Awatere's *Māori Sovereignty* Reveals the Obscured Core of Capitalism

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Abstract

The effects of capitalism are ubiquitous; however, the core is obscured behind hegemonic power that serves to continuously disempower and exploit the vast majority of people and the environment. As the neoliberal project unleashes capitalism on a global scale (Neilson, 2020, 2021), Marx's early prediction that capitalism would spread to the four corners of the globe is reflected in the domination of capitalism in this social formation. However, this domination is by no means a homogenous experience. White supremacy runs through the veins of capitalism, weaving assertions of white superiority through the terrain that is wrenched open by colonial projects. Capitalism as a mode of production was thrust upon Māori in Aotearoa. Capitalism displaced (and displaces) the Māori mode of production, a way of life that is fundamentally antithetical to the individualised, privatised, exploitative mode of production foisted upon these lands by British colonialists and their descendants. Capitalism as the economic base ensured (and continues to ensure) the dispossession of Māori, maintaining white supremacy at the socio-economic level. Further to this, the political and ideological superstructure that overdetermines the economic base ensures the cultural dispossession of Māori. The political and ideological superstructure has been defined by various forms of liberalism and social democracy and works to construct narratives about Māori that ensure white supremacy is maintained at this level. In short, capitalism as a mode of production, that is overdetermined across its long history, has ensured that Māori sovereignty continues to be under threat. White supremacy is the fibre in the fabric of capitalism and the superstructure that overdetermines it, creating a nexus of oppression that generates a particularly violent form of alienation for Māori. Donna Awatere reveals this obscure core in 1984, the decades since have seen little change.

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Introduction

Awatere's (1984) *Māori Sovereignty* provides a scathing critique of the intersection of colonialism, capitalism and the construction of ideological frameworks purporting Māori criminality. As a Pākehā, before championing the intersectional analysis presented, it is necessary to lay bare my own positionality. Awatere (1984) has already said it all, it is not my intention to centre my voice in this space. As Indigenous academic Ambelin Kwaymullina (2016) points out, my ability to write comes from "the fraught position of holding a privilege that emerged from – and to some degree is sustained by – the marginalization of the peoples […] [I] write about" (p. 442). Or as Awatere (1984) herself said "All white people from your fifth-generation Kiwi colonial to your fresh-off-the-plane-from-Birmingham Pom, benefit from their racial ancestors' deeds. On the backs of the Maori people. All their privileges, they have them. On our backs" (p. 67). It is from this fraught position that I write this commentary.

Awatere's (1984) work provides the intersectional analysis missing from Marx's (1976/1990) text. Marx (1976/1990) provides an exposition of the objective logics and processes of the capitalist mode of production, and his earlier works speak to the subjective praxis element (Marx, 1973), together forming what can be called a 'unified episteme' (Neilson, 2017). The obscure core of the capitalist mode of production can be revealed with a flourish to be the wage-labour relation and the fundamentally exploitative nature of this social relation of production. However, this is only the core of capitalism in the abstract. Awatere (1984) lays bare the obscure core of the capitalist mode of production in a particular historical form; "capitalism's actually existing historical forms integrally comprise causally interacting economic and political/ideological dimensions" (Neilson, 2021, p. 18). The concrete reality of the capitalist mode of production, as it is experienced in Aotearoa, is the intimate entwining of the exploitative wage-labour relation and white supremacy. That is, the capitalist mode of production is intimately connected to the colonial project. The glue that binds capitalism and colonialism is white supremacy. It is this core of capitalism, as expressed in a particular historical form, that Awatere (1984) reveals.

All working class are exploited, alienated and formally subordinated under capitalism (Neilson, 2007). However, Māori experience the intersection of this working-class experience and the forms of exploitation, alienation, and formal subordination that occur under the white supremacist, *who is*

not simply the capitalist but the harbinger of cultural genocide. The alienating experience under capitalism is increased exponentially by the *ideological* harm of white supremacy that does far more violence than just removing the labourer from their creative potential, the products they produce and other people around them (c.f. Marx 1976/1990). In this vein, Awatere (1984) encourages us to realise that alienation of wage labour should not be compared to "white alienation of our land and white destruction of what is much more important than money or wage labour – our culture, Māoritanga" (p. 49).

