

**SOCIAL MOVEMENTS,  
RESISTANCE AND  
SOCIAL CHANGE III -  
2016**

**ABSTRACTS**

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### ABSTRACTS

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Please note: We will not be providing a printed copy of the full abstracts to attendees, although we will have copies available for viewing at our registration desk.

#### THURSDAY

##### Thursday 9:15am-12pm – Opening

9:15 – 10

#### **Welcome**

10 – 10:30

**Navigating changing tides: reflections on Māori protest. He moana pukepuke e ekengia e te waka – a choppy sea can be navigated**

*Teanau Tuiono*

10:30-12

#### **Opening Panel: The Activist/Academic Interface**

*Sue Bradford, Wendy Larner, Pala Molisa chaired by Deborah Jones*

What are the tensions and opportunities that come with working the activist/academic interface? Our panellists will be speaking to their diverse experiences of engaging with social struggles, social movements, research and the academy.

CO122

**Panel: Taking Back Economy for People and the Planet**

***Convened by Stephen Healy, Kelly Dombroski with Irene Boles, Gradon Diprose, Jo Waitoa-Hall***

In this workshop we convene academic-activists and activist-scholars who are involved in the process of taking back the economy. We understand this to involve both a process of re-representing what and who gets counted and valued in economies and experiments with different forms of exchange, production, consumption, care for commons, and investing for a common future. In this workshop we use *Take Back the Economy* (Gibson-Graham, Cameron and Healy 2013) as an organizing text. This work foregrounds economic activities that take ethical consideration of wellbeing for self, others and planetary ecology as an organizing principle. We report on efforts to use the metrics and tools developed in this text in processes of new understanding and practice of economy in diverse communities—in Quebec and US Solidarity economy, in Australia and New Zealand. We will combine short presentations and video, group-work and conversation to think about how to develop engaged research in relation to alternative and transformative economic practices.

**Outline of Session**

**Introduction: Shared Concerns (20 minutes total)**

All around the world, people are acting to ‘take back’ or transform the economy in small ways, for people and planet. We identify six shared concerns that people are already acting around:

- What’s necessary for us to survive well?
- How do we distribute surplus justly?
- How can we consume sustainably?
- How do we meet our needs and the needs of others through exchange?
- How do we care for what we hold in common?
- How can we invest in a future worth sharing?

We open the workshop with a presentation and discussion around these key concerns identified in the book *Take Back the Economy*. Participants can identify which of these key concerns their organisations or projects are primarily addressing (Stephen Healy and Kelly Dombroski; 20 minutes).

1. Highlighting some key concerns **(30 minutes total)**
  - a. DISTRIBUTING SURPLUS/ENCOUNTERING OTHERS: Jenny’s film ‘Negotiating and co-operating in food co-operatives’ (14 minutes)  
Discussants: Gradon and Stephen (5 minutes)

- b. CARING FOR COMMONS: Parts of Kelly’s film ‘New forms of commoning in post-quake Christchurch’. (10 minutes)  
Discussants: Irene and Kelly (5 minutes)
- 2. Tools for change **(30 minutes total)**  
*Take Back the Economy* develops a number of visual tools and metrics that work to prompt our ethical thinking. We introduce some of the tools here and spend some time working with participants to analyse their own attempts at taking back the economy.
  - a. Using tools and metrics in Quebec – reporting back from the Montreal conference of solidarity economy activists (Video: Katherine Gibson and Ethan Miller). (10 minutes)
- 3. Seeing Diversity: spotlight on the Community Economies Research Network (CERN) **(40 minutes total)**  
When we use these tools and metrics to think about our shared concerns, we begin to visualise the economy as being very diverse. What are some of the affects and effects of seeing diversity? How do we work to foster diversity and other forms of economy and society? How does work in other areas connect with community economies?
  - a. Jo Waitoa’s work on diverse forms of everyday Māori politics (10 minutes)
  - b. Gradon’s work on timebanks (10 minutes)
  - c. Stephen’s mapping solidarity economy (10 minutes)
- 4. Wrap-up: Research/activist connections in taking back the economy. Discussants: Polly Stupples, Amanda Thomas with all presenters (10 minutes).

## CO216

### **Panel: Asians for Tino Rangatiratanga**

***Wai Ho, Mengzhu Fu, Kirsty Fong, Aram Wu, facilitated by Julie Zhu***

Ehara taku toa i te toa takitahi, engari he toa takitini.

He rōpū tauwiwi nō Āhia mātou kia tū ki te tautoko i te tino rangatiratanga me te mana motuhake o ngā tangata whenua, o ngā tangata taketake, o ngā iwi Māori o Aotearoa.

Mārakerake ana te kitea, he takaoraora nui tonu i waenganui i ngā hāpori o ngā iwi Māori me ngā hāpori Āhia. Ki a mātou, ko te pūtake o ēnei whakaaro nō te ao pāpāho Pākehā, ā, kāore ēnei hāpori e rua kia whakatūtaki i a rātou. Ahakoa he roa te whanaungatanga i waenga i ngā hāpori nei e rua mai rā anō (i ngā tau o ngā kotahi mano waru rau), ka nui te tāwhitiwhiti i ēnei rā. Ki te iwi Māori, ka tipu haere te nama o ngā tauwiwi e tau ana ki tēnei whenua, ā, ka tipu haere hoki te matakū e ngaro haere ana ngā tikanga Māori me ngā whenua tuku iho nō ngā tūpuna. E ai ki te ao pāpāho auraki, nā ngā iwi Āhia te hē. Engari, ka ū hoki te pāpāho auraki ki ngā kōrero rūkahu mō ngā tangata Māori, hei taura he māngere, he kaikoka, he pukuriri. Nā ēnei whakaahua o ngā iwi Māori, me ngā whakaaro aukati, ngā whakaaro ngākaukino i ngā tangata whenua, ka nui te pōhēhētanga o ngā iwi Āhia ki te whakahirahiratanga o Te Tiriti o Waitangi me ōna hāngaitanga i tēnei wā.

He kōrero tēnei kia whakaarohia e pā ana ki ēnei pātai: He aha te āhuatanga o ngā tauwiwi (kore-Pākehā) e noho ana i Aotearoa nei? Pēhea tā mātou hē mō ngā āhua tāmitanga o ngā iwi Māori? Me pēhea tātou e awahi, tautoko hoki ai?

[TE REO PĀKEHĀ]

We are a group of tauwiwi from various Asian backgrounds who support tino rangatiratanga and mana motuhake for the indigenous people of Aotearoa.

Asian migrant communities and tangata whenua are often pitted against each other in Aotearoa. Fears of the yellow peril, Asian invasion, and the housing crisis blamed on people with Chinese-sounding names, engineered by the dominant culture, can create rifts between Asian and Māori communities. The negative representations of Maori in the media, discourses of “Maori privilege”, and the divisive rhetoric of “we are all New Zealanders”, erase the history of colonisation and paint a distorted image for Asian migrant understandings of this land.

We will be holding a facilitated panel discussion addressing some of these questions: What does it mean to be POC settlers in Aotearoa? In what ways are we complicit in colonisation? Where are the moments of solidarity?

CO217

## **Session title: Protest and Knowledge Production: Troubling the Academy**

**‘We don’t do protest’: understanding the attitudes of contemporary university students towards political action in Aotearoa New Zealand**

***Sylvia Nissen***

Many researchers have argued that there is a global rise of student protests (Brooks 2016). Yet in New Zealand, commentators have questioned ‘where have all the student radicals gone?’ and have argued that contemporary students are ‘apathetic’ (Green 2015). This paper reports the findings of my doctoral research on the tensions and challenges of political action for contemporary university students in Aotearoa New Zealand. The study investigated the attitudes of New Zealand students towards political action through 70 in-depth interviews with students at New Zealand’s eight universities supplemented by observation in the period 2014 to 2015.

The research identifies three interrelated features of students’ perspectives towards political action, which I describe as ‘desire’, ‘demand’ and ‘doubt’. First, students report aspirations or ‘desire’ to contribute to a more caring and connected democracy, which I argue challenges understandings of students as apathetic and suggests that there is an underlying interest in political change. Second, students describe consciously, cautiously and often creatively negotiating pressures or ‘demand’ encountered in contemporary university environments. I suggest that this pragmatic negotiation of demand challenges accounts of students as passive or inadequate citizens, but also provides insight into the context in which they are politically active. Third, students share a collective uncertainty or ‘doubt’ of other students’ political

perspectives, the validity of claims and the effectiveness of political action. I argue that this doubt is much broader than accounted for in existing theories of students' political action, suggesting that there is a need to legitimate private concerns as public issues.

## **Social movements and movement professions**

### ***Olly Hill***

It is a sad irony that during times of crises and social upheaval and even during periods of social peace, some of capitalist society's most effective guardians are also its opponents. This session is intended as a starting point for what should be a collective project; an investigation into the mechanisms of recuperation that pressure activists into collaborating in the production of knowledge which helps to modernize the various institutions of the State. These institutions are what maintain the basic relations of capitalist class society, in particular private property, wage labour and the division of labour.

It is my contention that the academic institutions are a crucial bridge between the world of class struggles and social movements on the one hand, and institutions of the State on the other. I will elaborate on this point using an example from the European Anti-authoritarian Communist scene.

In 2011 a Greek Communist group called the TPTG began researching modern crowd control theories, tactics and strategies being developed for the police by social psychologists and other such scientists. During their research they discovered a number of articles on crowd control which had been written in police journals and realized they recognized one of the authors. It was a man named John Drury, a British Autonomist Communist who had been writing for a Journal called *Aufheben* for the last two decades. Amongst the examples of crowds and crowd control used by Drury the police-consultant was the case of an anti-road construction protest, one which Drury himself had participated in during the early 1990s. In fact not only was Drury's research on this protest movement the basis for some of his crowd control theory, it was also the topic of his PhD thesis *and* a series of articles in previous additions of *Aufheben*. Drury it seems had been able to provide the police with the sort of insights only an insider has access to and in so doing developed crowd control tactics which are still in use today. Although this is a rather extreme example, it highlights the very real contradictions of the Academy as well as how serious the consequences can be if we turn a blind eye to the academic careers of fellow activists.

With this example in mind I want to discuss the importance of radical activists being aware of the relationship between the State and the Academy. Questions will be raised such as; Should radicals use their activism as the basis for academic research? Is this research being done for the sake of the movement or for the benefit of the individual conducting the research? Can we prevent the knowledge we gain as participants in social struggles from being in the interests of our enemies? If so, how? Do we want to maintain the University in a world without capitalism and the State?

## **'Progressive academia' and the global urban housing crisis/crises: (potential knowledge interventions for just urban futures**

***Steffen Wetzstein***

This presentation critically confronts the nexus between academic knowledge production and political/policy responses to the emerging global urban housing crisis/crises. The notion of 'Progressive Academia' denotes an outcome-focused intellectual approach that puts just, equitable and truly liveable urban futures at the center of empirical analysis, theory-building and informed speculation. Such strong intellectual leadership is desperately needed in a world where a growing share of urban residents increasingly face serious affordability problems, issues relating to housing quality and worrying socio-spatial implications such as displacement and segregation. The principle objective behind this style of knowledge production is to help turning the vision of 'adequate housing for all' from a currently distant dream into a realistic political and policy objective. On the supply-side, such highly politicised knowledge production is constrained by the excesses of academic capitalism (Slaughter and Leslie, 1997), conservative funding regimes and the self-referential nature of the modern academy (Wetzstein, 2012). On the demand-side, it is the rise of a fear-driven, conservative-revanchist political mainstream, deeply embedded market-friendly governance regimes and a narrow, post-political space for debating solutions (Swyngedouw, 2009) that hinder the uptake, travel and putting to work of those alternative intellectual reference points.

'Progressive academia', nevertheless, has not to be (re)created from scratch, but can build on promising intellectual political initiatives that have emerged over recent years in various geographical and institutional contexts. In this presentation, three selected models - the high-level, theoretical intellectual political project (example: post-growth society excellence hub in Germany), the progressive University-based Think Tank (example: FACTBase joint venture with focus on improving Perth' liveability), and University-facilitated experimental, interactive multi-stakeholder co-learning processes (several examples of tentative experiences) - are introduced and evaluated against actual 'change-the-world' achievements and (potential) contributions towards more equitable urban housing outcomes. The latter analysis identifies real and possible gains in the five areas of nature and extent of the housing crisis/crises, affected groups of people, problem-solution framings, housing tenure strategies and politics of interventions. Such kind of progressive institutional experimentation on the academia - society interface may facilitate the rise of new political strategies along the 'politics of resistance'/'politics of emergence' spectrum, and thus more effectively mobilise people and communities in the name of equitable and liveable urban futures.

## **Taking them more seriously than they want**

***Warwick Tie***

The Productivity Commission's vision of tertiary sector reforms poses a significant challenge to Left thought. That vision is of a sector laudably oriented towards the development of students' abilities. As we shall see, the context in which that development is understood is politically loaded because of the economic ends to which students are then expected to

orient their lives. So too, however, are the favoured rejoinders from the progressive Left, insofar as the positions struck by the progressives on university reform reproduce the student in bourgeois form, as the coherent, self-actualising self. I'm thinking here of the related ideas that (a) university education has axiomatic use-value to students, and to society, and (b) that the university worker is the critic and conscience of society. The analytic challenge which emerges from this situation is to envisage the forms of organisation within the tertiary sector which can enable student subjectivities to develop in a manner that displaces both the economic presuppositions of the Productivity Commission and the political liberalism of the progressive Left. The key to this move is one of taking more seriously than either the neoliberals or left liberals can bear, the underlying presuppositions of their positions.

## CO118

### **Session title: Art and Activism**

#### **Globalising Aotearoa: a conversation on the ideological impact of the Trans Pacific Partnership Agreement**

*Lillian Hanly*

In this presentation, I intend to engage with a short film I made, [Globalising Aotearoa](#).

Though it is presented as such, newsmaking is not an objective or neutral activity but is tailored towards certain interests and therefore, to an extent, produces certain preferred interpretations for the audience. Stuart Allan (2004) argues that the 'objective' voice is most prominent in the news and thus affects, most directly, those whose voices are not prominent in the news. It can be said then that the representation of the discussions of and opposition to the Trans Pacific Partnership Agreement through news media was to have some influence on how society understood the issue as a whole. Toward the end of last year I began an investigation of the way the discourse of the TPPA was represented through both mainstream and alternative media (in this case, alternative is used to describe Māori TV).

Mainstream media chose to focus on issues of 'trade' rather than the undemocratic process of the negotiations and the effect on New Zealand's sovereignty. My concern was the lack of reporting on how the TPPA would affect Te Tiriti o Waitangi. Alternative media had gone some way toward correcting this balance by frequently depicting the themes Hanusch outlines such as empowerment, counter-narratives and the watchdog function (954). The limited discussion on mainstream media regarding the possible threat on Aotearoa's sovereignty shows the ideological importance of trade and profit to the dominant group in this society, and in extension, the government's steadfast commitment to neo-liberal economic policy. The paper I would like to present is grounded in these findings and uses my film as a means of furthering the discussion about how ideologies different to that of the status quo (which, here in NZ, is a colonial, patriarchal, Western worldview,) have an incredibly difficult time permeating 'the conversation'.

What I was able to do in this documentary was string together three main themes: a brief analysis of the TPPA and how it will affect society, why young people especially should be informed so as to oppose it for the good of our own futures in looking after this earth, and how an agreement that benefits the interests of corporations over human beings and Papatūānuku is intrinsically contradictory to te ao Māori me ngā tikanga. By weaving these themes together I hoped to discuss the importance of tangata whenua and the knowledge they hold as kaitiaki of Papatūānuku.

## **Feminist activism – negotiating intersectional difference**

### ***Emma Kelly***

In 2016 Sharon Murdoch became the first woman to win Cartoonist of the Year at the Canon Media Awards. In the 'Three Words; an anthology of Aotearoa/NZ Women's Comics', she had pointed out earlier in the year that her colleagues always assured her there was no glass ceiling in their industry, just work that wasn't good enough. She suggested the blind auditions held for orchestral appointments could be used in other sectors too to see whether or not it might address lack of gender equity.

Sharon's award and the 'Three Words...' publication offer a focus for a discussion of feminist activism, cooperation, and (sometimes) the lack thereof in the arts and social justice movements many of us are a part of. How do we support or hinder each other as we reach for lofty goals such as equal pay for work of equal value, for trans\* right in prisons, to lower the high rates of gendered violence in Aotearoa New Zealand or tackle racism? Could we do better and if so how?

