

<http://researchcommons.waikato.ac.nz/>

Research Commons at the University of Waikato

Copyright Statement:

The digital copy of this thesis is protected by the Copyright Act 1994 (New Zealand).

The thesis may be consulted by you, provided you comply with the provisions of the Act and the following conditions of use:

- Any use you make of these documents or images must be for research or private study purposes only, and you may not make them available to any other person.
- Authors control the copyright of their thesis. You will recognise the author's right to be identified as the author of the thesis, and due acknowledgement will be made to the author where appropriate.
- You will obtain the author's permission before publishing any material from the thesis.

Echoed Silencing in Te Whare/Tangata

A thesis
submitted in fulfilment
of the requirements for the Degree
of
Master of Social Sciences in Faculty of Māori and Indigenous Studies
at the University of Waikato
by

Cassandra TeRauhina Lewis



THE UNIVERSITY OF
WAIKATO
Te Whare Wānanga o Waikato

University of Waikato

2021

Abstract

Wāhine Māori voices are suppressed due to multiple intersecting factors in Aotearoa which negatively impact our lived realities. The aim of this thesis is to foreground wāhine voice and identity within a settler colonial housing system. The current ‘housing crisis’ has been an issue of interest in academia focusing on housing insecurity, homelessness and neoliberalism. Additionally, the criminalisation of Māori has been explored by scholars to a similar extent, especially the pipelining of Māori into incarceration and precarity through policing and surveillance strategies. However, how the criminal justice system and the housing systems interact is scarcely investigated in Aotearoa, and moreover, has not been examined through a Mana wāhine theoretical framework. Mana Wāhine scholars have long critiqued colonisation and the accompanying practices, ideologies and discourses of difference that misrepresent wāhine as the ‘savage other’. How wāhine Māori are constructed through political discourse and factors leading to the silencing of wāhine are at the forefront of this inquiry and moreover, wāhine resistance, survival and aspirations while navigating a discriminatory housing system is examined.

Political and Western discourse contributes to the criminalisation and deficit framing of wāhine as the ‘undeserving poor’ and ‘criminal other’ which subsequently silences wāhine and encourages discriminatory practices. This thesis contends that the channelling of wāhine Māori into a precarious population, the criminalisation of wāhine Māori, and the colonial discourses surrounding wāhine interact together and create barriers to wāhine Māori access to housing. An analysis of housing discourse, alongside wāhine perspectives provides a counter-narrative of the lived reality and voice from wāhine who reside in a predominantly precarious and Māori populated area. The findings show cases of surveillance, discrimination, social policing and steering wāhine Māori into unhealthy living conditions, however, wāhine were also creative in their practices of resistance and survivance.

Keywords: Mana Wāhine, Housing, Criminalisation, Precarity, Colonisation, Resistance, Discourse, Policing, Silencing, Tino Rangatiratanga.

Acknowledgements

Ehara taku toa i te toa takitaki engari he toa takatini

My strength is not mine alone but belongs to the many.

This project is the amalgamation of my tīpuna, iwi, hapū, community, whānau (family) and all my aunties and uncles and cousins (blood or not) who have inspired, shared wisdom, gave awhi, and created who we are today. This is all our research, this is all our fight and this is all our accomplishments beginning to align. Ka whawhai tonu matou ake ake ake, we fight on together, for ever and ever.

I acknowledge my tīpuna for guiding me, my whānau for their constant support and also, to all of the generations to come, aunty loves you, nanny loves you please continue our fight and our journey. I acknowledge those who have passed, to nanny Erina, nanny Kui, nanna Faye and to my namesakes nanny TeRauhina and Nicola Louise Toi I know you, alongside our tīpuna, have guided me with your embrace at many points of this journey. Also, to my aunty Katerina who passed before I was able to finish, my heart aches and I am sorry for not graduating earlier. Thank you to Mum and Dad for sacrificing everything for us so we could have a chance in life. Kia Ora to my brother Scott, sister Debbie and her Pete, Anica and Jethro. I also would like to thank my cousin Paddyann who fed my puku at the end of this journey. This is also for Aunty Ka and Uncle Ben, Aunty Airini, Aunty Ginny and Uncle Ken, Uncle Mac, Uncle Asher, Aunty Api and Uncle Alan, Uncle Shaun, Uncle Alby and Aunty Linda, Uncle Manu, Aunty Nina and Uncle Tim, Nanny Rene. To my cousin Kolah and our newest edition Tipuna Timoti Te Huirangi Lewis-Taare kia ora! Also, and to all of my cousins and aunties/uncles unnamed and to all our whāngai whānau to our ahi kā (burning fires of occupation).¹ Kia Ora whānau thank you for everything.

Next, I would like to mihi to the wāhine who collaborated in this research project. I recognise that your knowledge, expertise and courage catalysed and underpinned

¹ Āhi kā is used here to speak to our whānau home that has been a point of connection for generations.

this work and am honoured to have worked with you. Kia ora to you and your whānau for your continued support and fearless attitudes.

Furthermore, I am deeply grateful to the Faculty of Māori and Indigenous studies at the University of Waikato. Thank you to Vicky Young for your constant awhi and grammar expertise. To my supervisors, Dr. Adele Norris and Gauri Nandedkar, ngā mihi for helping this hori believe they could be a scholar, Dr Hayley Cavino, your advice and guidance was irreplaceable. Associate Professor Hemi Whaanga and Dr Joelie Seed-Pihama, thank you for putting up with my no ears and the immense amount of knowledge, empowerment and time you gave freely, this would not have been completed without you.

To the Te Toi o Matariki graduate programme, and everyone who I spent time at writing retreats with, I cannot describe how important this space, and these beautiful people have been to me. To Waikato-Tainui College and the staff ngā mihi. To Pita Shelford, you always sacrificed your own time for all of us, ngā mihi. To Kahu Waititi, Marama Salano, Rafaela Lunapizano, Rangihurhia McDonald, Haani Huata, Marlana Maru, Mona Lisa Wareka, Bonnie Maihi, Kanauea Wessels, Ammon Apiata, Raella Kahuroa, Benjamin Doyle, Areta Charlton, Vicky Lee Going, Natalia Kaihau, Te Mihinga Komene, Crystal Tawhai, Nicki Barrett, Casey-Anne Jacob, Trueley Harding, Nikki Kennedy, Nuki Nicholson, Kahuti te Kanawa, Sandy Wakefield, Zac McIvor, Luke Moss, Huia Swan, Yvonne Taura, Petera Hudson, Te Urukeiha Raharuhi, Amber Puku, Kyla Campbell-Kamariera, Wairehu Grant, Ēnoka Murphy and Blaise Forrester-Gauntlett, Mark Haimona, – you gave me gifts of knowledge, awhi, a community and space that always made me feel accepted and loved, I hope we all continue our journeys together and cross paths many times.

To my job, Parent2Parent and my co-workers, especially Emily Acraman and Priscilla Ashcroft, thank you so much for putting up with my absences and also the kind words, encouragement, chocolate and support.

To my friends that are whānau, Taysh Smith and Shay Spark, those video calls full of tears and aroha will always mean the world to me. To my kurī, Maui, you are a good boy. James Collier thank you for the hugs and wiping my tears. Jacob Potts, look at us now my whangai nephew! Tereiha Jury, Kingsley and Aaryn Walker, thank you for being unapologetically you.

I love you all so much.