Exposing colonialism, capitalism and constructions of criminality as intimate bedfellows

There is ample room to critique the Marxist conception of history (Tuhiwai Smith, 2021). However, here I draw on Marx's (1976/1990) account of primitive accumulation to theorise Awatere's (1984) presentation of the historical form of capitalism in Aotearoa. Marx (1976/1990) argues that primitive accumulation "precedes capitalist accumulation; an accumulation which is not the result of the capitalist mode of production but its point of departure" (p. 873), or "its historical genesis" (Marx, 1976/1990, p. 927). The primitive accumulation of capital, or the amassing of capital and labour power in the hands of capitalists, is argued to be the condition from which capitalist production, in turn, the production of surplus value, and finally the accumulation of capital, arises. That is, primitive accumulation is the amassing of capital sufficient for investment in large-scale industrial capitalist production.

The amassing of capital and labour power requires first and foremost a separation of the worker from the land. That is, primitive accumulation involves the "process of divorcing the producer from the means of production" (Marx, 1976/1990, p. 875). In order to separate the worker from the ownership of the conditions of their labour, the immediate producers are

> *robbed of all their own means of production, and all the guarantees of existence afforded by the old feudal arrangements. And this history, the history of their expropriation, is written in the annals of mankind in letters of blood and fire* (Marx, 1976/1990, p. 875).

That is, wage labourers are created through the 'freeing' of slaves and serfs from feudal relations of production.

Marx's (1976/1990) account takes a Eurocentric approach to primitive accumulation in that he focuses on the usurpation of feudal relations of production by capitalist relations of production, failing to recognise that not all relations of production that are threatened by the incursion of capitalism are feudal. The relations of production embedded in the Māori mode of production were far from feudal (Rākete, 2023). Rākete (2023) argues that "[i]n the pre-colonial era, Māori society was organized in a communist manner" (p. 137). A variety of traditional landoccupiers and kaitiaki are expropriated from land, and subsequent security, as colonial expansion wrenches open new spaces to this process of primitive accumulation – both in the past and present. The point is that all the guarantees of existence afforded to whānau, hapū, and iwi under the Māori mode of production vanished into thin air. Māori were robbed of their means of production. As Rākete (2023) suggests "[i]n Aotearoa, for capitalism to live, Māori society had to die" (p. 138-139).

Through the colonial process, or the march of empires, and the entailed enslavement and conquest which returned wealth to the colonising country (which was there turned into capital), "great fortunes sprang up like mushrooms in a day; primitive accumulation proceeded without the advance of even a shilling" (Marx, 1976/1990, p. 916). Primitive accumulation as the point of departure is then not just to be understood as the process of proletarianisation, which begins with the dispossession of the peasantry, but also as the imperial process of conquest, looting, and slavery. In this aspect, primitive accumulation focuses on the various methods by which capitalists accumulated wealth that then enabled investment in capitalist production as we are familiar with it today.

Marx (1976/1990) paints an apt picture, suggesting that if money "comes into the world with a congenital blood-stain on one cheek, capital comes dripping from head to toe, from every pore, with blood and dirt" (p. 926). Awatere (1984) provides us with the reality of this bloody emergence of capital in Aotearoa. Capitalism, as the economic base, was forced upon Aotearoa through the colonial project of Britain. As such "[t]he settlers had taken the economic base from Māoridom without which it was impossible for [them] […] to survive as a nation" (Awatere, 1984, p. 14).

While primitive accumulation necessitates that "men (sic) are suddenly and forcibly torn from their means of subsistence, and hurled onto

the labour-markets as free, unprotected and rightless proletarians" (Marx, 1976/1990, p. 876), in Aotearoa this was explicitly a racialised process in which Māori became the proletarians for the white colonial capitalists. The expropriation of Māori (and more globally, the peasantry) from the land was favoured by the white bourgeois capitalists, who meant to use the land to extend "the area of large-scale agricultural production and increase […] the supply of free and rightless proletarians driven from their land" (Marx, 1976/1990, p. 885). The process of ensuring a group of Māori working class is ongoing. The essential process driving the dynamism of capitalism is the endless pursuit of surplus value. The originally established white capitalists continue to hold stolen land in a vice grip as the means by which to continue the accumulation of surplus value, and, in turn, continue to generate a supply of proletarians as the means by which that surplus value is generated.

