1080 poison has been an ongoing conservation strategy by the New Zealand Government for over 60 years. Arguably, this controversial approach has become normalised because of widespread demonization of so-called targeted ‘pest’ species. Over decades, the public have been encouraged to lay the blame for reductions in (native) wildlife solely on ‘invasions’ of ‘pests’ - rather than other causes such as widespread expansion of infrastructure or climate change. But internationally, novel ecosystems are by their very nature complex, interconnected and impossible to de-construct.

Hatred of so-called ‘pest’ species (such as possums) has become so embedded in New Zealand society, killing them is interpreted by some as their ‘patriotic duty’. Drowning them in buckets of water at school fund-raisers, deliberately running them over, trapping or poisoning them and even macabre ‘fancy-dress’ competitions involving dead animals has entrenched a disrespect that forms the unhelpful binary of ‘native versus pests’. Whether these killing methods are considered ‘humane’ is inconsequential: the cry is “the only good possum is a DEAD possum!”

Generations of New Zealanders have been subjected to Government propaganda that claims the W.H.O. Class 1a poison Compound 1080 is ‘relatively humane’ and is ‘safe as a cup of tea’, and even that the chemical is ‘fully biodegradable’. In contrast scientific facts highlight by-kill and that death can take many hours causing significant ecological risks.

Research into inhumane treatment of animals highlights how demonization of species may be linked to disproportionately high rates of domestic violence. Hence, rejecting an artificially-created hatred of animals and inhumane killing, and accepting that any sentient being is worthy of life (and therefore a humane death) could therefore be a route towards positive social change. That’s because encouraging empathy and caring for animals can bring diverse benefits, offering individuals enjoyable life-experiences through meaningful companionship, a sense of responsibility, an opportunity to learn, motivation to go outside and occasions for exercising and socialising. Animals can thereby also build an individual’s self-confidence by providing inspiration for a safe and healthy daily routine.

Could a different approach to environmental conservation and ‘pest-control’ through a more compassionate approach that embraces the complexities of novel ecosystems therefore offer some hope for reducing social problems in New Zealand?

The Graf Boys

Clyde Graf

The Graf Boys have been filming New Zealand wildlife for over 20 years. For the last 11 years they've been filming and documenting aerial 1080 poison drops all around New Zealand. What they've observed - not theorised - is that kiwi and other omnivorous species are fairing better in unpoisoned forests, than the ones repeatedly poisoned. The evidence in the field - not on paper - is indisputable.

As one half of the The Graf Boys duo, for the last 3 years I was a councillor for Waikato Regional Council. I've experienced the bureaucratic drive that defends 1080 poison use, the ignorance and blind faith that comes with that drive and its consequences. The use of 1080 poison isn't about saving New Zealand's wildlife, it's about making it more endangered, and as a result, more budget-worthy.

The aerial poison drops that take place on a weekly basis in New Zealand forests are a massive atrocity, and the wilful poisoning of animals by ignorant bureaucrats, equates to an evil act. 100's of thousands of animals - including 1000's of deer - are poisoned every year. Their toxic carcasses scatter the forests and the waterways, poisoning other wildlife as they decompose. Because these atrocious acts take place concealed behind the walls of the forests, out of sight out of mind, does that mean they are not taking place? I will discuss the poisoning of our forests and wildlife, and the ignorance that drives it.

Heteronomy

Katarina Gray-Sharp

This paper explores “heteronomy” (Levinas 1989, 206) as a response to mass extinction. Mass extinctions are “generalized, deep and large-scale events, triggered (perhaps in already critical periods) by sudden upheavals” (Pievani 2014, 88). They are characterised by a three-quarter species loss in a geological interval of less than two million years (Barnosky et al. 2011), but sometimes as short as a few thousand (Pievani 2014). The phenomenon is proved through extinction rates “higher than the highest empirically derived background rates” (Ceballos et al. 2015, 1). “Habitat destruction, invasive species, pollution, human over-population, [and] overharvesting” (Wilson 2010, 5) have induced defaunation (Dirzo et al. 2014) and reduced biodiversity. As a consequence, it has been “confidently” determined that “modern extinction rates are exceptionally high, that they are increasing, and that they suggest a mass extinction [is] under way” (Ceballos et al. 2015, 3). In expanding on Mead’s (1996, 215) third principle, I define tikanga as those rules, which demarcate what is correct to a specific context. In the context of mass extinction, I consider heteronomy as the rule (nomos) of other (hetero-). It is the subjection of will to, and the “saying” (Hand in Levinas 1989, 6) of, our responsibility for one another. Heteronomy is not an acceptance of our oppressive circumstances, but of the necessity to seek what is tika (correct) within it.

Implementation of a critical decolonised Treaty and histories curriculum in NZ schools

Tamsin Hanly

I would like to share with colleagues under the conference themes some new ideas and new methods of organising, a model emerging from my activist work that affirms Te Tiriti o Waitangi while working for a future beyond capitalism and colonisation. That models forms of Tiriti based biculturalism, and innovative ways of decolonising communities.

In my paper I will briefly outline a Professional Development package that I have developed over four years of research and 25 years of practice that I do with current educators working in New Zealand (NZ) schools / centres. The principal, BOT sometimes, staff and teacher aides attend a Teacher Only Day where I workshop with them my new Curriculum Programmes Resource (CPR) that they commit to read over a timeframe between 6 months to 2 years. The CPR,, which is 6 books is a critical decolonised guide for beginners providing accurate Māori and Pākehā histories, from the Māori origin

story to the 2000s. Staff then design their own plans from selected material in the books so as to teach more accurate NZ histories to their students. The CPR is based in an Honouring Te Tiriti discourse from the Treaty Education movement. It is based on my Master's findings that most educators know only a "colonial standard story" of history and are monocultural. I explain that I have only been working on this for 1.5 years and so it is currently only in 27 schools around NZ.

I will then share some of the lessons I have been learning as I introduce my model of decolonising education into schools. Reflecting on the process and the educative nature of my approach to decolonisation and the issues that arise with regard to its implementation within schools and centres.

Theatre in prison: Paremoremo, resistance and social change

Rand Hazou

Massey University recently partnered with Auckland Prison to provide a two-day theatre workshop for a select group of inmates at Paremoremo prison. The workshops were facilitated by David Diamond, Artistic and Managing Director of the Vancouver based company Theatre for Living. In the workshops the participants explored Image Theatre techniques to create frozen images (or tableaux) using their own and other participant's bodies. The images explored the struggles the men experienced within the prison institution and connected with issues around social justice. These images were developed into three short plays that were presented to a small audience of invited guests made up of visitors and prison staff. The focus of the performance was to use theatre to bring attention to particular dysfunctional experiences within the prison, and to provide a focus for dialogue among the audience and the wider community in an effort to stimulate social change. While this theatre experiment was very positive, this presentation will critically examine the project, provide some insights into the difficulties experienced in implementing the workshops and offer some preliminary assessments about the extent of real transformation that this theatre in prison project might have engendered.

Impact of the Campaign Against Foreign Control of Aotearoa (CAFCA) in the debate over the Bluff aluminium smelter

Joe Hendren

My research applies a neo-Gramscian analysis to Civil Society Organisations (CSOs) in New Zealand, in particular focusing on the Campaign Against Foreign Control of Aotearoa (CAFCA) in the political debate on Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) and as a civil society actor in an environment hostile to its aims. CAFCA occupy a space between activism and academia conducting their own research, maintaining a long running publication and emphasising the value of facts and figures to back up their campaigns.

While an assessment of the contribution made by a group is more straightforward and obvious for a large group with high recognition, one of the factors that makes CAFCA interesting is that despite its small size it has still made a disenable contribution. Its work can represent a series of case studies that demonstrate how ideas and information are introduced and transferred through civil society. In this regard it is my hope that this study will also assist in the assessment of similar groups that on first glance may not seem significant. Since their inception in 1975, CAFCA have called for the closure of the aluminium smelter in Southland, known for most of its history as the Comalco smelter. To CAFCA the smelter represents the textbook example of corporate welfare in New Zealand, exemplified by a long history of 'strong-arming' governments to maintain its access to hydro generated electricity at rates well below those paid by consumers and other industrial users. Despite a 40-year campaign by CAFCA, the Comalco smelter continues to operate, and government policy remains strongly in favour of foreign investment and accommodating foreign investors. Yet there are a number of occasions where material produced by CAFCA has acted as a catalyst or resource for others, perhaps demonstrating one means

in which small groups can attain a wider scope. Consideration of these matters also raises questions as to the nature of civil society in New Zealand and the place of organisations like CAFCA in it.

Corporate-funded thinks tanks

Richard Hill

Corporate-funded thinks tanks have played a key role in shifting the political agendas of the world's richest nations to the conservative right. Along with the mainstream media, compromised politicians, universities, assorted billionaires and multinational corporations, think tanks have waged a "war of ideas" focussed on the promotion of neoliberal ideology. This project has been spectacularly successful, resulting in what Tariq Ali refers to as the "extreme centre" of liberal democratic politics. Combating the influence of think tanks has proved difficult for progressives, not least (as David Harvey observes) because of the nexus of shared interests/mentalities at the heart of the neoliberal "establishment". In this paper, I seek to describe the challenges facing a new progressive think tank in Australia, the Ngara Institute, that intends to become a repository for informed progressive opinion. I spell out why this work is important, what can be done to advance progressive agendas, and why it is necessary to create a narrative that can appeal across social divides.

Shall we sing the 'Internationale' in Aotearoa?

Tim Howard

This paper will explore questions relating to (mainly Pakeha) pro-Tiriti and anti-capitalist activism, understandings that underpin those activisms, and particularly the intersection between those activisms. I come – as a Pakeha / Tauwiwi activist rather than as an academic – from both streams. I'm committed to what Te Tiriti o Waitangi shows how Aotearoa could be organised constitutionally and practically. And I'm committed to anti-capitalist (predominantly Marxist) pathways to a post-capitalist future. Both streams lead to radical transformation of our political and economic arrangements. But the understandings beneath each stream, and their implied alternative futures, hold definite contradictions. Yet I think there are grounds and sufficient commonalities for activists of each stream to learn from each other and to work together. And maybe ourselves become activists who can hold both streams in tension. The lens I am using therefore is that of a Pakeha activist addressing those contradictions and possibilities. I am not commenting on Maori activism, though I know these questions cannot be addressed without knowing what tangata whenua are saying. At SM III last year, Maori voices both acknowledged and critiqued radical white activism, while laying a whole different post-colonial kaupapa.

Some of the questions I think worth exploring include:

Is reconciliation possible between the different hegemonies that activists of each stream work towards?

How do we know our anti-capitalist activism doesn't reinforce colonialist dominance?

What would help western anti-capitalists ground our praxis in Aotearoa?

Where are the possible links between or integrations of both streams?

How can we usefully engage with Maori resistance to both colonialism and capitalism?

