Donna Awatere's *Māori Sovereignty*: Reflections on White Supremacy and the Racialization of Crime Control and Surveillance in Aotearoa New Zealand

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Abstract

Donna Awatere's examination of whiteness within the Aotearoa New Zealand context, specifically white cultural imperialism, has largely been ignored in academic scholarship. For her, white culture, and its articulation through governance and policy, is the starting point and lens to understanding and addressing historical and contemporary Māori dispossession and ensuing strategies of racialized surveillance, control, and containment. In this essay, we argue that Awatere's attention to past forms of genocide – mapping them to emerging forms of state confinement of Māori, which engender genocidal characteristics, and problematizing "whiteness" – situates the book *Māori Sovereignty* as an important text in the field of criminal justice, especially that which manifests in settler-colonial contexts.

Keywords: Donna Awatere, critical whiteness studies, the criminal justice system, Stokely Carmichael, Black Power Movement, Angela Davis, New Zealand

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Introduction

Donna Awatere wrote in her 1984 now classic book: *Māori Sovereignty*:

> *Māori courtesy has allowed white supremacy and [white] cultural*
> *imperialism to pass under the name of monoculturalism. In this*
> *country monoculturalism is a euphemism for separate*
> *development and a cover for white hostility and hatred of things*
> *and people Māori. It prettily avoids the issue, which is that for*
> *142 years Māori people have been excluded from all power and*
> *all economic decision-making even when it has concerned us*
> *directly. It prettily disguises the fact that the Māori in 1982 is still*
> *struggling to survive the devastatingly brutal attacks on our land,*
> *our culture, our language and our identity* (p. 10).

Awatere's examination of whiteness within the Aotearoa New Zealand context, specifically white cultural imperialism, has largely been ignored in academic scholarship. For her, white culture, and its articulation through governance and policy, is the starting point and lens to understanding and addressing historical and contemporary Māori dispossession and ensuing strategies of racialized surveillance, control and containment. Awatere traced the trajectory of historical and emerging forms of surveillance technologies that produced systems of confinement for Māori – systems that exemplified and reinforced anti-Māoriness. Through a systematic exposition of the genesis of the criminal justice system, she illustrated that Māori initial contact with white systems not only oppressed Māori but also proffered death for Māori, setting in motion a white supremacist framework that would become the ruling order in Aotearoa New Zealand. Placing Donna Awatere's examination of themes of confinement and imprisonment within the context of crime control in a capitalist, settler-colonial society, this essay directs critical attention toward ideologies of whiteness as a framework that has maintained a sustained focus on Māori as the primary target population of crime control strategies in this country.

Taking white supremacy, a central theme in *Māori Sovereignty*, as a point of departure, this essay examines how Awatere's analysis presented whiteness as the country's guiding framework. She articulates a framework of whiteness similar to Charles W. Mills' discussion of the racial contract. Mills (2014) states

that a global theoretical framework of race and white racism is needed to first and foremost recognize that racism or global white supremacy is "itself a political system, a particular power structure of formal or informal rule, socioeconomic privilege, and norms for the differential distribution of material wealth and opportunities, benefits and burdens, rights and duties" (p. 3). Donna's analysis succinctly shifted the notion of whiteness from the actions and beliefs of a few individuals to a system of operation – an important and rarely acknowledged departure from mainstream discussions at the time.

Contemporary, critical whiteness studies scholars define whiteness as "the underlying mechanism that maintains a racist system" (Matias et al., 2014, p. 291). Matias et al. (2014) assert that not acknowledging whiteness contributes to the permanence of race and racism.. Like these US-based scholars, Awatere points out that mainstream movements, academic scholarship (e.g., white social scientists), and the media did not focus on the institutions that created, reproduced, and normalized white supremacy in Aotearoa New Zealand (Awatere, 1984; Twine & Gallagher, 2008). This lack of critical engagement with whiteness as a framework created a dearth of white supremacy scholarship and an undertheorized understanding of institutional/systemic racism in Aotearoa New Zealand. Today, the tendency of mainstream media and academics to depict white supremacy as an outlier, linking it to groups such as the US-based Proud Boys, continues to situate white supremacy as a peculiarity, a relic of the past, rather than a very real formation that thrives within contemporary society. This tendency and prevailing belief attest to the relevance of Awatere's analysis today, which is essential to any critical analysis of the relationship between Māori and crime control policies and processes.

