Counterfutures is a multidisciplinary journal of Left research, thought, and strategy. It brings together work from across Aotearoa New Zealand’s Left, aiming to intervene in, and inaugurate, debates about how to understand and influence our society, politics, culture, and environment.
Activing Collectivity: Aroha and Power
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Contents Overview

Reflections on ‘Activating Collectivity: Aroha and Power’
THE ORGANISING COLLECTIVE
Over literal and metaphorical cups of tea, the organising crew of ‘Activating Collectivity: Aroha and Power’ reflect on what went into planning and shaping the conference and what was gained from it. In doing so, they invite readers to grab a cup and join in the reflective process.

Dreaming Together for Constitutional Transformation
MARGARET MUTU & VERONICA TAWHAI
Margaret Mutu and Veronica Tawhai, both members of Matike Mai Aotearoa, the Independent Working Group on Constitutional Transformation, examine what constitutions are, why constitutional transformation matters in Aotearoa, and how we can be actively engaged in imagining and creating change.

Activating Collectivity Through Grounded Positioning
ARAMA RATA, 傅梦竹 (MENGZHU FU), JESS MIO & EMALANI CASE
Four conference participants join together to discuss the practice of critical positioning. They reflect on questions of positionality: who we are, why positioning matters, and how positionality can activate both collectivity and accountability.

Organising To End Violence
KIM McBREEN
Drawing on the ideal of Rarohenga, Kim McBreen shows how learning to effectively respond to interpersonal violence is a crucial skill for supporting our communities and building effective movements.

Critical Race Theory and the Law in New Zealand
DYLAN ASAFO & LITIA TUIBURELEVU
Critical Race Theory is at the cutting edge of international struggles seeking to end racism, but how can this theory be appropriately applied in New Zealand? In this ground-breaking article, the authors offer a novel framework for CRT analysis in this country, illustrating its applicability via a reappraisal of the historic 1980 case Tifaga v Department of Labour.
Collective Visualisations for the Future
MAKANAKA TUWE

Conference keynote panellist Makanaka Tuwe reflects on personal and collective wellness, healing, and social justice. Social change is visualized not just as something we must see, but something we must feel and breathe through.

A Recipe for Kai-dness
THE KAI-DNESS CREW

The ‘Kai-dness Crew’ formed to create co-design interventions and to cater for the conference. They explain the guiding principles behind how they shaped a space of manaaki and whanaungatanga, along with sharing practical ideas for how to foster connections and stimulate progressive social change.

Reflections from Kōtare
CATHERINE DELAHUNTY, TIM HOWARD & SUE BRADFORD

Three veteran community organisers offer their reflections on the conference. How did it compare to previous events of this nature? What was inspiring? And what might future gatherings of this type do differently?

Caring for Whenua
PANIA NEWTON & PUA CASE

Pania Newton, from the movement to protect Ihumātao, and Pua Case, from the movement to protect Mauna Kea, come together to discuss their efforts to protect whenua and ‘āina at home. They reflect on the importance of Indigenous protocols and ancestral wisdom while also speaking to each other, showcasing the power of solidarities.

Activating Aroha
BROOKE PAO STANLEY

Brooke Pao Stanley offers her reflections on the conference, on what drew her to the conference space, on what she learned, and on what she has been empowered to hope for the future.

The Night the People Reclaimed You
NADIA ABU-SHANAB

A poem addressed to the Wellington Trades Hall building, the site of the conference party and much else.
Contributors

KAITLIN ABBOTT
Cook Islands Māori and English. She is a Masters student in Pacific studies at Te Herenga Waka, Victoria University of Wellington studying Māori and Pacific relationships and responsibilities to each other and to Te Tiriti o Waitangi

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DYLAN ASAFO
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Activist on jobs, welfare, and housing issues for many years and a former Green MP (1999–2009). She has a PhD in public policy and currently works for Kōtare Research and Education for Social Change in Aotearoa.

EMALANI CASE
Kanaka Maoli. Lecturer in Pacific studies at Te Herenga Waka, Victoria University of Wellington. She is the author of Everything Ancient Was Once New: Indigenous Persistence from Hawai‘i to Kahiki. She comes to Aotearoa from Waimea, Hawai‘i.
PUA CASE
Born and raised in Waimea, Hawai‘i. She is an educator, kumu hula, kia‘i, and lead coordinator of Mauna Kea Education and Awareness (MKEA). She has been part of the movement to protect Mauna Kea for more than a decade.