Contents

Abstract	i
Acknowledgements	iii
List of Tables	ix
Chapter 1	1
Hearing the voices in the silence	1
1.1 Introduction	1
1.2 I am a Case Study	2
1.3 Rationale	5
1.4 Aim	9
1.5 Research questions	10
1.6 Chapter outline	10
Chapter 2	12
The impact of colonisation: We will never go away	12
2.1 Introduction	12
2.2 History of land confiscation and property imposition	12
2.2.1 Our relationship with Papatūānuku	13
2.2.2 Alienation of Māori land	16
2.2.3 Good farmers and farmers wives	19
2.3 Urbanisation: Industrialisation, precarity and impoverishment	21
2.4 Creating the ‘other’	25
2.4.1 Criminalising the ‘other’	25
2.4.2 Policing the ‘other’	29
2.5 Wāhine Māori get caught in the crossfire	33
2.6 Housing	38
2.7 Conclusion	42
Chapter 3	44
Wāhine Māori in political discourse – Getting out from down under	44
3.1 Introduction	44
3.2 The Importance of Language	44

3.3	Political discourse	51
3.3.1	The Gangs and Organised Crime Bill 2009	52
3.3.2	The Residential Tenancy Act (1986) 2009-2016	58
3.4	Conclusion	61
Chapter 4		62
Framing voices – Kaupapa Māori, Mana Wāhine and Discourse Analysis		62
4.1	Introduction	62
4.2	Theoretical framework	62
4.3	Kaupapa Māori	62
4.4	Mana Wāhine framework	65
4.5	Methods	69
4.5.1	Discourse analysis	69
4.5.2	Whakawhitiwhiti kōrero	71
4.5.3	Ethical considerations	73
4.6	The research whānau	76
4.6.1	Contextualising place	76
4.6.2	The wāhine collective	78
4.7	Conclusion	81
Chapter 5		82
Echoed silences in Te Whare/Tangata		82
5.1	Introduction	82
5.2	Repositories of knowledge: Wāhine theorising power and control	83
5.3	Making our differences visible: Local and non-local tensions	92
5.4	Reinforcing the ‘other’ in housing	100
5.5	Conclusion	111
Chapter 6		113
Me aro koe ki te hā o Hineahuone: We are our own solution		113
6.1	Introduction	113
6.2	The cost of silence	114
6.3	Wāhine navigating a racist system	118
6.4	Through the kūmara vine: Informal information channels	125

6.5	Fragments: Picking up the pieces	129
6.6	Mana whānau	137
6.7	Conclusion	143
Chapter 7		145
We will re-present ourselves, we will tell our story, and through this, we will heal, we will challenge, and we will rise		145
7.1	Introduction	145
7.2	Overview of research findings	145
7.2.1	The first research question: Overview of findings	145
7.2.2	The second research question: Overview of findings	146
7.2.3	The third research question: Overview of findings	148
7.2.4	The fourth research question: Overview of findings	149
7.3	Putting the pieces together	150
7.4	Limitation and contribution	154
7.5	Future research	154
References		156

List of Tables

<i>Table 3.1: Social Constructs and Power (Adapted from Schneider & Ingram, 1993)</i>	47
---	----

Chapter 1

Hearing the voices in the silence

"Home places for Native people are also political sites of sanctuary, subversion, and resistance to the hegemony of white settler society"
(Murphy, 2019, p.47)

1.1 Introduction

This is a Mana Wāhine research project which seeks to break the silence of vulnerable women in the housing sector. By centring and emphasizing wāhine (Māori women)² voices and stories, the impact of intersecting systems on their mana are brought to the foreground, and ways in which wāhine respond and resist these systems and discrimination are revealed. Colonisation across Indigenous nations is marked predominantly by land speculation and the annihilation of its peoples. In Aotearoa, neo-colonisation has seen an uprise in housing speculation and the continued marginalisation of Māori. Both instances are backed by Western legislation and policies and those who resist or live in non-Western ways are framed as deviants and met with practices of policing, surveillance and external control of their bodies. I argue that land speculation has evolved into housing speculation and that Māori are living through another wave of colonisation.

The link between the criminal justice system and housing within the Aotearoa context has been scantily researched, particularly from a Kaupapa Māori perspective or using the voices of poor and criminalised wāhine Māori.

For these wāhine Māori, our proximity to ‘gangs’ can intersect with a gendered neoliberal and racist discourse on welfare beneficiaries and our perceived Indigenous criminality or female savagery (Ross, 1998; Seccombe et al., 1998). Furthermore, these narratives of female ‘savagery’ have been linked to Māori as people and our wāhine who are too often also constructed as ‘the undeserving poor’ (Hodgetts et al., 2017; King et al., 2017; Seccombe et al., 1998).

² Wāhine – Māori women. Wāhine is used in reference to Māori women.

Cunneen & Tauri (2017) have critiqued the current justice system for the rates of wāhine incarceration, which increased by 297% between 1986 – 2009, as a colonial project reflective of the pipelines to and from trauma, poverty and stigma. Importantly, several Kaupapa Māori theorists such as, Naomi Simmonds (2009, 2011), Linda Smith (1999), Ani Mikaere (1994, 1995) and Leonie Pihama (2001), have investigated the colonial implications of the Western gender hierarchy, and subsequent marginalisation of our wāhine. For example, Wanhalla (2006) offers a case study of ‘housing officers’ who were commissioned to assist wāhine Māori to assimilate our ‘homes’ into Western standards.

1.2 I am a Case Study

“As I write this thesis I sit in a damp, cold and dark room. It is the third week of quarantine. It has been 8 weeks since we moved in and there have been 8 unanswered emails to our property manager. Confined to a sickly home during a global pandemic kind of sucks” (research journal excerpt)

It was at this point that my health and wellbeing took a decline and eventually led me to try to leave the flat and return home for some awahi (support). Remember this, that with all the privileges the city offers - at my lowest I yearn to go home for healing. After 3 months, and a tenancy tribunal application - it took my property manager four hours and an argument about how it is a health and safety issue to have mice and cockroaches for them to stop gaslighting us and perform their duty.

This is a common experience for people that are now caught up in a rental housing market, whose rising prices and unequal power dynamics have become a hot spot for exploitation and sub-par housing. Despite this, I count myself lucky. I moved to the city six years ago to study. In the city there are multiple agencies and opportunities for housing, in the city I am treated better by housing actors and police actors. I am not constantly carrying the burden or stigma of being ‘one of those Māori’ constantly. I am a wahine Māori from a rural community that is majority Māori, labelled as a poor area and framed as a ‘gang town’. I am a hori[sik], and proud. But when I say, ‘one of those Māori’, we are also the type of people that get called ‘hoodrat’[sik] or ‘criminal’, and ‘other’. We are seen as gang affiliates, but really, it's just a small town. My cousins are patched. The little kid I remember at school is now patched. Of course, we are affiliated. And sometimes it humours me the picture people have painted in their heads about patched gang members. My

patched neighbour gave me a couple of home-cooked meals out of random kindness, my city neighbour would never do that. Patchies are us. I think we, as Māori, have a tendency to forget that.

I count myself lucky because when I rented in my hometown, I paid the full amount for a home that had concrete flooring and fungus growing in the kitchen cupboards. I count myself lucky because in traversing between these locations, it became apparent that I was treated differently depending on the location I was in. For example, my interactions with police actors are limited in urban Aotearoa, I am never targeted, but within 48 hours of recently staying in my hometown, I was subjected to a stop and search, and questioned.

“The moment I pulled into Honotapu³ I was pulled over for a “stop and identify” by the newbie police officers who obviously don't know me yet... They ask if I have moved to Honotapu, and when I proudly let them know I am studying in Hamilton they ask what it is like at Wintec...” (research journal excerpt)

It had been a long time since I had been home and the police had given me that look, turned, hunted me down and accused me of something arbitrary. It had been a long time since I had a stomach-dropping heart-racing physical reaction to the blue and red sirens. Does everyone experience that? Or is it casual low-grade trauma from growing up in a community harassed by justice actors? Sometimes I can't tell. What makes it scarier is that the non-local police officers do not understand us and treat us as inferior. Wintec is great, but I am actually a student at the University of Waikato, and it is telling that this kind of institution was not within the officer's conceptual scope of the kind of tertiary education a wāhine Māori from Honotapu could have. I had, just previous to this encounter, met a lecturer who shared articles on constructing female savagery and on Indigenous women's incarceration rates with me. I had also just taken Professor Linda Smith's paper, entitled 'Decolonizing methodologies'.

³ I have used a pseudonym in place of the communities name because of the small population of the town, the project partners may be identifiable by their experiences, so to ensure anonymity of the research partners the name of the town has been redacted.

This knowledge was a source of empowerment. It was during this time that I spent weeks in my hometown with friends and relatives, and it struck me how many of us had policing issues, extreme tenancy related issues, but who were also actively theorising about the situation. My home peoples voices and discussions catalysed this project because although we are unable to change our current collective situation in Honotapu, as a Master's student I found myself in a privileged position where I might be able to act as a mouthpiece and enable us to talk back - together.