By speaking about the intersections experienced by Māori under the capitalist mode of production, Awatere (1984) reveals the white supremacist core of the economic base, but also the corresponding political and ideological superstructure. This superstructure, within which the role of the state is to "negate Māori autonomy [which it does] […] by suppressing Māori constitutional and political aspirations" (Cheyne, O'Brien & Belgrave, 2008, p. 20), is determined by – and overdetermines – the economic base. In concrete historical forms of capitalism, the economic base is integrally connected to political and ideological realms (Neilson, 2021). It is in this political and ideological superstructure that white supremacy is more obvious. However, together with the white supremacy experienced at the core of capitalism as it unfolds in Aotearoa, white supremacy delivers a totalising violence that generates a particularly aggressive form of alienation for Māori under capitalism.

While the experience of Māori is not homogenous (King, Rua & Hodgetts, 2017), the two-fold processes of colonialism and capitalism are integral to understanding Awatere's 1984 exposition of 'the Māori experience'. The process of primitive accumulation experienced in Aotearoa generated economic dispossession as merely one level of dispossession, and, in turn, oppression, experienced by Māori. As the colonial project unleashed primitive accumulation on Aotearoa, Māori experienced the violence of both the loss of land and the loss of life (King, Rua & Hodgetts, 2017).

> *The 1862 Native Land Act individualised land titles, which allowed for easier purchase of Māori land by settlers. The 1863 New Zealand Settlement Act legalised confiscations, and the 1866 Oyster Fisheries Act prohibited Māori from using their own resources for trade… These acts also contributed to the replacement of a previous bartering system with a monetary system that necessitated Māori access to capital to pay the rates and taxes being levied on them by the settler society. Māori who did not have access to money often lost their land as payment of debts. This period also saw a dramatic increase in the number of settlers who desired Māori land. Māori resistance to selling land also sparked armed conflicts such as the Taranaki and Waikato land wars of the 1860s. These conflicts were followed by substantial land confiscations. The legacy of land and resource loss in the growth of precariousness among Māori cannot be underestimated* (King, Rua & Hodgetts, 2017, p. 127-128).

Across a period of 135 years, Māori land ownership decreased by 63,400,000 acres (Warren, 2006). The individualisation of land titles "allowed easy appropriation by new settlers and shook the foundations of traditional societies. Māori became 'landless citizens in their own country' and 'as pastoralism developed and land alienation accelerated, Māori came to occupy a marginal existence as subsistence agriculturalists and wage labourers'" (Warren, 2006, p. 2-3).

The use of policy, which transitioned land ownership to individual titles, fundamentally disrupted the traditional communal land ownership patterns that defined the pre-colonial Māori mode of production (Warren, 2006). The privatisation and individualism that define the capitalist mode of production are completely antithetical to the communal Māori mode of production. The individual relationship inherent in the wage-labour relation and the alienation of people under capitalism are not compatible with communal Māoritanga. That is, "[s]upporting Māoridom, Māoritanga and the communal way of life would necessarily mean opposing the white settlers and their economic system" (Awatere, 1984, p. 14).

It is the direct incursion of this alien mode of production that resulted in the economic dispossession of Māori, generating "t]he 'Proletarianisation of the Māori by expropriation of their resources'" (Warren, 2006, p. 4). As

Awatere (1984) argues, since "the means of production was taken from the Māori, we have been progressively forced to work as the White Nation has decreed. This has meant becoming part of the working class and the pool of unemployed" (Awatere, 1984, p. 45).

The contemporary picture of Māori labour market participation reflects this colonial enforcement of the capitalist mode of production. Today, Māori labour market participation demonstrates ongoing inequity in the labour market structure and poorer labour market outcomes for Māori (Dale, 2017; Ministry of Business, Innovation and Employment, 2017; Neha et al., 2021; Stubbs et al., 2017; Theodore et al., 2020; Whitehead & Walker, 2021). This should be situated in a wider labour market context in which most workplaces "operate in accordance with mainstream non-Māori cultural values and assumptions, with the result that Māori can feel excluded or marginalised" (Roth, 2018, p. 37). Here we can observe how white supremacy writhes through the capitalist mode of production and the regulation of this mode of production. White culture permeates capitalism and the particular form it takes under the current neoliberal regulation that orders the labour market in distinct ways.

