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FOR A JUST SOCIETY 2026 — 16-18 April

Rutherford House
33 Bunny Street, Pipitea

The Stout
Research Centre
for New Zealand Studies
VICTORIA UNIVERSITY OF
WELLINGTON
TE HERENGĀ WAKA

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PONO

Conference Programme

Thursday 16 April

2.00pm **Opening - VC Professor Nic Smith**

2.30pm **Boyd Scirkovich**

Chief Economic Development & Investment Officer, Te Rūnanga o Toa Rangatira.
Iwi Affiliations: Ngāti Toa Rangatira, Ngāti Kahungunu, Ngāti Porou

Leading Economic Rangatiratanga through Intergenerational Prosperity & Wellbeing

In this opening keynote, Boyd Scirkovich will share how Te Rūnanga o Toa Rangatira is advancing iwi prosperity through *He Kāinga Ururua* – their economic development and investment strategy grounded in the principle that "Ma te Kāinga ururua e ngata ai to puku" an economy that is abundant with opportunities that build prosperity and mauri ora.

Managing a complex and diversified billion-dollar investment portfolio across funds under management, property, forestry, fisheries, and direct investments, Boyd will explore how strategic delivery transforms intergenerational vision into tangible outcomes for whānau wellbeing and prosperity. He'll discuss how Ngāti Toa strives for independence and exercises economic sovereignty while navigating shifting external public policy priorities.

Central to his approach is the integration of a values-based model into contemporary investment and economic development practice. Boyd will demonstrate how these

guiding principles shape decision-making frameworks that balance commercial excellence with cultural integrity, ensuring that economic growth advances more than just financial metrics to achieve holistic outcomes.

Boyd Scirkovich is accomplished senior executive leader with extensive experience as a Director and Business Advisor across both public and private sector. He holds advanced qualifications in Executive Leadership, Board Governance, Business Management, and Technology.

3.15pm Afternoon Tea

3.45pm **Matthew Scobie**

'Why constitutional and economic transformation need each other'

The interconnected crises of escalating inequality and social breakdown, climate and ecological collapse, and resurging fascism are crises of capitalism. In Aotearoa, they are also crises of colonialism. So rather than treating colonialism and capitalism separately, we need to come to terms with their relationship. Only by understanding this relationship can we interpret the world and then change it. In Aotearoa, constitutional transformation makes economic transformation possible, and vice versa. Each of these projects can, and must, strengthen one another.

Matthew Scobie researches Indigenous political economy, critical Accounting, and critical management studies. He is an Associate Professor, University of Canterbury, Management, Marketing and Tourism, UC Business School - Te Whare Wānanga O Waitaha – University of Canterbury.

4.45pm **Meihana Durie**

Enacting Aotearotanga – Recalibrating our National Identity

This presentation examines the notion of Aotearotanga and the potential impact that its enactment could have in terms of recalibrating our national identity. It will argue that through greater emphasis upon our Indigenous distinctions, Aotearotanga can not only act as a powerful counterforce to escalating levels of social division and anti-Māori, anti-ethnic narratives, but that it could also contribute significantly towards building a fairer, more inclusive and equitable society. The presentation will also outline the compelling need for educational reform that inculcates Aotearotanga in order to drive better inter-generational societal outcomes that are independent of political cycles and geopolitical influences.

Professor Meihana Durie is the Tumuaki /CEO of Te Wānanga o Raukawa, Ōtaki, Aotearoa.

5.30pm Close for the day.

Friday 17 April

9.00am **Marilyn Waring**

Vigilance, evidence, action.

I have spent a lot of my life in vigilant observation, collecting evidence and working out how to make that useful and available to all of us. I have often been alone, and sometimes very lonely. But I have never felt unsupported in this work in Aotearoa. It's been a learning life, but it has given me some insights into the fear and paralysis that grips so many when confronted with change, confining them to repeating the same tired old behaviours and rhetoric. What have been the keys to overcoming this – in progressing our Treaty partnership, in our anti-apartheid work, in our nuclear free New Zealand actions, in our women's movement, in progress towards a wellbeing analysis – that we can build on.

Marilyn Waring CNZM is a New Zealand feminist, former politician, author, academic, and activist for female human rights and environmental issues.

