MĀORI-MIGRANT SOLIDARITIES IN RESISTING WHITE SUPREMACY

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INTRODUCTION

White supremacy, the belief that white people constitute a superior race and therefore legitimately should dominate society[1], shapes the infrastructure of the settler colonial state in Aotearoa New Zealand. Underlying white supremacy are the overarching values of whiteness, the ideology that the values of white culture are universal markers of progress[2]. The whiteness of the Crown, built on the hegemonic values of white culture, is built to perpetuate violence directed at Māori[3]. Inherent to whiteness is the systemic devaluing of communities targeted with colonial violence, marking these communities as primitive and simultaneously erasing the cognitive capacities of colonized peoples[4]. The racist violence of white supremacy targeting tangata whenua in Aotearoa forms the basis of the hate directed toward diverse communities here[5]. In this paper, we argue that the violence mobilised by white supremacy directed historically at Māori in Aotearoa New Zealand exists in continuity with the violence of the white supremacist colonial project directed at Indigenous peoples and peoples/spaces of the Global South over the past six centuries[6]. For a large number of ethnically diverse migrants in Aotearoa New Zealand, the driving force of white supremacy forms the bedrock of connection with tangata whenua, shaped by the interconnected spaces of colonial violence[7]. Moreover, the exponential growth of white supremacy[8], taking in many instances forms of organised hate (consider here the proliferation of far-right groups targeting Māori, Pasifika, ethnic migrant [particularly Muslim], and transgender communities)[9], attacks on democracy[10], and extremist violence[11], facilitated by digital platforms, exists in continuity with the underlying white supremacy that fuels colonialism.

HISTORY OF WHITE SUPREMACY IN AOTEAROA

In the years leading up to the dispatch of James Cook to Te Moananui a Kiwa in pursuit of "The Great Southern Continent", Cook had been stationed during the Seven Year War on Mohawk waters, in the region today known as Canada, within the Gulf of St Lawrence and the St Lawrence river. The Seven Year War itself was a product of European imperial expansion into Great Turtle Island by both French and English military forces, vying for colonial entitlements falsely granted under the Doctrine of Discovery. Whilst there, Cook was mentored by Field Marshall Jeffrey Amherst, who advocated for biological warfare against Indigenous groups[12]. This is important to note because it sets the context of the European colonial mindset as it turned its gaze toward Aotearoa in continuation of the global imperial project. Cook's numerous proclamations of discovery, in addition to the lives taken and conscious spread of infection across sites in Te Ika a Maui and Te Wai Pounamu exhibits an extinguishment of native title and disregard for the humanity and rights of Indigenous peoples, a clear legacy of the white supremacist mindset entrenched within the doctrine of discovery.

At this point, three centuries of European imperialism across the world had taken the entitlements accorded through the doctrine of discovery and entrenched them into the European social psyche through Enlightenment period theories[13]. The entitlement of historical figures such as Edward Gibbon Wakefield to establish markets for stolen Māori land, and the settler scramble that ensued further demonstrates the way in which entitlement to Indigenous lands had become normalised within the European mindset. As concluded by the Waitangi Tribunal in the Paparahi o Te Raki claim[14], the small pockets of humanitarian intent were eclipsed by an overarching imperial imperative even during the signing of Te Tiriti o Waitangi. When the British

parliament passed the 1852 New Zealand Constitution Act, establishing a settler colonial government upon false grounds of cession for Te Ika a Maui, and the equally false grounds of discovery for Te Wai Pounamu, it did so within a white supremacist social context that would continue to generate ongoing violations of Te Tiriti o Waitangi with impunity from that point until now. It was within this same colonially racist context that subsequent immigration policy was grown, including the Chinese Immigrants Act 1881 and the Immigration Restriction Act 1899, and within which the New Zealand settler social psyche operated in its treatment of non-white peoples, exampled by the murder of Joe Kum Yung in September 1905 and subsequent hate crimes against migrants and Māori across the same period, until now[15].

MIGRATION AND WHITE SUPREMACY

Migration and movements from postcolonial contexts of the Global South need to be read in the context of the colonial project[16]. The violence of slavery as forced movement of people is intertwined with the violence of colonial land grab[17]. The colonial violence of white supremacy has historically expelled and displaced people from their land, livelihoods, and spaces of everyday living[18]. Simultaneously, colonial processes created borders to maintain the political and economic interests of colonizers, marking bodies as illegitimate through the organising of citizenship and democracy[19]. Note here the ways in which English as language is placed at the core of the anglosphere/Empire, shaping its information sharing, immigration, and military infrastructures. The core anglosphere, for example, is a transnational relationship between the United Kingdom, United States of America, Canada, Australia and New Zealand. It is described as a "sphere of influence" that holds significant power and privilege in transnational relations.