Like most of the locals, my hometown is my papa kāinga (home base), was my tīpuna (ancestors) papa kāinga and will be my mokopuna papa kāinga. Spending time at the marae (meeting house) is normal and so is our close relationship with the environment. We dive, fish and eel in the awa (river) and moana (sea), we learn to garden, perform ceremonies, forage and hunt on the whenua (land) and so much more. I remember walking up hills behind our whānau house, playing games on the street and annoying the adults. I remember the stories my dad used to tell me, of my nanny, that she was ngāwari (kind) and would take in and awhi people labelled as deviants or cast out.

I remember dad being so repetitive with the stories of Hinekorako, of TeRauhina, of my Nannys. I think I understand now, why he did that, why he gave me a power that no one could take from me. I've never thought of Māori as a patriarchal society, how could I when the aunties and wāhine sit around drinking tea and sharing while the men dive, clean, cook and get our Christmas dinner ready? How could I when I've always been told the mana whenua (territorial rights) lay with our matriarchs? When it is my wahine (woman) cousin who guards and was taught our whakapapa which was handed from one of our nanny's! I didn't even know about the Kīngitanga until I moved to the Waikato, my whānau have readily accepted that Aunty Apikara is our matriarch and her daughter, will likely be our next matriarch. This is our norm.⁴

⁴ The Kīngitanga was established in 1858 with the goal of uniting all tribes under a single Māori sovereign.

1.3 Rationale

The “housing crisis”, or rather, unfettered capitalism and privatisation of the housing market, is trending as a global issue. However, housing has been an area of struggle for Indigenous peoples pushed to the margins since colonisation and imperialism (Madden & Marcuse, 2016). The global housing situation is framed as a crisis and is evidenced through rates of homelessness, unaffordable rents, and insecure tenure. Indigenous people, however, have a diverse, but common thread of precarity, homelessness or substandard living conditions around the globe (Mitrou et al., 2014).

In Aotearoa, Groot, Hodgetts, Nikora, and Leggat-Cook (2011) have linked colonialism and the urbanisation of Māori to contemporary over-representation in homelessness figures. The precarious position of Māori, particularly in the housing market, is linked to colonialism through land dispossession and Industrialisation. The intentional assimilation of Māori into a cash economy was enforced through Eurocentric policy and laws that favoured settlers to the detriment of tāngata whenua (land) (Walker, 2002). Moreover, land alienation has impacted self-sufficiency and intergenerational wealth accumulation amongst Māori (Rua, et al., 2019; Groot, et al., 2019).

These practices have a lasting legacy as Groot et al. (2017) discovered, who states that 1/3rd of all Māori are currently living in precarious households. This implication acknowledges an added intersectioning class of Māori, in that we are also over-represented in impoverishment statistics (note that ideally, there should be no ‘representation’ figure that is classed as an ‘acceptable’ amount of poverty for a cohort).

Land dispossession was underpinned by the expansion agenda of the European empire (Nunn, 1999). One method of land dispossession was to justify land theft through the framing of Māori as savage and in need of discipline and assimilation (Cunneen & Tauri, 2016; Smith, Hoskins et al, 2012). Moreover, a Western legal system was entrenched to ‘protect’ early settlers and their newly acquired land from what they saw as ‘uncivilised savages’ (Higgins, 2012). This ‘protection’ also played a major role in the illegal confiscation of Māori whenua (Walker, 2002).

Through legislation, such as the 1863 New Zealand Settlement Act and 1863 Suppression of Rebellion Act, Māori were alienated from their whenua which continued into the neoliberal era through the Public Works Act 1908 (Addis, 2005; Taonui, 2012; Walker, 2002). Expropriation and other colonial initiatives enforced Western conceptions of individualised ownership of 'property' which further subjugated our relationship with the whenua. As Bhandar states, "Property law was a crucial mechanism for the colonial accumulation of capital, and by the late nineteenth century, had unfolded in conjunction with racial schemas that steadfastly held colonized subjects within their grip." (2018, p.11). Over time, our way of living and homemaking became commodified, and Māori were forced to enter the capitalist workforce to retain our whenua.

Capitalist ideas around whenua and natural resources, as well as human labour practices, were exacerbated with the push of the industrialisation era. After failed attempts at annihilation, assimilatory practices began under the ideologies of 'kill the Indian save the man'⁵, and eventually Western economic configurations coerced Māori into paid labour and urban migration (L. T. Smith, 1999; Walker, 2004). Thus, industrial urbanisation set the stage to continue the removal of Māori from their whenua and further enforce assimilation through targeted 'work' policies.

Māori families who migrated into cities had to navigate the breakdown of traditional social control methods, as well as the increased levels of institutional and social surveillance, discrimination, and policing. During this time, 'child saving' narratives dominated assimilatory practices such as, state-endorsed native schooling and child removal initiatives (L. T. Smith, 1999; Stanley, 2017). Meanwhile, the criminalisation and negative narratives of Māori were increasing due to social and institutional surveillance of Māori populations who were growing in contact with and in proximity to the colonial gaze.

⁵ Ideologies of 'Kill the Indian/Savage and save the man' were a set of policies designed to assimilate Māori into European culture and was based on ideas that Indigenous Peoples were inferior and needed to be civilised. These ideologies eventuated into child-saving policies that sought to assimilate Māori through education initiatives such as Native Schooling.

Police began surveilling and recording the acts of poor and Māori youth during the 1920s–1940s due to our apparent immorality and lack of Christian values (Stanley, 2017). It took only a small act of delinquency for Māori children to shift from ‘in need’ to ‘problematic’ or a possible ‘threat’ to the status quo of settler Aotearoa. Under both frames, the justification of displacing a whole generation of Māori children from their whānau emerged and with it a poorly established system where children were sometimes fostered to abusive and neglectful families and families outside of their own culture (Haenga-Collins, 2017; Mikaere, 1994; Stanley, 2016). According to Mikaere (1994), “Issues of openness aside, stranger adoption flouts tikanga Māori insofar as it entails a refusal to acknowledge the responsibilities and rights of whānau, hapu and iwi with respect to their children” (p. 148). Moreover, by the 1920s, over 4000 children resided in state care in both small- and large-scale orphanages. State-care has been criticised because state-sanctioned violence under the guise of child protection services was one major catalyst to the emergence of gangs (Andrae, Coster & McIntosh, 2017).

Criminalisation has historicized roots in colonialism and has been documented by Indigenous scholars such as, Andrae, McIntosh and Coster (2017), Jackson, Smith and Pihama (2018, November) and Cunneen and Tauri (2016), who have critiqued the nexus between laws, sovereignty and racialised practices by the settler state. For example, the media constructions of gangs in Aotearoa as a Māori problem was documented by Ranginui Walker in the 90’s, who argued it was a form of social control and a continuation of colonial tropes about the “warrior” race (2002).

There have always been non-Māori gangs, however this issue has been framed as a Māori issue within the media and historicized settler tropes of Māori “Savagery”.⁶⁷ Andrae, Coster and McIntosh (2017) further this point by linking the construction of gangs as a problem population who the State and its (*in*)justice actors steadfastly channel into the carceral system, very much like their founding progenitors the ‘state wards’ (Wehipeihana, 2015).

⁶ Savagery and the Savage is a colonial construction that placed Indigenous Peoples in binary opposition to ‘civilised’ by constructing them as ‘primitive’ and ‘immoral’ (L. T. Smith, 2019; L. T. Smith 1999).

⁷ Controlling images can be defined as negative stereotypical representations of marginalised populations that serve to constrain authentic representation (Norris, 2017).

The discursive construction of Māori criminality has been a major factor in the over-representation of Māori within the Justice system (Cunneen & Tauri, 2017). According to the Department of Corrections New Zealand 2016 and 2019, Māori men make up 51.3% of the male prison population and Māori women make up 62% of the female prison population. Over-policing and other policing practices have been criticised by scholars for contributing to the high rates of Māori imprisonment. For example, Cunneen and Tauri (2017) describe several disproportionate discretionary practices used by the police such as: stop and search, racial profiling and targeting areas where Māori and precarity are prevalent. Another factor increasing incarceration rates overall, is the privatisation and commodification of prisons (Davis, 2000). The neoliberalisation of Aotearoa came with individualistic ideologies and the privatisation of social housing and prisons (Bonds, 2019; Roberts, 2012).