You are invited to a discussion with Dr Emma Kelly, who recently completed a PhD on Ngā Taonga Sound & Vision (the NZ Film Archive) and the radical change it underwent in the 1980s period with the support of Māori and feminist voices to become a (as it was then called) bicultural organization. Emma is interested in organisational change, cultural shifts in society and how they happen, and watching the Ghostbusters controversy from afar (Leslie Jones for President, Kate McKinnon for VP).

## **We don't have to be the building**

### ***Siân Tarrington***

A passionate and embodied research, art and writing project about a queer whakapapa of activism and sexuality, through Homosexual Law Reform to today, resulting in assemblage art and writing in the lightboxes on Courtenay Place, Wellington from 1<sup>st</sup> August 2016.

For the conference I propose to give a presentation on queer female-embodied creative research methods that reflect and document methods of art and activism.

*We Don't Have to Be the Building* is a year-long project to research telling our personal stories as a form of activism, including our stories about our sexuality. I've used a model of whakapapa to search for my own and a community history of sexuality and protest. My

research has focused on lesbian, bisexual, queer female-bodied, trans\* and female-identified activists, starting from 30 years ago during Homosexual Law Reform.

This project is using my skills as a process-based artist and community arts worker, to research complicated and important stories through art-making. My method is assemblage, through which I have represented the many truths and diverse identities and issues that inform our past and today.

I've done figurative drawing sessions, consciousness-raising groups called Let's Talk About Sex, invited people to come talk to me inside one of my sculptures, run a creative queer expression workshop, and interviewed queer activists. I have also made drawings from photographs in Ann Shelton's archives from the Devotion parties of the late 1980s and early '90s.

The various research methods have all employed a consent-based model to build bridges and trust between both individuals and communities. The kaupapa has been based in my own art-making process, and also the traditions of activism and the LGBTTQI communities themselves. All research has fed into works and writing reflecting the complexity of history; particularly of divisions and solidarity in activism.

### **'I AM' – countering one-dimensional narratives about people of African descent in NZ using visual methodologies and participatory photography**

#### ***Makanaka Tuwe***

This paper is based on a creative community youth project. The purpose of the 'I AM' project is to focus the lens on what it means to be African in New Zealand using participatory photography.

A literature review on media representation of people of African descent has established that there is a lack of action regarding how to counter the negative narratives presented in the media. Through messaging, the media produces and reproduces imagery that at a minimum reflects and shapes our culture. It has been argued that in relation to minority representation, mass media produces and reproduces stereotypes that places individuals as cultural "others". Just as it is important to debunk the patterns of distortion and biased narratives represented by the media, it is also important to include the untold stories in the media. Evidence illustrated that mainstream media does not fully address the communication needs of ethnic groups or represent them in a balanced manner. This led to the development of the 'I AM' project.

The 'I AM' is developed along two components - (1) community social media outreach (2) gallery exhibition at Studio One, Auckland – the 'I AM' project will provide an opportunity for the African community and New Zealand society to see the individual without the stereotypical identity that has been perpetuated by mass media. Using participatory photography enables the community to situate the visual as inextricably interwoven with personal identity and narrative, lifestyle, culture and society.

The overall goal of the project is to facilitate collective awareness raising and collective action through a series of self-empowering processes. In addition to enabling individual and collective narratives through social media, e-activism and photography, the 'I AM' campaign aims to: explore how visual methods can be used as a medium to create a common consciousness among young people of African descent in New Zealand; illustrate how personal community narratives and knowledge can be incorporated most significantly in researching and designing strategies for social issues in a specific socio-cultural context; highlight what factors influence stereotypical perceptions and interactions of Africans in New Zealand; produce a series of photographs that will be exhibited and accessible to the wider public; use social media and other communication tools to engage with wider public

The project is expected to play the role of a catalyst that will provide the impetus to start exploring different participatory and alternative methodologies to countering the one-dimensional representation of people of African descent in the New Zealand context. In this presentation, the author (youth activist) will present not only the process but also some of the challenges and early impact of the project on the participants, African youth community and general audience.

Thursday 3:30-5:30pm – Session 2

CO122

**Session title: Climate Action, Systemic Change, and the Significance of Hope**

**Dutiful, disruptive, or dangerous dissent? Understanding the politics of youth activism against climate change**

***Bronwyn Hayward, Karen O'Brien, Elin Selboe***

Climate change represents a new type of political problem, where citizens in distant places and times can be materially and existentially threatened by the decisions and actions of other individuals, companies and states, and where risks will also "hit home," in that no place or group will remain unaffected by the impacts on natural and social systems. In this context, the challenge for democratic theorists, activists and citizens alike is not just about how citizens can be included in decision making; it is also a question of how citizens can dissent from prevailing norms, decisions and actions that perpetuate business as usual and its far-reaching, long-lasting and in some cases irreversible global impacts (Bohman 2007; Song 2012; O'Loughlin and Gillespie 2012; Crayton 2014; IPCC 2014).

While much has been written "young people's" inaction on climate change, the impact of the actions of many young citizens who do express dissent from the decisions, lifestyles, social norms and political or economic systems they believe perpetuate climate injustice is less well understood (Stitzlein 2013; O'Loughlin and Gillespie 2012; Hörschelmann 2016). The focus of this paper is to consider the impact of various forms of activism, from targeting support policies or agreements on a variety of local, national and international strategies to limit carbon dioxide emissions or promote climate change adaptation, to championing the concerns of the most vulnerable groups and countries (Partridge 2008). Younger activists in

particular are increasingly challenging business-as-usual economic policies and attempting to shift political power away from the fossil fuel industries and carbon polluters through divestment campaigns, boycotts, and other measures (United Nations 2013; Partridge 2008; Fisher 2016). Other forms of youth activism are focused on awareness-raising events, including educational programs, informal local events, and global campaigns (UN 2009; 2013). Some are active in well-organised global groups, such as 350.org, Global Power Shift, Friends of the Earth, Gen Zero, and Climate Youth (Hayward and Selboe 2014). Others are politically engaged in more individualised and specialised ways, such as through issue-specific activism and low-threshold and part-time activities (Ødegård and Berglund 2008; Ødegård 2009a).

These diverse forms of youth engagement with climate change prompt the question, how should we understand the varied ways that voices of youth and future generations are struggling to be heard and have an impact in climate debate? Little attention has been given to systemically analysing the political consequences of different approaches to dissent among youth. How do different expressions of dissent by youth challenge existing political structures, economic systems, hierarchies of power and the status quo? Clearly not all forms of climate change activism are the same. In this paper we analyse the political impacts of the diverse ways that young activists express dissent. This includes forms of activism that may not, at first glance, appear to be directly related to climate change. We present a typology of the politics of dissent, which we offer as a way of understanding youth activism on climate change. We refer to three main types of activism as dutiful, disruptive and dangerous dissent. This typology is not based on the motivations or intentions of activists, but rather on the way dissent(ers) engage with political power and how differing forms of activism are perceived and threaten vested interests that seek to maintain the status quo.

## **The significance of hope in climate change activism**

***Karen Nairn, Joanna Kidman***

Hope takes on greater significance as we face an uncertain climate future. Our research is with young people (aged from their late teens to their late 20s), who are anticipating their futures amidst dire, but uncertain, reports of climate change. Is it possible to be hopeful and what does hope look like? What role does hope play in galvanizing some young people to join climate action groups to collectively work to create a more hopeful climate future?

The concept of hope is beginning to attract social scientists' attention. Paulo Friere's *Pedagogy of Hope* is one of the key texts informing this developing field. Freire claims, "There is no change without dream[s], as there is no dream without hope." For Freire hope is anchored in the transformative potential of praxis/action. Hope can therefore be a form of agency because it shapes action. We explore how useful Freire's ideas are for understanding young people's engagement in climate action and compare his ideas with others writing about hope, such as Jonathan Lear who writes about radical hope.

We report from a pilot study (2015-16) with young people who were currently, or recently, involved in climate action. Participants reported the contradictions of "feeling a deep sense

of hope that we can do something about” climate change and a “total feeling of hopelessness”. In our presentation we explore the significance of hope for these young people, how to meaningfully conceptualise hope, and how young people’s hope is fostered or shut down by broader social processes.

## **Communicating systemic change: perspectives from the New Zealand climate movement**

***Jonathan Oosterman***

The climate crisis significantly magnifies the urgency of systemic change. Globally, we have little time remaining in which to bring about the social, political and economic transformation needed to avoid triggering amplifying feedbacks and runaway climate chaos. While many systemic critiques and ideas for social change exist, a core challenge is how to mobilise people, inspiring widespread action to create this change. Understanding current approaches to communicating systemic change is therefore crucial for ensuring that our communication practices play the vital role they will need to in the coming decades. In this presentation, I aim to contribute to the development of this understanding, drawing on research with New Zealand climate movement participants.

Communicating systemic change is clearly challenging; however social movement participants also actively respond to this challenge. In describing the communication practices of New Zealand climate movement participants, I highlight a number of points: the need to ensure that the climate crisis is integrated into the communication of systemic change; the various forms of systemic critique and change that movement participants address; the role of ‘meeting people where they are at’ in communication; the value of recognising the interweaving of morality and economics in communicating systemic change; and the importance of communicating solutions as well as critique, in order to empower people and create active hope.

## CO216

### **Panel: Liberation and Liberalism: Lessons from 40 Years of Activism in the Academy**

***Convened by Fee Day, Lorna Kanavatoa, Phillida Bunkle***

For more than forty years the three co-presenters were employed in various capacities by New Zealand universities. During that time, they were activists, promoting the interests of women and indigenous people.

This session will seek to enhance understanding of:

- The origins of current positive provisions promoting the interests women and indigenous people from within the academy;

- The importance of developing physical places and spaces within learning institutions. In particular, the importance of facilitating the transformative dialogue which underlies collective self education; and
- The power of networking to develop a critical level of support and maintain alliances.

It will also recognise both some of the brilliant outcomes of the past and the impediments to, and vulnerability of, those achievements, particularly in the face of the apparent neoliberal hegemony in higher education.

## CO217

### **Session title: Placing Marginalisation: Homes, Homelessness and Prisons**

#### **“All they’re doing is housework”: pay equity and the unpaid/paid housework connection**

***Cybèle Locke***

I want to start a conversation about housework in light of the Kristine Bartlett and Service and Food Workers’ Union pay equity campaign for care workers. More particularly I want to look at how the relegation of housework tasks to women in the private home without remuneration continues to influence the way women are treated in paid housework. How have house-workers organised in the past and how can this inform our efforts for pay equity in the current moment?

#### **Pathways home: movement and meaning in the everyday lives of Wellington’s homeless community**

***Jonathan Paul Foster***

This paper will address the possibility of what academic, specifically anthropological, research grounded in everyday realities can contribute to conversations surrounding contemporary urban poverty and homelessness in Aotearoa, New Zealand. It will draw on my masters research into the lifeworlds of Wellington’s street community, considering what the stories, knowledges and experiences that come into being along their journeys through everyday life can teach us about the way in which people negotiate precarious living environments to create meaningful livelihoods in an era of neoliberalism. I will explore the potential of anthropological research to highlight the often invisible ways wider structural forces and inequality materialise in the everyday lives of people living in marginalised situations, and how these factors come to shape the context within which people experience life on the street. Furthermore, it will also examine the importance of understanding the diverse ways people living on the street carve out meaningful existences in these neoliberal spaces hostile to, but reliant on, their existence, in order to avoid reproducing victimising tropes, which frequently render homeless people helpless in the story of their own lives.

## **The incarceration of transgender women in New Zealand prisons**

***Ti Lamusse***

Over the past year and a half the prison abolitionist group, *No Pride in Prisons*, has brought to public attention the plight of transgender women in Aotearoa's penal system. As will be demonstrated, the state of incarceration for prisoners in Aotearoa is dismal, especially for those most marginalised within the system. The presentation will look at both the particularities of trans experiences of incarceration, as well as the broader practices of dehumanisation within prisons. Gender placement policies, susceptibility to sexual and other assault, as well as strip-searching and over-crowding will be interwoven into an indictment of the penal system. By outlining the issues in such a way, I demonstrate that any solution to address the treatment of transgender prisoners must be abolitionist in nature. It is hoped that this presentation will enable both informed discussion of prisons in Aotearoa as well as facilitating a drawing together of visions of abolition.

## CO118

### **Session title: Critical Theory and Activist Scholarship**

#### **Academic freedom and political activism: what we are being when we are doing**

***Oliver Hailes***

Jane Kelsey — a self-styled “public intellectual” — laments the squeeze of state policies that subordinate the academic enterprise to economic demands. She praises the Education Act 1989 as a safeguard of constitutional significance: it purports to preserve and enhance academic freedom (s 161) and prescribes a role for universities as “critic and conscience of society” (s 162(4)(b)(v)).

Stanley Fish, however, would say Kelsey's legislative mandate to defend the public good equally distorts the role of the academic. For Fish, the job involves the pursuit of truth and the advancement of knowledge regarding matters identified by disciplinary traditions. He insists on a duty to “academicize” political problems such that the teacher/researcher does not slip into advocacy — god forbid activism! It follows that “academic freedom” is nothing more than the freedom necessary to pursue evidence and arguments wherever they lead; that is, without concern as to whether outsiders will be delighted, dismayed or disadvantaged by the ultimate conclusions.

We can read Fish's apparent conservatism as a *professional phenomenology* that allows us to analyse the *multiple* roles played by Kelsey throughout resistance to the TransPacific Partnership Agreement (TPPA). The conceptual clarity of the account disentangles the academic task from other worthy pursuits undertaken by the public intellectual. Fish points to Noam Chomsky as an exemplary performer who addresses explicitly political topics in a mode of interrogation that is more analytic than polemical. He described Chomsky's 2013 John Dewey Lectures as “a master class taught by a master”.

That turn of phrase fits nicely with Slavoj Žižek's recent emphasis on the Master figure as a missing ingredient in contemporary politics. Through an unlikely theoretical marriage of Fish and Žižek, we can map a tripartite taxonomy — *academic, activist, archon* — that clarifies the important yet constrained role of the academic in political life.

## **Intellectual activism: a devotion to the praxis of one's discipline**

### ***Cindy Zeiher***

Althusser provokes us when he questions intellectuals, what place does our activity occupy in the world, what role does it play? Here he is placing the position of the intellectual as a potentially emancipatory one. That the intellectual struggles with knowledge, its production and iteration does not escape Althusser. But more than this, for Althusser the intellectual's act as an agent of knowledge must have an effect. It is this effect which counts and which must be articulated, for better or worse. For Althusser, the intellectual is a product of historicisation and those social conditions which pivot a discipline as legitimate within the academy, and thus arguably restrained within the stronghold of capitalism. What has resulted are ontological and ideological tensions across disciplines. Given the current crisis of the academy, more scholars globally are taking up grassroots social action and causes or instigating critical journals and opinion pieces in mainstream media. They straddle intellectual engagement with critical social action. No longer is the trajectory for young, talented and emerging scholars that of being ensconced within an academic position; the crisis of the academy forces them to raise critical questions and to address the gap created by the 'business' of being precariously employable. Being a scholar and an activist are for critical scholarship, not mutually exclusive activities.

This paper takes up Althusser's important question precisely: what kind of intellectual do we want to be and how can this manifest as a devotion to the praxis of our discipline of critical scholarship? It further considers how the praxis of being an intellectual might be simultaneously an activist intervention driving towards a robust and transformative effect.

*Cindy Zeiher is a lecturer in human services and social work in the School of Languages, Social and Political Sciences at the University of Canterbury, Christchurch. Her teaching, publications and interests are in the areas of critical theory, Lacanian psychoanalysis, feminism, subjectivities and social movements.*

## **What divides?**

### ***Shannon Walsh***

Against the routine social apportionment of places and functions, both official and unofficial, occupational and recreational, and so on, that fix a subject's capacity to their place, Jacques Rancière affirms the radical equality of intelligence. This has profound consequences for what we might call an 'academic/activist divide,' or indeed an 'academic activist interface'. Tracing the routes of this affirmation through Marx's 'Theses on Feuerbach' I seek to give some historical and theoretical context to Rancière's affirmation of

radical intellectual equality, and to draw out the political possibilities that accompany this affirmation. The academic activist divide is not a barrier but a precondition to the hard work, the practice, of building a shared 'common sense'.

### **Outwit, outlast, outplay?**

#### ***Katarina Gray-Sharp***

Following Hegel (1807), the scholar/activist may be constructed as an internal dialectic of scholar-lord and activist-bondsman. The work separates the erudition, critique, and interpretation of the traditional scholar from the social change of the activist. The ever-present battle for authenticity finds fodder.