Within the context of crime control, this essay aims to explore the key tenets of whiteness, advanced by Awatere (1984), in relation to systems of surveillance and confinement. The first part of this essay discusses the parallel between Awatere's reflections on New Zealand's collective social, political, and economic consciousness as heavily influenced by anti-Māori beliefs, and Kwame Ture's (formerly known as Stokely Carmichael) 1960s call to arms in his book *Black Power*. Carmichael and Hamilton's 1967 book, *Black Power: The Politics of Liberation,* was among the second wave of Black US writers', scholars', and activists' (e.g., Angela Davis, James Baldwin, Franz Fanon) work on

whiteness and white supremacy (Twine & Gallagher, 2008). Similar to Carmichael's *Black Power*, Awatere's *Māori Sovereignty* presents an argument for revolutionary changes to replace systems of integration/assimilation, such as biculturalism[i]. For her, biculturalism was not achievable under white cultural imperialism. By its very nature, white cultural imperialism was a hazard to Māori and invisible to white people. The second part of this paper introduces Angela Davis' concept of the Prison Industrial Complex (PIC). While Davis' analysis is largely within the US context, Awatere examined occurrences in Aotearoa New Zealand that significantly impacted Māori, which resonates with Davis' analysis of the racialization of crime control and prison in that jurisdiction.

Racialized Surveillance and Systems of Confinement: The Carceral Mesh

Similar to US Black Power writers such as Angela Davis and Stokely Carmichael, Awatere examined what she called the *super gatekeeping institutions* – education, housing, crime control and penality, especially the prison. Stephen Dillon (2012), in his discussion of Assata Shakur's prison writings in the late 1980s, explains that for Black people the space between prison and ordinary life burdened by white terror is blurred. Shakur, a Black Liberation Army member, wrote in her 1987 essay "Women in prison: How we are" (as cited in Dillon, 2012, p. 113):

> *For many, prison is not that much different from the street […].*
> *For many, cells are not that different from the tenements […]. The*
> *police are the same. The poverty is the same. The alienation is the*
> *same. The racism is the same. The sexism is the same. The drugs*
> *are the same and the system is the same.*

The connections made by Black and Indigenous writers between prison and neoliberalism, and prison and slavery are one Awatere (1984) draws out when she identifies white racial hatred as a "health hazard for Māori" (p. 57). In addition to Māori experiences of imprisonment, she discussed prison-like systems that produced similar social outcomes. For example, she noted the *Public Health Act 1900*, which designed health services that ignored Māori health needs while implementing criminalizing systems that opposed Māori

health survival strategies from 1900 to the 1950s. Her analysis identified racism as a public health concern as she pointed out emerging facets, such as suicide and admission to mental institutions, that had begun to mark Māori life when they did not exist prior. Māori began to make up the majority of the occupants in state care and mental institutions by the 1960s and 1970s, which was on par with the growing population of Māori in borstals (youth detention centres) and prisons. Three decades later, Elizabeth Stanley's 2016 book, *The road to hell: State violence against children in postwar New Zealand*, examined the specificity of state violence under state care. In his 2020 book, *Justice and race: Campaigns against racism and abuse in Aotearoa New Zealand*, Oliver Sutherland weaves the criminal justice system into other forms of state violence against Māori in the 1960s and 1970s. These works offer in-depth analyses of the carceral mesh Awatere first described in *Māori Sovereignty*. She explained how racist stereotypes such as 'the savage' and 'the uncivilized' never went away under white cultural imperialism, but instead evolved into the Māori 'troublemaker' and 'the brown problem' whereby Māori are presented as deserving of excessive surveillance, correction, and control (Cunneen & Tauri, 2016). White professionals in schools, health care facilities, and law enforcement were not immune to white culture imperialism programming, which, at its core, represented Māori as violent and subhuman (Jackson, 1988).