I will attempt to address these questions by considering some indigenous peoples' critiques of western radicalism; what the invitation of Matike Mai! might mean for Pakeha radicals; how challenging capitalism needs to be at the heart of the Pakeha pro-Tiriti movement; by what right are we here in Aotearoa. I have lots of questions. I struggle for solutions. But I hope that discussions at the Conference might give indications of how both streams might contribute to liberation for all.

It's capitalism Jim... but not as we do it: Habitual transcendence in everyday domesticity and artisanal wines

Peter Howland

In this paper I examine how routine practices in two seemingly disparate fields - (a) the everyday sphere of domestic provisioning of food, clothing, shelter, etc and (b) the production of elite, artisanal wine - habitually reproduce, and yet simultaneously transcend, many of the structural logics of capitalism. Within the domestic sphere the giving and sharing of everyday provisions with intimate others is widely regarded as an ethical imperative that underpins good kinship; whereas as the production of boutique wines are often regarded as passion projects which exemplify the ethics of individualised artisanship.

My research shows that individuals in both fields regard capitalist modes of production, market exchange and commodity acquisition as necessary pre-conditions to their domestic and wine-making practices. I argue, however, that in doing this they effectively mis-recognise (Bourdieu 1977) the gifting and creativity moralities that underpin their everyday practices and as such also obscure their 'communist island' (Althusser 1980) attributes.

The planned economy

Campbell Jones

The history of capitalism in Aotearoa/New Zealand is marked less by market dynamics than by planned intervention by military force and ongoing parliamentary and extraparliamentary strategy. Today, global capitalism is grounded in a vast range of non-market economic planning. The 'financial markets' have been repeatedly rescued and are now kept on life support by macroeconomic management and trillions of dollars of bailouts and quantitative easing. Governments throughout the world, meetings of heads of state, bilateral and multilateral trade agreements, the activity of the G20, OPEC, the World Bank and the IMF are consciously planning the radical extension of the command of capital. Capitalist business operations are increasingly marked by planning, from accounting and time management systems, logistics, shipping and the tracking of people and goods, to risk management, information systems and strategic management. This persistence and recent rise of economic planning at the heart of the capital-relation is not only an important but largely unrecognised sociological fact. It also presents opportunities for plans with different purposes, for different plans and for those who might plan differently. In previous work I have argued that the fact that capitalist elites are thinking big calls on the left to think big. Here I argue that the fact that the contemporary capitalist economy is a planned economy offer profound strategic opportunities for left political organisation.

Conscious in the Machine: Video Activism and Animal Rights

Paul Judge

I am currently in the process of using video to document the role of the animal sanctuary as a site of resistance to the brutal machine of capitalism in which many millions of animals are trapped. I will reflect on the issues of video and film storytelling in relation to animals in industrial culture and reflect on some of the questions and content arising from this project. My video work focuses on animals as sentient beings, conscious of their suffering and loss of freedom within the industrial machine that is the global food empire. I am attempting to portray the sheer size of this exploitation while communicating empathy for animals as individuals.

An examination of the nature of sentience will focus on the animal sanctuary as a site of resistance to the animal industrial complex and the parallel attack on wildlife. The crisis of climate change is examined specifically in relation to the animal, aiming to show that the myth of human exceptionalism, and of modernity itself, is only possible because of the horror imposed on non-human species. In examining the animal in modernity, concepts of economic growth and the psychic repression of the animal within popular culture are discussed. The aim is not so much to show the visible horrors

of industrial farming as to create empathy in the viewer for animals filmed in the process of being rescued. The project documents the work of dedicated and passionate animal rescue communities across Aotearoa New Zealand.

Imagining the decolonised city in Aotearoa/ New Zealand

Rebecca Kiddle, Amanda Thomas, Bianca Elkington, Jasmine Arthur, Jennie Smeaton, Ocean Mercier, Mike Ross, Morten Gjerde, and Derek Kawiti

Colonialism remains a powerful force in ordering urban places; landscapes are arranged to reimpose colonial power relations, and subjects are disciplined in ways that shape who can be seen where and when. Aotearoa/ New Zealand has a long history of containment and erasure of Indigeneity in urban places (Glynn 2009), as well as simultaneous radical assertions of Māori sovereignty in the urban environment (for instance the occupation of Bastion Point in 1977-78 and the 1995 occupation of Moutoa Gardens). In this presentation, we will discuss findings from a project that asked people to imagine “what a decolonised city in Aotearoa/ New Zealand could be” - how it sounds, tastes, feels and smells. The project involved close collaboration with Ngāti Toa Rangatira and unfolded in three phases – a workshop with young people from Porirua; a public urban design competition to reimagine Porirua; and a public forum in the city. Posing this question, we suggest, created room to acknowledge ongoing colonial violence and trouble colonial urban form, while also mobilising creative responses that are hopeful and generative in orientation (Coombes et al., 2012; Harvey, 2000; Levitas, 2013).

Building a prison abolitionist movement with everything we've got

Ti Lamusse

The prison abolitionist organisation People Against Prisons Aotearoa has experimented with and undertaken a number of changes to its structure and strategies since its inception in February 2015. This talk, presented by People Against Prisons Aotearoa's chief researcher Ti Lamusse, outlines the most recent changes and their impact on the movement. Changes include a shift in focus from a primarily queer and transgender organisation to a broad-based prison abolitionist movement, as well as a reworking of organisational structure. These changes have led to an exponential growth in the size and capacity of the organisation, and have expanded its reach to prisoners seeking support. They have also produced challenges and difficult clashes of ideology. Ti Lamusse will outline what People Against Prisons Aotearoa has learned from this process and the potential implications for left organising.

Conservative Leftism: Danger! Dead End!

Daphne Lawless

The present author has argued for the existence of a trend in the global social movements which she calls "conservative leftism". Essentially, this entails putting a negative everywhere the global neoliberal "establishment" puts a positive. “Conservative-leftist” politics thus combine social democratic or socialist economics and anti-elitist rhetoric, with tolerance or outright support for reactionary ideas such as nationalism, immigration controls, support for Putin's Russia and other authoritarian capitalist regimes, or populist anti-science such as anti-vaccination or climate change denial. This "left-right" collaboration has been noted in the Ukrainian civil conflict and has influenced contemporary left-populist electoral challenges, such as those of Bernie Sanders, Jean-Luc Mélenchon or Jeremy Corbyn. I trace the origins of the current Conservative Leftist trend to the 9/11 terrorist attacks, where internationalist socialists found themselves on the same side as “Stalinist” (traditional Marxist-Leninist) groups, as well as the anti-neoliberal Right, in the anti-war movements worldwide. Conservative leftism reacts to a failure to imagine a post-capitalist globalized future, by returning to 1970s-style Labourist or social democratic nostrums of a homogenous working class and/or a national-popular bloc. Chief among global “wrong turns” ascribable to conservative Leftism have been neutrality in the Syrian Revolution, or even support for the Assad regime; and the ascription of the victories of

Brexit and President Trump to the rebellion of a neglected “white working class” on which the activist Left should focus. While conservative leftism has gained short-term electoral popularity, it sacrifices the gains of feminist, queer, ethnic, indigenous and migrant movements. Its attraction is mainly to those whose ideas were formed before the neoliberal era and has nothing to offer to younger workers who have grown up in a globalized world economy. Worst of all, it entails a partial surrender to right-Populist, Trump-style ideas or even fascism.

Starting small: Diversity policies, acts of resistance and social change within the workplace

Sandy Lee

This presentation takes the position that resistance against forms of patriarchy and racism can take place on an everyday level in our workplaces. The world of work has long been shaped by patriarchy and capitalism. What jobs are valued (or not), who works where and how are related to, and mutually constitutive of, social identities (McDowell, 2009). Thus, challenging gender and racial inequalities requires the disruption of the very structures that continue to position certain individuals in unequal relations of power at work. Diversity management policies which are increasingly common in professional workplaces have the potential to contribute to everyday acts of resistance, but there is also the risk that such policies reinforce inequalities behind a facade of progress. In this presentation I draw on a case study of a professional engineering workplace in Melbourne that examines the lived experience of diversity management policies on different workers and their ability to bring about social change. I demonstrate the ways in which enactments of the firm’s policy helped empower certain female staff members to challenge the systems limiting their career development, but I also reveal how this empowerment excluded females in support roles as well as ethnic minority staff. Because of this, I call for a more holistic approach to challenging inequalities for deeper social change. Though New Zealand’s unique history presents different challenges for diversity and inclusion, the insights from Melbourne help shed light on how societal discourses of diversity shape attempts to resist and challenge embedded forms of patriarchy and racism manifest in our workplaces. I therefore suggest that if we are to act in ways that challenge rather than unintentionally reinforce unequal relations of power at work, we are much better positioned to do so effectively with this knowledge.

Racism and mass incarceration: Exploring language used by social actors and the implications for knowledge

Kalym Lipsey and Adele Norris

New Zealand’s rate of incarceration ranks seventh among OECD country, yet is on par with the United States, the highest ranking country, in terms of the mass imprisonment of Indigenous people. On October 26, 2016, Moana Jackson, during a No Pride in Prisons event, implored attendees to speak openly about the racism undergirding the mass incarceration of Māori. Language used by different social actors shedding light on New Zealand’s prison population has important implications for the practical uses and consequences of that knowledge. Understanding how this social justice issue is discussed and framed across different groups and organisations, especially the grossly disproportionate imprisonment of Māori, has significant implications for how society perceives and understands mass incarceration. This exploratory case study uses a content analysis to examine the language used around three noteworthy events by three groups working in this area: JustSpeak, No Pride in Prisons/People Against Prisons Aotearoa, and academic research/commentary. This paper argues that discussions of imprisonment that neglect to expose explicit racism and racist practices not only minimise the severity of the phenomenon, but also desensitise the public to the alarming rates of Māori imprisonment and the social costs to society. Thus, such articulations may contribute to normalising mass incarceration and systemic racism, rather than exposing the criminal justice system as a tool of oppression and a contemporary form of colonisation. This paper suggests that a cohesive approach towards the co-production of knowledge on mass incarceration that brings racism to the forefront is an important first

step toward social change in this area.

Listen, Leftist! Violence is not revolutionary.

Joseph Llewellyn

Murray Bookchin's well-known essay 'Listen, Marxist!' argues that Marxist methods of revolutionary change have not been liberating. The essay is a call to leftists to develop the means for a truly liberating society that looks to the future rather than the past; which does not reinforce or recreate hierarchy; and which can offer an effective alternative to capitalism. He suggests that this can be done by adopting anarchist principles that are able to transform social relationships rather than recreate oppression in new forms. Bookchin finishes his essay by recognising the inextricable relationship between means and ends as he writes, "The organisation we try to build is the kind of society our revolution will create." The argument I present in this paper agrees with Bookchin's critique, but takes his position on means and ends further, to what I will suggest is its full conclusion. I argue that if leftists want to achieve a social revolution which creates non-oppressive societies, they need to reject violence as a method of change, and recognise that violence is not revolutionary but in fact incredibly conservative. While this paper is positioned in an anarchist context I will challenge the common arguments of other prominent revolutionary leftists, not only anarchists, who defend the use of violence. This is because anarchists and other leftists use similar rationale for the use of violence as a tool of revolutionary change. I do this by challenging four myths about violence: violence as necessary and productive; violence as inspirational; violence as liberating; and violence as morally justifiable. The conclusion is that if leftist visions of social revolution are to be achieved, leftists need to listen to pacifist voices that many have failed to take seriously for a long time.