> "(The core anglosphere) has been the architect and a staunch proponent of international norms. The intergovernmental organisation is one of the Anglosphere's lasting gifts to the world. The United Nations, the International Monetary Fund, the International Atomic Energy Agency and other multilateral international strategic functions owe their existence to the emergence of global governance. While membership of those bodies extends well beyond the English-speaking world, the Anglosphere has incubated and hatched the institutional norms and philosophies that continue to dominate the international political economy."[20]

English is simultaneously deployed to set up and naturalise racist decisionmaking processes to evaluate qualifications, manage recruitment processes, manage organisational mobility, and manage borders, upholding the whiteness of settler colonial spaces. The overarching ideology of whiteness that shapes Crown immigration structures works on the concept of "deservedness" and drives the institutionalised and structural racism that constitute migrant/refugee experiences.

The Bretton-Woods institutions, as the new face of colonialism, constructed economic and political infrastructures that maintain the colonial project, reproducing and perpetuating extractive practices, positioned as the new world order[21]. The existing forms of extractive colonialism were renewed in the form of debt programmes carried out by international financial institutions, paving the way for structural adjustment programmes (SAPs) imposed on indebted nations as the basis for opening up new markets for transnational capital. Salient here are the roles of the US and UK as Empire, pushing imperial policies in the form of the global free market through the performance of democracy promotion[22].
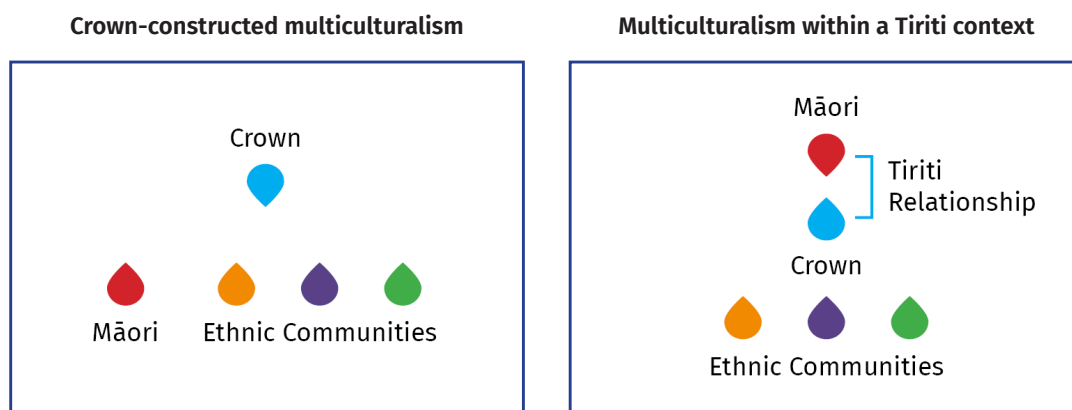
These neocolonial processes defined intellectual property under the overarching ideology of whiteness, extracting Indigenous and local knowledge and organising the theft of knowledge and cultural practices. Violence lies at the core of the neoliberal project. Consider here the whiteness of neocolonial violence that shaped US-led genocides in Indonesia, Nicaragua, Haiti, and Chile, creating the political economic conditions for the imposition of free market economics in the service of global capital, turning to authoritarian violence and repression ironically framed as democracy promotion. The whiteness of neocolonial violence that feeds

be exploited and silenced through strategies of repression. The nature of white colonial violence consolidates power, working aggressively to centralise resources and decisionmaking processes at the core while simultaneously dispossessing communities and spaces it constructs as semi-peripheries and peripheries.

MULTICULTURALISM AND WHITENESS

The framework of multiculturalism created by the Crown is based on the underlying logic of whiteness, constructing diverse ethnic communities as cultural essence[23]. Crown multiculturalism is driven by the orientalist fixing of cultures as essence. Thus fixed into essence, culture is turned into a category to be managed in the service of the Crown, who continue to apply whiteness as the default backdrop upon which multicultural expressions are played out. The hegemonic constructions of multiculturalism are intertwined with Crown violations of Te Tiriti, reflecting the underlying values of whiteness. This cultural reductionism denies political agency to non-white groups, denying ethnic communities political identity and undermining the political authority of Māori as treaty partners. The acceptance of this constructed dualism can lead to lateral tensions between Maori and migrant groups, who are positioned as mutual others in opposition to the Crown as the authority.