White settlers' and their descendants' infantilization of Māori ascribed a status of superiority to whiteness as the ideal or model class that lies deep in the psyches of white individuals who see themselves as good and moral (Tecun, Lopesi & Sankar, 2022; Walker, 2004). Racialized rhetoric dating back to New Zealand's first Attorney General, Frederick Whitaker, reflects this thought process: "It should be given to the founders of this colony to be also the instruments of preserving a barbarous native race, and of raising them in the scale of civilization to a level with ourselves" (Awatere, 1984, p. 58). Under white cultural imperialism, Awatere observed that white people were inculcated to surveil and manage Māori. Thus, her analysis theorized a system of racialized policing as a condition of white supremacy, although she does not explicitly use the concept.

White-Body Supremacy and the Criminal Justice System

With a specific focus on criminal justice, Moana Jackson published *The Māori and the Criminal Justice System: A New Perspective, He Whaipaanga Hou* in 1988. Like Awatere, Jackson locates the criminal justice system as a part of wider social systems that reflect institutional racism at the heart of the colonial project in Aotearoa New Zealand. While Awatere's analysis engages the criminal justice issues at the time, her sharp focus on white supremacy – particularly apparent in her critique of local expressions of white identity (Pākehā) as an appendage of whiteness as a global network – sets her analysis apart. Early in the book, Awatere examines a disillusionment she had observed among white liberals. For her, white liberals' complicity with right-wing, white supremacy ideology was most evident in the fact that a true alliance with Māori among the labour and white feminist movement was weak at best if found at all. She argued that because all white people share in the benefit of the alienation of Māori – from separate development – white people are captives of their own culture, most unknowingly. As Awatere argues:

> *Racism is an integral part of the white separatist state. Racism exists because it is supposed to exist. It is the effect of white separatism and white supremacy. Racism will not vanish by simply acknowledging that it's there and telling those who do it to stop. Merely telling judges that statistics and research show that they are seven times more likely to find any Māori guilty than any white will not stop them from doing it. Neither will telling the police that they are six times more likely to arrest any Māori as any white will stop them doing it. Again, they are supposed to act this way […]. Of course they are […]* (p. 26).

Awatere's articulation of racism as an intrinsic feature of whiteness echoed Stokely Carmichael's 1967 analysis of white supremacy in his discussion of Black Power[ii]. In the chapter *"White power: The colonial situation",* Hamilton and Carmichael (1967) detail the colonial history and heritage of American white supremacy that parallel the colonial connections made by Malcolm X in his autobiography a few years earlier. Explaining the colonial connections of white supremacy that Black Americans experience, the authors provide a more

accessible definition of racism to readers that continues to be a major influence in the way many today have come to contextualize racism, particularly within critical race studies:

> *By 'racism' we mean the predication of decisions and policies on considerations of race for the purpose of subordinating a racial group and maintaining control over that group* (p. 3).

Essentially, the premise is that racism needed judicial power to apply its prejudice so that it could then adversely impact entire racialized groups. It is this understanding of racism that led to Black Power seeing Black people as "colonial subjects" in America's white society. Extraction and exportation of resources, such as copra and phosphate, are typical of colonization and colonial powers and occurred regularly in the Pacific. *Black Power* argues that this colonial subjugation and extraction is exacerbated in America upon Black populations when illuminating the lack of export(s) that the US can mine from Black communities. It is a result of this missing export that Black labour power fulfils the needs of 'extractive' and exploitative economies: the Black communities of the US do not export anything except human labour. Angela Davis extends this analysis of Black labour to the Prison Industrial Complex (PIC), which is later discussed. Facing stereotypes of Black inferiority as well as pressures to buy into the ideologies and economics of whitenessto uplift themselves out of white supremacy, Black people were forced into the insurmountable handicap of being *in* a white world.