In Husserlian phenomenology, the scholar/activist may be viewed as a subject controlling an object, its I/eye centralised (Ellis Benson, 2014). Thus being is grasped by consciousness in logos; "in the realm of truth, being, as the *other* of thought becomes the characteristic *property* of thought as knowledge" (Levinas, 1989, p. 76). However, a non-dialectic position offers an alternate. By reversing the subject-object structure, a relation based in responsibility to the Other can be established.

The scholar/activist indigene is required to reverse the phenomenological structure as a consequence of descent and "dissent lines" (Smith, 1999, p. 13). Indigenous methodologies draw on an alterity whose assimilation is only ever partial. Thus, the indigene in the Academy disrupts totality in its very existence.

This paper seeks to challenge totality further as it relates to global depopulation. The standard run model in *The Limits to Growth* (Meadows, Meadows, Randers, & Behrens, 1972) suggests a collapse of the world system and a dramatic fall in human population as a result of resource constraints. Debate is ongoing (see Randers, 2012), but Turner's (2014) analysis suggests that the standard run is fairly accurate, the death rate climbs "significantly" in the model by 2020 (p. 7), and collapse may already "be underway" (p. 16).

Alongside the problem of resource constraints is the issue of climate change. The *British Medical Journal* identifies climate change as a "public health emergency" (Godlee, 2014, p. 10), with the World Health Organization (2014) estimating "250 000 additional deaths due to climate change per year between 2030 and 2050" (p. 13). Further, there is "high confidence" of "extensive biodiversity loss" at "around 3 [degrees] additional warming" (Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change, 2014, p. 12). The possibility of depopulation is not limited to the human.

As a scholar/activist indigene drawing on the work of Emmanuel Levinas, the paper will investigate some of the philosophical and political grounds that allow acceptance of mass extinction's inevitability. In particular, I will look at how state constructions of survivorship have changed over time. Applying an autoethnographic method, the concepts of responsibility, plurality, and solidarity will be explored.

CO122

**Official Launch of *No Pride in Prisons'* Abolitionist Demands: Envisioning an End to Prisons in Aotearoa**

*No Pride in Prisons* is a queer and transgender prison abolitionist organisation with branches in Auckland, Wellington and Dunedin. The organisation both advocates for incarcerated queer and transgender people and organises for the end of prisons in Aotearoa. It is committed to coming up with concrete steps that can be taken to alleviate the immediate suffering of incarcerated people. As an abolitionist organisation, however, it argues that any steps must not be towards a bigger, albeit reformed, prison system but towards decarceration.

In its Abolitionist Demands, *No Pride in Prisons* outlines a number of material demands that take the path to abolition. Some of these demands refer explicitly to issues facing queer and transgender incarcerated people, while others address incarcerated people generally. The demands have been broken down into short-term, intermediate-term and long-term, recognising the fact that some demands can be enacted through policy reform, while others will require a revolution in economic and social conditions. The presentation will outline some of the key demands and the problems to which the demands respond. Ultimately, attendees will be encouraged to take the demands and to, alongside *No Pride in Prisons* and others, make them happen.

## FRIDAY

Friday 9-10:30am – Session 3

### CO122

#### **Session title: Action and Organisation: Past and Present**

**New Zealand Council of Trade Unions Te Kauae Kaimahi**

#### ***Sam Huggard***

This session from the Council of Trade Unions will update participants on strategic organising and campaigns thinking within the union movement.

Growth is critical to increasing worker voice and union capacity and unions accept it as a top priority for the movement.

Growth means increasing membership numbers, increasing our presence, increasing activity, developing leadership and finding new models of association for workers currently excluded from our movement.

Several new developments in recent years have given hope for union renewal, including industrial campaigns and legal cases in the areas of equal pay, in-between travel and minimum wage.

This presentation will look at

- The growth challenge facing unions and how this is being addressed
- Contemporary ways unions are building and exercising power outside of the traditional collective bargaining mode, including broad based organising, strategic litigation, and non-traditional models of association
- New models of association for workers outside unions, and how these are best designed

The Social Movements conference will take place just a few weeks after the CTU's inaugural Organising for Growth conference in Auckland, at which many of these topics will be discussed, and the CTU will be able to update participants at the Social Movements conference fresh from this event.

Presenter: Sam Huggard, CTU Secretary. Bio here: <http://union.org.nz/about/ctu-people>

#### **Old school organising with new school tricks**

#### ***Laura O'Connell-Rapira***

How ActionStation use digital tools, agile processes and real-world organising to help over 100,000 New Zealanders drive progressive change; and how we can work together. Laura O'Connell-Rapira is Campaigns Director at ActionStation focusing on membership

engagement. She's also worked with with RockEnrol and Oxfam. She will be discussing the emergence of ActionStation, it's place in New Zealand's mediascape and how academics and activists can best use the resource - including the explicitly member driven OurActionStation - to work towards a more progressive Aotearoa/New Zealand.

### **Has protest decreased in Aotearoa since the 1970s? What fissures and weaknesses exist within capital today?**

***Toby Boraman***

On the left, there is an either a giddy optimism or a gloomy pessimism about the current state of protest and dissent in society. On the one hand, some assert that an undercurrent has been gnawing away at neoliberalism since the 'alternative globalisation movement' arose in the mid to late 1990s. This has picked up in more recent times with the Arab Spring, the 'movement of the Squares' and Occupy, and they claim it has led to a reinvigoration of street protest that often employs innovative, diverse and creative networked tactics and strategies, and horizontal forms of organising. On the other hand, many paint the period since the 1970s as one of decline, defeat and demoralisation under the globalising forces of neoliberal capital. They assert that since the tumultuous times of the 1960s and 1970s there have been only fleeting flares of resistance that have not amounted to substantial, and ultimately successful, social and political movements over the long-term.

What is the case in New Zealand? While there has been substantial research into individual social movements, there are a lack of broad overviews of the state of extra-parliamentary protest and dissent *across* movements. This paper presents such a broad and brief overview. It also assesses the prospects for today. Painful honesty is needed to approach the present dictatorship of capital. Movements overseas have largely by-passed New Zealand, or been largely by-passed themselves by capital and the state, such as the anti-TPP movement. We need to look into the eye of the capitalist storm and recognise the generalised misery and alienation, the desperate scramble to make ends meet, the neverending demands to work more, produce more, and consume more in order to confront it. We face not only widespread precarity and material deprivation but also a mad social acceleration. Yet we also need to understand the instabilities of the present neoliberal consensus and (very limited) class compromise. This paper argues that while protest (including strikes) has overall declined under the totalising pressure of neoliberal capital, that pressure has intensified the cracks and fissures within the system, and potentially offers up new possibilities and spaces for autonomy and self-organisation from below.

### CO216

#### **Panel: Feminists of Colour**

***Huriana Kopeke-Te Aho, Kiran Foster, Mengzhu Fu, Aaliyah Zionov, Anonymous***

We are people of colour who have long been committed to social justice, yet have seen the prevailing whiteness of activism as a barrier to our participation. Resistance can be in the

everyday - in the little girl who contests her parents when they favour her little brother, in the woman of colour who knows nothing of Butler or Crenshaw yet finds the courage to leave her violent partner. Activist circles are indeed circles at which inaccessible high theory lies at the centre, necessitating the knowledge of the English language and the continual validation of the white man's words. Activism that purports for the betterment of society can often exclude and invalidate the voices of people of colour. We aim to have an open discussion in which people share their thoughts, feelings and experiences around their activism, how whiteness is navigated and negotiated in these contexts, and how to improve these activist spaces. By, exploring points of contestation, we aim to question how we can cooperate better and flesh out effective and inclusive modes of resistance. These discussions will be adherent with the principles of progressive stacking by which marginalised voices will be prioritised.

Our forum will begin with 30 minutes of some of our members sharing their experiences which will then springboard into an hour long open and facilitated discussion with the audience.

We are the campus group Feminists of Colour at the University of Auckland which is a space for non-men of colour.

Speakers:

Huriana Kopeke-Te Aho is neurodivergent takatāpui activist, artist & survivor born and raised in Colonised Aotearoa. They whakapapa to Tuhoe, Ngati Porou, Rongowhakaata, Te Ati Haunui-a-Paparangi & Ngati Kahungungu Ki Wairoa. Their activism focuses primarily on decolonisation, indigenous resistance, anti-capitalism and prison abolition.

Born mixed-race and intersex in Singapore, Kiran Foster is a disabled trans person of color and sex worker deeply involved in activism, especially where it relates to decolonization.

An anonymous speaker who often writes and speaks about context in media and societies, centring the relationships between indigenous and immigrant cultures. This person uses their anonymity to challenge hierarchical connotations of name and identity.

Aaliyah Zionov is a young Mizrahi Jewish transgender woman whose activism focuses on anti-capitalism, prison abolition, trans and sex worker rights.

Mengzhu Fu will also be participating as speaker.

## CO217

### **Panel: Displaced by Violence, Integrated via Social Connections: an Interdisciplinary Perspective on the Trajectory of Dislocated Persons**

***Amber Kale, Emily Greenbank, Ibrahim Omer, Jared Commerer***

This panel takes an interdisciplinary approach to narratives surrounding refugee trajectories. The four panellists explore causes of displacement, the act of forced migration and asylum-seeking, integration and resettlement in host nations, and the ongoing challenges of employment and employability.

Drawing on life-narrative interviews recently conducted with African refugees, Jared will outline the violent contextual and structural elements that lead to displacement. With reference to contemporary anthropological literature concerning political violence, he will argue that concentrated state power – in conjunction with institutional structures such as extreme nationalism – can lead to a ‘culture of fear’ whereby familial and other interpersonal relationships founded on trust inevitably dissolve; a phenomenon that allows for the perpetuation of state terror and hence renders people with little choice other than to confront a high degree of risk in order to flee their country of origin.

Following this, Ibrahim will put forward his own personal experiences as a refugee hailing from the Horn of Africa. Subsequent to enduring violence in its various forms during compulsory conscription in the Eritrean national service, Ibrahim made the decision to leave his family with the intent of illegally crossing the border to Sudan. Such an endeavour ushered in an array of unpredictable interpersonal encounters with, among others, human smugglers. Furthermore, Ibrahim’s experiences with the UNHCR in Sudan allow us a first-hand account of the dynamics involved with being, on one hand, processed as an asylum-seeker and, on the other, a processor of asylum-seekers.

As the trajectory continues, Amber will discuss frameworks of citizenship rights and processes of refugee integration within the sociopolitical context of Wellington, New Zealand (NZ). Despite former refugees being granted extensive citizenship rights via NZ residency, discrimination and marginalisation often restrict social participation and access to rights. As NZ debates raising our annual refugee quota, Amber argues that there is an increasing need for collaborative, participatory research which aims to enhance local connections and advocate social justice through enabling refugee voices to be heard and negative refugee stereotypes to be challenged.

Accordingly, accessing and securing appropriate employment remains a key issue in resettlement—for refugees and governments alike. Approaching refugee narratives from a sociolinguistic perspective, Emily will explore the ways in which refugee-background students and graduates negotiate employability within the New Zealand context. Using data gathered from both interviews and workplace interactions, participants’ navigation of their own career identities and the types of social and cultural capital they have at their disposal are explored. Language plays a central role in the formation and negotiation of individual identity, which emerges through narrative discourse, as well as to the creation and maintenance of social networks.

Together, the panellists aim to highlight the importance of interpersonal connections and mutually-trusting relationships throughout all stages of the trajectories of displaced persons. Additionally, this panel provides critical insight into refugee journeys and their challenges, and represents ongoing research into these important and complex issues.

## CO118

### **Session title: Health, Disability, Activism**

#### **Intersections of care: suicide prevention in New Zealand**

##### ***Tom Loffhagen***

Advocacy for suicide prevention has become increasingly visible in a number of social spaces in New Zealand. These Health Social Movements are aimed at ending the silence and stigma surrounding suicide and mental health. On social media sites, networks of those bereaved by suicide double as advocacy groups for preventative care. However, this can be undermined by legal suppression of reporting on suicide.

Over the past few months I have been speaking to those who are involved in many of these organizations and health social movements. They have shared with me their concerns over the ideologies and cultural views of suicide that exist in contemporary New Zealand; stories of their children who died by suicide while in the care of the state; their visions and memories of the lives of their children that ended while seeking care and their complaints that go unheard or ignored by various District Health Boards and other government agencies.

With this in mind, I will explore the ways in which these health social movements, which target the silence, stigma, and shame surrounding suicide and mental health, are all too often undermined by legal suppression, reinforcing these very cultural ideologies.

#### **Disability activism and social media**

##### ***Hilary Stace***

Transformative disability research has an ethical requirement to give back to the community which provided information and expertise. Academics who exploit the wisdom of disabled people for their own academic glory leaving the disability community no better off have been called 'tarmac professors' or even 'parasite people'. Most disabled people do not have access to academia, journals or conferences where research findings are reported or discussed. So how does an academic give back to the disability community? One way to reciprocate with a wider group is to blog about the research in a way which makes the information and debates accessible to anyone with an internet connection at home or in a shared civic space, such as a library. So I blogged findings of my publicly funded PhD.

PublicAddress.net is a long running, award winning New Zealand blogsite hosting several specialist blogs. Russell Brown, the founder, a father of two sons with autism, created the Access blog in 2014 under the Public Address umbrella for anyone with an interest to write about disability-related issues. He ensures the site remains politely well moderated although discussions can get intense. I have contributed several posts on aspects of my PhD research on autism policy. One post on disability as a wicked policy problem has so far attracted 30,000 page views and hundreds of comments. Many commentators on the subsequent thread have provided analyses or stories of disability policies and their effects from their lived experience, and we are aware of active readership from government

agencies. Numerous people have also contributed blog posts to the Access site including our Disability Rights Commissioner. Others have written about their lived experience of impairment and discrimination, or family experiences. Posts are frequently shared on other social media ensuring disability voices and issues are reaching out to a wider audience.

This activism has now extended to alliances between mainstream and social media, including journalists and those who post on disability-related Facebook pages. A group of us are currently working on addressing a serious breach of human rights faced by a disabled man. Alliances like this between academia and social and mainstream media means disability research, expertise and stories can be shared with new audiences, encouraging and broadening disability activism and empowerment.

Hilary Stace is a Visiting Research Fellow at the Health Services Research Centre at Victoria University of Wellington. Her 2011 PhD was on New Zealand's autism policy. She is a regular contributor to the Access disability blog on PublicAddress.net where she posts on aspects of her research including disability policy, history, activism and research ethics.

### **When does (disability) advocacy move into activism?**

#### ***Gretchen A Good, Awhina Hollis-English***

In this presentation we set out to review the ways in which advocating for disabled children can impact on self-esteem, competency and daily lives of mothers and families. Academic literature provides a picture of the work of advocate and activist mothers as largely overlooked, complex and undervalued. Academic women, mothers of disabled children, tell stories of activism and advocacy to bring to life the experience of mothers, children and families entrenched in disability.

Disability activism is creative, transformative difficult and rewarding. It is political, scholarly, and artistic and involves struggle, celebration, solidarity and subversion. Disability is more than impairment or functional limitation; the social model of disability includes social values, politics and priorities of governments and institutions. It is about power and marginalization. In this discussion we will look at the work of mothers to affect change on a micro scale, and on wider meso and macro levels. Presenters address issues including building up personal strength, institutional knowledge and support networks and connections in order to provide advocacy and activism. The challenges of communication with agencies, governments and systems are also addressed as well as cultural and spiritual aspects of disability advocacy and activism.

Each disabled child, family and mother will have a unique experience of disability and yet many of the systems we must work within are inflexible and not designed to meet individual needs. Mothers in this position must negotiate stereotypes and stigmas of motherhood, of disability, of feminism and of gender roles. They develop skills in managing micro-aggressions and bullying, in coping and in caring. Parent-professional relationships must be managed as well as unmanageable stacks of information and the public gaze. All must be done with diplomacy if we are to retain credibility and help our children and others who live with disability. . Disabled mothers and non-disabled mothers discuss their experiences as

mothers of disabled children as well as ideas for developing skills in advocacy and in activism.

Friday 11am-12:30pm – Session 4

CO122

**Panel: The Impending Healthcare Crisis: Transgender People's Access to Healthcare**

*Charles Prout with Kassie Hartendorp, Mani Mitchell, Jevon Wright, Justin Canty*

The current medical model is not coping with the ever increasing numbers of people looking to medically transition. We, as activists, would like to share our knowledge of working with trans and gender diverse youth, explore their needs, and ask how the system is failing them. Further, we want to look to the future and imagine what a medical system that meets the needs of trans people would look like.