The criminalisation of poverty is another intersecting factor for a majority precarious population, especially for wāhine who utilise welfare services. The ‘savage trope’ is continued within a punitive welfare system that frames wāhine as the ‘undeserving poor’ based on stereotypes that we are ‘uncivilised’, ‘promiscuous’ and ‘immoral’ (Kingfisher, 1999; Seccombe et al., 1998). Considering the colonial constructed role of the home as a woman's sphere (Wanhalla, 2006; Yates-Smith, 2006), it is important to investigate, in this thesis, the gendered aspect of barriers to housing.

Wāhine are framed as appendages to Māori men through the colonial gaze (Johnstone & Pihama, 1994; Mikaere, 1995) and therefore, are not excused from the stigma of gang affiliation. Formal policing of Brown and Black bodies is often critiqued and posited as one of the leading factors in Indigenous and Black over-representation in the carceral system and linked to the increasing rates of incarceration of Māori wāhine.⁸ Anne Bonds (2019) has explored the interaction between racialisation, housing and the incarceration system in the United States and argues that housing is a race-making institution and that “housing dynamics in the

⁸ The words Black, and Brown are capitalised to acknowledge that the terms represent a shared identity or community of peoples.

second half of the 20th century are deeply connected to the expansion of law-and-order politics in the US” (2019, p.578). The same analysis could be used in the neo-colonial context of Aotearoa and applied to the subject position of wāhine.

Considering the quadruple bind of gender, race, precarity and a growing incarcerated population, wāhine Māori experiences of housing exclusion is under-researched here in Aotearoa. Particularly, how the stigmas of the savage, the gangster and the undeserving wāhine interact in a hyper-surveillance based and punitive system. Relationships, employment, and education are areas that can be impacted by housing issues (Dodson, 2007). Therefore, how these narratives inform housing practices and how wāhine navigate housing is desperately necessary of further investigation.

1.4 Aim

The issue of secure and affordable housing can impact health, relationships, access to employment, education, opportunities, participation in society and cultural revitalisation (Dodson, 2007 Rashbrooke, 2013). Moreover, the experiences and theorization of wāhine Māori has historically been met with indifference and disregard. Therefore, how negative narratives inform housing practices, and how wāhine navigate housing is not only worthy of investigation but is deeply needed by our people. This research aims to challenge the stigma and stereotypes within the housing market that wāhine who are in proximation to gangs receive. It will also, challenge hegemonic discourse and ideologies that ‘otherise’ wāhine Māori through the criminalisation of Māori, and anti-welfare, colonialist and misogynist ideologies. Policies and societal assumptions are often formulated with little concern for the impact on the subject of these initiatives or for their contribution and engagement in the process. This research project intends to produce a counter-narrative and offer a contribution from Honotapu wāhine to the discussion of housing in Aotearoa.

This research uses Mana Wāhine theory to examine the intersections of race, gender, criminalisation, and capitalism through the privileging of wāhine Māori voices. This research provides space for wāhine to ‘speak back’ to the mainstream hegemonic discourse and to critique the settler housing system that has been forced

upon them. It is a mouthpiece for our continued struggle for tino rangatiratanga (sovereignty/ autonomy) and for our stance against a paternalistic state. The overall goal of this thesis is to disrupt current housing arrangements and argue towards a return of whenua and tino rangatiratanga through critiquing the settler system and highlighting the agency of wāhine navigating the nexus between criminality and insecure housing.

1.5 Research questions

The central research questions are:

- 1) How are wāhine Māori voices framed in political discourse?
- 2) What are the underlying factors that contribute to the suppression of wāhine voices in housing?
- 3) How have wāhine resisted, survived, and responded to these underlying factors?
- 4) What are wāhine aspirations in this space?

1.6 Chapter outline

Chapter One has introduced the topic and outlined my proximity to this research. The underlying aim and rationale of this research project are discussed and the research questions are listed.

Chapter Two contextualises the bigger picture by reviewing five main areas of scholarship: discourse, colonisation, criminology, wāhine Māori and housing. Mātauranga Māori is foregrounded with particular attention to colonisation, policing, whenua, and home. These key points are then traced within housing literature and through a Mana Wāhine lens.

In Chapter Three Selected New Zealand Parliamentary Hansard debates around the Gangs and Organised Crime Bill 2009 are analysed using a critical discourse lens and from a Mana Wāhine conceptual framework. The discursive construction of gangs and wāhine Māori are then traced within The Residential Tenancy Act 1986 to reveal the political discourse currently informing housing practices in Aotearoa.

Chapter Four outlines the methodological journey taken to conduct this research. The politics of research is discussed in terms of a specifically Kaupapa Māori and Mana Wāhine theoretical framework. Moreover, this chapter serves to introduce the reader to the community and the wāhine collective who collectively theorised their housing issues together.

In Chapter Five the ways in which wāhine theorize power and control within the context of housing is illuminated focusing on the power dynamics of the current system, the influx of non-local presence, the tensions that arise and finally the social policing that is prevalent within the housing market.

Chapter Six reveals the wāhine resistance and responses to housing discrimination theorised in the previous chapter. In this chapter I interpret the wāhine narratives to examine how they navigate, create and maintain relationships, informal information channels and practices of self-advocating whilst countering colonial tropes and stereotypes. Finally, this chapter shifts the focus to a collective view of the 'housing crisis and the ways in which the community as a whānau support and show up for one another when the system fails.

Chapter Seven concludes our findings and illuminates key arguments made throughout the thesis with particular attention to the research questions posed. I also highlight limitations in the research and potential areas for future research and policy changes.

Chapter 2

The impact of colonisation: We will never go away⁹

He whiriwhiri korero, ka whatungarongaro

He whiriwhiri wahine, ka tonu.

Words fade

Women endure

(Awekotuku, 2019, p. 27)

2.1 Introduction

This chapter provides context for the subsequent analysis through reviewing five main areas of literature: Colonisation and the history of land and property configurations in Aotearoa, urbanisation, criminalisation of Māori, wāhine and housing. First a discussion of pre-colonial Māori relationship with whenua is offered, followed by an outline of the legislations and practices that led to the alienation of whenua Māori (*see 2.2*). The proceeding imposition of Western property that followed is discussed and segues into the colonial imposition of a cash and capitalist society and the impacts of Māori urbanisation (*see 2.3*). The aforementioned sets the context for the ongoing social construction of Māori as criminals in the 80's and the emergence of surveillance and policing practices from the Pākehā (New Zealand European) gaze that catalysed the emergence of gangs (*see 2.4*). The contemporary situation of Māori criminalisation and incarceration is outlined followed by a discussion of wāhine proximity to gangs and intersecting positions (*see 2.5*) where the endurance of wāhine is highlighted. Housing is then discussed in relation to Māori experiences and with special attention to the practices that are similar to the justice system (*see 2.6*).

2.2 History of land confiscation and property imposition

He aha te mea nui?' What then is a great resource? Why humankind, people, of course. In the natural order of the world they could not survive without women. (Norman, 2019, p.17)

The following sections outline Māori traditional practices, values and ideologies of whenua and home, the process and impact of land theft and the imposition of

⁹ Titles throughout this thesis are reused from leading Mana Wāhine scholars and their work.

Western notions of housing and capitalism. The history of the land confiscation within Aotearoa is inextricably tied with current configurations of housing and the political, social, and economic marginalisation of Māori. Colonial notions of savagery and criminality underpinned settler land expropriation practices and have continued to be perpetuated to this day within the realms of justice, welfare and housing.¹⁰

2.2.1 Our relationship with Papatūānuku

The pre-colonial relationship of Māori to housing resembled something very different from what is observed in contemporary society. Māori, like most Indigenous Peoples, hold a close spiritual, cultural and emotional connection to the whenua. For example, the concept of kaitiakitanga (guardianship) is intrinsically linked to the notion of mokopunatanga (valuing future descendants) through the whenua and to ensure balance and sustainability for generations to come (Gray-Sharp, 2007). In other words, our value in caring for future descendants also rested on our ability to care for the whenua which provides us sustenance. There is a deep connection between tāngata and whenua which can be seen in the way we as Māori choose to identify, as tāngata whenua. This connection can be further illustrated in te reo Māori, for example, whenua is interchangeably used to describe the land and the placenta, which then introduces a specifically wāhine connection to the whenua as those who have the power of pregnancy (Davey & Kearns, 1994; Mikaere, 2003). The whenua (placenta) is buried within Papatūānuku, the womb of earth. This tikanga is the merging of mama, child, and Papatūānuku through ‘whenua ki whenua’ or ‘Te kopu o te whenua’ and can serve to establish a home-place for the child (Simmonds, 2017; Yates-Smith, 2006). The wāhine and whenua connection is further exemplified by Murphy (2019), who states that “‘te whare tāngata’ is used as a term for both women and land” (p.177).