Assessing the impact of basic income on society

Lowell Manning and Michael Kane

This paper contends that a basic income trial in New Zealand would best be funded internally within the trial area. It also sets out how such an experiment could be conducted in the New Zealand context. There has been growing publicity about basic income trials taking place around the world. This paper briefly reviews several current and previous basic income trials. It argues that few, if any, of them have separated the impact of basic income from the effects of traditional Keynesian economic stimulus. It proposes that at least some trials should be conducted to test the socioeconomic effects of a basic income in isolation from externally sourced Keynesian monetary injections. The paper sets out how a trial could be developed that does not need additional funding beyond existing income support and how any "add-on" income redistribution over and above that can be internally funded in a region such as the East Coast electorate. Two potential solutions for that internal funding are offered.

'Defrosting the Deep Freeze' and other untold Anzac Day stories: A case-based exploration into banal counter-hegemony

Alex McConville

Anzac Day is typically positioned as a day of unequivocal unity, homogenous national identity, and comprising an active, engaged citizenry. It is a moment whereby 'thousands rise early to remember sacrifice of peace'; a day to honour the way in which 'they died for our freedom'. However, far beyond popular repertoires and soundbite headlines, dwells a diverse range of emotions, positions, identities, and practices. Drawing on a corpus of people doing whatever it is they do on Anzac Day, this paper draws out three varied ways in which the day is encountered. The first case study involves a couple who take advantage of the day to unload and defrost the deep freeze. Alongside the thawing and careful

reorganising, Tino Rangatiratanga, resistance and frustration are evoked in dialogue. Next, I follow one migrant's maiden Anzac experience. A half decade resident of New Zealand, the dawn ceremony becomes a shocking experience in the performance of what she describes as 'pure ideology' and 'complete bullshit'. Finally, I accompany a Pākehā family to a service followed by mixed emotions and discourses grappled with over afternoon tea. Put together, a decolonising assemblage is evoked. The assumed racialised harmony becomes fragmented, complicated, troubled. Here, banal counter-hegemony turns Anzac Day into something other than what we may have been led to believe.

Potential alternatives: Counter-narratives to consumer culture within Aotearoa's ecovillages

Barry McLernon

The purpose of this research is to investigate sustainable, collaborative sharing practices in Aotearoa's ecovillages in relation to their contribution to the existing oppositional movement against an ecologically destructive consumer society. An excessive Western styled consumerism promotes hyper-individualistic consumer habits that create ever greater pollution and waste, degradation of ecosystems and biodiversity while also contributing to climate change. Attempts to address the environmental crisis with green consumerism, while an important development, ultimately serves to maintain the market oriented forces that are responsible for the climate disaster. In response to the perpetual growth paradigm of neoliberal capitalism driving consumer culture, a counter-narrative to the status quo is required. By applying Pierre Bourdieu's concept of habitus as a means to change everyday practices of overconsumption evident in capitalist consumer culture, it is argued that the low impact collaborative consumption practiced in New Zealand ecovillages provides a contributing element to the necessary counter-narrative against existing manifestations of consumerism. Research into Aotearoa's ecovillage movement is relatively limited in regards to the effect that their values and practices have on the prevailing consumer culture and has not specifically focussed on consumption practices within these communities. To address this gap in the research, this report investigates the sustainable principles and collaborative sharing practices of Aotearoa's ecovillages to better understand the presence of an ecological habitus and its potential as an important component of the counter-narrative to consumerism. Therefore, a thorough website discourse analysis of New Zealand ecovillages and a case study involving a qualitative interview process with members of Delhi Village in Whanganui was conducted and found that a rich variety of everyday practices of sustainable, collaborative consumption informs the eco-habitus of Aotearoa's ecovillages which offers much potential for greater opposition to the environmentally damaging status quo of consumer culture.

Indigenous knowledge, continental philosophy and the political Real

Shane Melva

It is with great relief and a measured optimism, that we are emerging from some of the mounds of rubble produced by postmodernist thought in the Academy. By this time, it has no doubt become clear to many that to give up the possibility an argument might contain truth, before one has even begun to speak, is to deny discourse the power and legitimacy required to drive meaningful change. Alain Badiou is one philosopher who has clearly articulated a break with postmodernism, equipping a fresh generation of scholars with what he explicitly refers to as weapons, to defend structuralism and, crucially, the idea that there are truths in the world. Foundational to Badiou's project is a mathematical ontology, or an ontology of mathematics, which claims universal validity. As we move out of old contradictions, it is inevitable that we encounter new ones. In this paper, I argue that one of the most difficult and productive challenges for contemporary radical politics in Aotearoa is how scholars drawing on philosophies which declare universality, engage with other traditions of knowledge, drawing on entirely distinct epistemes, which equally assert a universalism and the existence of truths. Given the history of Aotearoa and the topic of this conference, first and foremost I have in mind the relationship between

Māori and Pākehā at both the philosophical and the political level. While being mindful of the dangers of both speaking for others and of homogenising diverse traditions into singular categories, I will be exploring some points of difference between what for the sake of convenience more than anything, but also due to necessity of naming in order to communicate with others, I will be referring to as Māori philosophy and Western philosophy. This may well produce some anxiety and tension, yet I am convinced this apprehension indicates the importance of speaking openly about what is essentially the relationship formalised in Te Tiriti o Waitangi in the domains of continental philosophy and radical politics. These conversations are crucial to advancing a radically decolonial and progressive politics in Aotearoa. Making use of the work of Carl Mika, a self described Māori philosopher engaging with the Western canon, I will highlight what appear to be some points of opposition and well as areas of convergence with particular tendencies in Western thought. I propose that radicals working out of the Western tradition must find a way to relate to indigenous knowledge without falling into a vulgar cultural relativism which does away with truth. This might seem quite impossible, and perhaps it is, so naturally, following Badiou, it calls for an Event.

Basic income calculator

Iain Middleton

Basic Income Theories have been proposed for many years, indeed centuries. Now, in the early 21st century, momentum for a Basic Income is growing as societies grapple with the issues of accelerating inequality, an increasing rate of automation, and artificial intelligence. Guy Standing writes in his recently published book *Basic Income: And How We Can Make it Happen* (2017):- “Leaving aside instrumental reasons for supporting a basic income, the thrill lies in the potential to advance full freedom and social justice, and the values of work and leisure over the dictates of labour and consumption”. The question is then asked: “What will a Basic Income look like and how can it be funded?” Many different proposals have been suggested but it is often difficult to check the validity of the claims made for the different proposals or to compare the different alternatives. Calculations to evaluate the various claims are tedious and time consuming requiring the development and comparison of large tables. A tool has been devised to allow anyone to quickly evaluate the different Basic Income Proposals for New Zealand, a Basic Income Calculator. An extensive evaluation must encompass many parameters. There are four important parameters to consider – should a Basic Income be tax free or taxed, and should we continue with the present progressive tax system or change to a flat tax? Two principal options stand out, a taxable Basic Income with a progressive tax, similar to our present New Zealand Superannuation scheme, and a tax free Basic Income with a flat tax. The Basic Income Calculator is designed to be easy to use. It allows different combinations of the above four parameters and other inputs to be immediately assessed, showing the impacts on the incomes of individuals with different income levels, before and after a Basic Income. Graphical outputs are provided to quickly assess the impact of a Basic Income. These graphs plot: Income before and after a Basic Income over a wide range of income levels; show the change of Income in absolute dollars and as a percentage; show the change in the effective tax rate; and provide comparisons between the principal options. The funding of a Basic Income and the effects of different scenarios on alleviating poverty and income redistribution will be illustrated and discussed.

Which way for the animal advocacy movement? One of the social justice movements of our time

Mary Murray

This presentation considers visions, strategies and tactics adopted by animal advocates nationally within Aotearoa New Zealand, and internationally. The paper will point to contributions made by all ‘wings’ of the animal advocacy movement, including activist and welfare groups. Accordingly, this presentation covers the often unseen and tireless work of animal shelters, as well as what might be

regarded as more radical groups within the movement – and how these two seemingly distinct groups often overlap and converge. The paper will also indicate ways in which the animal advocacy movement has provoked academics to consider the plight of animals in their teaching and research. In addition this paper examines how the movement has influenced and made significant connections with environmental groups and political parties nationally and internationally. This demonstrates the intersectionality of social injustice for animals, humans and the environment more broadly speaking. In this respect the presentation will also point to linkages between the colonisation of humans and the colonisation of animals, and consider implications of this for forms of resistance.

'Hope' in a time distinguished by 'end of the world' narratives

Karen Nairn

At this historical moment, which is distinguished by 'end of the world' narratives, hope takes on particular significance. 'Hope' is used to encompass aspirational emotions and visions for social change. When predictions about the future of the world seem bleak, what does it mean to be hopeful? What do theories of hope offer? How can these theories be utilised for understanding climate activists' relationship with hope? This presentation will explore the relevance of 'hope' to current activism, drawing on the findings of a small-scale study with climate activists.

Modern Slavery: Exploring conditions of exploitation in brick kilns of India

Omer Nazir

There are more than 20 million people working in the exploitative conditions of brick kilns in India – 66% percent of the total number of the people categorised as modern slaves. I have been a part of an NGO in India (AthRouth) who advocates for the social and economic equality of brick kiln workers and raises concerns about the environmental degradation. As an activist, challenging brick kiln industry conditions and particularly to bring these to public attention has been my focus. The workers there live in dire poverty and are mostly malnourished, illiterate, marginalised and subject to extremely poor health conditions at work. Moreover, the operations of the brick kilns are highly hazardous to the local ecology and environment but in this presentation the discussion will be limited to the need of challenging capitalistic dynamics and changing conditions that lead to the conditions of exploitation of labourers.

Over the last few decades, bonded labour, exploitation and modern slavery has emerged as a central issue in the debate of capitalistic development in India and other developing countries, among the academic scholars (Brass, 2008; Crane, 2013; Rao, 1999), social activists and campaigners (BBC, 2014). It has been argued that the transformation brought about by the India's pursuit of economic development through implementation of free market system has resulted in the exploitation of households including women and children as they provide cheap labour (Bhattacharya, 2010). However, the focus of academic literature and activists discourse has primarily been about the victims of exploitation and slavery (Abadeer, 2008; Crane, 2013). Instead of focussing on the victims, this study intends to unfold the conditions of exploitation and slavery in brick kilns of India from an organisational and social perspective to specify how exchange relations set up in the context of brick kilns in India lead to exploitation as a structural and political issue.