Awatere's analysis of white supremacy similarly maps white domination in Aotearoa New Zealand from land (resources) dispossession, genocide, embedded stereotypes of Māori inferiority, and the resultant urban drift of vast numbers of Māori into the industrializing, urban centres from the mid-1950s. After the violent seizure of Māori lands, white settlers – turned capitalists – set their sights on extracting Māori labour along with peoples from various Pacific Islands. Comparable to the US Black experience of urbanization, the Māori urban drift brought increased knowledge and experience of alienation and techniques of the maintenance of the structures of white (Pākehā) domination and Māori oppression in "Pākehā-dominated governments" (Walker, 2004, p. 209). By the early 1970s, crises of labour extortion, racialized surveillance,

housing discrimination, and imprisonment ignited young Māori into cutting-edge activism (Poata-Smith, 1996).

In 1972, Ngā Tamatoa[iii] (the Young Warriors) was founded. Described by Ranginui Walker as the "face of rising political consciousness among urban Māori", the group took inspiration from US Black Power leaders such as Stokely Carmichael and Rap Brown (Walker, 2004, p. 210). Awatere, a founding member, participated in leading the charge in amplifying Māori consciousness over the erosion of Māori rights by legislation. The members also monitored the courts and assisted Māori offenders needing advice and legal aid. Awatere identified the criminal justice system as a colonial apparatus and tool of white supremacy to dismantle radical Māori movements and quell dissent.

Defining the reality of Māori life under white rule and demanding the inclusion of Māori (e.g., language) intensified white backlash, illustrating that a Māori consciousness was the single most threat to a white ruling order. It was important for Awatere to point a critical lens toward white hostility and the fuse – Māori demand for equality – that ignites it. Just as it was important for Carmichael to redefine the Black experience starting with rejecting the goals of assimilation into the middle class, Ngā Tamatoa espoused similar objectives. Hamilton and Carmichael (1967) implored readers to adequately assess whiteness as a framework that demands submission from Black people, stating "that whiteness is anti-humanist because that class as a social force perpetuates racism" (p. 41).

> *The black people of this country have not lynched whites, bombed their churches, murdered their children and manipulated laws and institutions to maintain oppression. White racists have* (Hamilton and Carmichael, 1967, p. 47).

Like Hamilton and Carmichael, Awatere's thesis, especially in her critique of biculturalism as the primary vehicle used to integrate and assimilate Māori at a high cost to Māori, was, to tell the truth about whiteness. Ramari Jackson-Paniora reflecting upon her mother, Hana Te Hemara, a founding member of Ngā Tamatoa, expressed similar sentiments:

> *Well, not only was Mum's reo [Māori language] taken away from her at school, but also her confidence. She was shamed for her color, shamed for her weight, shamed for her looks. She was conditioned to be like a Pākehā [white/European] instead. She was really surprised at how they taught her to be like a Pākehā person, but then they didn't treat her like a Pākehā person* (Jackson-Paniora & Buchanan, 2022, para 12).

Black Power implored Black people to anticipate white backlash in response to the applied and organized strategy of Black resistance, deemed racist by white people. Hamilton and Carmichael responded to the white backlash by providing more clarity into American racism, stating: "The goal of racists is to keep black people at the bottom, arbitrarily and dictatorially, as they have done in this country for over three hundred years." The authors urged Black people to "not waste time trying to reform or convert the racist parties" (p. 166) because when attempting to do so, more Black people become expendable.

Awatere evokes similar sentiments when she writes that white people created a system of which they are the primary beneficiaries, and they determine the standard system of operation to which Māori must accept and conform. Māori did not possess the power to imprison and confine white bodies and take their children. Through the social control of Māori, the white body became institutionalized as the norm, granting white people access to their systems and the power to exclude.