Crown-constructed multiculturalism

Multiculturalism within a Tiriti context

Crown

Māori   Ethnic Communities

Māori

Tiriti Relationship

Crown

Ethnic Communities

WHITE FRAGILITY AND WHITE FEAR

The violence of white supremacy that underpins settler colonialism is deeply intertwined with the production and circulation of fear. The construction of non-white people as savage and untrustworthy mobilises and falsely legitimises the violence of colonial occupation and oversight. White fear is constructed around the narrative of the dangerous Black/brown masses threatening to take over presumed white spaces, and is predicated upon the erasure of actual and threatened white violence vis a vis institutionalised impunity of white supremacist harassment; demonstrations of colonial military might; hypersurveillance and over-policing of marginalised and Indigenous communities. The narrative of the white fear forms the basis of the great replacement theory, a core ideology of the global white supremacist movement. Salient here is the organising of white fear across different structures of white supremacy that flow from the Crown security intelligence-military structures to the far-right white supremacist movements that mobilise violence. These structures are themselves constructed upon alliances rooted in colonial histories, and operate at a transnational level to maintain colonial domination. Fear is discursively circulated to carry out violence as evident in the white supremacist terror attacks across the globe. Fragility to the exposure of whiteness functions within this space to maintain systemic blindspots surrounding the complicitness of Crown governments in structures of white supremacy, and and further protect the colonial fiduciary relationship where non-white rights are regulated and administered by the Crown. White fragility is carefully weaved into institutional and Crown structures in Aotearoa to silence conversations on whiteness and racism of the settler colonial state. Consider here the recent targeted attacks directed at the Minister of Violence Prevention, Hon. Marama Davidson, organised around her comment when accosted by a far-right platform at

an anti-transgender event, referring to white cis-men as the drivers of violence. The backlash organised and circulated virally by the far-right, given credence through mainstream political parties and media, demonstrates the nature of white fragility at work to silence critical conversations that highlight the role of whiteness within colonial systems of harm.

WHITE SUPREMACY AND DIVIDE-AND-RULE

Divide-and-rule is a powerful tool in the perpetuation of the colonial project. The white supremacy underlying the colonial project targets Māori and migrant communities simultaneously to produce fear. Migrants are fed the colonial lie that to uphold the principles of Te Tiriti somehow depletes migrant rights, fundamentally communicatively inverting the role of Te Tiriti as the basis for migrant belonging in Aotearoa. Te Tiriti is placed in opposition to global cultural contexts, circulating the communicative inversion that cocreating Te Tiriti based organisational spaces and infrastructures would somehow reduce the global appeal of organisations. Similarly, Māori communities, marginalised by settler colonial practices of dispossession, are targeted by far-right anti-migrant forces, particularly targeting ethnic migrants and constructing migrants as threats to economic opportunities for Māori. Consider here the ways in which the racist trope around Māori as dangerous are organised in the context of the thefts at dairy shops that are largely owned by Indian migrants, and the equally racist trope that migrant groups are responsible for diminished access to employment and social housing, triggering Māori trauma of colonial invasion and re-orienting it towards nationalist xenophobic agendas. Similarly, organisations reproduce this divide-and-rule strategy, performatively positioning biculturalism as the basis for downplaying the systemic racism experienced by ethnic migrant communities or deploying the language of biculturalism to reproduce inequities within organisations that marginalise ethnic migrants. We note that this is fueled by a superficial approach to Te Tiriti and the values espoused therein. In the white supremacist ecosystem, ethnic migrants standing in solidarity with Māori in resisting white supremacy are targeted, framed as outsiders bringing in radical agendas from outside to divide and erode society. The society white supremacists believe is being eroded presents a nationalist view of the New Zealand state, depicting the intersections of xenophobia, anti-blackness and colonial racism. Within an anti-colonial critical framework, the convergences of experience between Māori and migrant groups far outweigh the differences, a reflection which was affirmed by the Ki Te Whaiao, Ki Te Ao Mārama Community Engagement Report for developing a National Action Plan Against Racism[24], which found that:

> "Ethnic Tangata Tiriti participants recognised that the racism they experienced and the barriers they encounter are inextricably linked to the colonisation of Aotearoa and the suppression of the tino rangatiratanga of Tangata Whenua."