A brief mention of the Māori precariat helps to present a picture of contemporary Māori labour market participation in the capitalist mode of production, though it is imperative to note that precarity extends beyond the labour market (Galic, 2019; Masters-Awatere & Tassell-Matamua, 2017). Māori are overrepresented in occupations and industries that are precarious in the sense of being vulnerable to economic shocks and replacement by technology (Hurt-Suwan & Mahler, 2021; Ministry of Business, Innovation and Employment, 2017; Reid et al., 2020; Schulze & Green, 2017). Precarity can also be interpreted as the actual form of work and how dangerous that work is. As such, precarious labour force participation for Māori stems not only from over-representation in low-skilled work susceptible to economic shocks and automation replacement but also from the nature of the work in those sectors (Hurt-Suwan & Mahler, 2021). For example, forestry is considered a high-risk occupation (Hurt-Suwan & Mahler, 2021) and Māori make up 40% of the forestry workforce (Reid et al., 2020).

Beyond this, Māori experience precarious employment because of the nature of the employment contract (Hurt-Suwan & Mahler, 2021; Pacheco et al., 2016). Māori are more likely to be employed in temporary work compared to their Pākehā counterparts (Dale, 2017; Reilly, 2019; Stubbs et al., 2017; Webb, 2019). It is suggested that "one in four Māori are

represented in the precariat compared to almost one in six non-Māori" (Webb, 2019). For example, Māori find themselves offered entry-level jobs within the construction industry which are typified by precarious employment contracts (Hurt-Suwan & Mahler, 2021). This employment structure can be interrogated as a colonial legacy reflecting the historical disruption of the Māori mode of production by the succession of the capitalist mode of production in which Māori were forced through dispossession to enter the labour force as low-skilled, working-class labourers (Altman & Markham, 2019; Amoamo, Ruckstuhl & Ruwhiu, 2018; Galic, 2019; Houkamau, 2019; Hurt-Suwan & Mahler, 2021; King, Rua & Hodgetts, 2017; Neha et al., 2021; Schulze & Hurren, 2020; Scobie & Sturman, 2020; Webb, 2019).

The precariat in Aotearoa continues to be numerically dominated by Pākehā (Pacheco et al., 2016). However, this only speaks to the rapidity with which settlers came to occupy Aotearoa. In the late 1850s, the population of Māori and Pākehā intersected under 100,000 (Ministry for Culture and Heritage, 2021). By 1901, the Māori population remained well under 100,000 while the Pākehā population soared to just under 800,000 (Ministry for Culture and Heritage, 2021). Māori are overrepresented in the contemporary precariat, linked to the colonialist enforcement of the capitalist mode of production. That is, subject to white supremacist capitalism Māori entered the capitalist mode of production as working class, as proletarians, and this history is alive and well in the present. The divorcing of Māori from their land was not just a process of amassing capital, nor simply producing labourers, it was also part of the white supremacist project to assert whiteness in the world (Galic, 2019).

The appropriation of Māori land, accruing the means of production in the hands of white settler capitalists, is the first stage of Māori dispossession and alienation. However, the processes of colonialism and capitalism did not cease their onslaught here. Having secured the economic base in such a way as to ensure white supremacy, the offensive continued in the political and ideological superstructure. We should understand the economic base to be "the forms of production and relations of production); [and the political and ideological] superstructure… [to be] the state and all legal, political and ideological forms" (Althusser, 1977, p. 31). Herein lies the various apparatus that construct falsehoods of Māori criminality to justify the continuation of white supremacy; "the swift rise to power of white people who would rule first by the gun, then by the police and prisons and then by their education,

church and media" (Awatere, 1984, p. 14). By no means have these tools of white supremacy vanished. The gun may not be as prevalent as in the earlier decades of the colonial project, but in 2018 armed police trials occurred in predominately Māori and Pasifika communities (Norris & Tauri, 2021). Furthermore, the criminal justice system continues to fail Māori through over-surveilling, over-policing, and over-sentencing (Norris & Tauri, 2021).

The more overt instances of white supremacy can be located in the political and ideological superstructure; in various policies and in the separation of development (Awatere, 1984). Evidence of the power of the political and ideological superstructure has already been alluded to with reference to the policies used to ensure the usurpation of the capitalist mode of production. Policies such as the *Native Land Act 1862* and the *New Zealand Settlement Act 1863* were just the beginning of white supremacy being evident in the political and ideological superstructure; subsequently, "[t]hrough the use of controlling images or stigmatising narratives, Indigenous people are continuously surveilled and punished, not only by police but also by wider society" (Lewis et al., 2020, p. 28). The criminal justice system is but one apparatus of the political and ideological superstructure, formed, reproduced and wielded by white supremacy.