Critical Race Theorist (CRT) and legal scholar, Cheryl Harris (1993), explained in her seminal article, "Whiteness as property":

> *[W]hiteness is simultaneously an aspect of identity and a property interest, it is something that can both be experienced and deployed as a resource. Whiteness can move from being a passive characteristic as an aspect of identity that – like other types of property – is used to fulfill the will and exercise of power* (p. 282).

Harris (1993) details how white meant gaining access to a set of public and private privileges that permanently guaranteed basic subsistence needs for survival and that were permanently affirmed, legitimated, and protected by American law. Awatere, similarly, states that whiteness is most profound and

visible in its sustained ability to criminalize Māori after relegating them to harsh environments and subjecting them to white hostility. She implored white readers to begin their own interrogation of the roots of white racial hatred toward Māori as they position themselves as allies.

Menakem (2017), in his chapter "European trauma and the invention of whiteness", details systems of stratification and punishment Europeans brought with them to the new colony that would become the US. The desire for First Nations' lands and the emerging system of enslaved Africans set in motion old and new systems of laws that enforced segregation and legitimized the surveillance and dehumanization of Black and Native bodies, which rested on the construction of race. Thus, race and property were conflated establishing new forms of property (Harris, 1993). "[T]he conquest, removal and extermination of Native American life and culture were ratified by conferring and acknowledging the property rights of whites in Native American land" (Harris, 1993, p. 279). Such laws bolstered white-body supremacy, where the need to attain the status of whiteness (to own land and people) overshadowed the need to identify with a particular country of origin. White skin became a possession of sorts that exonerated one from becoming targets of violent practices (lynching) that directly affected Native and Black people. The institutionalization of white body supremacy in "science, history, economics, governance, courts, policing, education, employment, housing, medicine, and psychology" simply means that the white body became the standardized, normal body legitimized through laws (Harris, 1993, p. 72).

Native American writer and formerly incarcerated woman, Stormy Ogden (2020), links the structural violence she faced throughout her life to policies made during the colonization of California. She draws on policies that legitimized Native dehumanization, such as the *Indian Indenture Act* of 1850, which legally permitted the ownership of Indians as enslaved subjects. This policy and others similarly led to First Nation peoples being exposed to violence and dispossession, slavery, kidnapping, rape, and mass murder. Reflecting on her childhood experiences in school, for example, Ogden speaks of the educational system as a space of violence. Just like the criminal justice system, schools permitted and sanctioned systems of monitoring, surveilling, and confining Native youth. This system institutionalized and deputized the white body, including teachers and administrators, as agents over Native Americans'

everyday life and being. Stormy's story parallels that of Stan Coster (Ngāti Kahungungu) , who speaks of structural features in Aotearoa New Zealand that cause his entire life to be characterized by various forms of state confinement, including becoming a ward of the state at the age of nine and over 25 years in prison (McIntosh & Coster, 2017).

Awatere outlines a similar framework of whiteness in Aotearoa New Zealand when she argues that laws set up by colonists – who defined the Māori body as aberrant and subhuman – established the framework that has been fortified through invisibility. For example, she states that the only culture studied in schools is Māori. A strategy that is part of the framework of whiteness that renders 'white' as cultureless, when, in fact, it is not. It is this framework, at its core, that will always impede biculturalism and produce systems of death for Māori, and one of the core 'systems' that have negatively impacted Māori, has been the punishment and prison regimes instigated by Aotearoa New Zealand's settler-colonial governments (Cunneen & Tauri, 2016).

The Prison Industrial Complex: A Case Study in the Racialization of Crime Control in Aotearoa New Zealand

As stated earlier, Awatere critically surveyed the criminal justice landscape and its impact on Māori. Linking features of Māori urbanization to gatekeeping superstructures, such as the courts and prisons, she assessed growing disparities among Māori from 1964 to the early 1980s. Awatere predicted worsening inequalities, especially for Māori, without sustained attention toward white cultural imperialism. Her discussion of the various iterations of the surveillance and confinement of Māori parallels in some ways Angela Davis' theorization of the PIC.