DIGITAL INFRASTRUCTURES OF WHITE SUPREMACY

The global proliferation of white supremacy is mobilised through digital platforms[25]. The organising logics of contemporary digital technology, reflecting the colonial drivers of the industrial revolution, embody white supremacy. Note here the commoditisation of participation processes posed by white supremacy mobilised on digital platforms exist in continuity with the racist erasures that make up the whiteness of the democracy project under colonialism. The systemic exclusion of Indigenous, Black, and Brown colonised peoples from the democratic processes of the colonial state formed the very infrastructure of the Eurocentric project of global democracy. In the US, voter suppression is organised around racial logics, constructed to erase Black and Indigenous Americans. Note here the organising of disinformation in Aotearoa New Zealand that simultaneously targets Māori, migrant (particularly Muslim migrants), Pasifika, and transgender communities, framing these communities as threats to democracy. It is critical to observe the intersections between anti-Māori hate on digital platforms, COVID-19 related disinformation, misogyny, Islamophobia and related anti-migrant attitudes, and anti-transgender hate. Particular intersections of white supremacist hate are exponentially potent, such as the hate targeting Māori women.

STRATEGIES FOR RESISTING WHITE SUPREMACY

Because white supremacy is by its very nature global, the strategies of resistance to white supremacy must be sutured through the exploration and building of locally situated, contextually embedded connections. Amidst the large scale violence, propelled by cognitive epistemicide carried out by the settler colonial project, the voices of Indigenous, migrant, and local communities across the Global South keep alive the possibilities of hope. Nurturing these relationships at local, domestic, regional and transnational levels provides the basis for responding to the multi-levelled threat of white supremacy. This includes internal education work within our relative communities to grow mutual understanding and solidarity; developing independent mechanisms for information sharing between marginalised communities which highlight key actors, tactics, financial networks and critical relationships within global white supremacist movements; and extends to physical acts of solidarity between marginalised communities during political actions.

CENTERING TE TIRITI

At the foundation of the organising of legal, political, economic and social structures in Aotearoa New Zealand is Te Tiriti. Te Tiriti, we argue, offers the core infrastructure for resistance to white supremacy in Aotearoa New Zealand. He Whakaputanga o te Rangatiratanga o Nu Tirene: the Declaration of Independence of the United Tribes of New Zealand together with Te Tiriti o Waitangi collectively constitute the first immigration documents of Aotearoa. Te Tiriti o Waitangi in particular is the source of Non-Māori rights within Aotearoa, and sets the standards by which Non-Māori may call Aotearoa home. Te Tiriti o Waitangi was clearly envisioned by signatory rangatira as a tool with the potential to limit the harmful reach of colonial entitlement on these shores. As such, the forging of relationships and connections on the basis of Te Tiriti offers an organising register for building a pathway for resistance to the project of global white supremacy.

In considering what it is to be Tiriti centered, we can look again to the findings of the Paparahi Ki Te Raki Stage One report which clearly outlines the expectations of rangatira signatories to Te Tiriti:

> "(T)he rangatira understood kāwanatanga primarily as the power to control settlers and thereby keep the peace and protect Māori interests accordingly; that rangatira would retain their independence and authority as   rangatira, and would be the Governor's equal ; that land transactions would be regulated in some way; that the Crown would enforce the Māori understanding of pre-treaty land transactions, and therefore return land that settlers had not properly acquired; and that it may also have involved protection of New Zealand from foreign powers. We think that few if any rangatira would have envisaged the Governor having authority to intervene in internal Māori affairs – though many would have realised that where the populations intermingled questions of relative authority would need to be negotiated on a case-by-case basis, as was typical for rangatira-to   rangatira relationships."[26]

The standards of Tiriti centered solidarity that we can draw from this understanding include: Land back; Independent authority of rangatira Māori over Te Ao Māori; Protection of Māori from foreign threat; Shared power over matters that impact upon Māori and tauiwi.

Contemporary reflections upon the role of Te Tiriti in relation to immigration policy can be found within the Matike Mai Aotearoa Report on Constitutional Transformation[27]:

> "When we say 'he aha te mea nui' we don't just mean us or the Pākehā who've been here for generations. It's everyone and that's what Te Tiriti allows for... that we now have this multicultural place but it all began in the treaty and the relationship that's meant to exist between us and the Crown".

