# counterfutures

LEFT THOUGHT AND PRACTICE AOTEAROA

Renters United!

Te Peeke o Aotearoa

The Habilitation Centre

Narrative Absurdity

Black Study and Communist Affect

Combating Online Racism

The Revenge Economy

Wealth and Power in New Zealand

Politics of Futility

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

# counterfutures

# LEFT THOUGHT AND PRACTICE AOTEAROA

**ISSUE 13 2022** 

Renters United!

Te Peeke o Aotearoa

The Habilitation Centre

Narrative Absurdity

Black Study and Communist Affect

Combating Online Racism

The Revenge Economy

Wealth and Power in New Zealand

Politics of Futility

# counterfutures 13

**EDITOR Jack Foster** 

**CONSULTING EDITOR Graeme Whimp** 

BOOK REVIEWS Chamsy el-Ojeili

EDITORIAL BOARD Simon Barber, Sue Bradford, Emalani Case, Tim Corballis, Chamsy el-Ojeili, Jack Foster, Rebecca Kiddle, Dylan Taylor, Amanda Thomas, Warwick Tie

WEB SUPPORT Tim Corballis

DESIGN Jacqui Colley, Bruce Foster

EDITORIAL ADVISORY BOARD Ozan Alakavuklar, Maria Bargh, Cassandra Barnett, Anita Brady, Sophie Bond, Toby Boraman, Shannon Brincat, Ciara Cremin, Karen Davis, Eli Elinoff, Peter Howland, Campbell Jones, Cybèle Locke, Georgia Lockie, Dougal McNeill, Brett Nicholls, David Parker, Sean Phelan, Helen Potter, Nate Rigler, Brian Roper, Murdoch Stephens, Giovanni Tiso, Cindy Zeiher

Post: School of Social and Cultural Studies Victoria University of Wellington PO Box 600, Wellington 6140, New Zealand

Email: counterfutures@counterfutures.nz

ISSN 2463 - 5340

В

# **Contents**

REVIEWS

GEOFF BERTRAM

TIM CORBALLIS

166 Utility, Futility, Counter-Utility

11	INTERVIEW Organising in the New Zealand Rental Sector ROBERT WHITAKER & GEORDIE ROGERS with NIC GUERRERO
31	ARTICLES The Native Lands Acts and Te Peeke o Aotearoa CATHERINE COMYN
45	The Habilitation Centre Ideal LIAM MARTIN
77	On Tristan Tzara and Steve Bannon BRYCE GALLOWAY
85	Black Study and Communist Affect ANISHA SANKAR
107	Online Graphics and Racism in Aotearoa New Zealand JENNY RANKINE
133	The Revenge Economy FAISAL AL-ASAAD

150 Wealth and Power in Aotearoa New Zealand

# Contents Overview

# Organising in the New Zealand Rental Sector

ROBERT WHITAKER & GEORDIE ROGERS with NIC GUERRERO

Launching in 2015, Renters United has sought to build a movement to push back against landlordism in New Zealand and secure healthy and affordable homes for all renters. Organisers Robert Whitaker and Geordie Rogers discuss the organisational and campaign strategy of Renters United, the search for crux issues around which meaningful reform can be built, and the importance of telling renters' stories.

# The Native Lands Acts and Te Peeke o Aotearoa

**CATHERINE COMYN** 

An excerpt from Catherine Comyn's forthcoming book, *The Financial Colonisation of Aotearoa* (ESRA, 2022). The Native Lands Acts of the 1860s and 1870s are read as the colonial weaponisation of credit, enabling the division and seizure of Māori land. Against this, the founding of Te Peeke o Aotearoa in 1885 presented an exclusively Māori alternative to colonial financial institutions, reasserting Māori economic autonomy and threatening to weaken the fabric of the colonial project.

#### The Habilitation Centre Ideal

LIAM MARTIN

An analysis of the 1989 Roper report traces out the genealogy of the 'habilitation centre', from its development in the United States to experiments in Aotearoa New Zealand. With the Labour government attempting to reduce the prison population, does the habilitation centre offer a model for decarceration or for the expansion of penal confinement?

#### On Tristan Tzara and Steve Bannon

**BRYCE GALLOWAY** 

Absurd art has tended to find greater currency during periods of intense socio-political unrest. Does this thesis still hold in the face of today's accelerating online narratives and divergent internet realities?