Living Wage Movement Aotearoa New Zealand: Solidarity with the people

Mat Danahar and Maria Puaulu

This paper outlines the origin and scope of the Living Wage Movement Aotearoa New Zealand in this country, and the content and aims of the movement's annual residential training. The movement was set up in 2012, based on the model of the Industrial Areas Foundation in Chicago. It brings together people from three sectors: union, faith and community. These groups often have not previously worked

together and are sometimes suspicious of each other. The annual training programme brings them together for five days. They work and live together and build connections that are enduring. The training teaches participants about power, how to identify the person in an organisation who has the power to make a decision, and how to organise presentations, events and political assemblies to hold politicians to account. A review of the training carried out in 2016 found that a number of participants said it had changed their lives. They said they had speedily been able to apply what they had learnt at the training not only to their work for the LWMANZ, but also to other causes they were involved in. The training and the LWMANZ aim to empower people from communities who often are not given a say in our society. Diverse voices from different races and genders have the opportunity to speak to large audiences and to present their views directly to politicians. The aim of the LWMANZ stretches beyond adoption of a Living Wage throughout Aotearoa. The movement aims to build such strong links between those involved that, once a Living Wage has been achieved, members will agree on other causes they want to pursue and will work together to promote them.

Social movement unionism: where to from here?

Jane Parker and Ozan Alakavuklar

The neoliberal hegemony of the last 30 years deteriorated not just the idea of public good but also the collective spirit of trade unions and their political power. In response, unions have been searching for alternative ways to revive (Kelly, 2015; Rosenberg, 2016; Parker, 2008, 2011). Among these revival strategies, social movement unionism as an extension of alliance building out of workplace has been noteworthy, involving many other civil society organisations and communities for expanding the basis of struggle. Scipes (1992) regards it as a 'third type' of unionism, distinguished from economism and political concerns, that takes a broader perspective in which workers' struggles form part of a wider effort to qualitatively change society (Tattersall, 2010). Dibben (2004) suggests that this can entail internal grassroots democracy; reaching out to other social groups and pursuing broad, social justice aims; and a struggle against the excesses of international business and their neo-liberal hegemony.

In this study, drawing on recent empirical evidence and scholarship (e.g. Holgate, 2009; James and Karmowska, 2012; Martinez Lucio and Perrett, 2009; Newman and Jess, 2015; Newman, Tunoho and Brown, 2013), we compare the contexts and nature of the efforts involving the NZ Council of Trade Unions (CTU) and the UK Trades Union Congress (TUC), and the extent to which they have informed social movement unionism (Parker and Alakavuklar, 2017). These two peak bodies are noteworthy for comparison because their labour movements have both haemorrhaged members in recent decades and experienced strong challenges to their function and powers, amid legislative changes and neo-liberal economic policies, themselves influenced by the forces of globalisation, deregulation and institutional change.

Nevertheless, our primary aim for this presentation is not simply to present the results of such an academic comparison. Given the ethos of social movement conferences (Alakavuklar and Dickson, 2016), we would like to spark a discussion about the potential of social movements unionism in the New Zealand context following Helen Kelly's leadership and given the impact of alliances around the Living Wage and ending of Zero Hours Contracts. Hence, in addition to promoting resources which are mutual product of unionists and academics (Seal, 2017), we would like to present this study as a trigger for further debate between workplace unionists and activists to contribute to mutual learning between these actors for social change.

Relevance of a project against online racism about Māori to other social justice struggles in Aotearoa/New Zealand

Jenny Rankine

This visual presentation will describe the development of graphics aimed at disrupting dominant anti-Māori discourses on news Facebook (FB) pages, showing the relevance of the process to other social

justice issues. The methodology recognises the blend of emotion and discourse (Wetherell, 2012) on social media (Papacharissi, 2014; Vie, 2014) and offline, and the role emotions play in social change. Reviews of anti-racist interventions (e.g., Challenging Racism Project, 2014) indicate that graphics should be respectful; highlight inconsistencies in racist beliefs; evoke empathy; undermine hegemony; aim to change social norms (MNet, 2012); and provide accurate information to dispel false beliefs. These guidelines are largely transferable to other social justice issues. With tauwi and Māori Treaty workers, I used these guidelines to develop 80 graphics aimed at online anti-Māori discourses (Moewaka Barnes et al., 2012) identified in a 2015 sample. Humour helps online artefacts go viral (Knobel & Lankshear, 2007); the presentation will illustrate the difficulties of developing funny anti-racist graphics.

The graphics attracted little engagement on news FB pages, although the thread on which I posted the most graphics was dominated by respectful and pro-Māori comments, in contrast to the 2015 sample. Timing, lack of humour, format, and the resistance of dominant discourses to disruption may have contributed to low engagement, but the graphics may have encouraged more pro-Treaty FB lurkers to post. However, two images were widely shared on the personal FB pages of Treaty supporters. This may indicate that such graphics are best aimed at networks of existing and potential supporters.

The research resulted in a transferable four-step process for developing counter-hegemonic alternatives to dominant online discourses: 1) Identify the discourses affecting particular populations or issues; 2) Analyse contradictions and paradoxes; 3) Develop humorous visual and text alternatives; and 4) Evaluate their online impact.

Politics organisation and economic planning

James Roberts

Economic planning combines political subjects and the embodiment of their past labour in processing systems. These systems act as an extension of memory, perception, and analytical capacity, increasing both the speed and accuracy of decisions. Today however, technical questions are reduced to speculative generalisation and politics is reduced to administration. Technology, which 'is neither good; nor bad, nor neutral' has been employed by the economic status quo, namely capitalist production, to increase surplus value. The field variably referred to as cybernetics and its adoption in economic systems has changed the production and circulation dynamics of contemporary capitalism. New intensities of automation, managerialism, computerisation, networking, integration, and logistics have made new forms of capital accumulation possible and made old forms more lucrative. A Janus-faced neo-liberal capitalism hides unprecedented planning and control systems behind laissez faire myth. It is on these contradictory pinnacles however that new forms of political organisation and economic planning should intervene and build. This paper returns to the economic calculation problem debate, strictly demarcated from the vulgar computation problem, to expose the necessity of an appropriation of capitalist technology for building social change. Through this return, it is argued that a dynamic rather than static solution to the problem can and must be implemented and that the presuppositions of both equilibrium and equivalence must be reconsidered. Resolving these theoretical and political contradictions must be fundamental considerations for contemporary social movements.

Countersovereignty: Moving beyond the sovereign concept of power

Ben Rosamond

For activists in Aotearoa/New Zealand, Māori and non-Māori alike, 'sovereignty' has been a key demand for many years. Whether referring to opposition to free trade or a desire for autonomy from the colonial state, the defence of or demand for sovereignty has continued largely unquestioned since at least the 1970s. In this paper I wish to critique the centrality and legitimacy of sovereign power in left thought and practice. First, I will briefly explore the genealogy of sovereignty, and the logics under which it operates. This will be followed by an investigation into the works of several key critics of sovereign power, from indigenous and European traditions of political philosophy. I will argue that rather than

calling for more sovereignty, activists and militants here and around the world should be following a strategy of countersovereignty, working to undermine rather than strengthen the operations of sovereign states. The paper will end with thoughts around how such a strategy might already be latent in Aotearoa/New Zealand, and some of the possibilities for effective countersovereign praxis offered by the work of the Matike Mai Independent Iwi Working Group on Constitutional Transformation.

A brief history of labour's share of income in New Zealand 1939-2016

Bill Rosenberg

This paper looks at the history of New Zealand's labour and capital income shares for the period over which sufficient official data are available: since 1939. It focuses largely on changes in the labour share, both from wages and self-employment. The paper provides a narrative of the changes in terms of changes in the economy, employment regulation and events impacting on income shares. It finds a rise in income share to the 1970s and a steep fall from the early 1980s which through a combination of wage freezes, radical restructuring of the economy and the state, deregulation and individualisation of employment relationships and deunionisation brought the labour share far below the OECD median and comparable economies. Part of the reason for the pre-1970s rise was the fall in self-employment (dominated by farming). By 2016, the self-employed had their lowest share of income since 1939. The largest beneficiary was corporate profits which rose to a 19% share in 2016, a level reached before only in 1940 under wartime conditions. It appears that labour productivity and real wages over the period were closely tied only during the period 1947 to 1974 when New Zealand's industrial conciliation and arbitration system of collective bargaining extended by awards was working relatively well. From about 1990, real wage growth fell behind productivity growth.

The ideological nature of love and intimacy, and how better understandings of this can be applied to radical leftist movements in the 21st century

Anne Russell

Capitalism as a whole is a loveless system, where people live in isolation and are pitted against each other. However, since humans cannot do without love entirely, capitalism has cordoned off a section of people's lives where 'love' is allowed to exist: the 'intimate relationship'. While many leftists have acknowledged the need to question and maybe abolish marriage as a political and institution, this does nothing to change how dominant culture is organized around the unit of a Relationship—a sexual-emotional bond that determines people's living arrangements, child-rearing practices, legal rights, access to healthcare, and so on. Those who are left out of these arrangements are made to feel unloved and materially unsupported, while those in them are often subject to control and violence permitted in the name of love.

While various liberal to radical movements have begun to question the way intimate relationships and love are structured, most of this debate turns into a back-and-forth about whether polyamory or monogamy is a more radical lifestyle choice. I wish to sidestep this debate entirely and instead examine why dominant culture insists that sexual relationships are fundamentally different to—and better than—other types of emotional-social bonds. This then begs the question of why any emotional-social bond is regarded as inherently better or more loving than another. Finally, we have to examine why love, a supposedly free, flexible and spontaneous phenomenon, is currently subject to rigid social controls.

In my talk I want to give a brief introduction to what I am currently calling 'intimate radicalism'. I see this movement as necessary because too many of the current polyamorous or Relationship Anarchist discourses are detached from any meaningful materialist and anti-capitalist analyses. At the same time, many other radical movements have ignored the questions of love and intimacy, believing them to be apolitical, irrational or trivial subjects. I wish to argue that normative ideas about love are deeply shaped by private property, capitalism, white supremacy and colonialism, patriarchy, ableism,

transphobia/transmisogyny, whorephobia and so forth, and so you cannot destroy one without destroying the other. My talk will outline how intimate radicalism can work alongside other existing movements to bring about a more equitable and loving society overall.