Papatūānuku is often perceived as the house of humanity or whare tangata and thus further illustrates the connection wāhine have to whenua (Simmonds, 2009). As Māori, we come from the whenua, Papatūānuku, and go back to the whenua and

¹⁰ The ‘savage’ is a Western social construction posited as binary to civilisation and civility. The ‘savage’ is imagined as ‘primitive’, ‘immoral’ and ‘inferior’ and justified imperialism and colonisation (L. T. Smith, 1999).

Hine-nui-te-po when we die (Simmonds, 2011). The Māori creation stories further our connection as descendants of Papatūānuku and Ranginui, as well as our close ties to our relatives of the environmental kind that we whakapapa to, such as maunga (mountain), awa (river) and flora and fauna (Hikuroa, 2015; Tapiata, 2019). Papatūānuku gives birth to all living things, including flora and fauna, and whose red clay or 'sexual organ' was pivotal in the creation of the first human, Hineahuone (Simmonds, 2009; Yates-Smith, 2006). The whenua is more than an object to be used, there is a spiritual and whakapapa connection to Papatūānuku. Moreover, Papatūānuku, as earth mother further illustrates a traditional gendered relationship to the whenua for wāhine (Simmonds, 2011; Tapiata, 2019). As Pere states, "Women and land were intertwined, part of each providing nourishment and sustenance to 'iwi'" (1987, p.17). Hence the widely known saying, 'He wahine he whenua i mate ai te tangata', without whenua and wāhine, humanity is lost (Norman, 2019).

Returning to the idea of mokopunatanga, the value we have for future generations implicates the importance of wāhine Māori and our role in pregnancy and birth. The significance of whakapapa links to the centrality and sacredness of the whare tāngata. Whare tāngata is a kupu (word) for womb and translates to 'house of humanity' (Murphy, 2011; Simmonds, 2002). Therefore, it is incommensurable for wāhine to be relegated to roles within the house when we are the house of humanity (Yates-smith, 2006). The centrality and importance of wāhine is in our gift to continue whakapapa and culture, we are whare tāngata and our womb is the first home for new life (Murphy, 2011; Pere, 1987).

The Māori understandings of 'home' is also embedded in the multiple ways of describing a home-place in te reo Māori: ahi kā - the concept of title to land through long-term occupation, kāinga - home, wā kāinga - true home, hau kāinga - original home, papa kāinga - home base, kāinga tipu - ancestral home, Marae - the courtyard of the wharenuī, taiwhenua - permanent home, whare - house, and tūrangawaewae - a place of belonging through kinship (Davey, & Kearns, 1994; Hikuroa, 2015; Pere, 1982). These examples are tied to the whenua either explicitly or implicitly and illustrate the interconnection between concepts of whenua, belonging, identity, and home for Māori. There is, however, some diversity regarding Māori perceptions

of 'home' in contemporary Māori society but traditionally, notions of home were inseparable from whakapapa and whenua and inextricably tied to belonging and identity (Rewi & Higgins, 2015). Different hāpu (sub-tribe) and iwi (tribe) could have different overlays of land rights, meaning that rights were rarely exclusive to one iwi or hāpu, and those rights were constantly negotiated. The home was not an individual house but a collectively occupied land or a papa kāinga (Flynn, Carne et al., 2010).

The whare (home) had a spiritual meaning to Māori, and housing was a complex affair in which even the placement of buildings was carefully considered. For instance, the wharepuni (sleeping house) was a central aspect of the papa kāinga and would be available for guests/extended whānau and as a warm sleeping place in the winter months. During the summer, temporary sleeping buildings were erected. Specific structures were built for food, clothing, and items. Separating items of tapu and noa aided in the containment of disease. For example, food was stored in one place, prepared in another, and cooked in yet another (Tapsell, 2002). The duality between whare and wāhine can also be seen on marae with the wharenui as a place of safety and for many iwi and hapū our wharenui is named after tīpuna wāhine (Mikaere, 2011; Simmonds, 2009). When entering the wharenui you pass under the tara (vagina) or pare (lintel) for purification (Jahnke, 1997; Murphy, 2019). The connection between whenua, whare and wāhine is undeniable and serves the basis of this project.

Home (papa kāinga, haukāinga) has always been a key space to perform the duties, practices and values of whānau. Whānau was a central organiser of traditional family and societal structures. On the home site, knowledge, practices, and values were transmitted, and support systems were available through a vast network of extended whānau such as siblings, aunties, uncles, grandparents, and cousins. Māori communities preserved a balance between generations, male and female and were collective and flexible in their work allocation. Wāhine were acknowledged for their intrinsic tapu and their responsibility for the continuation of humanity through their keeping of the whare tāngata (Mikaere, 1995; Wirihana & Smith, 2019). A whānau or hapū papa kāinga becomes a central feature for societal organisation,

namely the spiritual connection to tīpuna gone and mokopuna to come, and also, for the entrenchment of our status as wāhine through our connection to Papatūānuku, pregnancy and birth (Simmonds, 2017).

2.2.2 Alienation of Māori land

This section, outlines policies and practices that acted to dispossess Māori from their whenua. The drive for land, power and control influenced colonisation practices in Aotearoa. Settler ideologies of land were incommensurable with Māori understandings of Papatūānuku as settlers saw “land as a permanent, infinite resource available and intended for their use” (Hampton & DeMartini, 2017, p.260). Pākehā entitlement and ownership of land underpinned land theft that was codified into policies and laws. The development and signing of Te Tiriti o Waitangi was driven mainly by the Crown and British subjects’ desire for land and resource accumulation (Orange, 2015; Walker, 2002). During the signing of Te Tiriti and despite the ravaging of Western illnesses such as measles, Māori outnumbered Pākehā 30-1, but vast land purchases were already underway (Pool & Kukutai, 2018; Walker, 2002).

Race relations and tensions grew as the settler missionary greed for land juxtaposed the Māori desire to maintain tino rangatiratanga and kaitiakitanga over the whenua (Higgins, 2012). An example is the 1843 ‘Wairau massacre’, where Captain Arthur Wakefield attempted to use force to establish land ownership of Wairau against Te Rauparaha (Mikaere, 2012; Walker, 2004). Bolstered by a police magistrate and his ill-trained settlers who were equipped with muskets, the captain killed Te Rangihaeata’s wife, Te Rongopamamao. Te Rauparaha was forced into defence and eventually won the day, avenging the death of Rongopamamao and killing the surrendered Pākehā men. The men’s deaths were framed as a massacre in the eyes of Pākehā, who felt powerless against a ‘warrior race’ (Mikaere, 2012; Walker, 2004). The framing of Māori as ‘violent savages’ consequently justified land speculation and practices of European domination.

According to Claudia Orange (2002), Māori relationship to whenua led to mana whenua being an essential aspect of tino rangatiratanga that Māori championed to retain and contributed to questions of power, authority and state actions. Resistance

towards the imposition of Western supremacy grew during the 1850s and eventually led to establishing the Kīngitanga. Te Wherowhero was installed as our first Māori King to ensure Māori were represented by someone with equal status to the Crown, and whose goal was the protection of whenua Māori, tino rangatiratanga, and Māori communities (Higgins, 2012; Orange, 2015; Tiakiwai, 2015; Walker, 2002).

Europeans immigrated to Aotearoa in vast numbers after Te Tiriti was signed, and by 1858, the Pākehā population had surpassed Māori by 3,000, shifting the country's power dynamics (Walker, 2002). Māori were hesitant to alienate their whenua from traditional collective ownership, which fuelled the growing animosity amongst the settler population whose ideas about the individualisation and commodification of the land were very dissimilar to Māori beliefs and practices (Mikaere, 1999). State-sanctioned violence and land theft soon ensued as the dominant narratives of a 'backward', 'warring' race and white settler supremacy prevailed (Bonds, 2019; Bonilla-Silva, 2000; Higgins, 2012; Johnston & Pihama, 2019; Stanley, 2017).