CO216

**Session title: Workshop: Building Restorative Communities**

*Lindsey Pointer*

A restorative community can be intentionally created in any context where people share ongoing relationships including activist groups, cities, classrooms, schools, families, faith communities, and businesses. Restorative communities put primary focus on building, maintaining, and repairing relationships in order to foster a sense connection, belonging, and equal voice among community members. A restorative community, built on interpersonal connection and open communication, has an increased capacity for the creativity and commitment necessary to create true social change.

This workshop will provide tools that can be implemented immediately in groups of activists and academics to begin building restorative communities. The tools provided will include games and activities that build and strengthen team relationships while breaking down barriers to communication through humor and shared vulnerability.

CO217

**Panel: Anthropology, Ethnography and Activism: Critiques from Without and Within**

*Olivia Barnett-Naghshineh, Andrew Hernann, Alex Thorne-Large, Daniel Hernandez, Jade Aikman*

There are many valid criticisms of anthropology as a discipline from both internal and external sources. However, it can offer deep insights into the nuances of inequalities and

power through respect for different ways of knowing and being. This panel will consider the tensions that lie between anthropology and a more over politics, exploring what ethnography offers for critical social and political understanding. Our intimate relationship with the discipline and the academy generally as scholars of anthropology has helped us identify flaws. But we also recognise the skills and tools can possibly be useful both in and outside of the academy. With this in mind we aim to open up dialogue around what makes for an ethnographic orientation and what can and is already used outside of the academy. We also share some reflections on what we have learnt as a result of our own ethnographies and from our participants. The recognition of the importance of ongoing ethical relationships and mutual learning and listening is valuable in an era where many feel unheard or ignored by mainstream politics. This will be an open ended discussion creating the space for thinking out loud about how to create the conditions for more people to be heard and taken into account.

We hope the following questions will frame our discussions and stimulate some collaborative dialogue:

- What can a critical ethnography tell us about social and political change, or (unseen) forms of resistance?
- How can anthropology and ethnography be made accessible to non-anthropologists and people outside of the academy?
- How has and can ethnography and anthropology be used for thinking about alternatives to the current dominant economic paradigm?

### **Olivia Barnett - Naghshineh**

#### **Introduction to the panel: ethnography that matters, not just of the everyday but for the everyday**

Introduction to the panel: anthropology and ethnography, what they are and do and have to offer for critiques of capitalism and thinking about alternatives. I will touch on some of the ways ethnography has been used to further understanding of capitalism and social issues and the elements of a critical ethnography that can be used in non-academic contexts. I introduce questions about the difference between the product of ethnography and the ways in which we go about conducting anthropological or ethnographic interrogation. I will also attempt to draw together some of the key issues that come up in the panel, and hope to have as many voices engaging in this collaborative project of making ethnography public, or showing the ways that we can all practice ethnography in our everyday lives. The recent Brexit decision is used as one example of what happens when we don't take the time to actively listen.

**Andrew Hernann (Professional Teaching Fellow, University of Auckland)**

**“I, Anthropologist?” or a Call for Decolonized Collaboration**

Many anthropologists have critiqued both the object of their discipline’s study and its ethnographic methodologies as rooted in on-going imperial dominance. In response, some have emphasized collaborative research and publication strategies. Taking this a step further, I propose a decolonized reconceptualization of “the anthropologist.” By integrating the tools of ethnography, liberatory social movements can better empathize with and avoid (inadvertently) oppressing their constituents.

**Alex Thorne-Large**

**The ethnographic method and fragmented perspectives: Understanding New Zealand's student borrowers.**

Among some student activists, there is a dominant belief that the only way to resist is through organised dissent. In this paper, I will build on my investigation into the forms of everyday student resistance that challenge the neoliberal forces transforming the New Zealand tertiary system. As the student loan system is a crucial mechanism for these forces, it is an intimate part of the lives of student borrowers. Ethnography allows access to their lived experiences in New Zealand, while offering investigators the tools to map student engagement with the government’s apparatus of responsabilisation. I argue that student resistance movements can utilise the ethnographic method to understand the fragmented perspectives that characterise New Zealand’s student body.

**Daniel Hernandez (Winaq)**

**A story of the Urban Ocean in the Rocky Mountains**

This presentation will explore the possibilities of critical ethnography and media storytelling using the example of the cultural practice of transmitting knowledge through Kava drinking circles. I'll be looking at one group of Pasifika men in Utah that reflect on several issues relevant to family and community in urban spaces with Indigenous traditions that are adapted and reinvented to fit with place. I'll share some struggles and strategies of activism and academia as an Urban Indigene attempting to maintain balance between process and goals.

**Jade Aikman**

**An indigenous anthropology space**

“To whom are you writing?”, asked a supervisor of mine during my Master’s research, reiterating the need to write to your community – and not to the three examiners of your thesis. For me, this urges the need to write accessibly to both an academic and a whānau audience, more broadly reflecting that research is an on-going relationship that does not

end with the submission of one's thesis. This has always been a principal value within my work, because ethnography (for me) is about forging and maintaining relationships over a lifetime. Too often do I see the implicit expectation in research where attaining knowledge is simply a given – without regard to any sense of reciprocity or continued engagement. Social anthropology is about being curious and interested in life and people, and my fascination for listening to koro and kuia talk about their stories of the past (characteristic of much of my childhood) was a natural fit within an ethnographic approach to research. I hope to build and expand on this in our discussion, especially in exploring how we all have an 'inner anthropologist' within us.

## CO118

### **Session title: Intergenerational Feminism**

#### **Building an oral history of lesbian activism within Aotearoa**

##### ***Rachel Shaw***

My research delves into the differences between second-wave and current feminist activism, and attempts to discover why there are feelings of alienation present for many members of second-wave feminist activist communities. I will research the differing identity politics that the two groups utilise, and how the different shaping of their activist identities has led to a widening in the separation between the two groups. Many second wave activists that I have encountered throughout my research have very complex relationships between their two spheres of activism — lesbian and feminist. Meanwhile, modern activists form their activist identities more as an amalgamation of both without separating the two spheres. This fundamental difference in identity construction has significantly contributed to the gaps between the two groups. Currently, there hasn't been a lot of research situating lesbian-feminist activism within New Zealand. During my research, I will be conducting interviews with members of the second wave lesbian-feminist activist movement in regard to the current divide in activism, which adds a valuable dimension to current activist research. I argue that new ways to perform activism have contributed to the gap that we are seeing now, and there is a real divide to how second wave activists still approach movements for change. As well as the social media aspect, there has been a rise in the practice of 'no-forumming', another way that modern activists exclude those second wave activists whose ideologies no longer line up with the dominant model. I intend to propose some ways that we can bridge the gap between second wave and current lesbian-feminist activism and work our way towards cohesion between the two groups. In conclusion, this talk will outline my dissertation findings, and propose new ways to decrease the alienation second wave lesbian-feminist activists feel from current forms of activism.

## **Third Wave Feminist Activism since 1990**

### ***Kerry Tankard***

I became interested in radical feminist activism in the late 90's/early 2000's, when I returned to university after a decade of being "just a housewife", unable to continue employment in a public service gutted by the Bolger Government 1990-99. I was also newly divorced, and that informed my decision to seek out Women's Centres, feminist groups on campus, and other peer-to-peer support resources for women.

Eventually I took up a second major in Gender and Women's Studies, studied at post-graduate level, wrote academically about Anarcha-feminism, and began the troubled pathway to writing a book about Third Wave Feminist Activism in Aotearoa/New Zealand.

My presentation at this conference explores this activism and agency of women in the NZ context, and a little about why this topic still engages me. My personal experience of activism was mostly in a Wellington context; I am describing feminist involvement in organisations such as Wellington Animal Rights Network (WARN), Peace Action Wellington (PAW), Wellington Independent Rape Crisis (WIRC), campus women's groups, environmental action groups, all based in the Wellington activist communities on and off campus. I have an interest in the McGillicuddies as a reservoir of political/subversive activists, but have less research completed on this community, so will only refer to them in passing.

I'll also talk about the use of feminist oral history research methodology, a tool that captures real events in feminist lives and communities, and contrast that with the 'Decolonising Methodologies' kaupapa Māori framework developed by Dr Linda Tuhiwai Smith.

Lastly, I'll discuss why it is important to honour those who have been activists in the past, and recognise that feminist activists may go on to become unionists, counsellors, teachers, parents, writers and academics. As an historian, I like to see lessons learned in the past retained for current communities of activists.

## **Agency or complacency? An analysis of the intersectional landscape that underpins how NZ women identify with feminism**

### ***Roxanna Holdsworth***

In New Zealand, gender equality has reached a plateau (McGregor, 2013). Government driven policy initiatives and online campaigns have led to confusion about feminism as an ideology and what it means to have gender equality. The digital age has seen an increase in cyber activity and more feminist groups are embedding themselves within social media spheres than ever before. Online activism has replaced physical activism, with hashtags on social media sites, such as Twitter and Facebook, being used to expand the reach of feminist activity. The aim of this study is to determine why an online activist shift has occurred and if

web-based activity has led to an increase in agency, as well as if it has contributed to the sense of complacency driven by the idea that we have already achieved gender equality.

A brief look at the literature (Ministry for Women, 2015; Ministry for Women, 2016) suggests that statistics released by the Government, in line with political communication—the dissemination of power and political messages (McNair, 1995; Soukup, 2014)—suggest attempts to mainstream gender through policy. Global reports showing fluctuating world rankings, however, uncover New Zealand’s failures in achieving consistency (National Council of Women of New Zealand, 2015; Sawer, 1999; World Economic Forum, 2014; World Economic Forum, 2015). Generational trends are visible predominantly in the use of platforms; younger women are opting to collaborate online, whilst many older women have actively or passively participated in movements such as the vote for women and access to contraception. Such differences between the age groups reinforces the agency or complacency debate, with older women sensing complacency in a younger generation who believe that the power of the internet is increasing their agency.

Identity, as the practice of inserting ourselves into socially constructed categories (Scott, 2014, para. 3), and feminist identity politics—a theory which aims to articulate women’s perceptions of who they are as individuals (Heyes, 2014)—are used to determine what connects New Zealand women to feminist ideas. The use of critical social science research (CSS) to critically examine the identities of New Zealand women based on their generational, group and personal identity, lends itself to associations with political communication. Intersectionality—the focus on identity, categories and processes of difference, and structures of domination (Scott, 2014, para. 2)—incorporates the analysis of feminist identity with the distribution of power to show how identity and ideology have affected the progression of gender equality.

New Zealand women of varying ages, cultural backgrounds, and beliefs will be included within the study in order to obtain data that reflects the diverse nature of New Zealand society. The state of “limbo” identified by McGregor (2013), describes a time when competing ideologies regarding feminism are stalling its progression. It is expected that this research will contribute to a greater understanding of feminism in relation to how online activism is carried out. In addition, it aims to uncover if, and the ways in which, this form of activism is helping or hindering the progression of gender equality.

CO122

**Session title: Work, Commodification, Reproduction and Resistance**

**Consumer, entrepreneur, investor? Contesting commodification and challenging capitalist subjectification**

***Anna-Maria Murtola***

The commodification of life has received considerable attention at least since Marx and the writings of the Frankfurt school. This is perhaps not surprising given the structural impetus to commodify that capital accumulation requires. Today, concerns about the commodification, marketisation or economisation of everything abound. There is a vast literature assessing the limits of commodification in particular through analyses of ‘the moral limits of markets’ and ‘contested commodities’. Less attention has been paid to the forms of subjectivation that follow, enable and challenge commodification.

Subjectivation here refers to the invitation to think of oneself, one’s capacities and conditions in specific ways. There is already considerable research on the ways in which consumption, entrepreneurship and investment are encouraged as models of social interaction instead of, for example, citizenship. The associated subjectivities can involve real freedoms that the market with its anonymity can provide and that traditional or patriarchal social configurations may not. Yet these capitalist models of social interaction also serve to materially and symbolically limit agency.

Subjectivation is not merely a question of subjectivity in the sense of personhood or identity. It is a matter of ongoing and conflicting interpellations, the response to which determines specific actions. Interpellation is not determination but rather an invitation to subjecthood that contributes to creating the field of possibility for thinking and action. Constant and repeated interpellation contributes to the common sense that becomes hegemonic in a particular context. Challenging hegemony means challenging capitalist subjectivation, valuing alternative subjectivities and opening up and expanding spaces for alternative conceptualisations of social life. Challenging capitalist subjectivation means interventions in a variety of spheres, enabling different forms of interpellation to become stronger instead of the calls to the narrowly defined subjectivities of, for example, the consumer, the entrepreneur and the investor.

The grounds for challenging capitalist subjectivation already exist. Many social movements are already, implicitly or explicitly, engaged in challenging capitalist subjectivation in different ways, including through alternative subjectivities and explicitly anti-capitalist subjectivation. It is a matter of amplifying these already existing tendencies and models through increased collaboration between different bodies. However, given the aggressive nature of capitalist subjectivation and its institutional backing, a ‘folk political’ response is not going to be sufficient. In this presentation I will argue for the need of an institutionally supported direct confrontation in challenging capitalist subjectivation.

## **The value of work and the future of the left**

### ***Campbell Jones***

This talk will present some of the results of research originally commissioned by the New Zealand Labour Party for its Future of Work Commission. This research into the value of work seeks to clarify the key features of how work has historically been understood on the left and the right. One key result is that the left and right do not differ in the extent of the value placed on work. Rather, how left and right diverge is that they hold fundamentally different concepts of the nature of work.

The 1864 Inaugural Address of the International Workingmen's Association clearly articulated this break in terms of a 'great contest' over the basic categories of political economy. It emphasised the irreconcilability between the political economy premised on the 'blind rule of supply and demand laws' and the political economy of the working class. It is not a matter of the left and right taking different perspectives on the same thing, but rather that the left and the right consider the political economy to be comprised of different things. In this light it should be no surprise that historically, political organisations of the left have not simply advocated for modifications in and increased rewards for work but have, more profoundly, advanced a fundamentally different conception of work.

The modern left historically arose from the demands of a Third Estate of 'commoners' for the right to social, political and symbolic existence. Beyond this, the left asserts not just the full existence of workers but furthermore a relative equality of work across all of its variety. With this the left has therefore demanded and at times effected relative equality in the distribution of work and its rewards. At the same time, the left ontologically redefines the nature of work in ways that are more extensive, expansive and inclusive, including in its definition of work a range of forms of unpaid work earlier not recognised as work. In short, the left sponsors a fundamental reconceptualisation of work that recognises the contributions to economy and society of those who are not fully recognised as workers or whose work is under-recognised by the blind rule of supply and demand.

It is against this historic project of the redefinition of the nature of work that any contemporary politics must be measured, rather than the other way around. To proceed the other way around invariably assumes what I call in my book on work 'the vulgar conception of work'. On this understanding, work is principally valued not in the terms of those who do it but of those who exploit the work of others. Asking the question of the value and moreover the nature of work therefore poses troubling questions for what presents itself in Aotearoa and internationally as the left. At the same time, it provides grounds on which to clarify and develop a programme for the contemporary left, for which revaluing, reclaiming and rethinking work is an immediate practical ambition.

## **Women, finance, and the struggle over reproduction**

***Shanti Daellenbach***

The idea of financial capability has become a popular ideological tool for the state in recent years, functioning to discipline people's financial labour as an adjunct to their reproductive labour. Women, and mothers in particular, are both more often burdened with this financial labour within families and form the basis for representations of financial incapacity. Such indicates the presence of a gendered division of reproductive labour particular to finance capital. In a period characterised by volatility and precarity (for labour and capital alike), struggles over the conditions of reproduction are not only more generalised, but are increasingly forced into the realm of financial abstraction, with gendered consequences. This paper calls for a new analysis of the gendered division of reproductive labour within finance capital, arguing that this is imperative to an adequate critique of contemporary finance capital. Finally, it considers how women's struggles over reproduction might inform thinking on political organisation and strategy today.