In Defence of Love: Understanding the role of capitalism in modern romantic relations

Justine Sachs and Rachel Cho

We are people living in the world of property relationships, a world of sharp class contradictions and of an individualistic morality.” - Alexandra Kollontai. Capitalism threatens the notion and practice of love by alienating us from our partners and other people. At the same time, the collective solidarity that emerges from the conditions of capitalism is a site of love which is, we argue, a crucial domain to explore in the pursuit of a revolutionary politics. A concept such as love has been instrumentalised and made empty by capitalism, co-opted by homogenising empty liberal discourse, and its romanticism has also been cause for disavowal from the radical left. Romantic and sexual relations under capitalism has always been fraught. The tenuous and alienated nature of our romantic interactions has been further exacerbated by the hyper-commodification, consumerism and fluidity of the late capitalist epoch. Our sexual and romantic norms reflect the cultural logic of late capitalism. The decline of state-managed capitalism has also seen the decline of the oppressive nuclear family unit. The decline of the nuclear family has not resulted in emancipation and sexual liberation, instead the increasing fluidity of romantic and sexual relations aided by the advent of platforms like Tinder and Grindr has resulted in a literal sexual marketplace on scale never previously thought possible. In this marketplace people are disposable and relations are transient, casual and most importantly chill. Instead of emancipate us, the sexual marketplace throws sexual relations into a different type of crisis and chaos. The hyper commodification and reification of our romantic and sexual partners is a manifestation of patriarchy and bourgeois individualism. This has implications for class struggle, the decayed state of relations between men and women impedes class consciousness and solidarity. Drawing from the works of Alexandra Kollontai and Alain Badiou this presentation will argue that as revolutionary communists we must reclaim love. It the task of the revolutionary working class to reform the human psyche and realise our potential to love. Our ability to do this also rests on the transformation of socio-economic relations. The question of love, of romantic and sexual relations should not be sidelined or trivialised but central

Raupatu Tuarua: The imposition of the Fiscal Envelope on Māori and why we're worse off after 20 years

Gareth Seymour

Ngāti Hikairo

This presentation examines the origins of the Fiscal Envelope and how iwi members resisted its inception, specifically in Waikato, who were the first to sign the fiscal envelope. Central to this kōrero will be themes such as: the imposition of non-Maori structures onto iwi through the fiscal envelope, how these structures marginalise the grass roots, and whether Māori are better off after 20 years of this model.

Accounting for progressive social change: A review of developments in Critical Accounting

Matthew Sorola and Matthew Scobie

This presentation aims to introduce critical accounting for scholars nested in literatures outside of accounting, with the intention to highlight areas for future interdisciplinary research in pursuit of social, economic and environmental justice. While critical accounting alludes normative framing, it was

born out of UK and European efforts to introduce a sociological perspective to accounting in the early 1980s. These efforts incorporated critical theory, feminist theory, labour process theory, political economy, enabling the development of new insights and analysis to surface the socio-political implications of accounting and accountability. In turn, this illustrated how accounting supported the hegemony of capitalism driven by a neoclassical economic rationale.

Reflexive thinking is central to critical accounting, and the critical accounting project has - arguably - weathered both internal and external critiques to remain true to its critical theory roots. Recently, scholars have begun to seek the development of action plans that move beyond interpretive analysis and aim to facilitate progressive social change. It is within this literature that connections are being made to the work of social movements so as to mount an effective resistance to the hegemony of capitalism.

This paper begins with a brief review of the critical accounting project to recognise its past and present. Then, a review of more recent theoretical and applied efforts are discussed to illustrate prevailing efforts within the project towards progressive social change. Combined, these two sections provide the context necessary to then discuss the future of the project, with a specific focus on presenting critical accounting as a tool for future interdisciplinary research to resist capitalism, enable social movements and foster progressive social change.

Social media activism: A case study and discussion of strategies and possibilities

Murdoch Stephens

This presentation will explore the possibilities and strategies for progressive activist use of social media, drawing on historical actions globally and audience experiences. It will interact with the presentation by Lincoln Dalhberg. Murdoch will outline the social media (digital and non-digital) strategies that he has deployed in getting the Doing Our Bit Campaign off the ground and moving towards achieving its goals (of doubling Aotearoa New Zealand's refugee quota). He will talk about the campaign's social media communicative action across multiple media platforms, providing examples from platforms' "front-end" user interfaces as well as their "back-end" page "owner" interfaces, showing features available and data on user numbers, demographic reach, etc. Murdoch will discuss the campaigns goals, outline some of the decisions that he has had to make along the way in terms of what media to use and how, and reflect on what worked well and why.

Indigenous Peoples and the Mystification of Family Group Conferencing

Juan Marcellus Tauri and Paora Moyle

Feted by the demi-Gods of restorative justice (RJ), the Family Group Conferencing (FGC) forum has become, depending on one's theoretical and analytical perspective, synonymous with the RJ movements ability to reflect the justice needs of diverse populations and resurrect the restorative foundations of European justice through the judicious/condescending, application/appropriation of Indigenous philosophies and cultural practice. This presentation challenges the iconic status afforded the forum within the restorative justice lexicon, through critical analysis of recent empirical research on Māori experiences of it. The research which provides the empirical foundations for our paper demonstrates that far from being an exemplar of culturally appropriate justice practice, the forum is experienced by some Māori participants as one that envelops Indigenous culture and Indigenous participants within a Eurocentric, formulaic and standardised process. The final section of the presentation reveals changes to the development of restorative policies and the practice in the New Zealand context that Māori participants believe are necessary to make the interventions such as the FGC, an empowering experience for our communities

What is Tiriti-centred biculturalism to Hapū?

Fiona Te Momo

Looking backwards it was clear to determine that the 1840 Treaty of Waitangi was an agreement between Hapū and the Crown. But looking forward that clarity is disappearing and the voices of Hapū are being silenced. How does one affirm Te Tiriti o Waitangi while conceiving and working for a future beyond capitalism and colonisation without Hapū? What does a Tiriti-centred biculturalism perspective mean to Hapū? Being a person located within Hapū I look at the debates making headlines, policies, or publications and think how relevant are/were these discussions to our grandparents, uncles, nannies, and whānau? I reject authors or speakers that say 'it requires higher level thinking' because it implies our grandparents, uncles, nannies, and whānau lacked intelligence to understand the debates when they have been, and continue to be, the activist on the ground fighting, marching, and protesting for the Crown to honour the agreements in the Treaty of Waitangi. Is the Hapū experience being captured, overshadowed, or silenced, intentionally or unintentionally by emerging forms of agreements fashioned by Māori, Iwi, Pan-Tribal, Indigenous or Tangata Whenua? As an academic I address this question to understand the complexities. When biculturalism refers to Māori and non-Māori the voice of Hapū disappears. This loss is common in policies and legislation. This paper attempts to understand how the Treaty of Waitangi has morphed into various points of view from an agreement that began between Hapū and the Crown to be Iwi or Māori the Crown and others. It encourages an environment that fosters Hapū voices and highlights that post-colonisation many Hapū are still fighting in their communities against the Crown for breaches to the Treaty of Waitangi and picketing waterways. It provides a perspective on what a 'Tiriti-centred Biculturalism' means to Hapū and holds a placard that says 'don't forget Hapū!!'

Young people's attitudes to civic engagement and gender equality amidst the changing nature of work

Victoria Thompson

The intersecting politics of gender and work influence the changing nature of work itself, and how young people experience this. Unemployment, underemployment, precarity, and overwork, along with issues concerning unpaid care work and housework, impact upon a disparate group of people. Of interest in my research is how these wider issues are perceived by young people (students aged 16-20), rather than the subjective experience of people currently in the workforce. The emerging workforce is especially affected by the fact that 'good' jobs (full-time, decently paid careers) are increasingly difficult to find, and this challenges previous assumptions concerning the creation of fixed identities around occupations. At the same time, the scarcity of long-term jobs can cause people to be more committed to the workplace in order to secure ongoing employment. Consequently, a new angle of critique towards movements which target gender equality through providing equal access to 'good' jobs for both women and men is warranted. If there are not enough jobs for everyone, it further complicates this focus on full employment as a perceived marker of gender equality; not to mention the implications of an increased commitment to formal employment on the dual-wage labour market (such as housekeepers and nannies) and unpaid care work. It is also timely to consider how the nature of civic engagement is affected by these alleged changes to the prioritisation of time, access to material resources, and the dwindling of a fixed occupational identity. My research contributes to the currently limited literature concerning the feminist challenging of, and youth engagement with, work. It gives much-needed insight into how perceived changes to work influence the future/emerging workforce, and investigates young people's attitudes to gender equality and work. It is vital that youth are prepared to be ready for the changing future of work, and to take an active role in determining what this will be.

Work trusts and cooperatives

David Tolich

In the 1980's a social movement was organised around the government training schemes and work projects. Paying a Living Wage based on the then applicable Awards (Collective Employment Contracts) workers were employed in both urban and rural settings. Project Employment Programmes (PEP) Voluntary Organisation Training Programmes (VOTP) and Work Skills Development Programmes (WSDP). The presentation discusses the emergence of the Work Trusts and Cooperative movement. The organising tools were based on storytelling and the aggregation of analysis to deepen understanding and build linkages. Gatherings were located in Te Ao Maori on both rural and urban marae. Local hui gradually built capacity so the regional gatherings nurtured the emergence of a National movement. A typical regional hui started on a Friday night with storytelling and sharing of experiences. Networking on Saturdays was further cemented in participation in working bees usually involving marae maintenance. A concert followed on the Saturday night. Sunday morning involved Karakia and administration and planning for the next hui. Through the 1980's a series of National hui were held at Kaiwhaiki (Whanganui) and Parihaka (Taranaki) Over 10,000 work trust members attended the Parihaka hui. Emerging from this Social Movement were a large number of leaders who have gone on to be involved in significant areas in both Maori and Pakeha societies. The organising techniques developed and applied in the Work Trust movement have significant relevance today particularly in grass roots building of organisational capacity in local communities

Green lifestyles, social movements and politics

Corrina Tucker

Work by Haenfler, Johnson and Jones (2012): Lifestyle movements: exploring the intersection of lifestyle and social movements – caught my attention as I considered the ‘place’ of those who engaged in green lifestyles in relation to formal and informal politics. In particular, I was drawn to the final discussion in the work whereby it was noted that “Scholars and activists of LMs may be tempted to dismiss LMs as somehow trivial when compared to protest action aimed at altering state policy or enacting structural change”, and that a key area for further research was to investigate the degree to which individuals become involved in “LMs instead of, in addition to, or in the context of manifestly political movements” (2012). In 2016 I interviewed 51 self-identified ecologically conscientious individuals from across Aotearoa New Zealand. Among the questions asked of them, was information about how they enacted their ‘green lifestyles’ at home, at work, through leisure, through formal and less formal political means, and as part of SMOs. While this research cannot provide authoritative information about the overall state of things in Aotearoa as they relate to Haenfler et al’s (2012) research query, I can relay how these 51 environmentally conscientious individuals put their green values into practice. I show that engagement in such activities tends to cross many spheres and as such, it is very much a matter of lifestyle and of political and SMO involvement.

Starfish Bobbycalf: Anti-dairy activism

Lynley Tulloch

This presentation examines the experiences of anti-dairy activism in the heart of the Waikato – a dairy farming region in New Zealand. Using autoethnographic methodology, I discuss the core strategies and tactics of Starfish Bobbycalf project, a grassroots activist group. Autoethnography is an approach that describes and analyses personal experience through connecting it to wider social and cultural processes. It is thus a socially-conscious act that is both product and process.