10.00am **Frances Hancock & Pania Newton**

An ethics and politics of reclamation: Tuupuna legacies and mokopuna decisions

In our time, when so much is at stake, how would things be different if the decisions we made required us to think like tuupuna and centre mokopuna? Our Elders remind us that we, the present generations, are the tuupuna of future generations. They call for ethical-political decision making with the Seventh Generation in mind, the ones we will not live to see.

In early 2015, guided by tikanga, six cousins co-founded the Save Our Unique Landscape campaign, now known as *#ProtectIhumātao*. They forged a six-year Indigenous-led, community-supported campaign that stopped the planned commercial development of whenua tuupuna at Ihumaatao and wrote itself into the history of our nation. In our korero, we will discuss how campaign leaders embraced the responsibility to continue tuupuna legacies by enacting decision-making processes that prioritised mokopuna. We share stories and insights that illuminate how an ethics and politics of reclamation nourishes possibilities for Indigenous futures and a more just society.

*Pania Newton is a co-founder and spokesperson for the *#ProtectIhumātao* Campaign. Pania serves as a Kaiwhakahaere Kaupapa (Project Lead) for Te Ahiwaru Trust and is a Trustee of Makaurau Marae in Ihumaatao. Frances Hancock is the 2026 JD Stout Fellow and was an active campaign supporter. Both served as investigators on a Marsden-funded study Matike Mai Te Hiaroa: *#ProtectIhumātao*, administered by the Royal Society of Te Apārangi.*

10.45am **Morning Tea**

11.15am	Bianca Elkington
Kura Toa: The Evolution of Iwi Education	
	Abstract TBC
<i>Bianca Elkington is the General Manager Education & Employment, Te Rūnanga o Toa Rangatira. Iwi Affiliation: Ngāti Toa Rangatira</i>	
12.00 noon	Clive Aspin and Heather Came
Disrupting the Status Quo through Honourable Kāwanatanga	
For too long, the Crown's problematic master narratives have prioritised settler-colonial hegemony over the promises of Te Tiriti o Waitangi. To achieve a society defined by Kia Tika and Kia Pono, we must move beyond performative partnership and address the core of the issue: the legitimacy and practice of kāwanatanga.	
<p>This presentation provides an update on our Royal Society Te Apārangi funded Honourable Kāwanatanga research project as a critical intervention in the current crises of inequity and ecological collapse. Drawing on a lineage of Critical Tiriti Analysis, as well as personal and professional experiences, we argue that a just society is unfeasible while the state continues to operate through a monocultural lens. We offer a new analytical language that shifts the focus to getting the kāwanatanga house in order for a Matike Mai inspired Tiriti-based future.</p>	
<p>We explore the scaffolding required to transform kāwanatanga from a tool of dispossession into a mechanism of honourable relationship. This requires a radical reset—an intentional dismantling of the systemic racism embedded in state services and a re-imagining of authority that yields space to tino rangatiratanga. By positioning relational justice and constitutional integrity at the front and centre, we outline a pathway toward a decolonised Aotearoa that serves the wellbeing of the whānau and the whenua, rather than the interests of a privileged few.</p>	
<p>This is the hard work of building a just society; it begins with an honest interrogation of power and a commitment to truth-telling.</p>	
<p><i>Associate Professor Clive Aspin is a public health researcher who grew up in Hauraki where his whakapapa connects him to Ngāti Maru, Ngāti Whanaunga and Ngāti Tamaterā. He joined Te Herenga Waka Victoria University of Wellington, in 2020 after a diverse career in secondary and tertiary education, government policy development, community-based health management, and academic research and teaching in New Zealand and Australia. He was the inaugural Associate Dean, Māori in the Faculty of Health. He is the 2023 recipient of the Te Rangi Hiroa Medal, awarded by the Royal Society - Te Apārangi for his national and international contributions to social and cultural diversity.</i></p>	
<p><i>Heather Came is an activist scholar and public health practitioner who leads a consultancy - Heather Came & Associates - dedicated to Tiriti and racial justice. She is an Adjunct Professor at Te Herenga Waka - Victoria University of Wellington and co-founder of STIR: Stop Institutional Racism. She is a co-creator of Critical Tiriti Analysis - a process to strengthen Tiriti alignment and the Te Tiriti-based futures + Antiracism on-line conference series. Awarded the New Zealand Order of Merit in 2023 for her services to Māori and health, Dr. Came is a prominent voice in decolonisation,</i></p>	

providing expert evidence to the Waitangi Tribunal and the United Nations. She is also a trustee for the Kotare Centre for Social Change.