## CO216

### **Panel: Feminism Resistance and the Academy**

***Deborah Jones, Alison Pullen, Janet Sayers***

We aim with this panel to engage both academics and activists in exploring feminism as resistance. We speak as academics, as women, and as feminists, and we consider how to mobilise feminist resources for resistance from and across these spaces. We range across and between theory and practice. Marginalisation, discrimination and oppression of women within universities prevail. Whilst fighting injustice is the responsibility of the collective social body, much of the resistance against gender inequality and sexism has fallen on the shoulders of academic feminists and feminist activists. In this panel we explore the ways in which epistemic injustices call for resistance. Following Medina (2013) we suggest that resistance is central to democratic interaction and as such enables mutual engagement of diverse perspectives. After all, consensus in decision-making renders coercion amongst dissenting minorities (Anderson, 2006). Pursuing a 'vibrant democratic life' (Young, 1990) requires feminists to reconnect resistance with solidarity to explore new possibilities of social relationality. This 'vibrant democratic life' requires relationships with allies, and acknowledges differences within the category of feminism, beyond gender/ the feminine, and involves solidarity with other forms of resistance to oppression. This epistemic sensibility creates an obligation to resist both the context of domination and the conditions of oppression. Our obligation to resist leads us to ask: what are our epistemic duties in fighting for equality as feminists in the academy? And, what makes feminist sociality and sensibility in democratic culture? Democratic social interaction requires resistance that destabilises self as knower, a self-estrangement; a radical openness to difference (Gatens and Lloyd, 1999); a heterogeneous public (Young, 1990); a radical solidarity (Medina, 2013).

The panel includes three presentations as follows:

Alison Pullen – Epistemic injustice and feminist resistance in the academy.

Janet Sayers – Engendering affect through affirmative politics and creative resistance practices.

Deborah Jones – Feminist activism inside and beyond the university.

## CO217

### **Session title: Working the Interface: Between Activism and Academia 1**

#### **Rethinking management education as scholarly/activists, activist scholars**

***Maria Humphries, Sheeba Asirvatham***

While existing structures of power, exploitation, and inequality are not inevitable, they do seem intractable on many fronts. We wish to contribute to this important conference by locating the productive spaces where to be an academic is also to be an activist. Our contribution will be a reflection on the extent to which the work of scholars can and ought to be activist but how such responsibility is systemically thwarted. We address five of interrelated themes invited for consideration in the call to conference. We posit surveillance/counter-surveillance (of the quality assurance kind) and its impact on academic freedom thwarts any form of education necessary for an education that enlightens, informs, and encourages an active citizenship able to address critically the themes in the call, particularly the theme of poverty and inequality on a severely degraded planet. We are interested in the liberal feminist entanglement in the specific concerns raised in the call and in the potential of (scholarly) activism - prioritising the vitality of people and planet as a response. Our field is management education and we hold our focus there. We are confident our analysis will have wider resonance. Our reasoning is set out below.

Although frequently referred to by advocates and apologists as the necessary and best available form for development of people and planet, exposure of the degrading effects of the dominant form of globalisation with its local manifestations is no longer the sole domain of scholars in critical organisation studies or of diverse radical activists. Gender inequity, institutional racism, concerns about the growing wealth gap, the rise of the neo-right, and the depletion of the life-giving energies of the planet are given attention in even some the most conservative corridors of power. Muff et al (2103) are among those who associate contemporary social and environmental degradation with a disconnection of business and business education from what they call 'the common good'. Through their advocacy for *Management education for the world [as] a vision for business school serving people and planet*, they call for a reimagined leadership by universities in their own governance and management, and in revised attention to the kinds of leaders they are preparing for the future. Transnational corporations (global companies) and their servicing organisations (including business schools), and the rampant consumerism associated with this form of global development have been recognised as contributors to these degradations and these institutions are being tasked with a responsibility to address them. We posit that in this context, neo-liberal feminist ideals and projects have helped a limited number of women to

achieve their employment aspirations often at some cost to other areas of their lives or through a part in the intensification of the downward impact of their success on the lives of others. We hope for an engaged session where we would outline our position and then invite participants to reflect with us on the responsibility of scholars in publically funded universities with (in NZ anyhow) the legally endorsed mandate to contribute as a 'critic and conscience' of society.

### **Global capital playing the role of the pseudo-hysteric: an analysis of a protest**

***Andrew Dickson, Ozan Nadir Alakavuklar***

By drawing from Marxian political economy and Lacanian psychoanalysis, in this study, our aim is to contest the passive aggressive nature of global capital's response to the protests. In the case of a blockade of a bank branch which aims to protest the investment of a global finance brand in fossil fuels, the managers of bank branch let customers of the bank confront with and even step over the protestors to get into the bank. This was an intentional tactic in terms of curtailing the main cause of the blockade and, with the involvement of the media, representing protestors in opposition to the customers rather than the brand.

For us, to unfold this case and make sense of the reaction of the global capital in such cases we have two theoretical resources: While Marxian political economy lets us to criticise the role of the global capital in terms of their economic power and sustaining an ideological warfare, Lacanian psychoanalysis help us address how global capital acts as a 'pseudo-hysteric' to simultaneously acknowledging and delegitimising the protestors and their efforts, through a lack of care. As the Marxist critique opens up a space to argue about the exploitative and destructive nature of global capital while seemingly doing 'good business', the Lacanian position provides us a tool to demonstrate how the lack of care of the protests lead to a new strategic defence in the form of a semblance of hysteria deployed by capital in the service of accumulation.

While the literature on corporate response to social movements has been growing, by employing two different but arguably complementary theoretical traditions, our contribution resides in uncovering the psychodynamic aspects of the tension between the actors of the protest.

### **Creating ordinary resistance: academic spaces for change**

***Liesel Mitchell***

We know that university students during their academic life are active participants in resistance, and are often innovative in mobilising for political and social change. In addition, students often engage in resistance by nonviolent means, as seen by popular examples such as the student led Otpor (Serbia) and Pora (Ukraine), the US civil rights movement, Beijing students in Tiananmen Square, and more recent examples such as the Umbrella Revolution in Hong Kong, to name just a few.

Even still, student resistance remains under-researched and we know little about what both motivates and facilitates students to become involved in activism. This begs the questions: what are the practical and functional qualities of the physical, social, intellectual and political space of universities, which foster resistance? How might these functionalities be accessed in order to bridge the social gap between academia and activism? This paper will compare examples of nonviolent student resistance in order to examine these questions and begin the process of developing a practical response.

## CO118

### **Session title: Food, Activism, Environmental Justice**

#### **Global and local NGOs interactions for the protection of the environment: NGOs activities in Mexico to prevent GMO maize adoption**

***Yadira Ixchel Martinez Pantoja***

Corn is the core of the Mexican identity. Furthermore, Mexico is considered as a center of origin and biodiversity of corn. Despite this designation, Mexico imports 10 million tons of GM maize each year from the United States in accordance with the NAFTA commitments. Currently, GM maize cultivation is not allowed although the Law of Biosafety of Genetically Modified Organisms (LBGMO) approved in 2005 allows the cultivation of GM food crops. Environmental NGOs in Mexico have prevented the cultivation and commercialization of GM maize because Mexico's national identity is linked to corn. Global NGOs action has been extended to Mexico with campaigns to prevent the cultivation of GM maize sending messages that promote ecological farming, proper alimentation, and the protection of indigenous agricultural practices in order to protect native maize from genetic contamination. Likewise, local NGOs have advocated for the protection of native corn, and by means of a collective action lawsuit have prevented GM maize cultivation at a pilot, experimental or commercial level since 2008. The interactions between global and local NGOs and their messages in order to protect corn from other GM crops in Mexico is the subject of this paper.

#### **The diaries of an agribusiness activist**

***Craig Prichard***

In this proposed presentation I hope to read two short diary entries written at particular points in the last couple of years. These report work that I and others have been doing to support the development of an alternative dairy industry in Aotearoa.

The first entry, entitled 'Is an agribusiness activist possible?', asks what kind of resistance is involved in this work and what kind of social movement is being built. It asks whether agribusiness activism is indeed progressive given its connection to patriarchal-feudal class formations and processes (family farming), animal exploitation, and, in some instances, joint venture investment of foreign capital in New Zealand. The entry draws on a particular form

of institutional marxian analysis (Resnick and Wolff, 2006) and discusses the complex class dimensions of the joint ventures, family, sole trader and cooperatives enterprises that make up the developing sheep milk sector. It concludes by responding to the question of whether building a social movement around an alternative dairy industry is in fact simply building social foundations for later exploitation by finance capital - once monopoly positions and super profits are possible.

The second entry, entitled 'A social movement of the other udder?', discusses the use and relative importance of bio-chemical experiences in social movement formation. The diary entry explores the extent to which presenting people with bio-psycho-social challenges, namely the consumption of sheep milk and sheep milk products in this case, is important in the development of a social movement subject. Particularly, and drawing on some survey results, the entry discusses the influence that tasting foods might have as the basis for re-signification (in this case resignifying sheep, in Aotearoa at least, as a dairy animal). The diary entry asks if intimate relations with non-traditional foods and drinks have a place in the repertoire of social movement organizing alongside say music and dance experiences (e.g. charivari, the protest march). The entry concludes by responding to the suggestion that social movement food activism is actually no politics at all - simply part of the widespread fetishization of food commodities (Goodman and DuPuis, 2002).

## **Diversifying environmental justice**

### ***Andrea Edwards***

The environmental justice framework has expanded over the years from a simplistic, ridged concept with focused on correlation and proximity to environmental risks into a complex, fluid concept which acknowledges that there are social and cultural influences that affect environmental justice. However, while this transition in environmental justice has made some head way in seeking environmental equality, there remains a gap between the current environmental justice framework and where it needs to be in order create effective, community empowering solutions to environmental injustice. This gap comes from the lingering dependency on the simplistic, outdated understandings of environmental racism. Current understandings of environmental racism focuses on explicit, intentional exposures to environmental risks and seeks to blame individual actors (energy companies, corporations, etc.), but cannot address the institutional and societal conditions that create Environmental inequality in embedded, every-day context. As a result, communities are often mischaracterized and denied their rights to self-determination, especially indigenous communities. Adjustments to the environmental justice framework is needed in order to disestablish outdated characterizations of communities and allow space of alternative forms of environmental injustice/ justice.

This presentation will discuss the transitions of the environmental justice framework over the last 30 years, highlighting the influences, successes, and failings of the environmental justice literature over time that has led to its current form. Then I will introduce an alternative environmental justice framework that includes themes from the Diverse

Economies Framework. These themes will act as a bridge in order to situate environmental in/justice in a broader socio-political and discursive context. It will potentially lead to research that would help communities to develop their own pathways to environmental justice. To conclude the presentation, I will briefly discuss the current status of my research, using the newly constructed framework.

Friday 3:30-5:30pm – Session 6

CO122

## **Session title: Civil Disobedience: Climate Justice and Peace**

**Waging peace: movement debates over framing and tactics**

***Valerie Morse***

The peace movement is facing its greatest challenge in 30 years with the invitation of a US Navy warship to New Zealand in November. This issue has prompted some in the peace movement to seek to strategically frame this as a "win" for people's power suggesting that the acceptance of the invitation by the US indicates that NZ "won". Others view this framing as both unhelpful and disempowering. What's the motive for this framing and are there dangers in making claims of victory? What strategies and tactics can the peace movement use to rebuild and empower a new generation in the age of endless war and catastrophic climate change?

## **350 Aotearoa and social change**

***Sandy Hildebrandt (350 Aotearoa)***

350 Aotearoa is a climate justice organisation, part of the international 350.org movement. The movement's three main goals are to keep carbon in the ground; help build a new, more equitable low-carbon economy; and pressure governments and other institutions to lower emissions.

To begin, we will talk about our position as an organisation focused on grassroots movement-building – we believe that it is important to emphasise community and group empowerment, as opposed to individualism and consumer activism. We will highlight our focus on collective action and why we view collective action as the most effective source of social change.

We will introduce climate justice as the effective form of collective action, as it involves listening to impacted communities and following their lead. We will also provide a couple good examples of climate justice in action around the world.

Next, we will give an overview of divestment, and how it is our current campaign focus in New Zealand. We will explain how divestment seeks to revoke the social license of fossil fuel projects, as the BDS campaign against Apartheid South Africa once did. We will go over which institutions we have targeted and which have divested so far.

We will go over our recent campaign - Break Free, which took place in May – the largest international campaign of civil disobedience against fossil fuels to date. We will talk about how in New Zealand, we focused on getting banks to divest – specifically ANZ. We will discuss our reasons for targeting ANZ and banks in general, and describe the actions that took place around the country.

We will talk about our new campaign – to continue the momentum provided by Break Free and put more pressure on ANZ, as well as our new target, Westpac. We wish to highlight the greenwashing involved in these banks' image and marketing strategies – and how it proves how incompatible capitalism is with environmentalism, and how “green capitalism” can only serve as a marketing tool.

Finally, we will discuss how everyone can get involved with our campaign against ANZ and Westpac – upcoming actions and a pledge for individuals and organisations to sign that they will withdraw their funds from ANZ and Westpac if the banks don't divest by end of November.

## **Climate justice in Aotearoa**

### ***James Barber (Oil Free Wellington)***

Oil free Wellington is a community grassroots group of climate justice activists working to oppose deep sea oil off Wellington's coast. We formed in 2012 when deep sea oil permits were granted in the Pegasus basin. Having mostly come from working on other climate justice projects, we formed the group also with the intention of promoting climate justice as a way in which to work on these issues.

Our joint presentation with members of group, all experienced climate activists will focus on the state of the climate movement and what climate justice could look like in Aotearoa.

First, we will explore the different struggles which are being fought in the climate space across Aotearoa, and what groups and NGOs are involved. We will give our perspective of the political differences between some of these groups and the different tactics and approaches being used.

We will look at how the movement has changed in its approach to civil disobedience and how this reflects analysis and leadership from the grassroots both here and worldwide. We will explore the tactic of removing social license of oil and gas companies being used in Aotearoa and examine its effects and our experience of working with this approach locally and alongside our comrades in Taranaki.

We will give our perspective on some ways forward for the climate movement in Aotearoa and where change is needed and where there is danger for movement co-optation.

Next, we will focus on how we might envisage what climate justice would mean for Aotearoa. We will focus this discussion on by exploring the ideas behind and intersections between state-centered and community-centered solutions. Are solutions to climate change that come from the state or community opposed to each other?

We will argue that three approaches to the climate crisis are generally engaged with; neoliberal, progressive and transformatory. We will explore how in New Zealand the neoliberal or 'green capitalist' approach has taken hold so successfully and then explore some examples of working from a progressive or transformative approach.

Lastly, we will focus on decolonisation and the need for this to sit front and centre of work for climate justice in Aotearoa.

## CO216

### **Session title: Peace and Protest**

#### **The case for anarcho-pacifism**

*Joe Llewellyn*

A rise in the study of pragmatic nonviolence has shown that nonviolence is often more effective than violence in creating societal change, both in its ability to overthrow governments and in creating more peaceable post-revolution societies. These nonviolent revolutionary movements and the findings from nonviolence research have contributed to a shift towards the development of a more peaceful form of revolutionary politics. However, this shift is incomplete and cannot be completed using pragmatic nonviolence. This paper argues that to move closer to a nonviolent and emancipatory politics, an anarcho-pacifist nonviolence must be adopted by revolutionary groups in order to address only physical violence, but also structural and cultural violence within politics and revolutions. This allows for nonviolence to be transformative and prevents the perpetuation of forms of violence that are still prominent within many pragmatic nonviolent movements. This paper concludes that because an anarcho-pacifist framework would reject physical, structural and cultural violence, it must logically be anti-state in nature. Therefore traditional forms of revolution, influenced by Marxist and Leninist theory, must also be rejected in favor of an anarchistic approach. The paper will finish by exploring some examples of communities that are attempting to move beyond state-centric political forms.

#### **Drawing and blurring lines: nonviolence in civil protest movements**

*Astrid Heidemann Simonsen*

Nonviolent protest methods receive increasing attention from both activists and academics, being perceived as strategically and/or morally superior to violent protests. These advantages – strategic and moral – correspond broadly to the approaches to nonviolence usually named principled nonviolence/pacifism and strategic nonviolence. This paper argues that although these two approaches are predominantly treated as separate, both the pacifist and the nonviolent strategist will benefit from a combination of these conceptions of nonviolence. The first line drawn and then blurred in this paper is then the distinction between pacifism and strategic nonviolence. The second line is the crucial distinction between violence and nonviolence. Perhaps surprisingly, this definitional boundary receives

little attention in much literature on nonviolence. As with the first distinction, this boundary is complex and, I argue, never completely clear-cut. What is perceived as nonviolent to a protester may be experienced as threatening or menacing to an observer. It is not suggested, however, that blurry lines have no importance; rather, I argue that the complex and dynamic nature of these boundaries means that they require more, not less, attention and respect from political actors. It may not be possible to achieve a complete and definitive understanding of violence and nonviolence, but it is achievable and necessary to improve and deepen our understanding of these concepts, both in theory and practise.