Davis centres her critical analysis on the part played by the PIC in the *structuration of disempowerment*, a neo-Marxist theoretical proposition that racism, disempowerment, and social inequality emanate from the structure of capitalist social relations, which interact and intersect to ensure the unequal distribution of power, wealth, and that the focus of state violence falls on the poor. Davis (2003a) affirms this theoretical position when she writes that "[t]he notion of a prison industrial complex insists on understandings of the punishment process that take into account economic and political structures

and ideologies, rather than focusing myopically on individual criminal conduct and efforts to 'curb crime'." (p. 85).

Davis' (1989) theorizing of crime and penal policy effectively exposes the interconnectedness of key socio-political drivers of criminality. Homelessness, unemployment, drug addiction, mental illness, illiteracy, and racist application of crime control policies are only a few of the problems that disappear from public view in political discourses of crime control. Critical scholars such as Davis (1998), Christie (1994), and Gopnik (2012) trace the emergence of the PIC to the *intersection* of socio-economic and political transformations that occurred in Western democracies from the late 1970s onwards (see also Goldberg & Evans, 1998; and Sudbury, 2002). Since the late 1990s, prison abolitionists, activists, and researchers have adopted the concept of the PIC to critically analyze the complex web of overlapping interests that together have driven three decades of prison expansion (Sudbury, 2010; see also Pelaez, 2014).

Theorists identify three issues that aligned to cause the

> *political and economic chain reaction that we have come to know as the prison industrial complex [including] a symbiotic and profitable relationship between politicians, corporations, the media and state correctional institutions that generates the racialized use of incarceration as a response to social problems rooted in the globalization of capital* (Sudbury, 2002, p. 61).

The rise of the PIC corresponded with the rise of the neo-liberal state and a move by Western democratic states from using welfare policies and levers to deal with social problems such as poverty, unemployment, and crime, to deploying crime control policies to control these, and other 'social problems' (Wacquant, 2009), in particular, "the increased reliance on prisons as a catch-all solution to social ills such as poverty, mental illness, and addiction" (Chandler, 2003, p. 54). Chandler (2003) further contends that:

> *This punitive approach to addressing social problems is correlated with the dismantling of social welfare programs or the offering of governmental aid to those in need. This political shift toward intolerance has resulted in increasingly punitive sentences for property – and drug-related crimes, as well as*

welfare reforms that remove entitlements from those who have been convicted of crimes related to poverty and addiction (p. 54).

Davis (1989, 1998, 2000) and Michelle Alexander (2012) demonstrate that the mass incarceration of African Americans can be directly correlated to the post-slavery policies of emancipation and Jim Crow. In her theoretical schema, Davis (1989) argues that the criminal justice system, and later the PIC, manifested as government-sponsored, racialized systems of oppression. These 'systems' replaced slavery as the principal institution for controlling the Black population, and in particular for channelling them into low-wage labour. While there are distinct differences in the racialization of the justice systems in the two jurisdictions, nonetheless, the deployment of the penal system as a process for controlling what the state defines as 'problems populations' – Blacks in the US, Māori in New Zealand – is evident when we critically analyze the historical development of the systems. Furthermore, the linkages identified by Davis' critical scholarship between the penal system and the use of Black labour in low-wage sectors of the labour market provide us with a theoretically and empirically informed critique of the expansion of the in-prison industry in Aotearoa New Zealand in light of the continued mass incarceration of Māori in this jurisdiction.