In Aotearoa, three central legislations catalysed land confiscations: The 1863 New Zealand Settlement Act, The 1863 Suppression of Rebellion Act and the 1863 New Zealand Loans Act. The acts were bolstered by the sensationalism surrounding Māori as being inherently predisposed to war and conflict. Consequently, settler consciousness was fraught with moral panic, and these fears justified the punishment of rebellion and inexorable confiscation of whenua Māori (Adds, 2005; L. T. Smith, 1999). The 1863 New Zealand Settlement act was passed, promoting the "adequate provision for the security of the well-disposed inhabitants of both races for the prevention of future insurrection or rebellion and the establishment and maintenance of her Majesty's authority and Law and Order throughout the Colony" (Boast & Hill, 2009, p.17). The aim of the act was, first, to encourage a significant number of armed settlers to live in areas surrounding European capitals to create buffer zones and, secondly, to allow the Crown to confiscate land from Māori who were deemed as rebellious (Wirihana, & Smith, 2019). The 1863 Suppression of Rebellion Act gave the military the power to 'crush' any rebellion or movements of resistance towards the Crown (Suppression of Rebellion Act 1863). The 1863 New Zealand Loans Act's main aim was to raise a loan secured

against the foreseen proceeds of confiscated land sales. The loan was 3 million pounds, which comprised 2 pounds per acre of land sales and indicated the sweeping land confiscation intentions (Boast & Hill, 2009; Loan Appropriation Act 1863; Mikaere, 1994; New Zealand Loan Act 1863; Walker, 2004). The three land focused legislations evidence an intent of land confiscation as the loans acquired to wage war were awarded on the basis that 1.5 million acres of land would be gained by the crown. A few decades later, the Public Works and Land Settlement Act 1908 allowed the state to expropriate land in the name of public goods such as roads, railways, social housing or economic endeavours (Public Works Act 1908). These legislations legalized the dispossession and alienation of Māori from whenua.

Furthermore, the Māori Land Courts set up in 1865, exacerbated the alienation of whenua Māori and fragmented collective and social arrangements (L. T. Smith, 1999; Taonui, 2012). The Māori land courts system was an institution couched in the Eurocentric language of law and property and continued the alienation of Māori from their papa kāinga (homelands). In practice, collective ownership was reformulated as private by dividing land blocks, transferring ‘uneconomical’ lands or lands with three or fewer owners to Crown or European ownership, and awarding substitution blocks to Māori. This subdivision of whenua further disconnected Māori from their whenua (Walker, 2002). Although this was detrimental to Māori, this had an especially insidious impact on wāhine status, mana and position within the whānau. Through the Native Land Courts wāhine were excluded from attaining land and their mana whenua rights were transferred to males through marriage and individualised land titles (Higgins & Meredith, 2011; Jahnke, 2013; Mikaere, 2011). This approach does not even touch on the broken promises and fraudulent practices of individual settlers when purchasing land.

During the Land Wars, or Te riri Pākehā (the white man’s anger), from the 1840s to the 1870s, 3.2 million acres of land was confiscated or forcibly taken from tāngata whenua. Boast and Hill (2009), describe land confiscation as a European practice that goes back to early Western legal tradition. For example, imperial Rome formalised the seizure of land through the obstruction of land inheritance as a form of punishment and as a means to expunge the ‘bad seeds’ of society. The legacy of land confiscation practice lay in bed with imperial colonialisms desires for resource

and wealth accumulation (Nunn, 1997). This union between punishment, resource and wealth accumulation had proven disastrous for Indigenous and First Nation Peoples across the globe, whose sovereignty had been overthrown through concepts of terra nullius, of white supremacy, and in the name of economic expansion (Nunn, 1997). European desire for land commodification, according to Hampton and DeMartini, “always involves the disappearance of Indigenous peoples: either relegating them to a pre-colonial, pre-civilised past or erasing their presence altogether” (2017, p. 260). The theft of whenua Māori underpins the history of property ownership in Aotearoa and was the underpinning of a colonial regime. Māori were alienated from our whenua and therefore channelled into poverty and dislocated from our ability to transmit knowledge, practice spiritual ceremonies and live collectively (Mikaere, 2011; Rewi & Higgins, 2015). With an interrupted social and economic system, Māori were then assimilated into a Western cash and labour system of capitalism.

2.2.3 Good farmers and farmers wives

Good farmers and farmers wives section details the policies and practices of assimilation for tāne (Māori men) and wāhine within the labour market and housing. The imposition of eurocentric property and labour laws exacerbated the fragmentation accompanying the alienation of whenua Māori. Money acquired by the 1863 New Zealand Loans Act allowed the state to expand infrastructure and contributed to surplus cash. The surplus cash was then loaned exclusively to settlers or workers through the Advances to Settlers Act 1894 and Advances to Workers Acts 1906 (Government Advances to Settlers act 1894; Government Advances to Workers Act). This catalysed centuries of wealth inequality between tāngata whenua and settler European descendants. Despite Māori being viewed as peripheral to ‘civilisation’ during this early settlement period, we were still heavily surveilled (Higgins, 2012). Projects of surveillance and control permeated various systems and institutions. Examples of these are the education system through the Native Schooling Act 1867, the justice systems through land confiscations, health systems through the Tohunga Suppression Act 1907, and welfare systems through social housing initiatives, to name just a few (Murphy, 2019; Walker, 2004).

In 1903, Native Health officers and Native Sanitary inspectors (who were settlers) were employed to surveil the housing and living conditions of Māori. According to Wanhalla (2006), the inspectors were granted the powers to inspect homes and either provide suggestions or enforce condemnation of a homestead. The officers were overly concerned with ‘cleanliness’ and ‘over-crowding’ and judged collective and inter-generational ways of living as “unhealthy and sites of disease” (p.106). What was disregarded in the officers analysis was first, that the vast majority of Māori lived in rural areas and, therefore, had limited access to health and welfare services. Secondly, the Tohunga Suppression Act 1907 criminalised spiritual and health practices and framed them as inferior. The assimilation of the collective into individual self-sufficient entities was failing. Māori health deteriorated, and communities resisted subjugation and attempted to continue living in traditional ways. Despite attempts by the state to enforce European housing standards, Māori resisted ideas on “over-crowding” and continued to live with extended whānau, as their ancestors had. Māori continued to cook outdoors, to the behest of housing officers; in fact, many Māori communities resisted loan and housing schemes because of caution due to a history of land alienation through Pākehā policy and practice (Wanhalla, 2004).

By 1935, health concerns were linked to housing conditions. For instance, tuberculosis was to be dealt with through improving housing conditions and thus, a loan scheme was enacted under the Native Housing Act 1935. The act was justified by settlers who had correlated Māori cultural practices and morality to ill-health (Wanhalla, 2004). Ideologies of self-responsibility and individuality blamed adverse circumstances on rural Māori ways of living. The home became a central focal point for the assimilation of Māori into European living standards, such as separate bedrooms and homes built to accommodate only nuclear families.

Initially, the Department of Native Affairs only acted as a land purchase agency, but they eventually oversaw the housing of Māori through the Native Housing Scheme of 1935. An array of welfare functions was quickly adopted. The lack of funding and subsequent policy initiatives aimed at health and assimilation undermined Māori autonomy and legitimised tropes of the white saviour, of a ‘dying race’ in need of saving. The housing reform served as a nexus between

health, housing and land initiatives which sought to Europeanise Māori and enforce gendered and class hierarchies and roles.

By 1944, the Housing and Building Construction Organisation was established to oversee the planning, construction and repair of houses and also, the training of tāne Māori in the building trades. Wage labour was framed as the epitome of manhood, whereas domestic labour and the home was provisioned and enforced as a woman's space. Māori men were trained in building houses, and Māori masculinity was positioned within the cash economy through discursive formulations of the breadwinning, individualised, hardworking man. In contrast, wāhine Māori and femininity were readied for domesticity through native officers, who imposed Eurocentric notions of how a home is run and kept (Wanhalla, 2006). Johnston and Pihama state that "The roles proffered for Māori women were mainly those of servitude, as either maidservants for Pākehā households or "good wives and mothers for Māori men" (2019, p. 116). The home thus served as a significant space for the marginalisation of wāhine Māori. Additionally, the Native Schools project bolstered ideas on morality and citizenship where hygiene and housekeeping were core aspects of wāhine curriculum, and gendered relations were planted of the "good farmers and...good farmers wives" (Wanhalla, 2004, p.109; Mikaere, 1994, p 12). By 1964, the home-space as a place of assimilation and misrepresentation of whānau Māori, particularly wāhine and tamariki, was etched into ink and printed as 'Wash day at the pā' (Stewart, 2019).