The colonialist project deliberately invented the idea of 'races' and modern racial categories to justify colonialism (Walton & Caliendo, 2020). These so-called justifications are integral to embedding white supremacy in the political and ideological superstructure. Perceptions of race were used to create distinctions between superior and inferior peoples. This distinction was used to justify white practices of conquest, genocide, or slavery of non-white peoples (Cunneen & Tauri, 2016; Walton & Caliendo, 2020). White settler capitalists, in the contemporary, continue to use political narratives to construct a discursive framework that justifies the colonialist project, and, in turn, the disproportionate imprisonment of Māori and other Indigenous peoples. That is, "the colonial experience and its ongoing effects is (sic) critical to understanding how criminal justice systems interact with Indigenous peoples today" (Cunneen & Tauri, 2016, p. 45).

The colonialist expansion involves the spread and assertion of white supremacy. This is embedded in societies through firstly transforming the mode of production to one that is alien to Indigenous peoples, and then through transforming political and ideological superstructures. Indigenous law and justice principles were marginalised as colonists imposed their own systems, which worked to benefit settlers and against Indigenous peoples

(Cunneen & Tauri, 2016). The colonial criminal justice system was used to control and punish Indigenous peoples, to weaken and to 'civilize' them; not to deliver impartial justice (Cunneen & Tauri, 2016). White hegemonic power is mobilised at this ideological level through "statements such as "Māori are violent because of the 'warrior gene' [which] are used to justify high Indigenous imprisonment rates" (Norris & Tauri, 2021, p.13). The extensive colonial "racialisation of punishment is fundamental to understanding the contemporary over-representation of Indigenous peoples in prison in settler colonial societies" (Cunneen & Tauri, 2016, p. 65).

Despite the clear violence wrought by the white supremacy that underpins the relationship between capitalism and colonialism, "specific ideological and political tactics [are] employed at all levels of society to criminalise Black and Indigenous peoples while at the same time excluding or exonerating White people from criminalising and deficit narratives" (Lewis et al., 2020, p. 21). It is the result of an intentional discursive framing that "political narratives cast Māori as deviant, deserving of criminalization and imprisonment, while simultaneously omitting white culture from narratives of sustained violence and hostility" (Norris & Tauri, 2021, p. 5). This omission functions to obfuscate the white violence inherent in both colonial and capitalist projects; where one of these projects begets the other, Māori sovereignty suffers an offensive at all levels. As Awatere (1984) points out

> *Bourgeois social relations are based on private property, individual ownership of the means of production, capital and wealth. Whoever owned the resources, owned and controlled others. Standing armies, military technology, police, were created by the owners and rulers to be present, ready to keep the social relations as they were. The irony is that this set of relations based on violent possession of property and wealth was given the names of liberty and freedom… the notion of personal freedom hid the violence of property owning* (p. 67-8).

This falsity of the freedom inherent in individual property owning is centred on freedom *for white* people at the expense of *violence against* Indigenous peoples. The political positioning that advocates for personal freedom and liberty has managed settler-colonial states since colonial contact. However, this social policy in Aotearoa is premised on monocultural

Western liberalism that relegates tikanga Māori and te ao Māori to the sidelines (Cheyne, O'Brien & Belgrave, 2008), thereby subversively ensuring the dominance of white supremacy in the political and ideological superstructures.

It should be noted that processes of primitive accumulation are by no means rigidly fixed to a temporal pre-history capitalism. This process continues into the contemporary as the incursion of the capitalist mode of production continues around the globe, threatening a variety of diverse life worlds (Howard, 2021). Processes of primitive accumulation and the colonial project are advanced in the present day through the neoliberal model of development. Across the long history of capitalism, particular eras can be distinguished by a unique intersection between the economic base and the political and ideological superstructure. That is, capitalism as a mode of production is politically and ideologically overdetermined by mid-range models of development that mark distinctions in this long history (Howard, 2021; Neilson, 2012, 2020, 2021).