1.00pm **Lunch**

1.45pm **Fleur Fitzsimonds**

Putting the public back into public services – the challenges in building a modern state

The state in Aotearoa New Zealand has been subject to a neoliberal experiment since 1984. Pockets of time where attempts have been made to reclaim the essence of public service have been set against the backdrop of a corporatised approach that values private sector models and ethos over the public good. This contribution will consider the challenges and opportunities of building public services that put serving people first. In this conception, the public good, Te Tiriti o Waitangi, respect for unions and workers expertise and a just transition are recognised as central to building the legitimacy of the state.

Fleur Fitzsimons is the National Secretary of the New Zealand Public Service Association Te Pukenga Here Tikanga Mahi, New Zealand's largest union representing workers in public, health, community services and in local government.

2.30pm **Edward Miller**

Beyond Uberisation: deregulation in Aotearoa's transport sector

The 2025 Uber decision — in which the Supreme Court unanimously dismissed Uber's appeal and confirmed that drivers are employees, not contractors — lands within a longer story about the progressive deregulation of Aotearoa's transport sector over the past four decades. The extreme individualism of "Uberisation" is a high-water mark, but follows a pattern of earlier reforms across freight, buses, taxis, couriers, and small deliveries, where the shift from rail to road, the introduction of competitive tendering, and contracting-out normalised a system built on individualised risk. Uber's algorithms, dynamic pricing, and one-sided "flexibility" have dramatically intensified precarity within the transport sector. At the same time, the contractor model appears to facilitate substantial multinational profit-shifting structures that deprive public budgets of much-needed funding while consolidating private power. This presentation will offer a stocktake of these trends and consider what they might mean for building a just transport system in Aotearoa. Such a system must seek to integrate the benefits of the platform economy within an effective and well-functioning transport system that is rooted in the public good and ensures individual choices don't erode collective mobility.

Edward Miller - The Centre for International Corporate Tax Accountability and Research (CICTAR). CICTAR carries out detailed, accurate and accessible research into the tax and financial arrangements of global businesses. Our investigations provide a growing global network of trade unions and campaigners with the tools, evidence and ammunition to expose tax dodging and runaway profit extraction.

3.15pm **Afternoon Tea**

3.45pm

Dr Rebecca Kiddle and Dr James Berghan

Spatial Justice: Imagining Hopeful Aotearoa Urban Futures

Justice and injustice have geography. In Aotearoa New Zealand, where over 80% of the population—including 80% of Māori—live in urban settlements, the spatial dimensions of inequality are profound and consequential. Marginalised communities are systematically pushed to urban peripheries, compounding economic hardship through reduced access to employment, education, healthcare, and essential services whilst increasing dependence on private transport. Evidence demonstrates that Māori experience diminished access to urban green spaces, whilst lower socio-economic communities face disproportionate exposure to flooding and climate change impacts—inequities reinforced by limited residential choice.

What does our built environment language say about justice and injustice in our cities? How does the built environment function as a stage that either encourages or discourages spatial justice? In our settler colonial context, how has colonisation 'baked in' unjust resource distribution, creating enduring structural disadvantage that impacts exponentially on Māori communities?

The Spatial Justice Kōhanga (Lab) explores these critical questions, examining how urban design and planning perpetuate or disrupt inequality and inequity. By imagining hopeful futures for just Aotearoa cities and working backwards to identify pathways towards those futures, we can move beyond accepting current spatial injustices as fait accompli. Instead, we can envision how built environments might actively contribute to the pursuit of more just cities—and chart realistic trajectories towards those transformative possibilities.

Dr James Berghan (Te Rarawa, Te Aupōuri) is a Senior Research Fellow at Te Manawahoukura and Co-Director of the Spatial Justice Kōhanga (Lab) with Dr Rebecca Kiddle. With a background in surveying, planning, and urban design, James' research interrogates how housing and transport systems—and the narratives that sustain them—produce inequity. In 2024, he was awarded an inaugural Tāwhia Te Mana Future Leader Fellowship to lead a four-year programme on mis- and disinformation in urban change.