Racialized Surveillance, Māori, and New Zealand's Expanding Prison Industry

Turning to the New Zealand context, Awatere (1984) offers insight into two distinct phases that are discernible in the process that leads to the racialization of New Zealand's criminal justice system. Her distinction resonates with Davis' theorizing of the development of the PIC in the US (and the global) context. Phase one relates to the era during which the developing colonial government passed laws specifically designed to *criminalize Māori resistance to the colonial process,* be it direct armed resistance (Awatere, 1984; Pratt, 1992; Ward, 1995; Webb, 2009, 2017), or the practice of Māori culture, religion and law (Jackson, 1988). Expanding the argument that the development and implementation of the penal system worked as a key colonizing project in the subjugation of Māori, Rākete (2015) argues that "[f]rom its roots in colonialism and occupation in the 19th century to its role in manipulating the labour market in the 21st, the

prison has at every point in its history in Aotearoa New Zealand been a tool of racist state power" (para 16).

The second phase began in the 1970s, peaked in the early 1980s, and has continued unabated ever since. From Awatere's (1984) analysis, this particular era solidified a 'long phase of racialization' of criminal justice in New Zealand. This is the period where Māori hyperincarceration became a *social fact* of New Zealand's penal landscape (Awatere, 1984). Another issue that cannot be ignored is that the process of the racialization of New Zealand's criminal justice system dovetailed with the economic downturn that began in the 1970s, a point reminiscent of Davis' analysis of the expansion of PIC in the US context, and culminated in the neoliberal experiment of the Labour government in the mid-to-late 1980s. Both 'issues' resulted in the evisceration of many of the industries Māori worked in during and after the post-war urban migration discussed earlier. The downturn threw many Māori into long-term unemployment, and eventually into the prison system in large numbers (Awatere, 1984; Poata-Smith, 1996, 2001; Tauri, 2005). Awatere points out that while the situation of Black people in the US and Māori in New Zealand may differ, in terms of the social and political conditions that brought about the racialization of the criminal justice system and the strategies deployed against them, nonetheless the use of penal policy to control and contain these 'problem populations' is evident in both contexts. Through the expansion of the PIC in both countries, we have witnessed a significant increase in the prison population of both Black and Native Americans and Māori.

Conclusion

This essay extended Awatere's analysis to explore themes of ideologies of whiteness, in particular in discussions of crime control. Angela Davis' theorization of the prison industrial complex (PIC) as a key component in the post-slavery process of the criminalization and containment of Black Americans offers a framework to explain technologies of racialized surveillance and containment in Aotearoa New Zealand. In the New Zealand context, Donna Awatere explains that the imprisonment of Māori bridges the gap between capital production through primitive accumulation (the expropriation of Māori land and resources) and capital production through the labour market (the expropriation of Māori labour value). In other words, how the criminal justice

system has been deployed to support the subjugation of Māori has changed as the 'shape' of coloniality – the philosophy and process of Indigenous subjugation – changed. In the initial and intermediate phases of colonialism, the developing penal system focused on *corralling and containing* Māori who resisted the process of colonialist social and economic expansion.

Strategic application of racist stereotypes has marked Māori existence in a society built for white settlers in ways that have rendered Māori existence in the so-called liberal state as one of confinement, extreme social exclusion, and surveillance. We argue that Awatere's attention to past forms of genocide – mapping them to emerging forms of state confinement of Māori, which engender genocidal characteristics – problematizes "whiteness". Thus, her analysis situates *Māori Sovereignty* as an important text in the field of criminal justice.

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[i] Biculturalism refers to a particular social and political system of operating familiar to most New Zealanders. The concept acknowledges the partnership between Māori and The Crown as expressed in contemporary and historical interpretations of the Treaty of Waitangi. The term gained importance in the attempt by the Government to redress historical grievances of land dispossession and Māori pursuit for autonomy (Barclay& Liu, 2003).

[ii] Kwame Ture (formerly known as Stokely Carmichael) is often credited as the principal purveyor of the term "Black Power." However, the term was originally used in fiction by Richard Wright in 1956, and its first public use is credited with Adam Clayton Powell Jr. in 1966, in connection to human rights. The term was then utilized regularly by Stokely Carmichael of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC).

[iii] Ngā Tamatoa was founded 14 September 1972. The activist group was at the forefront of revitalizing te reo Māori (the Māori language), calling for its recognition and integration of the language in schools.