Since the 1980s, most advanced capitalist nation-states have reproduced and experienced neoliberal capitalism. Here, capitalism is proactively stimulated by the neoliberal model of development. The neoliberal model of development can be understood as a regulatory project containing economic and political elements that exacerbate the worst tendencies of capitalism (Howard, 2021; Neilson, 2012, 2021, 2021). The present neoliberal era has unleashed capitalism on a global scale, bringing to fruition Marx's prediction that capitalism would spread to the four corners of the globe (Neilson, 2012, 2020, 2021). This dominance of the capitalist mode of production in the present social formation has not occurred by chance but as a direct result of the actions of national and transnational institutions that have adopted the neoliberal model of development. The neoliberal model of development continues to advance the colonialist project around the globe, suppressing alternative modes of production and displacing people from their lands and ways of life (Howard, 2021).

The contemporary neoliberal methods of primitive accumulation can be seen in World Bank legislation, United Nations regulation, trade agreements such as NAFTA, land grabbing, structural adjustment loans and "state-orchestrated enclosures following neoliberalism's ascent to hegemony" (Coulthard, 2014, p. 9). Structural adjustment loans transform "states by liberalizing economic policy and redistributing power within states from program-oriented ministries (social services, agriculture, education,

etc) to central banks and to trade and finance ministries, compromising national sovereignty" (McMichael, 2013, p. 48). Under the prevailing neoliberal model of development, new enclosures are pursued, land grabbing occurs, and structural adjustment loans are used as a guise by transnational institutions to coerce more nation-states to adopt the national template of the neoliberal model of development. Beyond this, simultaneously, nation-states are wrenched open to the forces of global capital, ensuring that the colonial capitalist project continues apace.

Processes of primitive accumulation in the contemporary may not *appear* as bloody or brutish as in the era of overt colonial empires. However, the neoliberal regulatory template that is adopted at the national level achieves the same colonial violence in covert forms (Howard, 2021). As Harvey (2004) says of the role of the state in processes of contemporary primitive accumulation, "[t]he state, with its monopoly of violence and definitions of legality, plays a crucial role in both backing and promoting these processes" (p. 74). In this era, covert state violence renders the same outcomes as overt imperialist state violence. Thus, the processes through which white supremacy maintains hegemonic power (by mobilising at both the level of the economic base and the political and ideological superstructure) continue into the contemporary.

By dispossessing Māori, capitalism undermines tino rangatiratanga. The colonial capitalist project removed the means of production from Māori and constructed narratives of criminality and deviance, working in unison to threaten sovereignty and self-determination. The dominant white capitalist class has secured a reality in which Māori are disproportionately relegated to the working class (inherently restricted in autonomy through processes of formal and real subordination (Neilson, 2007). This disempowered experience is exponentially heightened by the damage wrought at the political and ideological level, reflecting the white supremacist core of capitalism in Aotearoa. The economic base, through land dispossession and proletarianisation, and the political and ideological superstructure, through damaging policies and constructions of criminality, continuously restrict Māori sovereignty.

A call to revitalise and renew Māori sovereignty and a Māori mode of production is a call to arms to challenge the global colonial capitalist project. Even as sovereignties continue to be threatened by first contact with the colonial capitalist project, those sovereignties long exposed to this project continue to resist. Though this resistance is always threatened by the

dominance of the colonial capitalist project, it is by no means extinguished. From the 'Campesino' resistance in Mexico (McMichael, 2008), to small-scale food producers in Italy and Aotearoa (Howard, 2021), to various pursuits for Māori Sovereignty (Awatere, 1984), resistance persists.

Conclusion

The political and ideological superstructure that wreaks havoc on Māori through the narratives of criminality is determined by an economic base which germinates white supremacy at its core. It is no surprise that the political and ideological superstructure is riddled with institutional racism when the economic base that underpins it is dominated by white capitalists who continue to accumulate at the expense of dispossessed Māori. Equally, as this political and ideological superstructure overdetermines the economic base, it is no surprise that the economic base with the wage-labour relation at its core, continues to economically dispossess Māori when narratives of criminality and inferiority are rife through the entirety of this apparatus. In Aotearoa, the colonialist capitalist project is a ground-up, top-down violent alienation of Māori spurred by white supremacy at the economic, political and ideological levels. This is the nature of the capitalist mode of production as it unfolds in reality in Aotearoa, revealed so clearly by Donna Awatere in 1984. The colonial and capitalist projects are close bedfellows persistently working to maintain the hegemonic power of white supremacy that tears the whare down around Māori.

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