"It's just tikanga to recognise the relationship with Tangata Tiriti even if they haven't always recognised us... that's a really important value but it needs the same manaaki that our people tried to show to the first Pākehā".

The discussions about how Te Tiriti valued and embraced everyone in the community were also about the need to ensure that all peoples could fully participate in political affairs. That is, the need to guarantee fair representation for everyone in both their different spheres of influence and in the relational sphere.

CENTERING INDIGENOUS RIGHTS IN RESISTANCE

Resistance to white supremacy organised around the principles of Indigenous rights direct us towards concepts of radical love, framed within Indigenous justice, as the basis for relating to each other. Rather than solidarity that rests upon culturally essentialist ideas grounded in narrow concepts of "How does this movement benefit the people I represent?", or conveniently superficial approaches to cultural protocols, the concept of radical love suggests the continual centering up of spaces to hitherto erased voices and stepping deliberately into discomfort for the sake of justice. Within an Indigenous justice context, this practice is couched within the principle of honouring the rights of the Indigenous populations upon whose land one stands. Amidst the global rise of organising values of individualism, endless self-serving accumulation and self-interest, practices of manaakitanga, tika and pono, drawn from Te Ao Māori turn movements toward the other to work through dialogues with integrity, dignity, and respect for each others' stories. In drawing from tikanga Māori as a framework within the context of anticolonialism, it is imperative that we resist cultural reductionism and extraction by understanding, respecting and supporting political kaupapa as defined by Te Ao Māori. This extends to support for land-back movements, Tiriti-centered constitutional transformation, and Indigenous-led climate justice movements.

CRITICAL REFLEXIVITY

We see the importance of cultivating deep critical reflexivity in communities that are targets of white supremacy. The pedagogy of critical reflexivity explores deeply the interplays of power and control that shape the processes of dispossession and marginalisation. For ethnic migrant communities, the practices of deep critical reflexivity interrogate the shallow performances of traditionalism and cultural essentialism that draw upon superficial similarities with essentialist depictions of Māori cultural values[27]. We note here the cultural cache that is often drawn from such culturally essentialist performances. For instance, we note the shallow co-option of Māori cultural practices to perform similarity and connection by Hindutva groups by appealing to tradition, simultaneously fixing tradition within a politics of exclusion. Such superficial appeals to tradition on one hand are deployed to perpetuate exclusionary practices and on the other hand perpetuate the settler colonial violence on Māori through the circulation of static culturalist tropes, mirroring the orientalist strategy of the Crown. In the context of Hindutva for instance, the practices of critical reflexivity would attend to the ongoing marginalisation of adivasi communities by Hindutva structures in India. Simultaneously, the habits of critical reflexivity would push ethnic migrant communities toward exploring what possibilities for deep solidarity look like, calling upon the body and situating it along land occupations and resistance against the ongoing dispossession of Māori from land.

BUILDING AND SUSTAINING ECONOMIES OF CARE

Across Indigenous communities in settler colonies and local communities in the Global South that have historically been marked as the targets of settler colonialism, economies of care offer registers for transformative resistance[28]. Capitalism as the underlying economics of white supremacy perpetuates extractive and exploitative practices that work simultaneously to destroy nature, human relationships, and human life,

externalising the costs of harm to the public sphere. Industries have grown around the grief and trauma of the colonial project including refuge and aid economies which reaffirm racist heirarchies[29]. In spite of the extensive violence unleashed by the colonial capitalist project, Indigenous and local communities in the Global South hold within them forms of knowledge that foreground practices of care, and are politically potent actions that push back against the seemingly intractable forces of capitalism. In Aotearoa for instance, the organising of Māori communities around aroha and manaakitanga sustained and nurtured everyday life amidst crises such as the pandemic and the floods of 2023[30]. In Telengana, South India, the organising of dalit (oppressed caste) landless women farmers into sanghams (cooperatives) sustains practices of community-based seed banks and seed sharing organised around principles of care[31]. Further, for many of these subsistence communities, economic and ecological imperatives are complimentary, not contradictory. The tikanga of kaitiekitanga and manaakitanga relate similarly across human and ecological contexts, in an understanding of the interdependency of nature and humankind. Under this paradigm, communities have not only withstood the aftermath of natural disasters and provided for each other, but have also protected the vast majority of the planets remaining biodiversity and sequestered significant levels of carbon, facts which bear considerable relevance as the world is increasingly forced to reconsider what kind of global economy will provide an inhabitable planet for future generations[32]. The locally situated, culturally grounded, contextually embedded decentralised economies of care de-center the centralising processes of political and economic organising shaped by white supremacy.