Dr Rebecca Kiddle is Ngāti Porou and Ngāpuhi and is Paemanu (Director) Rangahau (Te Manawahoukura), Degree and Post Graduate Delivery at Te Wānanga o Aotearoa and Co-Director of the Spatial Justice Kōhanga (Lab) with Dr James Berghan. With training in urban design and politics, her work focuses on Indigeneity in an urban context and in particular the uncovering of Indigenous identities, worldviews and value sets in our homes, streets, public spaces, towns and cities. In 2024 she was awarded a four-year Tāwhia te Mana Fellowship focused on spatial justice in Aotearoa.

4.30pm

James Belich

Epochalyse Now: Common Eras in New Zealand History

NZ History is short: a mere eight centuries. But it is also dynamic, resonant globally, and important nationally. Globally, it manifests the encounter between history's two greatest oceanic expansionists, the Polynesians and the British, and a still wider encounter between settler colonialists and indigenous peoples. Nationally, New Zealand history traces the rapid evolution of at least two new peoples, Maori and Pakeha. Here, it is indispensable. Without it, there is no nation, no peoples. As for the dynamics, they cause big shifts over time which should be refracted if not fully reflected in all major sub-divisions of our past

There are convenient and uncontroversial ways of sub-dividing out past; eg "the late 19th century". But easy eras are typically less useful than difficult ones, contested in name, cause, consequence, or timing because they matter. There is a rare consensus that a colonial era existed, for example, but some say it ended in 1890; others that it has yet to end. This paper considers the epochalysing of New Zealand history, and asks whether an era can also matter on the ground – not necessarily its own ground.

James Belich is a leading New Zealand and global historian. He has recently retired as Beit Professor of Global and Imperial History at Oxford University and returned home to Wellington.

5.15pm Reception – Mezzanine Floor

Saturday 18 April

9.00am **Robert McClean and Ashleigh Sagar**

'Towards cultural restoration – Te Awarua o Porirua & Te Moana'

Te Awarua o Porirua (Porirua Harbour) is a significant landscape for Ngāti Toa Rangatira. It is a relationship with the harbour, anchored in ancestral connections, ecosystems of sustenance, and longstanding kaitiakitanga. Despite early recognition of customary fishing rights of Ngāti Toa Rangatira by the Native Land Court in the 1880s, successive state-led developments—from colonial land alienation and harbour reclamation to wastewater discharge—precipitated severe ecological degradation and undermined iwi authority. Throughout the twentieth century, Ngāti Toa Rangatira mounted a continuous whakapapa of resistance through petitions, hui with government leaders, protests, and formal submissions, invoking Te Tiriti o Waitangi to defend fisheries rights and oppose further environmental harm.

The Crown apologised for the degradation of the harbour in the Ngāti Toa Rangatira Treaty settlement of 2012 and established cultural redress through statutory acknowledgements. Despite the settlement, challenges related to pollution, sedimentation, and habitat loss have persisted. Recent planning initiatives, including Greater Wellington's Plan Change 1, signal renewed institutional commitment to harbour restoration. The 2025 signing of Te Wai Ora o Porirua (the Porirua Harbour Accord) marks a significant shift toward collaborative, Treaty-based environmental governance aimed at restoring the mauri of Te Awarua o Porirua for future generations.

Te Awarua o Porirua is a story that is always about justice and action to transform. It is an intentional push from degradation and cultural redress and towards cultural restoration.

Ko te iwi hauora – Ko te moana hauora

Bio

9.45am **Leslynne Jackson**

From Harm to Hauora: Lessons from Tairāwhiti

A decade of evidence and whānau experience gathered by Manaaki Tairāwhiti shows that centralised systems of social support are failing because the voice of whānau is ignored, leading to compounding harm and wasted potential. The answer lies in mana motuhake: supporting and enabling locally-led systems of support.

Manaaki Tairāwhiti is the regional leadership group for social wellbeing in Tairāwhiti. We are a coalition of the willing who recognise that working together gives us the best chance to effect meaningful and sustainable improvements in the

wellbeing of whānau in Tairāwhiti. Our point of difference is that we are iwi led under Te Rūnanga o Tūranganui a Kiwa and Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Porou. Manaaki Tairāwhiti is funded as one of only two Place Based Initiatives (PBIs), initially direct from Cabinet and more recently within baseline funding from the Ministry of Social Development (MSD). Ultimately, we are aiming for social transformation that significantly reduces the need for social services in our region and provides for the fullest expression of autonomy and empowerment for all Tairāwhiti whānau.