Starfish has two broad aims that converge with those of the animal rights movement: gaining publicity and challenging conventional thinking about how we treat non-human animals. I discuss the deployment of key tactical mechanisms, including persuasion and protest. It is argued that the relationship between grass roots animal rights activism and social change is multifaceted and complex.

I discuss the contextual factors – including the multiple and competing attitudes toward animals within rural communities in New Zealand. These dualistic attitudes create a political landscape that has proved difficult to navigate and has shaped the efficacy of our activist strategies.

Kora - The Third Culture Research Project

Makanaka Tuwe

The Kora is a 21st-string West African instrument whose strings represent the many facets of our lives and the stretched strings represent trying to connect our African identity with diasporic relevance. This paper is based on a creative project that created participatory visual outputs involving Sub-Saharan African youth in Auckland, New Zealand creating narratives about their identity. The aim of the research project was to explore the process of creating and developing narratives about African identity in the diaspora by producing a piloted visual participatory project. Accompanying the visual exemplars created by participants is an exegesis that explains the process of applying a participatory visual methodology and how it can inform a strategy. The foundation of this creative project is based on the participatory action research approach that used visual methods within an indigenous research framework. Applying an indigenous framework provided a more holistic approach to situating cultural practices, norms and everyday negotiations that contribute to identity construction. The participatory methodological element involved workshops, focus groups and reflexive visual diaries. The approach required the youth to reflect and discuss their perceptions of the media, identity, culture and experiences integrating into society. This research explored hyphenated identity and is an ethnographic study that explored the identity of migrant youth and was based on the following research question: How can participatory visual methodologies within an African indigenous research framework be used to enable authentic voice presentations of Sub-Saharan African youth in New Zealand? The significance of this research project lies in its potential to generate content examples for mainstream media, inform community media and can be applied for the creation of a youth empowerment programme. In this presentation, the author will present the process of exploring a co-creative space and some of the challenges of using participatory visual methodologies within an indigenous framework to provide counter narratives and situation identity, migration and representation

The Terrorism Suppression Act 2002 and potential criminalisation of left movements

Cameron Walker

When the Terrorism Suppression Act first passed under the Clark Labour government in 2002, some critics, such as then Green MP Keith Locke, warned the legislation's broad definition of a terrorist act and powers granted to the Prime Minister to designate organisations as terrorist entities could be used to criminalise national liberation movements or left parties. Using the examples of the Kurdistan Workers Party (PKK) and Communist Party of the Philippines/New People's Army (CPP/NPA), both designated as terrorist entities by John Key under the Act in 2010, I argue the concerns of the original critics of the legislation have been vindicated. If the Terrorism Suppression Act is not repealed or heavily amended, New Zealand risks the criminalisation of supporters of progressive international causes, such as the Kurdish liberation struggle and other struggles for national liberation and socialism, as has happened in the European Union, UK and Australia.

Lifestyle movement activism and the New Zealand foodie

Jennie Watts

This paper shares one aspect of my 2016 doctoral research, which is an interpretive exploration of the foodie phenomenon and the ways that foodie activity intersects with contemporary social movements.

Self-identifying foodies living in New Zealand were interviewed and the interview data was analysed thematically. This paper explores the foodie phenomenon and the ways that foodie activity intersects with contemporary subculture. My research demonstrates that foodies are participants in a 'lifestyle movement', which is located at the intersection of subcultural and social movement phenomena. For foodies, food signifies more than taste; rather, food is the site of pleasure, thought, and care, based on the foodies' antecedent convictions about food and the responsibility they feel as politically engaged consumers. Lifestyles generally pose a challenge to society at the cultural, rather than the political level (Haenfler, 2006). However, these foodies are informed by notions of principled consumption, and the principles that motivate the foodies in my research include environmental concerns, and economic justice and equality. In this paper I will specify the ways in which these foodies inhabit an emergent, liminal space, identify the power and potential of foodie activity based in the lifeworld (Habermas, 1984), and discuss their potential evolution from lifestyle based activity to traditional social movement activism.

Reinventing democracy

Lisa Woods

When we cast our eye over challenges facing our country, they often have one thing in common, they're related to power. Their cause, or at least the failure to make any meaningful progress, is related to power. Power in this context is about the ability to make decisions over the lives of others, most obviously through legislation and policy in parliament. When we consider how long many of the problems we face have been with us (through many different shades of government spanning the left and the right), it is necessary to question the effectiveness of our political institutions - how we collectively as a society make decisions and distribute power. Given the longstanding challenges we face it seems clear that our current structures of power and governance are failing to do what's needed of them. This is not a surprise given our governance structures were created long, long ago, for a different time and in fact a different country! A modern democracy needs a new approach to how we make decisions and distribute power. Participatory democracy and deliberative democracy are two models with much promise for reinventing democracy. They promote a more inclusive approach to politics, enabling deeper discussion and debate, all of which makes for better decision-making. This presentation will look at how these models could reinvent politics here in Aotearoa NZ.

Middle class Pākehā women talk about decolonisation

Jo Wrigley and Nicolina Newcombe

Middle class Pākehā women talk about decolonisation is about making decolonisation important and relatable to middle class Pākehā women, like us.

Thinking back to the success of the suffragettes we know that middle class Pākehā women can pivot an issue in society. We want to explain colonisation in middle class Pākehā terms, and harness the power of women to support tangata whenua. Colonisation is violence. It is the violent system of oppression whereby land and resources are stolen alongside the forced introduction of outside thinking and practices; resulting in one group making decisions for another group. This system is active and ongoing in New Zealand. Even though our country, and the privileges of Middle class Pākehā women, is dependent on violent oppression called colonisation, the system is often not visible to Pākehā. To raise consciousness about colonisation we will place trauma at the centre of the conversation. In Pākehā culture many people believe the length of time since the event will lessen its impacts, or that people, both colonised people and survivors of sexual abuse have/can/should/should want to 'move on'. Physical violence is held up as the standard by which all other forms of violence are less than for both colonised people and survivors of sexual abuse: whereas we argue that violence is a broader concept which includes removal of rights, removal of consent, removal of (bodily) self-determination. Then we will explore how we, as middle class Pākehā women, can use our privilege to effect change. We will reflect on the powerful

and organised channels for social justice that are already accessible and familiar to us, such as donating resources, using our education and professional, or leadership positions to support organisational and structural changes in our workplaces, local bodies, schools, health boards and communities, vote for policies that support decolonisation, make submissions, sign petitions, take part in peaceful actions, write to MPs, have conversations with our families/children, influence structural changes -prepared to have a look at how those restructures reinforce colonisation, and support positive discrimination

INVSOC: Creative vegan animal rights activism in Invercargill

Jordan Wyatt

The Invercargill Vegan Society (INVSOC) began in 2010, based on a literal dream! Combining the Orwellian "1984"'s INGLISH SOCialism INGSOC logo of totalitarianism, with the desire to show animal rights as being the OPPOSITE, the INvercargill Vegan SOCiety INVSOC was founded. INVSOC shows practical ways of capturing and winning over a wide audience with a vegan message.

Creating memorable campaigns, we've entered slaughterhouse sponsored Santa Parades with a DeLorean (winning "best entry") while asking Invercargillians to "Brighten the Future" for animals in need. When the dairy industry gets in the news for animal cruelty, INVSOC activists hit the streets and hand out soymilk. From annual events and fun campaigns, the world's southernmost animal rights organisation brings a "radical" idea, kindness for animals, and serves it up in an approachable, friendly and engaging manner. The Invercargill Vegan Society also seizes upon spontaneous or unexpected chances too. On finding the new "Pork Pie" remake featured a vegan activist character, we borrowed a classic yellow Mini and with our hunky Mexican member Angel, filmed a series of vegan promotions for Z Energy's vegan pies! "It's easy to say Goodbye Pork Pie, pick up a Gourmet Mexican!"

Starting with a single member, with creative flair and compassionate concern for animals, INVSOC has since grown to over 160 members and almost 3000 people supportive and supported via social media.

Panel Discussions

A post-capitalist politics of care and activism

Community Economies Research Network (CERN) and Community Economies Collective (CEC): Kelly Dombroski, Gradon Diprose, Emma Sharp, and Joanne Waitoa-Hall

Post-capitalism scholars and others have worked to create a more inclusive understanding of the economy, highlighting hidden and neglected alternative economies, while seeking to collaboratively foster experiments between activists, academics and communities. Recent work by community economy scholars and others, has drawn on a feminist ethic of care and indigenous understandings to widen our appreciation of what counts as conventional 'political activism'. This work has pointed to those quieter, more everyday pragmatic choices and practices people make out of necessity to meet their material needs, rather than a pre-conceived politics. In this panel, Community Economies Research Network members will share examples of how communities they are working with are experimenting in these quieter and (often) transformative forms of activism. Presenters will reflect on how solidarity and organising for a post-capitalist and decolonised world often happens through practice – rather than just pre-conceived politics and protest activism.

Beyond customary land as a barrier to economic development: understanding 'bisnis' on customary land in the Pacific

Regina Scheyvens, Glenn Banks, Suliasi Vunibola, Henna Steven, Jenny Bryant-Tokalau

When Bougainvillean landowners ignited the sticks of dynamite that sparked the closure, in 1989, of one of the world's largest copper and gold mines, it led to fundamental changes in relationships between businesses and customary landowners in the Pacific. The high-profile, explosive rejection of multinational capital evident on Bougainville is an extreme case, however, and Pacific peoples have also had positive experiences with a across range of economic engagements. In their entanglements with both 'insiders' and 'outsiders' who seek to pursue economic development on customary land (comprising more than 80% of land in 7 Pacific Island countries) communities are bolstered by their deep understanding of the power of the land. This is embodied in the Rotouman phrase, "The land has eyes and teeth".

External commentators regularly assert that customary practices around land 'constrain' economic development, impair investments in the Pacific, are 'anachronistic in modern economies' (Jayaraman 1999: p.9) and hence '...within the island Pacific there is little sign that culture, in whatever form, is seen as a resource but much more that it is seen as a brake on hopeful structures of development' (Curry et al. 2012 p.122). Our research seeks to turn that proposition on its head, drawing on dissenting voices to examine how culture might facilitate effective business models based around customary land.

This has strong implications for development policy and donor communities keen to support approaches that 'enable commercial development on customary land while at the same time maintaining and protecting customary group ownership' (Allen 2012: p.300). There is growing recognition, even from the FAO and World Bank, that customary tenure can be more flexible and adaptable than previously assumed, and valuable for achieving a variety of development purposes. Our research, though, is premised on the notion that more is needed than 'fitting' Pacific views to modern economies; instead we propose that an exploration of how land is successfully used offers the potential to significantly reshape understandings of economies in the Pacific. In this panel presentation, our 4 researchers will all offer insights into how businesses are operating effectively on customary land in this region.

Constitutional transformation in Aotearoa – the Matike Mai project.

Veronica MH Tawhai, Karena Karauria + other rangatahi, Kohukohurangi Isaac-Sharland + other rangatahi, Mereana Pitman

Matike Mai Aotearoa, the Independent Working Group on Constitutional Transformation.