2.3 Urbanisation: Industrialisation, precarity and impoverishment

"Māori is beginning to review the validity, the justice of this present system, and question it. Factors such as the urban migration, the unrest of youth, the inequitable enforcement of land-grabbing legislation, have caused a renaissance in Māori awareness." (Te Awēkotuku, 1991, p.47).

This section will give context to the current situation of Māori by exploring phenomena in the industrial era that led to impoverishment and precarity for Māori. Beyond land disappropriation and misappropriation, Māori colonial history is marked by a rapid urban migration (Durie, 1998, Metge, 1964). Before WW-II, Māori had been living in rural settings engaging in wool and meat processing industries (Davey, & Kearns, 1994). However, Māori was increasingly seen as a

‘reserve of industrial labour’ by the state and was recognised officially as such in the 1936 Māori Labour Conference (Woods, 2002). The conference led to factories being established in largely Māori populated areas, which offered the state the opportunity to acquaint Māori with European ways of ‘work’ and the growing Fordist adaptations to production (Woods, 2002).

The alienation of Māori from their whenua had been an effective means by the settler state in blocking inter-generational wealth accumulation and, therefore, contributed profoundly to the precarious nature of the majority of Māori. The annihilation of collective land ownership disrupted farming practices; without abundant crops, there was no food sovereignty. Land alienation and urbanisation contributed to the fragmentation of whānau further diminishing our support systems (Simmonds, 2019). Consequently, the imposition of a cash economy rendered Māori dependant on waged labour for sustenance, which was traditionally achieved through a collective relationship to the whenua. Eventually, the segregated nature of rural/urban, Māori/Pākehā binaries gave way to government initiatives seeking to assimilate the Māori population further.

During the National term 1949-1957, the government deliberately envisioned a project to urbanise rural Māori. In 1954, the Department of Māori Affairs facilitated the removal of rural Māori from ancestral lands by providing training initiatives and apprenticeship schemes and providing loans and housing in urban areas rather than rural areas (Orange 1990; Walker, 2004). The displacement of Māori from their papa kāinga was justified by the notion that rural areas were ‘uneconomic’. In September 1960, the Department of Māori affairs introduced an official relocation scheme called the ‘Special Māori Housing Fund’ in which provided housing, employment, finance and social support as an incentive to urbanise (Walker, 2004; Woods, 2002). Additionally, during the war, The Manpower Act 1944 enforced waged labour on Māori men who could not fight and further encouraged the migration away from the papa kāinga (Keane, 2010, 11 March). Women were enlisted to help in factories and on farms and returned service members migrated to cities to exchange a wage for labour in the skills they acquired during the war (Walker, 2004). As Waitere and Johnson (2019) describe:

The combination of scientific discovery of indigenous groups and further ideological impositions attached to industrialisation and the rise of capitalism provides a mindset in which Māori women become the recyclable waste products of a colonial process. This process has more often than not seen those being colonised as either expendable commodities or raw material privy to the deft hand of the colonial manufacturer (*p.98*).

Through incentivisation Māori migrated swiftly and in vast numbers to urban centers. The process of urbanisation is described as a “prominent and rapid feature of colonisation” (Groot et al., 2011, p.376). The urban Māori population grew from 19% in 1951 to 24% by 1952 (Walker, 2004). Many Māori were forced to abandon their hau kāinga and therefore, had no option but to crowd into relatives’ homes or accept sub-standard housing, despite the ‘privilege’ of a targeted scheme under the Māori housing Act of 1935 (Groot et al., 2011; Walker, 2004). The ‘privilege’ of a targeted scheme soon ended, and Māori began experiencing (more) racialised obstructions and restrictions in attaining housing and employment (Moeke-Pickering, 1996; Orange, 1990; Walker, 2002), which was particularly true for rural Māori (Davey & Kearns, 1994). Despite a post-war ‘long boom’ in Aotearoa, economic reports such as the J.K Hunn’s report on the Department of Māori Affairs emerged. The Hunn report highlighted that Māori was not privy to the same benefits as their Pākehā counterparts despite targeted assimilatory programmes (Bonilla-Silva, 2000; Poata-Smith, 2013). Beyond social and economic exclusion, this was a time of cultural disconnection for Māori migrants to the city (Moeke-Pickering, 1996). As Walker states,

Without grandparents and elders the traditional teachers and minders of children in the extended family arrangement, the urban family unit is culturally cut off and disorganised... They know they are stuck with minority status as Māoris but they know little or nothing about Māori values and pride in their cultural heritage. (2004, p. 38)

By the 1970s, 70% of Māori had migrated to the cities, and a financial dip in the global economy highlighted the harsh reality of race and class inequalities (Poata-Smith, 2013). In response to these inequalities and the Hunn reports suggestions, the state began a ‘pepper-potting’ policy which sought to assimilate Māori, however, in practice these policies acted to further alienate Māori from their

whānau and whenua but also acted to decrease opportunities for Māori (Moeke-Pickering, 1996).

During the 1970s, the global discourse on neoliberalism emerged and began to infiltrate the treasury and political discourse.¹¹ In terms of social welfare, neoliberalism “transfers services from the welfare state to the private realm of family and market while promoting free-market conditions conducive to capital accumulation” (Roberts, 2012, p. 1477). The neoliberal reform of the state and privatisation of state-owned assets further compounded class and race inequalities by dismantling social safety nets and framing poverty through the ‘American dream’ lens of individuality; that everyone has the opportunity of success. Labour market transformations began to casualise employment, and the need for competitive ‘flexibility’ gave rise to insecure work (Rua, 2017).

Neoliberal ideologies of self-responsibility and tropes of ‘cultures of dependency’ stigmatised social welfare recipients and led to punitive changes within the social welfare state (Hodgetts et al., 2017). Moreover, Hodgetts et al. (2017) have linked the trope of the ‘lazy Māori’ as racialised rationales within welfare discourse that help justify punitive action. Deterrence, policing, and surveillance have become significant facets of social welfare, which has been described as an obstacle course that whānau must navigate and perform for, to actuate positive benefits (Rua, et al, 2017). The increase in risk-assessment and punitive retribution was particularly devastating for whānau engaged in precarious employment; they were and continue to face surveillance, discrimination, and policing (Hodgetts et al., 2017). By the 1980s, the Māori population had been categorised as ‘the working class of ‘New Zealand’ (Bedgood, 1980), escalating to further impoverishment as between March 1988 - March 1992, Māori unemployment rates rose from 13.5% to 27.3% (Poata-Smith, 2013). The Māori precariat arguably extends back to the signing of Te Tiriti o Waitangi and a marginalised people today who “live with the loss of traditional lands, resources and social structures, but also suffer from insecure work and employment, as well as housing and food insecurities” (King, 2017, p.126).

¹¹ The general neoliberal blueprint is the liberalisation of the market and the convergence of countries into ‘competition states’, which drives the economic environment into a hostile zero-sum game (see Neilson 2018; Neilson & Stubbs 2016).

Although this is true, Poata-Smith (2013) observes that both income and wealth has accrued unequally between Māori and in terms of neoliberalisation and globalization, asks the question, “who is currently benefiting and who is not?” (p.155). He contends that statistics on inequality may be skewed due to the tribal corporations and Māori business interests that have benefitted from tax cuts and downsizing of the welfare system (2013). So, although some Māori have benefitted from Western neoliberal capitalism, the policies and systemic events that occurred after colonisation have unequally impacted the vast majority of Māori detrimentally due to the states pipelining of Māori bodies into impoverishment and incarceration.

2.4 Creating the ‘other’

“Discourse about ‘others’ have been the vehicle through which a myriad of dominant groups have vested in themselves the power and authority to definitively define what Māori look like, how Māori behave, what Māori believe and how Māori need to change.”
(Johnston, 2019, p.96)

Creating the ‘other’ as a theme is split into two sub-sections: Criminalisation of Māori and policing and securitization. Criminalisation of Māori discusses the relevant literature and settler initiatives that have constructed Māori as the criminal ‘other’. Policing and Securitization turns towards the current era of surveillance capitalism and highlights the current socio-political terrain that interacts with colonial ideologies and systems.