### **Why peace can't be a happy project**

#### ***Mahdis Azarmandi***

Peace Studies as a field of research is invested in the elimination of war and violence and, as such, advocates for 'paradigm shift' and social transformation. Much of Peace Studies' work focuses on the study of direct violence and the opposition thereof. Popular imagery of anti-war protest continues to invoke the idea of the peace-loving activists with flowers in their hair. For Peace scholars and activists as well as their opponents, this image has been a crucial one. It is invoked to create an image of possible futures free of violence and it is also used to discredit peace work as utopian and silly.

In this paper I bring together the idea of 'paradigm shift' as a central component to Peace Studies research and the notion of what constitutes 'peaceful' resistance in an analysis on racial justice organizing. While structural and cultural violence are also significant components of the study of Peace Studies, race as an analytic category is has been largely absent. Hence, I firstly argue that a paradigm shift has to recognize the current paradigm as one shaped fundamentally by race and coloniality.

Secondly, by drawing on the work of David T. Goldberg and Sara Ahmed I argue that for people of the dominant group anti-racist work as work towards 'peace' cannot be a project marked by happiness – often implied in the image of flowers and singing. Anti-racism and white allies in racial justice movements must reclaim risk as well as discomfort to challenge structures of white supremacy. As such current understandings of nonviolent and peaceful resistance as conceptualized in Peace Studies must be reconsidered. In fact, the struggle for peace might rather be cruel and ugly rather than happy and pretty.

In this sense, a 'peace' that is blind to race and coloniality will always exclude the 'colonized' and anti-racism without decolonization will always run the risk of reproducing more violence.

### **Daring acts of peace and scholarship**

#### ***Meredith Paterson***

This presentation will share my recent experience researching Peace through Unity (PTU), a Charitable Trust and UN accredited NGO founded in 1975 and based in Whanganui, Aotearoa New Zealand. The bridge between academia and activism sometimes felt more like a

tightrope over Niagara Falls: a balancing act between the formal requirements of the university and an academic discipline, while respecting and doing justice to the life's work of PTU co-founder, Gita Brooke, and her network of co-workers. PTU operates as a responsive network of individuals, geographically disparate, but sharing a broad and expansive vision for peace, captured by the themes education, transformation and responsibility. The move away from formal organization raises different possibilities for action, such as a kind of 'thought-activism' explored in my thesis.

Drawing on my Master of International Relations thesis, this presentation will unpack key challenges faced during the research process, including:

1. The challenge of articulating the unconventional structure and focus of PTU in an academic setting.
2. The challenge of representing the deeply held convictions of the research subject, while fulfilling the academic task of independent critique.
3. The challenge of drawing conclusions from, and moving forward with, ongoing struggles for peace and justice.

These experiences will resonate with the conference participants, opening space for theoretical inquiry and practical interrogation of how best to cross the tightrope between academia and activism for better cooperation in future. I will share the framework of narrative politics, which enabled me to connect PTU and International Relations, through its recognition of relationships, lived experience and voice in politics. I have worked alongside Brooke and PTU for several years, as well as with other activist networks. As such, my presentation reflects the personal difficulties I faced as both activist and academic.

## CO217

### **Session title: Collective Action, Populism, Solidarity**

#### **Translating Laclau's 'populist reason' in political praxis: experiences from Southern Europe**

***Igor Jovanoski***

Ernesto Laclau's work has become paradigmatic for the post-Marxist left today. In particular, his concept of 'populist reason' is very prominent. It advocates the establishment of post-ideological alliances based on the notion of *populism*, harnessing the latter, as Laclau himself claimed, for the sake of the 21<sup>st</sup> century radical democratic politics. And obviously, this type of post-modern, identitarian politics took some practical shape in Southern Europe. Drawing on Laclau, as well known, and abandoning the old Marxist categories of class struggle, the left-wing coalitions of Syriza in Greece and Podemos in Spain did prove successful in mobilizing wider and sometimes ideologically inconsistent societal strata. They are now either ruling parties in their respective countries or take significant chunk of voters' ballots. Despite the political success, however, they also proved fragile and unstable in organizational terms, particularly vulnerable to the post-electoral demands of the global capital. Further in the south, in the Balkans in particular, Laclau's political translation was even less certain.

Marginalized by the external, global capital flows but internally prone to cultural and political authoritarianism they seemed unfit to fully embrace left-wing populist politics. What is more, placed in this structural setting, the egalitarian 'populist reason' turned also into a potent tool for its right-wing authoritarian counterparts.

In this presentation, I analyze the political fruitfulness of Laclau's ideas in the practical political context, comparatively focusing on Southern Europe. Rather than a critical, theoretical engagement with his thought I search for its practical-political implications in this setting (and elsewhere). I argue that the productivity of the Laclauian populism needs to be critically assessed against the structural grip of both capitalism and the particular cultural, social and political threads of the countries at stake. Prior to any political experiments with the practical 'populist reason,' a holistically profound, strategic analysis is more than essential. Otherwise, as the cases above have already shown, we risk the possibility of turning populism into a tool for the unrestrained hegemony of the capital and, in coincidence with this, also for breeding rightwing, neo-fascists populisms.

### **Why did the Campaign Against Foreign Control of Aotearoa survive**

#### ***Joe Hendren***

My upcoming PhD seeks to examine the role of national political civil society organisations (CSOs) in economic debates, applying a neo-Gramscian analysis to CSOs in New Zealand. The Campaign Against Foreign Control of Aotearoa (CAFCA) acts as my case study. While the larger project will attempt to assess the influence and impact of CAFCA in political debates over foreign direct investment (FDI), in this presentation I will focus on the reasons why CAFCA survived as a civil society actor, despite operating in a political environment hostile to its aims.

CAFCA are a left-wing political CSO, active from 1975 to the present day. For over 40 years CAFCA have occupied a space along the spectrum between activism and academia by conducting their own research, maintaining a long running publication and emphasising the value of facts and figures to back up their campaigns.

I seek to examine the reasons why CAFCA survived as a research focused activist organisation despite a context where supporters of neoliberalism and related models of globalisation attempted to create an environment of ideological closure. This raises interesting questions as to how such organisations should respond in situations where their voice could be marginalised.

I propose to present some preliminary findings and observations based on a number of interviews I have conducted with CAFCA activists, journalists, politicians, economists and independent researchers. The qualitative research tool NVivo has been used to code both the interviews and secondary sources, with the hope this will provide stronger substantiation of events, constructs and hypothesis.

Little in the contemporary literature acknowledges the role of political CSOs, particularly in relation to FDI and its impacts. While transnational versions of political associations are seen

as the main indicators of a growing “global civil society”, Jackie Smith and Debra Minkoff highlight how the contribution of political CSOs to civil society at the national level is ignored. By highlighting CAFCA as an organisation I aim to address this lacuna in the literature, in the hope this will provide insights into how the role of similar political CSOs can be assessed.”

## **Revisiting an unhappy marriage: the relationship of Marxism and feminism in contemporary left politics**

***Anna Fielder***

In the 1970s feminists drew attention to an unhappy and unequal relationship between feminism and marxism; one in which feminist concerns were subsumed by the theoretical impulses of marxism and collapsed into class analysis. Over 30 years later, as awareness of intersectionality has heightened and the left seeks to rebuild itself in the wake of decades of neoliberal dominance, there is a need to revisit the insights and cul-de-sacs of such debates with a view to shifting them onto a more politically productive and contemporary terrain. Where feminists of the second-wave once made important critiques of traditional marxism as ‘masculinist’ metanarrative, they are also – and more recently - open to accusations of racism, heteronormativity, transphobia, and of coalescing with the interests of global capital.

In this paper I draw upon the work of Nancy Fraser and Fredric Jameson to historically contextualise the debates between feminism and marxism. I situate such discussions in relation to a discrediting of class politics and a proliferation of ‘new social movements’ that was occurring towards the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Such developments were simultaneous to (some might say effects of) the expansion and restructuring of capital along neoliberal lines on a global scale. In this context, feminism - along with other social movements - offered important and inspirational challenges to contemporary power configurations, yet it has also (however inadvertently and uncomfortably) served as a mechanism of systemic and structural legitimisation. As feminist critiques of marxism highlight, the radical left has not been immune to such contradictions. In order to work on and through such contentious terrain, I suggest that there is a need to nurture political subjectivities that are capable of grappling productively (and without falling into an abyss of political nihilism) with tensions that occur when radical political agency reaches its contemporary limit points and works – indeed is used – to legitimate and reiterate existing inequalities. I tentatively suggest Jacques Ranciere’s understanding of political subjectivity and dissensus as a way in which such work might begin to be taken forward in contemporary left circles.

## **Liberty, equality, fraternity: liberation, discrimination, alienation**

***Clifford van Ommen***

Freedom is a highly contested and profoundly abused notion. Like the ideas of safety and peace, it has been used to justify incredible violence, transgression and oppression. It is therefore a particularly dangerous idea for better or for worse. It however seems useful to

differentiate in contemporary times between various constructions (and concomitant practices) of freedom and the phenomenology of freedom. This allows an understanding of the ironic absence of lived freedom that emerges in a time where the notion of freedom lies at the heart of the dominant ideology; liberalism. In this paper I wish to explore how this irony comes about, reflecting on ideas of self-surveillance as well the proliferation of policy and micro-regulation and our active participation in this process enabled by a systematically cultivated ignorance, fear and hatred. This is indicative of a certain 'death drive' where we not only squeeze freedom out of our existence but existence itself. I then hope to provide some contrast to this through the notion of freedom as developed by Marx and the profound leap of faith, in a Kierkegaardian sense, that is required of us should we wish to not only survive but live.

## CO118

### **Session title: Radical and Reflexive Scholarship**

#### **Radical scholarship in neoliberal times: a dangerous, but necessary calling**

***Marcelle Dawson, Massimiliana Urbano***

The abduction, torture and eventual death of Cambridge-based Italian student, Giulio Regeni, who was researching independent trade unions in Egypt, struck a chord with radical scholars. So too did the untimely death of Professor Stefan Grimm, who took his own life after being threatened with disciplinary action for failing to attract sufficient research funding. Regeni and Grimm may not quite be household names, but their experiences certainly resonate with increasing numbers of scholars. Amidst attempts to suppress academic freedom and starve our 'sociological imagination', contributors to this panel will reflect on some of the ways in which university campuses have fallen prey to the neoliberal agenda. Focusing on themes such as academic entrepreneurship, ethics creep and the commodification of knowledge, the discussion addresses neoliberalism's degradation of higher education. This process may have left in its wake a slew of dutiful accomplices, who feel that there is no alternative if they wish to succeed at being an academic. However, it has also stoked a fire in many others, who are aware of the epistemological limitations of corporatised education, and who are eager to reaffirm the university's role of as the critic and conscience of society.

**Marcelle Dawson** (Department of Sociology, Gender and Social Work)

#### Putting the Brakes on the "Edufactory"

The first part of the presentation addresses some of the ways in which the neoliberal agenda has reconfigured and obliterated the meaning of education. The second part draws on the principles of two parallel movements, namely the 'slow food' and 'degrowth' movements, to highlight possible ways in which universities can be reclaimed as a site of resistance.

**Massimiliana Urbano** (PhD candidate, Department of Media, Film and Communication Studies)

### Ethical Issues in Social Movements Research

This presentation looks at the ethics of researching social movements. Drawing on my personal experience as militant researcher, I will focus on the methodological impediments that ethics guidelines might constitute in the process of establishing relationships with the participants. I will also talk about the specific condition of postgraduate students in regard to ethics and research, and the need to situate us as workers rather than novices in the process of initiation.

### **Education for reflexive engagement with social and environmental issues**

***Andrea Milligan, Kashmir Kaur, Juliette Toma, Bianca Elkington***

A recent petition for a national day of commemoration for the New Zealand Land Wars, presented to the House by Otorohanga College students, Waimarama Anderson and Leah Bell, has brought renewed attention to the intersections between education and young New Zealander's resistance. Waimarama's and Leah's high profile civic engagement lends weight to a growing body of international literature that calls for active approaches to citizenship education that involve young people's co-operation around issues that matter to them. Their experience, however, also reflects the challenges of young people finding the confidence and spaces for collective resistance to social and environmental injustices, within an education system that emphasises the individual pursuit of qualifications.

Education studies and teacher education students face a similar set of challenges in a neo-liberal tertiary environment. A persistent challenge in courses that advocate a social justice orientation to citizenship education has been to bring together the scholarly examination of the root causes of social and environmental issues with enacted resistance – a challenge that tertiary Education students face in their own lives, and in their efforts to support young people's active citizenry.

Working in this gap, this presentation draws on range of authors who, through a variety of arguments, have called for reflexive approaches to higher education – approaches that enfold students' critical and reasoning capacities with their lived experiences and imaginations. We share insights from the first iteration of a Masters of Education course that explores the intersections between education and young people's engagement with social and environmental issues. Ranging across formal, informal, and community education contexts, three students explore an aspect of social or environmental injustice close to their lives, in order to suggest new possibilities in terms of strategic directions for education. Together, we ask 'what next' for tertiary Education courses that seek to enrich active citizenship, and warmly invite questions and discussion.

## **“Solidarity is the kindness between peoples”: an exploration of solidarity experiences among Gezi Park activists**

*Yasemin Gülsüm Acar, Özden Melis Uluğ*

Political solidarity across disadvantaged groups is thought to have an important impact on reducing prejudice. Prejudice reduction research has mostly focused on reducing negative affect as a means to improve relations between groups. Contact hypothesis (Allport, 1954; Brown & Hewstone, 2005; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006) and the common ingroup identity model (Gaertner & Dovidio, 2000; 2009) attempt to bring groups together in order to reduce intergroup bias and foster positive responses such as liking and empathy. Though positive affect between groups may be created, these forms of contact and common identification do not alter policy orientations of advantaged groups toward disadvantaged ones. Rather than intergroup contact, a collective action model of prejudice reduction (Dixon et al., 2012) would create ties between disadvantaged groups to work together to create policy change that would benefit them all.

The Gezi Park protests are an example of a number of disadvantaged groups coming together in solidarity to bring about social change. In doing so, a level of interaction took place that many had not experienced before. Most notable were the presence in the park of Kurdish activists and Turkish nationalist activists, “secular” Kemalist participants and the Anticapitalist Muslims and Revolutionary Muslims groups, and the high visibility and central role of the LGBTI activists. Among others, these groups met, lived, and resisted the police side by side.

Bearing the collective action model in mind, we seek to show that the Gezi Park protests functioned as an intergroup phenomenon requiring the cooperation of a number of disadvantaged groups working together to improve the status of all groups present. A series of interviews with 34 activists from the Gezi Park protests asked participants to reflect on their individual and group-based solidarity experiences during their time in the Gezi Park protests. Participants were asked about their presence as a member of a particular political party, or organization, the reasons their group was present, and the relationships between their group and others. Participants were asked about the outcomes of their participation and the potential change the protests brought about.

The results show that Gezi is an example of a collective action model of prejudice reduction in line with Dixon et al. (2012). Data indicate that through group perceptions and individuals’ descriptions of events, groups who had previously not been able to work together were able to work and stick together at Gezi. Results also imply, in line with Dixon et al. (2012), that if disadvantaged groups work together in solidarity, they might change the position of both groups and improve each group’s disadvantaged position via collective action. Theoretical and practical implications will also be discussed.

Friday 5:30-8:30pm – Special Event

AM103

**Session title: Welcome to Our Dinner Table: E hoa ma, ina te ora o te tangata**

**Chantal Mawer, Ceara Bickerton, Kirsty Brewin, Becky Kiddle, Alyssa Ryan, Laurette Siemonek, Miranda Voke**

Food is a powerful force. It's that appreciative sigh and pat of the tummy at the end of a meal. It says, there is nothing better than being satisfied by the conviviality and pleasure that comes from sharing good food and korero. Yet food is beautiful and sinister all in one mouthful. We know some don't get enough of it, some struggle with eating too much of it, some of us waste it, some agonise over buying it – where to buy it, what type to buy, how to balance the power bill with ethical food choices and what is an 'ethical' food choice anyway? (Tallontire, Rentsendorj, & Blowfield, 2001).

Agriculture and our food systems are inspiring and incredibly empowering environmental issues to deal with. Many environmental concerns such as climate change and reducing fossil fuel dependence seem 'out of our reach' for most of us in terms of creating change. However, to be able to examine the impact of our own personal food consumption is a wonderful opportunity for ongoing self-assessment. Each time we put a fork to our mouth we are making a choice on how we want our environment/ the world we live in to be.