10.30am	Morning Tea
11.00am	Gareth Hughes

A system is what a system does. Our unjust and unsustainable economy is not an accident, it is the result of deliberate decisions.

How did we get to this, and how have our collective mindsets, narratives and policies entrenched an increasingly broken business-as-usual? Throughout the world, non-partisan movements are working on alternatives to the dominant paradigm and creating the conditions to move to an economy that puts our human and planetary needs at the centre of its activities, ensuring that these needs are all equally met, by design. Movements in Aotearoa, such as the Wellbeing Economy Alliance, are part of this global system change movement, searching for narratives of hope and new frameworks and indicators of success. In Aotearoa, Te Tiriti is at the centre as we look to the powerful role of Māori leadership, and reach for the potential of citizen participation, place-based solutions, and purposeful business models.

Gareth is the Director of WEAll Aotearoa, part of the global Wellbeing Economy Alliance, a non-partisan ‘think and do’ tank working to redesign New Zealand’s economic system to deliver wellbeing for people and planet. He is an author, political commentator for Radio New Zealand and serves in governance roles. He was a Member of Parliament for over a decade with the Green Party where he served as the Chairperson of the Social Services and Community Select Committee. Before politics he was a climate campaigner at Greenpeace and afterwards his family were the only residents on Quarantine Island, where he focused on conservation and kai security projects.

11.45	Carwyn Jones
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‘Ko te Kai a te Rangatira, he Kōrero’ - Listening for Democracy in Aotearoa

The well-known whakatauki ‘ko te kai a te rangatira, he kōrero’ is sometimes translated as ‘speech is the food of chiefs’. A better interpretation might be ‘discussion is the food of chiefs’. This makes clear that leadership is sustained, not simply by talking, but also by listening, recognising that dialogue is an essential feature of a functioning democracy. This paper suggests that, in order to enhance democracy in Aotearoa, we ought to consider constitutional change that reorients our democratic institutions to dialogue and to more relational ways of operating, using te Tiriti o Waitangi as the foundation for doing so.

In recent times, we have seen democracy in Aotearoa undermined by the Coalition Government’s failure to listen – to the courts, to experts and evidence, to official advice, to procedural safeguards, and, of course, to the voice of the people. Te Tiriti o Waitangi provides a model for doing things differently. Taking te Tiriti seriously requires us to find ways to give expression to the relationship between tino rangatiratanga and kāwanatanga and to listen to the constitutional kōrero between these two spheres of public authority. And this also gives us a framework for

recognising relationships and engaging in dialogue across other communities in Aotearoa, strengthening our democracy for a just society.

Dr Carwyn Jones, (Ngāti Kahungunu) is a Kaihautū of Te Whare Whakatupu Mātauranga and the lead academic in the Ahunga Tikanga (Māori Laws and Philosophy) programme at Te Wānanga o Raukawa. He is an Honorary Adjunct Professor at Te Kawa a Māui, the School of Māori Studies at Te Herenga Waka – Victoria University of Wellington. His research focuses on Te Tiriti o Waitangi and indigenous law. Carwyn is the author of New Treaty, New Tradition – Reconciling New Zealand and Māori Law, one of the authors of Treaty Law: Principles of the Treaty of Waitangi in Law and Practice, and an editor of the new collection of essays, 50 years of the Waitangi Tribunal – Whakamana i te Tiriti.

12.45pm

Bernard Hickey

Summing Up

TBC

Bernard Hickey is a journalist, and Editor of The Kākā. He specialises in public interest journalism about NZ's housing, climate and poverty crises.

1.00pm

Closing

Trip to Porirua – Registered people only (additional to conference registration).

People that have registered separately for this field trip to meet on the Mezzanine Floor at 1.00pm.

1.30pm Bus leaves from Bunny Street, Wellington (outside Rutherford House).

2.00 pm Bus arrives to Norrie Street, near Kaitahi.
Welcome at the waterfront, Porirua.
Short walk around the waterfront with kōrero about the history of the harbour
A visit to Kaitahi and an introduction to the BizHUB.

3.00 pm Visit to Pātaka Art + Museum and the Mutumutu ki mukukai waterways exhibition:
<https://pataka.org.nz/whats-on/exhibitions/mutumutu-ki-mukukai/> (Coffee/cake at the Pātaka café, participants buy your own).

4.30 pm Bus departs from Norrie Street, Porirua to Rutherford House, Wellington.
ETA 5.00pm.