TAYLA COOK
Ngāti Uenuku ki Raetihi, Ngāti Kahu ki Whangaroa, Ngāti Whātua, Ngāpuhi, Wampanoag. Raised amongst storytellers, go-getters, and staunch advocates of all things whānau. Tayla can always be found near any kaupapa related to whakapapa.

CATHERINE DELAHUNTY
Community educator and activist from Hauraki. She was a Green MP for nine years. Her main focus at present is Tē Tiriti o Waitangi education, fighting gold mining, advocating for a free West Papua, and working with Kōtare.

LEANNA DEY
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DANA FRIDMAN
Design researcher and lecturer with a background in psychology, working on design for health and wellbeing, relational design, user experience, and design education. They are interested in what brings people together to support each other through social movements, kai, facilitation, and design.

傅梦竹 (MENGZHU FU)
Tauiwi Chinese activist and artist with a background in tino rangatiratanga-centred, Asian feminist, QTPOC, migrant-youth, anti-racist, and climate-justice organising. They are currently a PhD student in gender, feminist, and women's studies at York University.

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SAFARI HYNES
Rangitāne. His whakapapa ki te whenua stretches from Heretaunga to Tamaki nui-a-Rua, to Manawatū, to Wairarapa, to Te Whanganui-a-Tāra, to Te Waipounamu. A student of Te Herenga Waka, Safari loves all kaupapa especially hapū and iwi affirming tino rangatiratanga.

REBECCA KIDDLE
Ngāti Porou and Ngā Puhi. Adjunct research fellow at Te Kawa a Maui and formally senior lecturer at Te Herenga Waka, Victoria University of Wellington. Currently head of urban development at Hutt City Council.

BOBBY LUKE
Ngāti Ruanui. Recently appointed early academic lecturer at School of Design Innovation, Te Herenga Waka, Victoria University of Wellington. Bobby is a practicing fashion designer whose work reflects critical design thinking when responding to both contemporary and traditional artefacts.

KIM McBREEN
Waitaha, Kāti Māmoe, Ngāi Tahu, Pākehā. Kaimahi at Te Wānanga o Raukawa. She lives with her partner and two children in a small coastal town and dreams of community.

JESS MIO
They/them. Tauiwi Pākehā friend who belongs to the network of ‘tauiwi mō Matike Mai Aotearoa’: non-Māori supporting the Matike Mai Aotearoa project of constitutional transformation to honour Te Tiriti o Waitangi by 2040.

MARGARET MUTU
Ngāti Kahu, Te Rarawa, Ngāti Whātua, and Scottish descent. Professor of Māori studies, University of Auckland. Teaches and researches Māori language, tikanga, history and traditions, rights and sovereignty, Te Tiriti o Waitangi, constitutional transformation, and Māori–Chinese encounters. Chair of her iwi parliament, Te Rūnanga-ā-Iwi o Ngāti Kahu, of two of her marae, and of Matike Mai Aotearoa.
PANIA NEWTON
Waikato, Ngapuhi, and Te Rarawa. Qualified lawyer working in project management and research coordination. Pania co-founded the #ProtectIhumātao campaign with her cousins to protect ancestral whenua (a rare cultural heritage landscape) from corporate desecration.

CALLY O’NEILL
Activist and facilitator currently specialising in Tiriti-compliant participatory democracy. Trained in and practicing architecture, Cally has spent years facilitating co-design programs and supporting communities to develop their common spaces. Manaakitanga is a central value to all these interests and it was a happy confluence to be part of the Kai-dness rōpū for the social movements conference.

NAN O’SULLIVAN
Head of the School of Design Innovation, Te Herenga Waka, Victoria University of Wellington. Nan’s work questions the roles and responsibilities of design in today’s and tomorrow’s societies, and positions Indigenous, place-based knowledge as a critical component in equipping designers to confront, challenge, and enable positive change.

BROOKE PAO STANLEY
Ocean Nesian born in Aotearoa with links to Niue, Sāmoa, and Tonga. A staunch mama and activist, she believes in a world where love guides all our ways.

NATASHA PERKINS
Ngāti Porou, Te Whānau-ā-Apanui. A left-handed twin that grew up on a farm in a quirky coastal village in New Zealand. With an academic and professional background in industrial, interior, product, and furniture design, Nat has 30 years’ experience in collaborative design and product development. Senior lecturer at the Wellington School of Architecture.

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Fijian, Tongan, and Pākehā living and working in Tāmaki Makaurau. She is a research fellow at the University of Auckland’s Faculty of Law.

MAKANAKA TUWE
Zimbabwean-born storyteller and healer whose work with Sesa Mathlo Apothecary flows at the intersections of embodied self-care, collective wellness, and social justice.

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