The workshop takes the form of a 7 course meal. To disquiet this indulgence, these 7 courses will include both food for physical sustenance and food to provoke hearts and minds because "we don't usually think of what we eat as a matter of ethics" (Singer & Mason, 2007). The food for physical sustenance will be sourced in two ways. Firstly, we hope to identify opportunities, through food rescue organisations to access an allocation of food the week of the conference and secondly, we, where possible, would draw on products developed by local producers. These sourcing decisions will be debated and documented amongst our group as we prepare for the meal to be articulated to our dinner guests throughout. In addition, we hope to source the critical musings of food rescuers, local food producers and other food thinkers to cleanse the palate of our guests by way of interviews, poetry and performances.

Friday 6-7:30pm – ESRA Launch

KKLT303

**Launch of new radical left think tank ESRA (Economic and Social Research Aotearoa)**

The keynote speaker will be UK writer and academic Nick Srnicek, co-author with Alex Williams of *Inventing the Future: Postcapitalism and a world without work* (2015). Nick will talk about the development of ESRA within the international context of new political ecologies of counterhegemonic struggle. Sue Bradford and Dylan Taylor will co-host the

event which will also include a panel discussion with leaders from several key sectors explaining why the development of ESRA is a significant development for progressive politics in Aotearoa.

Conference participants are welcome to attend (no charge).

**Please RSVP by 26<sup>th</sup> August to: [sue@esra.nz](mailto:sue@esra.nz)**

Preceded by drinks in the Hub – 5:30-6pm.

## SATURDAY

Saturday 9-10:30am – Session 7

CO122

### **Panel: Tino Rangatiratanga & Te Tiriti o Waitangi, Māori Activism**

*Chaired by Julia Whaipooti of Just Speak*

**Transforming the debate - Te Tiriti o Waitangi imagining**

***Moana Jackson***

Moana Jackson is a New Zealand Māori lawyer specialising in Treaty of Waitangi and constitutional issues. Moana Jackson is of Ngāti Kahungunu and Ngāti Porou descent.

In 1988 he co-founded (with now Judge Caren Fox) the first Māori Community Law Centre, Ngā Kaiwhakamārama i ngā Ture (the Māori Legal Service).

He also teaches in the Māori Law and Philosophy degree programme at Te Wānanga o Raukawa, the largest indigenous people's tertiary college in the world.

Moana graduated in Law from Victoria University in Wellington; was Director of the Māori Law Commission; was appointed Judge on the international People's Tribunal in 1993 and has since then sat on hearings in Hawai'i, Canada and Mexico.

He was appointed Visiting Fellow at the Victoria University Law School in 1995, and was elected Chair of the Indigenous People's Caucus of the United Nations working Group on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples.

Moana teaches on the Māori Law and Philosophy degree programme at Te Wānanga o Raukawa and wrote about restorative justice in a highly acclaimed report in 1988, called 'Māori and the Criminal Justice System'. He also continues work on a number of international indigenous issues and is currently a member of a United Nations Human Rights Working Group.

Since 2011 he has co-chaired with Professor Margaret Mutu the Independent Iwi working Group on constitutional Transformation which has held over 300 hui around the country discussing the need for Treaty-based constitutional change. The Report of the Working Group was released on Waitangi Day 2016.

**A generation of armchair revolutionists: grassroots Māori activism and protest as a pedagogy**

***Annette Sykes***

Annette Sykes is a Treaty rights activist and human rights lawyer specialising in the rights of indigenous peoples to promote their own systems of law and has a strong focus in her career on all aspects of law as they affect Māori especially constitutional change.

Annette is of Te Arawa descent and has tribal affiliations to Tūhoe and Ngāti Awa. She has been an active member of the New Zealand Criminal Bar, the Family Courts Association and Te Hunga Roia Māori, (Māori Law Society) and is an advocate in the specialist jurisdictions of the Waitangi Tribunal, Māori Land Court and Appellate courts as well as the other general courts of New Zealand. Annette is renowned for her activism and protest against the New Zealand government on issues affecting Māori and this has been an active part of her career and community activities. Annette has been practicing law since 1984 and launched her own law firm Annette Sykes & Co in April this year based in Rotorua.

Saturday 11am-12:30pm – Session 8

CO122

### **Session title: Media, Communication and Social Change**

**From *Uni Tavar* to *Asia Pacific Report*: case studies in campus-based social justice media**

***David Robie***

For two decades, this paper presenter has been an initiator of a series of independent newspapers based in prominent South Pacific journalism programmes hosted in three universities. All of the publications have played an ‘activist’ role in raising issues of social justice and campaigning for more critical and challenging assignments for student media in the context of coups, civil war, climate change, development and neo-colonialism. All of the publications have won awards for their brand of journalism. Starting with the University of Papua New Guinea’s *Uni Tavar* in 1994 and the Sandline mercenary crisis, the models have progressed through *Wansolwara* at the University of the South Pacific (award-winning coverage of the 2000 George Speight attempted coup), to *Pacific Scoop* for six years at Auckland University of Technology with extensive coverage of human rights violations in Fiji and West Papua. The *Pacific Scoop* venture has now morphed into a new and distinctive independent venture for the digital era, *Asia Pacific Report* <<http://asiapacificreport.nz/>> launched in January 2016. This series of case studies will sketch out the evolution of these newspapers and how the collective experience of citizen journalism, digital engagement and an innovative public empowerment journalism course based at AUT’s Pacific Media Centre has developed a unique publication. The presentation will traverse some of the region’s thorny political and social issues, and engage with the evolving theory behind the publications (Robie, 2004, 2006, 2012, 2014) such as reflected in deliberative journalism, human rights and other models (Obijiofor & Hanusch, 2011; Romano, 2010).

## **Do bad comments drive out good?**

### ***Murdoch Stephens***

If government took its refugee policy from the comments thread under the major New Zealand newspapers on the NZHerald (NZME) and Stuff (Fairfax) platforms we would take no refugees at all. As Andrew Vance noted in her article 'Nevermind the comments, here's the Syrians', if you want to stare into the dark abyss just read the hatred and stupidity of the comments section. "Don't read the comments" has become a form of folk-wisdom. But in the case of the Syrian refugees, and many others, nationwide polls (NZ Research, 2015) showed a strong majority of New Zealanders supported the government's increase and many wanted them to go further. So why do the news websites with the highest ratings tend to have the most aggressively negative comments? And, what can activists, as well as academics, do to challenge illiberal and anti-democratic representations in the comments?

From my role as the founder of the Doing Our Bit campaign to double New Zealand's refugee quota I've arrived at three theories on why comments don't reflect the general public sentiment. My analysis is based on this experience of running a pro-refugee campaign based more on liberal than democratic values and so not all of it will be applicable across a range of activist sites.

## **How to run a cheap, easy successful media strategy**

### ***Simon Oosterman***

A case study of the Council of Trade Union's 2015 health and safety law change campaign

*"The media's the most powerful entity on earth. They have the power to make the innocent guilty and to make the guilty innocent, and that's power." - Malcolm X*

John Key said his most embarrassing moment in 2015 was the furore over changes to health and safety laws. The controversy became known as "Wormgate".

"Wormgate" was the result of a four-week campaign by the Council of Trade Unions. This seminar uses the campaign as a case-study.

It illustrates a successful, easy to use campaign model that works on a low budget. It follows the basic campaign cycle and uses simple steps to getting the media to tell our stories in the way we want.

The session argues the key is to knowing your audience, understanding what the media wants and the pressure on journalists.

Despite the hype, Facebook hasn't killed the video star. Corporate media remains our most strategic medium for communication. Mainstream media is undergoing significant changes but remains the source for most stories. At this stage, social media remains an echo chamber.

This session is as valuable to groups engaging with the corporate media as radicals opposed to it.

## CO216

### **Panel: Academics, Communities and Things: Sustaining Relationships**

***Social Theory Spatial Praxis Research Group, with Marcela Palomino-Schalscha, Wellington Arpilleras Collective, Gradon Diprose, Renee Rushton, Anna Porter***

Over the past decade, the Social Theory Spatial Praxis Research Group (STSP), VUW, has cultivated an approach to scholarship that actively works to blur the boundaries between the university and communities. Organised by STSP, this panel is an invitation to share, reflect on and create possibilities for engaged community research. The panel will explore links between communities and academia through two research projects – the Wellington Arpilleras Collective, and Gradon Diprose’s PhD research with the Wellington Timebank. Panellists (from both academic and community spaces) will reflect on their own engagement and processes of transformation through these projects, as well as the challenges and dilemmas they have faced.

The session will reflect on, and initiate conversation about the implications and challenges of re-working the academic-community divide, as well as the role research can play to connect to and help further the work of progressive social projects.

## CO217

### **Session title: Introducing ESRA**

***Economic and Social Research Aotearoa***

***Sue Bradford, Vanessa Cole, Jonathan King and others***

New left think tank Economic and Social Research Aotearoa (ESRA) offers participants an opportunity to meet some of their workers and researchers and find out more about their current projects. These include work around migrant workers, welfare, housing, work and value, questions of political organisation ... and more. This will also be a chance to hear more about how ESRA operates, what its intentions are for ongoing development and possibilities for engagement with our work. There will be opportunities for questions and discussion.

**Please RSVP by 26<sup>th</sup> August to: [sue@esra.nz](mailto:sue@esra.nz)**

## CO118

### **Session title: Sovereignty and Equity in Aotearoa**

#### **Te Tiriti and the Crown: imagining the white nation through constitutional deliberation**

***Jai Patel***

In 2013, the National-led government established the Constitutional Advisory Panel (CAP) to discuss matters of constitutional reform. The following year, the Waitangi Tribunal ruled that rangatira did not cede sovereignty to the Crown in 1840. More recently, the National-led government compromised state sovereignty through its dealings in the Trans-Pacific Partnership, and any day now, the Queen is sure to die, which will raise questions around the monarch's role as the embodiment of political authority in Aotearoa. This is certainly a moment of cross-roads in our country's constitutional development.

Deliberating on constitutional futures is neither inconsequential nor reducible to a legalistic process driven by rational logics. Rather, it is a site of cultural production by which the nation and state are imagined. It is a profession of who belongs and who does not, what appropriate forms of governance are and what are not. Firstly, I discuss the efforts of Matike Mai Aotearoa in proposing a constitution based on things like kawa, tikanga and Te Tiriti, and the Independent Constitutional Review Panel (ICRP), a reactionary think tank that 'gives voice' to a racist Pākehā public. Next, I introduce two lobby groups, Monarchy NZ and NZ Republic, who have cemented themselves as key informants to the inevitable republican debate. Using Ghassan Hage's (1998) framework for understanding white nationalism, I reveal the latent exclusionary rhetoric that inhabits the battleground established by these two organisations.

We should continue to respond to the ever-vocal anti-Māori voice and fringe groups like ICRP. However, we should also target more banal forms of white nation-building that are potentially more dangerous. While the majority of Pākehā find overt racism distasteful, its banal manifestations are more popular. The republican debate deserves more than two voices and two choices, and those activists and academics pursuing decolonisation should engage in these discussions before they are forced upon the public (*a la* the recent flag debacle). The imminent death of the Queen should be an opportunity for imagining a post-post-colonial future of Aotearoa in which Te Tiriti is finally realised.

#### **Mana Manaaki - moving past multiculturalism: an Indigenous discourse on racial equity**

***Aaryn Niuapu***

It is evident that there is little racial equity in Aotearoa. As the on goings of the 1840 Waitangi day drew to a close, Hobson famously coined the phrase that would become synonymous with national 'unity'; he iwi tahi tatou (we are now one people). In hindsight Hobson's words, transparently token, cannot be paraded or defended as both the 'good intentions' of colonisation nor an example of present day cultural 'appreciation'. Neither garnering authentic respect for diverse people groups nor challenging systemic inequalities and discrimination; multiculturalism has become an empty jargon word that people are

coaxed into worshipping. Indeed, at times, it appears that pro-diversity arguments, drenched in the language of tolerance, are really about the dominant class managing the undesirable side effects of unaccepted diversity. *Mana Manaaki* is an indigenous pedagogy that centres upon the concept of social justice as well as the kaupapa of manaakitanga. The kaupapa of *Mana Manaaki* underpins the work of the activist group *Racial Equity Aotearoa*.

Transcending both bicultural and multicultural discourses, *Mana Manaaki* honours tino rangatiratanga at the same time as honouring the diverse ethnic fabric of Aotearoa. Succinctly, *Mana Manaaki* is an indigenous pedagogy of building racial equity (and associated social justice) in New Zealand.

Bio: Aaryn Niuapu (Ngāti Whakaue, Samoan) is the co-founder of *Racial Equity Aotearoa*. Aaryn is an indigenous researcher, and at the end of 2015, presented his abstract 'Te Hui o Hauora' a whānau-centred AOD intervention, at the *Healing Our Spirit Worldwide* conference in Hamilton. Currently completing his last year in the Bachelor's Degree in Addictions, at *Weltec*, he has been an Amokaiaora at *Te Ātea Marinō (WDHB)* since last year.

### **The Te Ao Mārama paradigm: intervention, change and radical thought**

#### ***Daniel Badenhorst***

I wish to present a repetition, a remembering and a working-through of the Te Ao Mārama paradigm. In doing so I believe that light can be shed on some of the most pressing issues regarding Māori philosophy and its current state of 'bad health'. This presentation is intended as a provocation, and a critical interpretation whereby the current Christian and anthropological readings of the Te Ao Mārama paradigm will be shown to be problematic and limiting as thinking of Māori thought. Contrary to the unquestioning acceptance of the Te Ao Mārama paradigm as a thinking of Natural Totality and spiritualist interconnection this meta-critical anamnesis aims to show how, contrary to a cliché circular Hegelian closure, the paradigm thinks discontinuity, change and scission. This renewed creative intervention will hopefully lend consistency to my claim that the Te Ao Mārama paradigm is closer to the dialectical materialistic tradition than previously thought and should be thought with and through theories of change and subjective intervention and not in contradistinction to them. Thus I will be reading the paradigm immanently but with the work of Alain Badiou in mind in order to see where it will conceptually take us and to see what it truly thinks as opposed to unthinkingly affirming the caricature that is dominantly taken as an accurate representation of Māori thought.

### **CO228**

#### **Panel: Struggles of the Past; Struggles of the Present**

##### ***Labour History Project***

People make their own history, but they do not make it as they please; they do not make it under self-selected circumstances, but under circumstances existing already, given and transmitted from the past. (to quote Marx, with slight improvements)

What impact does historical consciousness have on current struggles? For younger activists discussion of the past can feel like a left-wing nostalgia – things were better then and what you’re doing now is not good enough. But a long memory of what has been done to us is a potent weapon, a knowledge of the many ways that people have fought and won in the past can build hope.

The past shapes everything about the current world, including the way we remember it. The attacks on the unions in the 1990s didn’t just deunionise workplaces – they destroyed a lot of the way that knowledge of past struggles were was transmitted.

One of the goals of the Labour History Project is to link present struggles with struggles of the past. For example, bringing together researchers who studied casualization on the waterfront in the 1920s and 1930s with unionists working in the fast-food industry today. In this panel, members of the Labour History Project talk about past struggles and what they tell us about the present.

The Labour History Project was formed by activists, academics and unionists (and many people who wear more than one of those hats) in 1987. Since then it has worked on documenting working-class history and struggle and spreading knowledge about that past. The LHP has published a number of books including *Kiwi Compañeros: New Zealand and the Spanish Civil War* (2009), *The Big Blue: Snapshots of the 1951 Waterfront Lockout* (2004), *Culture and the Labour Movement* (1992). The LHP journal, the *Bulletin*, appears triannually. The LHP has also run a variety of events including conferences, “People’s History” seminars, historical walking tours, essay competitions, film screenings, and the Rona Bailey Memorial Lecture.

Saturday 1:30-3:30pm – Session 9

CO122

### **Panel: Voices from Across Our History: A Discussion of LGBTQ Activism and Law Reform within Aotearoa New Zealand**

***Caitlyn Drinkwater, Shiv Ganesh with Kassie Hartendorp, Elizabeth Kerekere, Tony Simpson, Sandra Dickson, Calum Bennachie, Bill Logan***

This panel draws insights from a series of extensive interviews with LGBTQI activists from Aotearoa New Zealand’s history, with their experiences of involvement ranging from the late sixties to present-day activism, and puts them in conversation with the lived experience of LGBTQ activists themselves. A preliminary analysis underscores several themes and motifs in the history of queer organising in Aotearoa, such as the importance of visibility, the use of spectacle as a form of protest, and the importance of community solidarity. At the same time, interviews, taken together, underscore various schisms within the LGBTQI community that have had an impact on activism. These include divisions between different community subgroups (such as between transgender and cisgender people) or cultural divisions (such as between Māori and Pakeha). One divide prominent in the interviews, but often elided in public and academic discourse, related to generational difference, with older

community members viewing younger activists as ill-informed or apathetic while younger activists view older community members as complacent or uninterested in the issues they saw as important. The proposed panel intends to initiate a dialogue between activists from different eras of LGBTQI activism within Aotearoa New Zealand to reflect on themes that are emerging from this study-in-progress, as well as contemplate key internal differences in approach, tactics, challenges and achievements. By doing this, we intend to facilitate some meaningful reflection on LGBTQI activism and enhance intra-community understanding.