Veronica MH Tawhai

Ngāti Porou, Ngāti Uepohatu

At a hui of iwi leaders in Hopuhopu 2009 Matike mai Aotearoa, the Independent Working Group on Constitutional Transformation was formed. Tasked with "developing a constitution for our country based on our kawa and tikanga, the 1835 He Whakaputanga o te Tino Rangatiratanga o Nu Tireni, 1840 Te Tiriti o Waitangi and the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples", the Working Group led by Moana Jackson and Professor Margaret Mutu launched a nationwide series of hui. In February 2016 the report on the findings of these hui was released, including a special section on the workshops held nationwide with young people by the Working Group's youth arm, Matike Mai Aotearoa Rangatahi. This presentation will share further details on the Independent Working Group and in particular the Rangatahi project from the perspective of the rangatahi project's national coordinator. Specifically the insights the project has provided on how we might strengthen our youth engagement efforts on political and constitutional issues are discussed.

Tu ki te rangi e tu iho nei! Successfully engaging rangatahi on the constitution - the Matike Mai Aotearoa Rangatahi workshop.

Karena Karauria + other rangatahi

Ngāti Porou

Engaging rangatahi in discussions on politics, let alone constitutional issues, can be a challenging task. In March 2012 this challenge was laid by Moana Jackson and Professor Margaret Mutu of the Independent Working Group on Constitutional Transformation to a small group of rangatahi gathered at the Working Group's hui at Waipapa marae, Auckland. The group was faced with the task of creating something welcoming and encouraging of other youth to share their thoughts and hopes for a future constitution for our country. It was from here that the Matike Mai Aotearoa Rangatahi workshop was born - an hour and a half interactive session utilising digital media, spoken word performance, audience participatory drama and small-to-large group activities. This presentation will share aspects of the workshop, as an example of rangatahi designed and developed best practice when trying to engage young people on constitutional issues. The responses from rangatahi nation-wide confirmed this approach as one that can successfully engaging the hearts and minds of rangatahi in contributing powerfully to our collective vision of the future.

Kotahi Aroha and Commitment: Learnings and lessons from the Matike Mai Aotearoa Rangatahi project.

Kohukohurangi Isaac-Sharland + other rangatahi

Ngāti Manawa ki Murupara, Ngāti Kahungunu ki Te Wairoa, Ngāti Raukawa, Rangitane.

In 2015, as a part of the 175th commemorations of the signing of Te Tiriti o Waitangi at Waitangi, national representatives of the Matike Mai Aotearoa Rangatahi team presented their project findings to Pa Moana Jackson and Whaea Margaret Mutu, leaders of the Independent Working Group on Constitutional Transformation. It was the results of 3 years of work by 13 regional teams and over 70 workshops held with other rangatahi across Aotearoa. In this presentation youth from the Matike Mai Aotearoa Rangatahi project share these unique findings, as well as other learnings gleaned from their experiences as youth tackling the kaupapa of constitutional education and change. The aspirations of rangatahi arising from the workshops held nationwide, for example, focused on constitutional protection of Rangī and Papa and the rights of all people to peace and mutual respect. At the operational level, lessons from rangatahi include the need to anticipate drama, work on commitment, and maximize rangatahi resourcefulness. Overall valuable lessons are shared for those wishing to engage others and young people in this type of initiative.

175+ years of resistance and social change – Matike Mai Aotearoa in context.

Mereana Pitman

Ngāti Kahungunu, Rongomaiwahine, Ngāti Porou

Mereana Pitman is a world-renowned tino rangatiratanga, gay rights and social justice activist and educator. For over 30 years she has worked in the area of domestic violence and specializes in the link between colonisation and domestic violence. She is member of Matike Mai Aotearoa, the Independent Working Group on Constitutional Transformation and in this presentation reflects upon Matike Mai Aotearoa as the most recent initiative by Māori in our 175+ year history of resistance against British colonial domination. This includes initiatives such as the Kotahitanga movement, Parihaka, and the efforts made by iwi to assert our own constitutional foundations based on tikanga and kawa. Based on Mereana's observations of the Matike Mai project she will offer her insight into the future of Maori constitutional initiatives in Aotearoa and what might be the responsibilities of educators.

Moananui a Kiwa: Navigating the nuances and implications of colonisation

Brown Paper Bags

After reading the call for abstracts put out to the public by ESRA, we felt it necessary to interrogate the common presumptions within academic and activist communities regarding colonisation and decolonisation in Aotearoa. We are a group of people, indigenous to the Pacific, organising to facilitate a workshop according to our own methodologies of discussion and forum. Starting with the overuse of terms like ‘decolonisation’, this workshop will breakdown the current mainstream approaches to decolonisation by:

Establishing a shared definition and reference for ‘colonisation’ - as a term, as a context and as a process;

Discussing global histories and contexts of decolonisation, comparing resistance movements in Aotearoa, Samoa, Iran, China, Canada and the US.

Distinguishing the differences between imperialism and colonialism, and the levels of resistance each circumstance requires.

During this session, we will interrogate how the imposition of colonial and imperialist methodologies affect our approach to and understanding of indigenous thought and practice.

By gathering together in this forum, we hope to ask: As non-white peoples living in Westernised communities, how do we carry out and encourage the appropriation of our ancestral cultures? How do our academic and activist practices engage in the appropriation and bastardisation of indigenous cultures? Do we contribute to the erasure of indigenous knowledge and understanding? How do we establish an ethical approach to diverse modes of thought and resistance?

Making our rights real: Putting the UNCRPD into practice in NZ

Áine Kelly-Costello, Ezekiel Robson, and Latoa Halatao

New Zealand is one of the 174 countries who have ratified (or acceded to) the United Nations Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities. This Convention seeks to “promote, protect and ensure the full and equal enjoyment of all human rights and fundamental freedoms by all persons with disabilities (UNCRPD article 1)”. So what is happening in New Zealand to ensure these rights become, and remain, a reality? Do our current laws and practices fulfil the State’s obligations, and what can all citizens do to protect, strengthen and defend those rights?

In contexts of systemic advocacy, an ageing population, rapid technological advancements and intersections between indigenous and colonised forms of aid, we will draw on a panel of first-hand perspectives to demonstrate how disabled people are harnessing a combination of people-powered, data-driven and rights-based advocacy. We will expand these perspectives with practical examples that demonstrate how you, and everyone, can, and should, play a role in creating a society where disabled people can thrive and know that their dignity is respected.

We seek to answer these questions by showcasing both current grassroots campaigns, advocacy organisations and advocacy through the written word. The panel will feature representation from

- The Access Matters campaign for robust and enforceable accessibility legislation in NZ,
- The My Voice Matters campaign promoting active citizenship and participation in political life,
- Vision Pacific’s indigenous and holistic model of support which encourages people with disabilities to participate fully in society.
- Using blogging and journalism as a form of activism: calling out ablest practices and views

Researching poverty to make a difference: Rediscovering the scholar activist tradition in psychology

Clifford van Ommen, Mohi Rua, Darrin Hodgetts, Rebekah Graham

Drawing together researchers from the University of Waikato and Massey University, this set of three papers addresses dominant themes of our contemporary national landscape: Precarity, poverty and austerity, with a particular focus on precariat Māori households. These papers also seek to centre engagement with, and the experiences of, those whom bear the brunt of neoliberal rationalities. We therefore decentre and reject individualist and distanced explanations and solutions and strive for research that is both socially responsive and ethical.

Unfolding tensions within the social order of iwi

Jason Paul Mika, Graham Hingangaroa Smith, Annemarie Gillies, and Fiona Wiremu

In our earnest attempts to reconstitute iwi as post-treaty settlement institutions there is a possibility that we may have lost sight of who the iwi is, why the iwi exists and what the iwi is for. There is a sense that our treaty settlement governance entities may not be too dissimilar to the anachronistic trust boards they replaced, which were berated by iwi members as being more accountable to their ministerial masters than to iwi members as a collective. Even the corporatisation of iwi under settlement legislation seems to have muddied rather than distilled the waters between principals and agents and between culture and commerce to the point where disunity is the new norm, the very antithesis of what it means to be Māori, arā ko 'tātau tātau e.' A central challenge for post-treaty settlement iwi is exponentialising the power of diversity from within: ahi kā and taura here; suburbanites, urbanites and globetrotters; and the wealthy and not so wealthy among us. These issues, which are wholeheartedly governmental in nature, but have to do with self-government, contextualise this paper. The paper addresses unfolding tensions within the social order of iwi by discussing four themes: (i) how do we create locally (culturally) grounded global citizens? (ii) how do we rebalance wealth creation (shared capital) and wealth distribution (shared wellbeing)? (iii) how do we recalibrate our tribal institutions so they are fit for purpose, fit for us? And (iv), how can we find room for entrepreneurship, innovation and enterprise in the tribal milieu? The paper concludes with examples of how iwi are negotiating these tensions, with implications for research, policy and practice.

What is to be done? A panel on alternatives to prison

Ti Lamusse, Emilie Rāketē, Huriana Kopeke-Te Aho and Ary Jansen

This panel by organisers from the prison abolitionist organisation People Against Prisons Aotearoa will discuss alternatives to prisons. The panel is part of a larger project by the organisation to write a follow up to Abolitionist Demands: Toward the End of Prisons in Aotearoa. People Against Prisons Aotearoa organisers will present already-existing alternatives to incarceration, as well as alternatives that still need to be crafted. Presentations will include discussions of tikanga Māori alternatives, transformative justice, as well as other strategies to respond to social harm. The presentations will be short, with the bulk of the time dedicated to discussion.

Whose kaupapa for a climate justice coalition?

Oil Free Wellington, Auckland Peace Action, Pacific Panthers Network

In Aotearoa, climate justice/action groups differ widely in their political affinities and beliefs—yet one goal seems shared: stop oil and gas exploration and drilling. On this basis, a coalition of groups formed to organise action at the March 2017 petroleum conference in New Plymouth. The coalition agreed on

consensus decision-making and horizontal processes. Coalition representatives worked together to plan large-scale action, yet levels of trust and understanding between groups varied from high to non-existent. So when some powerful individuals arrived on action day, accustomed to their internal and external supremacy, rifts below the surface quickly broke open. The hundreds present went forward with the action and disrupted the conference. Yet as the coalition faded away, many indigenous activists were undermined and denied their rightful standing ground at the front of the action. We left the action drenched in power relations and frustrations, as well as deeper bonds with those we trusted before the coalition formed. Members from Auckland Peace Action, Pacific Panthers Network, and Oil Free Wellington will share their reflections on these experiences, and invite attendees to consider how and where coalitions can nurture and injure grassroots movements. We also challenge Aotearoa's climate movement to decolonise, a fundamental process towards true climate justice.

Some questions to consider in this korero include:

How 'common' are common goals, and how can groups work together while respecting one another's autonomy?

- To what extent can small grassroots groups in Aotearoa avoid dominant movement currents?
- What is the most important thing the climate movement should do right now to decolonise? Is it possible for the unwilling to engage?
- When keen newcomers get involved in coalition work, how do they find their place amongst continuously-contested kaupapas?
- At what moment does financial support become control? Is this avoidable or inevitable?