BUILDING VOICE INFRASTRUCTURES AND COMMUNICATIVE SOVEREIGNTY

Amidst the systemic erasure of communicative spaces for the participation of colonised peoples in the processes of knowledge generation, communicative sovereignty, the ownership of communicative resources and infrastructures, in the hands of Indigenous and local communities serves as the basis for structural transformation[33].

Culture-centered processes of social change attend to the communicative processes that shape the co-creation of voice infrastructures for the participation of communities at the global margins in organising for social justice. Building voice infrastructures for the participation of Māori and migrant communities in dialogue lies at the heart of resisting white supremacy in its political, economic, societal, cultural and institutional forms. The voice infrastructures co-created through the active participation of Māori and ethnically diverse migrant communities in dialogue bypass and unsettle the overarching logics of whiteness, fostering openings for deep listening to each other, exploring convergences, and simultaneously recognising the differences and departures in our mutual stories.

BUILDING TRANSNATIONAL SOLIDARITIES

Whiteness works through the production and perpetuation of the myth of separation. The whiteness of the Crown reduces international relations and trade policies into opportunist calculations based on appeals to national interest. Such narrow considerations of national interest, embedded within the colonialcapitalist forces that uphold contemporary neoliberalism, undermine Indigenous, non-white, labour, migrant and environmental rights alike. International relations based on national interest are constituted within the wider white supremacist global structure, organising questions of security, intelligence, data gathering, and military strategy within racist infrastructures.

Note here the participation of Aotearoa in the large-scale militarization of the Pacific, increasing proportionally to political tensions between Pacific rim states and reflected by the increase of miliary sites and assets across the Pacific and Aotearoa, New Zealand military participation in RIMPAC, and ongoing moves towards New Zealand membership in the AUKUS military alliance[34].Such activities and relationships significantly increase risk

to Indigenous and local communities across the Pacific whilst also increasing New Zealand's complicitness in a neo-colonial alliance structure of military might which continues to drive the unjust movement of peoples around the globe. Similarly, critical here is the lack of critical. Similarly, critical here is the lack of critical reflexivity when engaging far-right/fascist regimes such as Hindutva in India, Israeli occupation of Palestine, and/or Indonesian occupation of Papua. Critical to enhanced relationships of solidarity is the need to deeply wānanga our relative histories of colonial oppression, in order to understand and respect where migrant/ Māori pathways converge and diverge. This was exampled by the strong response of Māori and Pasifika communities in Aotearoa to the Black Lives Matter movement whilst also demonstrating a propensity for co-option of Black popular culture, and the perpetuation of antiblack racism within Māori and Pasifika communities[35]. Understanding our distinct experiences at hands of white supremacy is critical to moving past superficial expressions of solidarity that can dangerously stray into lateral entitlement. An anti-racist framework, built upon deep understanding and based upon transnational solidarities further calls for active construction of antiracist strategies at a global scale, weaving together connections with people and communities experiencing the marginalising effects of racism that draw upon the principles of aroha, mana motuhake and manaakitanga. We recognise here the actually existing histories of transnational slidarities among anti-colonial, Black, Indigenous, and migrant rights. We also interrogate here the organising logics of white structures such as the United Nations as mediating infrastructures that work actively to erase the knowledge, stories, and practices of transnational solidarities against racism, colonialis, capitalism, and climate colonialism. The potential of Indigenous-migrant solidarity is great, with Indigenous populations and migrant populations collectively accounting for 781 million people worldwide.

CONCLUSION

In conclusion, we are filled with hope at the possibilities of solidarities in anticolonial struggles within Aotearoa and transnationally. While migrant and Indigenous struggles are deliberately constructed as oppositional within white frameworks, they are driven by the same global history, and upheld by the same transnational forces of white supremacy in state, nstitutional and interpersonal contexts. Listening to each other, building voice infrastructures, growing economies of care, struggling to retain communicative sovereignty, and placing our bodies amidst shared struggles offer registers for transformation that are independent of the deliberately slow and reluctant pace of colonial consciousness. These transformations are simultaneously local and global; they are both economic and political; and most foundationally, they are led through community action and community participation.

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