# **Black Study and Communist Affect**

ANISHA SANKAR

Engaging with the work of Stefano Harney and Fred Moten and examining the influence of their ideas in Aotearoa's undercommons, Anisha Sankar highlights the political potentiality of 'black study' as a mode of already-existing communism. Here, the distant liberatory horizon gives way to the embrace of relationality and being-for-others in the present.

# Online Graphics and Racism in Aotearoa New Zealand

JENNY RANKINE

While it is widely known that racism is endemic in online spaces, enabled by the structures of social networking sites, little research exists on how to effectively counter everyday racism online. The results of a wide-ranging and detailed experiment with developing and disseminating anti-racist graphics highlight the importance of systematic political-meme creation by social-justice groups.

# The Revenge Economy

FAISAL AL-ASAAD

Through a reading of Max Haiven's *Revenge Capitalism*, Faisal Al-Asaad highlights the centrality of debt as a principle of social and economic life. An engagement with the institution and philosophy of utu is called for as a means of transforming destructive capitalist debt relations and abolishing today's revenge economy.

#### Wealth and Power in Aotearoa New Zealand

**GEOFF BERTRAM** 

Review of Max Rashbrooke, *Too Much Money: How Wealth Disparities Are Unbalancing Aotearoa New Zealand.* A masterful overview of the available statistical information on the size of wealth holdings and their degree of concentration in Aotearoa New Zealand.

# **Utility, Futility, Counter-Utility**

TIM CORBALLIS

Review of Neil Vallelly, *Futilitarianism: Neoliberalism and the Production of Uselessness*. Futility as both dominant structure of feeling and fulcrum for political action in the twilight of neoliberalism.

# **Contributors**

# FAISAL AL-ASAAD

Iraq-born writer and researcher based in Tāmaki Makaurau. His work is in critical and social theory, with a particular focus on race, settler colonialism, and racial capitalism, and his PhD was recently completed at the University of Melbourne.

#### **GEOFF BERTRAM**

Studied geography at Victoria University of Wellington, economics at Oxford, and taught in the Economics Department and its successors at Victoria University of Wellington from 1976 to 2009. He is now a senior associate at the Institute for Governance and Policy Studies.

#### **CATHERINE COMYN**

Researcher at Economic and Social Research Aotearoa and PhD student in International Political Economy at King's College London. Her work is centrally interested in intersections of finance capital and colonisation, and possibilities for their overcoming. She is the author of *The Financial Colonisation of Aotearoa* (ESRA, 2022).

# TIM CORBALLIS

Senior lecturer at the Centre for Science in Society, Te Herenga Waka – Victoria University of Wellington. His work includes novels (recently, *Our Future is in the Air*, VUP, 2017), collaborative artwork, and research on the political aesthetics of the sciences.

#### **BRYCF GALLOWAY**

Lecturer in fine arts at Whiti o Rehua School of Art, Massey University, Wellington. Galloway is a committee member of Wellington and Kirikiriroa zine fests, and an artist engaged in zines, writing, drawing, comics, sound, and video.

#### **NIC GUERRERO**

Masters student at Te Herenga Waka – Victoria University of Wellington.

# LIAM MARTIN

Criminology lecturer at Te Herenga Waka – Victoria University of Wellington. His research focuses on issues of incarceration and alternatives to prison. Author of *Halfway House: Prisoner Reentry and the Shadow of Carceral Care* (New York University Press, 2021), based on long-term fieldwork at a halfway house near Boston.

# JENNY RANKINE

Born in Adelaide on Kaurna land; has lived in Aotearoa New Zealand for more than 40 years, tangata tiriti. Activist and researcher on feminist, lesbian/queer, and antiracism issues. PhD, member of Kupu Taea: Media and te Tiriti research group.

# **GEORDIE ROGERS**

Rental activist in Te Whanganui-a-Tara.

# ANISHA SANKAR

Chennai-born, Te Awakairangi-raised South Indian Tamil living in Pōneke. She is a writer and researcher who studies the contradictions of colonial capitalism.

#### **ROBERT WHITAKER**

Activist and designer in Te Whanganui-a-Tara. Co-founder and former president of Renters United.