Workshops

Agency and accountability: Violence and abuse on the Left

We are a multi-generational group of non-men of colour, who work and have worked in leftist spaces from the university, to the grassroots movements to the art-activist scenes. We wish to present a panel discussion that calls attention to the ever-present violence of patriarchy and white heteronormativity, but also offers insight into the practicality and applicability of transformative justice.

Our opinions and approaches are as different as our backgrounds, but we all agree on the complexity of violence in resistance movements. Resistance and social movements are led and driven by those who become conscious of the violence of the every day - violence directly and indirectly inflicted on all who do not enjoy the status of the upper-class, white, cis gendered, heterosexual man. This panel will unpack the progression of our comrades and allies from victims of oppression to imposers and upholders of oppression to the exertion of aggression that we often downplay as infighting.

When it seems like the resistance is small, it can become difficult to call out or pay attention to the injustices taking place within our own communities. We hope this discussion will open the space to explore different methods of dealing with harmful attitudes and behaviours. Some of us are staunch against isolationist methods, some of us deem it necessary. What we want to do in this space is start a conversation, a movement, that interacts with such conflict in a way that will heal, nurture and sustain our communities to continue the fight.

Brown girls speak: On decolonising the Ivory Tower

TeWhanganui-a-Tara

This workshop proposal is a response to the call for insights on resistance within the academy. Cultural hegemony within universities in Aotearoa endangers students of colour and limits their revolutionary potential. Indigenous students and other students of colour face a particular kind of radical alienation within the neoliberal, colonial academy in which we find ourselves. This is especially true in a context

where it is generally agreed upon that “people speak ideas, not identity.” This workshop will seek to bring together students who share this struggle, and build the solidarity and shared knowledge base necessary to resist within the academy. Our aim is to engage rigorously with critique of the material political infrastructure of the academy, as well as its relationship to knowledge, research and methodologies. We also aim to collectively discover and support the strategies that emerge from this dialogue.

This workshop will be facilitated by three speakers, Anisha Sankar, Kassie Hartendorp and Gaayathri Nair who are based in Te Whanganui-a-Tara (Wellington). The format consists of two parts that will provide ideas from the speakers, and create space for participatory discussion.

The first section will address and diagnose the problem of the university as a colonial institution. Speakers will provide an intellectual framework as a basis for understanding colonial epistemologies (ie. knowledges that originate in colonialism, and continue to maintain / reinforce colonialism, racism, cultural hegemony). This section opens up space for indigenous and people of colour to critically reflect on their experiences of alienation within educational institutions and methodologies. By acknowledging eurocentrism within the academy, the workshop aims towards radical disalienation.

The second section will reflect and build on decolonising tools and strategies. We will focus on survival and resistance within a framework of decolonizing methodologies. We aim to foster hope, energy and solidarity for academics and activists committed to work in the area of decolonisation.

Decolonisation itself as a term must be inclusive of a multitude of things, from radical social, political and anti-capitalist transformation to radical self-reflection. In parallel to decolonisation then, we need academia to engage in meta-critical self-reflection, and this means a genuine commitment to the confrontation of colonial epistemologies. We need a symbiotic and intimate relationship of knowledge sharing between all students and thinkers of the left, inclusive of all colours. These projects cannot be done in isolation of each other. But for this to happen, all students and thinkers must stand together to confront the white institution.

Indigenous Resistance and Action

Sina Brown-Davis and Te Rama Thomas Pene

This will be held by Sina Brown-Davis and Te Rama Thomas Pene. As the first affected by colonisation and all its manifestations, it is crucial that indigenous and aboriginal peoples in the Pacific organise and resist. This forum will cover a range of issues and events, from the co-option and dismissal of indigenous struggle by the Left to the deliberate attempts at erasure by the colonial state to establishing platforms for resistance and preparing for revolution.

Rebuilding the Kāinga as the primary social & economic unit in Te Taitokerau

Jade Kake, Patrick Gemmell, Aroha Shelford, Ricky Houghten

Colonisation and the accompanying systemic alienation of Māori people from Māori land has resulted in the over-representation of Māori in negative socio-economic statistics. In Te Taitokerau, this has a particularly devastating impact on Māori rangatahi, who have disproportionate rates of unemployment and suicide. There is a lack of incentives for rangatahi to stay in Te Taitokerau beyond secondary education, and a lack of options for those who chose to do so. As Ngāpuhi-nui-tonu – the Nation’s largest and poorest iwi – concludes Waitangi tribunal hearings and moves towards negotiating settlement, there have been numerous discussions on what tino rangatiratanga means at a hapū and community level. Through a protracted Treaty-settlement process, many communities have asserted that they do not see settlement as ‘the solution’, and are increasingly responding to their social and economic needs at a whānau, marae or hapū level, outside of iwi political structures.

There is now a growing movement to re-build and re-inforce social structures and tribal economies through the re-formation of papakāinga communities. Despite the numerous historical (and contemporary) legislative, policy, planning, financial and other barriers, there are now renewed

opportunities for communities to reoccupy their whenua to become champions of self-production, independence and interdependence across key areas such as energy, food and transport, particularly in remote geographic areas that have been poorly serviced by market economies. Holistic papakāinga development moves beyond just housing to empower communities to respond fully and cooperatively to their own needs – from helping to establish micro-enterprises and building māra kai that grow healthy food to feed the papakāinga as a whole, to innovative health and social services, activities for rangatahi, high quality education, and technology, arts and culture-based economic activities. Through a workshop format with community practitioners from hau kāinga communities in Te Tai Tokerau, Jade Kake of Ngāti Hau and National Māori Housing Advocate Te Matapihi will lead a facilitated discussion, and providing some thoughts on the relationship between economic and political sovereignty.

Tangata Tiriti: Immigration and settler colonialism

Khayreayah Amani Wahaab, Quishile Charan

"Settler colonialism is different from other forms of colonialism in that settlers come with the intention of making a new home on the land, a homemaking that insists on settler sovereignty over all things in their new domain. Thus, relying solely on postcolonial literatures or theories of coloniality that ignore settler colonialism will not help to envision the shape that decolonization must take in settler colonial contexts. Within settler colonialism, the most important concern is land/water/air/subterranean earth (land, for shorthand, in this article.) Land is what is most valuable, contested, required. This is both because the settlers make Indigenous land their newhome and source of capital, and also because the disruption of Indigenous relationships to land represents a profound epistemic, ontological, cosmological violence. This violence is not temporally contained in the arrival of the settler but is reasserted each day of occupation. This is why Patrick Wolfe (1999) emphasizes that settler colonialism is a structure and not an event." Eve Tuck & K. Wayne Yang, *Decolonization is not a Metaphor*.

This is the basis on which we plan to conduct our workshop. By gathering migrants from different spaces and places, we want to construct a timeline of colonisation in Aotearoa and around the world. We are a group of migrants from across the globe, and met to discuss the role we play as tangata Tiriti. While we acknowledge the Crown and its role in us being able to work, study and settle here, it is of utmost important that we recognise the violations that took place and resulted in us being able to live on stolen lands. The main focus of our gathering will be to challenge the common idea that migrants and settler colonialists are not accountable for the same complicities in oppression of Māori. This will also be a platform for us to strategise and organise to affect change within our diverse communities.

Te Tiriti-based health practice

Maria Rameka, Claire Doole, Nicole Coupe & Heather Came

The goal of this workshop is to get past the rhetoric into the action. Much is written about te Tiriti o Waitangi and this is an opportunity to share ideas about Te Tiriti in everyday practice. Honouring te Tiriti o Waitangi is at the essence of ethical health practice in Aotearoa, addressing health inequities and efforts to eliminate institutional racism by providing a pathway to equity. At the turn of the century Treaty Understanding of Hauora in Aotearoa New Zealand [TUHA-NZ] (Health Promotion Forum of New Zealand, 2002) made explicit ways to advance Tiriti-based practice. Much has changed since then. This interactive workshop is informed by a new e-book, *Tiriti-based health promotion practice*, developed by members of STIR: Stop Institutional Racism, to support Tauwiwi practitioners interested in engaging further. This peer-reviewed book, with a foreword by Moana Jackson, is based on in-depth interviews with senior health promoters and the experiences of the authors, who have been working

with te Tiriti for many decades. We utilise the Māori text of te Tiriti, as translated by Margaret Mutu and are informed by the findings of the WAI 1040 Waitangi Tribunal report - that confirmed Ngāpuhi (and by implication all other signatories) never ceded sovereignty. It is critical that health practitioners re-engage with te Tiriti and public health values. Concepts including kāwanatanga, tino rangatiratanga, ōritetanga and wairuatanga will be explored in the context of health practice. The workshop aims to encourage health practitioners to step up and act within their respective spheres of influence, and embrace the role of being an ally to tangata whenua and engage in respectful practice.

West Papua: Emerging solidarity and resistance in Aotearoa

Catherine Delahunty and Oceania Interrupted

Catherine Delahunty works with a range of solidarity groups in Aotearoa supporting the Free West Papua movement including Pasifika cultural activists "Oceania Interrupted". They will lead a session to explore the forms of political and cultural solidarity for West Papua within our own colonised framework and the emerging strength of the networks. The session will be a discussion of key themes including Government collusion, media blackouts, Pākehā ignorance of Pacific colonialism, the role of racism in the issue, multinational operations, local organising and the new solidarity actions. The role of cultural work from the "cage" action at the Pacific Island Forum to the Dec 1st flag events and Oceania Interrupted women's actions for self-determination in West Papua will be highlighted.

White Privilege: Access, acknowledgement and solidarity

Lillian Hanly and Ella Grace

This space will operate as a partner-forum to the (de)colonisation wānanga, where that discussion will be facilitated and catered to indigenous peoples, as well as people of colour. As the pākehā/pālagi branch of this network, we will be holding a separate space to allow tangata whenua and tauwiwi POC to speak to the issues that pertain to them in the aforementioned forum, but also encourage other pākehā/pālagi to engage and action their own forms of resistance, without co-opting methods of marginalised and oppressed peoples. As tangata Tiriti, it is our duty to uphold our terms of Te Tiriti o Waitangi. We think it is long overdue that we, as people complicit and instrumental in the colonisation of tangata whenua, come up with ways to contribute to the resistance without speaking over those we oppress. This must start with ourselves, educating each other so we can assist in clearing the path for tangata whenua to uphold tino rangatiratanga and mana motuhake.

The spine of this hui will be solidarity with tangata whenua. We want to talk about decolonisation, not as the end but as the first steps to an equitable society. Similar to the main hui, this space will break down white privilege:

- What that means to and for communities

- Redirecting attitudes against tangata whenua and other marginalised communities towards the Crown and the state

- Understanding whiteness, building new frameworks of understanding without co-opting/misappropriating them

- Establishing context and systems that pākehā can contribute to the struggle, holding ourselves and others accountable.