**Participants:** Several prominent members from Aotearoa New Zealand's LGBTQI activism communities will participate, especially those based in Wellington. These participants will represent different eras and aspects of LGBTQI activism with the intention of collecting a broad spectrum of perspectives.

**Materials & Method:** Participants will be sent a preliminary analysis of key themes listed above as preparation for the panel, some illustrative transcripts, a set of prompts for reflection, as well as a set of ground rules for mutual productive engagement. An initial discussion by Drinkwater and Ganesh will set the historical scene for the audience, following which the panelists will discuss their reflections.

All study participants also provided visual material for the study, and these will be made available to all conference attendees in the form of a revolving slideshow projected on a television screen in the coffee room.

## CO216

### **Session title: Working the Interface: Between Activism and Academia 2**

#### **Pole to Paris: a journey for change**

***Thomas Gillman, Jeff Willis***

In 2015 two scientists set out on truly epic journeys. Their destination was the COP21 Climate Change Conference in Paris, their goal was to tell the story of climate change in a new and engaging way. Dr. Daniel Price began at the South Pole and cycled from New Zealand to France, Dr. Erlend Knudsen ran from Arctic Norway to Paris. Both captured on the ground stories of those affected by climate change along the way. These stories were released to the general public via social and traditional media platforms, and this work was eventually recognized by the United Nations Development Program, which became a key partner of the travelling scientists.

In addition to Dr. Price and Dr. Knudsen, Pole to Paris was the work of a small number of dedicated young volunteers, the majority of which have led lives engaged in both academia and activism. This panel presentation would be given by Mr. Thomas Gillman and Mr. Jeff Willis, both key members of Pole to Paris and PhD. Candidates. The focus of the presentation would be on the general philosophical approach to activism that Pole to Paris adopted, as well as the way in which social media was utilized to engage, inspire, and communicate with the public at large on a global scale. It would also explore the Pole to

Paris experience with the United Nations, examining and explaining how a small organization was able to gain the support of the world's largest political organization.

Pole to Paris grafted the journeys of Dr. Price and Dr. Knudsen, two scientists academically involved in the study of Earth's climate, onto the abstract issue of climate change. In so doing it created a new interface between the academy and activism. Its efforts and outcomes are directly linked to the themes of this conference. The climate change narrative is a constantly shifting one, and if humanity is to reach a sustainable and equitable future both academics and activists must work to expand its reach. The story of Pole to Paris is the story of a new means of doing so. We feel that the story of our organization will contribute meaningfully to the conference's goals, and provide an excellent vehicle for the conducting of a fruitful discussion regarding the role of academia and activism in the climate change space.

### **Workshop: Troubling the self**

#### ***Cat Pausé, Sandra Grey***

In the workshop, we ask attendees to consider the ways they fail as an academic because they are an activist, and the ways they fail as an activist because they are an academic. We will also consider the ways each of these roles enhance one another, and how often they may blur and intersect. We will ask whether there is use in separating out ones' activism from ones' scholarship, and whether including activism for the purposes of scholarship is problematic.

Facilitators:

Sandra Grey, PhD is the President of the Tertiary Education Union. She is a research fellow at Victoria University, researching citizen activism. She has been active in the campaign for MMP and the protests against the TPPA.

Cat Pausé, PhD is the lead editor of *Queering Fat Embodiment*. A Senior Lecturer in Human Development and Fat Studies Researcher at Massey University in New Zealand, her research focuses on the effects of spoiled identities on the health and well-being of fat individuals. Her work appears in scholarly journals such as *Feminist Review* and *Narrative Inquiries in Bioethics*, as well as online in *The Huffington Post* and *The Conversation*, among others. Her fat positive radio show, *Friend of Marilyn*, is travelling the world this year – make sure your city is on the stop!

## CO217

### **Session title: Political Organisation**

*Economic and Social Research Aotearoa*

*Facilitated by Ben Rosamond, Finn Morrow*

In this participatory workshop we aim to explore the strategic logics and limits of current forms of left political organisation, with an eye towards how these might be overcome. Beginning from the dual assumptions that those involved in this work will be from a political standpoint that can, at its most broad, be characterised as anti or post-capitalist, and that those of us in that category have a desire to develop a new strategic vision, we intend to collectively map and analyse existing left practices and organisations (including trade unions, parliamentary parties, socialist organisations and issue-based campaign groups)—not for the purposes of collecting empirical knowledge about these groupings, but to identify possible sites of intervention and innovation. In the second half of the workshop, we hope to begin to develop a shared vision of what, if any, new forms of organisation might help us transcend the limits we've identified.

Please RSVP by 26<sup>th</sup> August to: [sue@esra.nz](mailto:sue@esra.nz)

## CO118

### **Session title: Indigenous Rights and Decolonisation in the Pacific**

**Transoceanic fluidarity: resisting the American militarized empire in the Mariana Islands**

*Sylvia Frain*

I am an academic activist providing a decolonized oceanic framework to explore indigenous resistance to the militarization of the Marianas Archipelago. Politically organized as the Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands (CNMI), the island chain is located in Micronesia in the Western Pacific. Guåhan (Guam), Pågan and Tinian islands and seas surrounding them are the 'preferred location' for the construction of live-fire training ranges and war exercises by United States Department of Defense. Resistance to militarization is swelling around the edges of the American empire at the sites of U.S. military bases.

My presentation will provide a brief overview of America's overseas base network and military legacy in the Pacific as a foundation to understand the current "rebalance to the Pacific" American foreign policy, and military plans for the archipelago. The resistance story of the Mariana Islands is one of enduring defiance, beginning under Spanish colonization and continuing today as insular areas of the United States. The decolonized term "transoceanic fluidarity" highlights the Micronesian oceanic framework explaining contemporary resistance through (re)connecting with each other and the ancestors and creating alternative futures for the islands and people beyond military destruction. This presentation will conclude by outlining the collective of community organizations leading the efforts to protect the Marianas Archipelago.

## **When brown voices collide: decolonisation and navigating solidarity in the West Papua-Indonesia divide**

***Shasha Ali***

The Free West Papua Campaign has mobilised thousands of individuals and communities particularly in the Asia-Pacific region to advocate for an end of Indonesian occupation of West Papua since 1963. From lobbying to direct action initiatives by the international community of allies, there has however been excruciatingly disappointing outcome from State Governments, particularly that of Australia and New Zealand. Much of the social media coverage on West Papua has also been relied on the Free West Papua Campaign based in UK as the main source, understandably due to strict foreign media ban by the Indonesian Government. These updates often feature anonymously captured or leaked videos highlighting the brutality, violence and inhumanity of the Indonesian military.

However the Free West Papua movement has whether intentionally or otherwise, enabled alliance and solidarity development based on 3 key strategic themes: Independence based on pro-democracy, regional identity (the Melanesian-Pacific co-operative) and indigenous sovereignty. Simply put, decolonisation in this context, like many other formerly colonized nations including formerly Dutch-occupied Indonesia, is premised on the birth and growth of nationalism. Within that imaginary of boundaries, dots are connected based on race/faith/colour, enabling uncontrollable hegemonic political and cultural ideologies to seep through, often which are anti-Islamic, anti-Indonesian and pro-Westernisation.

Indigenous rights activists in Aotearoa and the Pacific Islands are continuously advocating for the rights of West Papuans on the basis of indigeneity, according to internationally recognised human rights instruments. However little opportunity for analysis and dialogue has been dedicated to positioning the West Papua-Indonesia divide as a horror story of how the effects of colonisation perpetuate cycles of victimisation, marginalisation and oppression within a global people of colour context. Intersectionality, the now-preferred, emerging theoretical and praxis framework for social and environmental justice, appears clogged, in enabling indigenous people and people of colour to navigate their solidarity within the decolonisation processes of two formerly (and effectively continuously) colonized countries.

Shasha Ali (of Melting Pot Massacre, Young Asian Feminists Aotearoa, Mellow Yellow and Shakti 'fame') is a Malay activist based in Auckland whose ancestries originate from Java, and Singapura. Born in Singapura, she has however managed to embrace her Indonesian whakapapa as part of a longer historical identity as an indigenous person of what was known as the Nusantara (Malay archipelago). Her experience as an indigenous person deprived of indigeneity in Singapura, has alerted her to self-determine knowledges, oral history and experiential sources as the basis for activism, particularly in navigating alliances amongst the progressive Left in Aotearoa. She aims to identify and practise not only decolonizing methodologies in the everyday, but to question the power of language, velocity of critical mass and the fluid changing nature of minority-majority politics, in a

world that has only in the last decade, recognised indigenous peoples as needing specific international rights protections.

Shasha wishes to speak based on her grounded perspective as a brown woman, demonstrate some of the difficulties in her navigations within and around accountability and privilege for Indonesians, and calls for immediate intervention within existing streams of West Papua solidarities particularly in the Asia-Pacific, if decolonisation is to be envisioned as a process, not competition, for all indigenous peoples and people of colour.

### **Unmolested freedom: building a Pacific Island regional regulatory monitoring agency**

#### ***Ali'itasi E Stewart***

Foundations of indigenous rights are crucial in order for Indigenous People to monitor, administer, use and benefit from their lands and natural resource according to their governing bodies, laws and customs. However our rights to free prior and informed consent are diminishing perhaps due to closed negotiations especially in relations to mining and other industrial investments.

Investment establishments or officialdom such as the Pacific Island Forum cannot make decisions over natural resources without free prior and informed consent of the indigenous Pasesfika communities.

The aim of this paper is to offer a proposed framework for monitoring our natural resources which encourages national and local government agencies working very closely with the local indigenous communities. The framework will provide a mechanism to monitor the extractive industries Corporate Social Responsibility; a vehicle to establish a Pacific Human Rights Charter and finally a Pacific Economic Framework.

### **~~Papua New Guinea~~: breaking colonial narratives in Oceania**

#### ***Nathan Rew***

In this paper I look to engage with the issues of national identity in contemporary Oceania. Grounding my analysis in Epeli Hau'ofa's discussion throughout 'Our Sea of Islands' on breaking down the colonial narratives of the Pacific Island nations. I begin with the question of 'for whom is Papua New Guinea "new"?' In doing so, I aim to highlight the internal contradictions of the colonial understanding of nationhood within Papua New Guinea and the ways in which it facilitates the imperial occupation of West Papua by Indonesia. Using the works of Jacques Derrida, Frantz Fanon, and Jacques Rancière I endeavour to provide an account of the ways in which the Indonesian imposed geographical and colonial line separating Papua New Guinea and West Papua facilitates the dehumanisation of the West Papuans.

I contend that it is this dehumanisation process, and the erased identity of West Papuans as a people which facilitates the continued violation of human rights by Indonesia, such that, for the West Papuans to have human rights, they have to first be recognised as human, a

recognition which is seemingly incompatible with the current, formalised understanding of nationhood imposed on Oceania. I thus look at ways in which resistance is taking place in Papua and Oceania today, and how narratives are being challenged in attempts to both reclaim, but also, to break the colonial understandings of nationhood. This resistance takes numerous forms, from the artistic realms to militant action, to simply raising a flag. It is my position that if we are to work towards emancipation within Papua and Oceania in general, we must derail colonial narratives of nationhood and move thus, to rethink what it means to be both a Papuan and a member of Oceania.

## CO228

### **Session title: Activism Today**

#### **The relationship between inequality and environmental crises with monetary reform, tax and welfare reform and systems thinking**

##### ***Deirdre Kent***

Many working in the field of social justice ponder the underlying causes of growing inequality where dire poverty exists alongside obscene wealth. Likewise those who reflect on the reasons for over-extraction of natural resources know instinctively there must be some structural flaw in the political economy. It is the political economy that must change. Naomi Klein says, “We need an entirely new economic model and a new way of sharing this planet” and “Right now capitalism is winning hands down. It wins every time the need for economic growth is used as the excuse for putting off climate action yet again.”

The following is an effort of the New Zealand movement for a new economy to address these questions. A Living Economies Expo in Christchurch next year will be facing this challenge under the following five headings:

#### **1. From bank created money to a consciously designed and publicly created and controlled currency.**

- Replace bank-created debt money with positive money spent into existence by public issuing authorities
- Optimum velocity of circulation must be built into the currency design by putting a cost on the hoarding of money.
- Awareness that trust, confidence and liquidity are critical for optimum flow.
- New concept of investment and capital formation once the newly designed money is adopted.
- Inflation control/deflation control mechanisms must be built in to the currency design.
- From interest to reciprocity by using savings pools (or buyers clubs) and using mutual credit currencies like timebanks.
- Encouraging an ecosystem of currencies rather than a monoculture

**2. From 'ownership' of land and resources to sharing the values of land and natural resources, so that everyone has access to land and resources.**

- From taxing labour to paying resource rents that rightly belong to society.
- Sharing the surplus through distributing citizens' dividends.
- This will eventually lead to an Unconditional Basic Income replacing the intrusive, punitive and expensive asset and relationship tested welfare system.

**3. From centralised governance to distributed governance. (From hierarchy to holarchy.)**

- New methods of making decisions.
- Interdependence of all levels of government with feedback loops, positive and negative.
- Relocalisation, decentralisation working in relationship with larger governance units.

**4. From inflexibility to adaptability.**

- Living within the limits of fossil fuels and water and other resources.
- Living with a rapidly warming planet.

**5. From silo thinking to systems thinking.**

All issues and symptoms are interconnected. Don't fix one thing at a time or others will get worse. The pattern of relationships between the various elements of a political economy must be preserved. There is so much wrong with the current model that it is best to start again with a new currency while leaving the current system in place.

**Democratic participation: just do it**

***Greg Rzesniowiecki***

The western democratic system, of which NZ is one example, contains structured processes. How to engage these to achieve an objective?

The session will offer a brief outline of the campaign tactic to engage New Zealand's local government sector as a part of the overall strategy to raise awareness in the population of the TPP implications, and provide a mechanism for people to express their concern and opposition.

We will identify the problem of TPP, the solution and the manner in which the solution was shared with the NZ territorial authorities and regional councils, expanding on how TPP Action groups in the regions were fairly successful promoting the TPP policy solution, gaining the support of Councils representing 60% of the NZ population:

[http://www.actionstation.org.nz/tpp\\_policy\\_solution](http://www.actionstation.org.nz/tpp_policy_solution)

## **The ups and downs of being new kids on the block**

***Dianne Khan, Bill Courtney (Save Our Schools NZ)***

The big question is, can 'New Kids' make a difference? And if so, how?

We propose to talk about the positives and negatives of being a very tiny and relatively new group which, despite having a sizeable following, is manned by just two main people.

We will look at positives, such as

- how easy it is to make connections in NZ and overseas, and share knowledge and ideas with those in the same general arena
- we aren't constrained by any larger body - freedom of speech
- we are free to do what we like when we like - flexible working
- Not tied up on policy, rules etc, as it's just us, winging it

And negatives such as

- Being held at arms' length by other groups/institutions - wariness
- Media being reluctant to publish anything from you
- No budget
- No or not much sway with key stakeholders

The format of the session would be:

- a brief introduction by myself and Bill, explaining what SOSNZ is, who we are, and what we do.
- an outline of the above positive and negative points as they relate to SOSNZ
- then a group brainstorm/discussion focused on practical and achievable ways that individual and small group activists can build on the strengths they have.

## **Whāngārei: subtle radicalisms from small Aotearoa**

***Ash Holwell***

WaiAriki, a food forest that feeds and potentially houses a community; a food co-op that runs local food banquets; a Food-for-Life that supplies 1000 meals a week from primarily local ingredients; and the country's first growers market which provides for over 10% of the urban population. A space use assault on the empty buildings of the town - with empty warehouses, retail stores, an entire mall and a former church being utilised by the community. Council.Go, an artistic intervention into the 2013 local body elections, has morphed into TogetherTahi for 2016 - a group utilising performance art, digital democracy, participative policy and a kaupapa of conversation over competition in the lead up to October 8th. Whāngārei - Small, Subtle, Radical.