2.4.1 Criminalising the ‘other’

An urban Māori population in the early 1900s placed Māori within proximity of the colonial gaze of the state (Bull, 2017; Davey & Kearns, 1994). The same narratives that justified land dispossession and genocidal practices of war also underpin the urban criminalisation of Māori. The Indigenous ‘criminal other’ construction is evident across the four settler-nation states: United States, Canada, Australia and Aotearoa. The criminalisation of Indigenous Peoples is criticised by Indigenous scholars as contributing to institutional racism and disproportionate indigenous incarceration rates (Cunneen & Tauri, 2016). Education initiatives such as native schooling, outlawing of Indigenous cultural practices, social welfare schemes and the imposition of Western legal justice systems are surveillance and control programmes that settlers imposed upon First Nations and Indigenous Peoples across

the globe (Cunneen & Tauri, 2016). Those above 'colonial projects' set out to assimilate, alienate and annihilate the 'other' for the glorification of wealth and expansion of the European empire (Nunn, 1997).

In Aotearoa, the 'savage', 'backwards', 'immoral', violence loving Māori tropes of the colonial imagination can be illustrated through policy and practice of The Native Schools Act 1863, in which the famous 'kill the savage, save the child' ideologies prevailed (Pihama-Seed, 2019; L. T. Smith, 1999; Stillwell, 2016). The child saving narratives within the education system were evident across bureaucracies, including justice and welfare systems such as housing. However, the level of surveillance and intervention of youth increased significantly alongside the migration of Māori to urban centres (Stanley, 2017).

During the 1920s – 1940s, police surveilled and recorded the activities of Māori youth in response to growing Pākehā anxieties. According to Stanley (2017), interactions between the justice system, the state, state policy and the public led to a moral panic of youth activity, particularly child welfare and child deviancy. By the '50s and '60s, Māori and Pacifica men were framed as 'threats to law and order' and as rapists and gang members, which had previously been attributed to non-white immigrants (Bull, 2017). This continued misrepresentation of Māori as violent fed Pākehā perceptions and anxieties about Māori and contributed to the theft and abuse of Māori children that was to come (Walker, 2002). Child removal practices initially operated under the guise of child protection services; however, during social and economic changes of the 60s and 70s, child services shifted towards a more punitive model concerned with pre-emptive risk assessment, control and assimilation of the 'deviant other'.

Furthermore, because of state willingness to institutionalise those seen as deviant, or who 'might become' deviant, the stigma of the 'criminal other' wore heavy on the shoulders of marginalised Māori youth who were more likely to be stopped by police officers or reported by the public (Stanley, 2017). The reporting made by the public indicates a permeation of practices of the police to a form of social policing

underpinned by racialised criminalisation.¹² The Pākehā public was racially profiling and reporting Māori children on behalf of the police. Subsequently, Māori children were targeted for removal and state care. Although some child removal cases were justified, others were questionable and more likely due to systemic victimisation. To ‘save’ the child and protect settler society from ‘dangerous youth’ served as a two-fold justification for removing a large portion of urban Māori. During this time, approximately 50% of the Māori population was under 25 (Wereta, 1994). A targeting of youth was a targeting of half of the Māori population. Māori boy’s population grew from 25% of youth institutionalised at Owairaka in the 50s-60s to 80% by the seventies. All the while, institutions had continued to expand this poorly established system that carelessly fostered children to abusive and neglectful conditions (Stanley, 2016). For example, experiences in these homes range from verbal abuse to physical and sexual abuse. These conditions were later scrutinised in a famous report Puao-Te-Atu-Tu and eventually pinpointed as a significant process channelling Māori into a precarious and prison population (Stanley, 2016).

State-sanctioned abuse under childcare and protection services is argued to be a major contributing factor to the emergence of ‘Māori gangs’ (Andrae, Coster & McIntosh, 2017). The channelling of children from state care to state captivity is shown through research following people born in 1989. Out of 58,091 people, only 1.3% were incarcerated; however, 83% of those incarcerated had some involvement with Child Youth and Family (CYF) services (Jackson et al., 2018; Stanley, 2016). The statistics show that interaction with Child Youth and Family services exponentially increases the likelihood of incarceration. The link between state care and prison therefore, shows a direct pipeline between the ‘state as parents’ and the ‘state as prison wardens’ (McIntosh, 2018). Social exclusion, impoverishment, over-policing, state-sanctioned abuse, and the construction of Māori as criminals

¹² Social policing can refer to the use of policing to control the behaviour of black and brown people. However, the term can also be used to describe the control, regulation and surveillance of black and brown bodies overall, specifically in how black and brown people are allowed to be, where they can go and what they can do (Hattery & Smith, 2021). Moreover, symbolic policing, for example, is a type of policing that does not necessitate the use of police actors or the justice system. The control and surveillance is enacted by government systems such as welfare, child protection services, employment and housing markets (Hattery & Smith, 2021). The term social policing will therefore, refer to both symbolic policing and policing in terms of the control, surveillance and regulation of Māori and wāhine Māori.

have all contributed to the incarceration rates of Māori (Andrae et al., 2017; Bull, 2017; Cunneen & Tauri, 2016). In the 1950's Māori imprisonment rate was around 18%, by the 1970's the rate had grown to 37%, and as of December 2020, Māori make up 52% of the prison population despite only making up 15% of Aotearoa's overall population (Bull, 2017; Department of Corrections, 2020). The growing rate of Māori over-representation in prisons indicates a gross channelling of Māori into incarceration. Andrae, McIntosh and Coster's (2017) contextualise this finding by analysing the social construction of gangs and their institutional marginalisation. They contend that abusive policies and subsequent 'blunted' life chances led to a generational legacy of impoverishment and interaction with the criminal justice system. In their analysis Stan Coster's expertise and lived experience within foster care, gangs and prison offers a rich theorisation from an expert who illustrates the inequality and lack of human rights for the marginalised outsider.

While Andrae, McIntosh, Coster and Jackson focus on the socio-political and settler policy initiatives that pipeline Māori into incarceration and poverty, scholars such as BraveHeart (2005), focus more on the psychological impacts of ancestor suffering. Other leading scholars have linked traumatic events such as genocide, slavery, and colonisation with Historical Trauma Theory and argue that these events become rooted in communities' collective, cultural, emotional and spiritual consciousness (George, et al., 2014; Braveheart, 2005; Pihama, et al., 2014).¹³ This trauma is thought to be 'carried' by descendants and accumulates over time as intergenerational trauma responses (BraveHeart, 2005). Researchers in Aotearoa have utilised this theory to highlight the trauma of colonisation, the compounding of current day trauma and its links to over-representation of Māori in incarceration and deficit statistics (George et al., 2014). Factors that are linked to historical trauma and its responses are poverty, violence, low educational achievement and substance abuse, all of which have been implicated in pathways to incarceration, gangs and interaction with the state. Although there is much literature fetishizing gangs, often from a Pākehā perspective, there is not much from an Indigenous, Māori or wāhine perspective. However, housing discrimination was briefly

¹³ "The phrase "historical trauma" was coined in relation to providing an analysis and framework for understanding the traumatic experiences of holocaust survivors and the subsequent impact of those experiences on following generations" (Pihama et al, 2014, p.249).

mentioned as a compounding factor for gang formation in Taonui and Newbold's analysis of gang types and gang formation (2012), which furthers the importance of a home in these spaces.

2.4.2 Policing the 'other'

A major factor in the growth of over-represented Brown and Black bodies in the justice system has been attributed to policing practices. Policing is the “maintenance of social order and regulation of behaviour” (Porter, 2016, p.557) and this project sets out to investigate these practices within housing. Foucault's concept of policing as a mode of disciplinary power can be paired with his concept of Assemblage to explain the modern configurations of policing and securitisation. The idea of policing as a mode of control is utilised to critique colonial projects and processes that criminalise the poor and people of colour (Foucault in Cerwonka, 2004; Websdale, 2001).

The over-incarceration of Indigenous peoples is linked to the increase in disproportionate discretionary practices of policing the 'other', including stop and search, racial profiling, and over-policing Black and Brown populated areas (Cunneen & Tauri, 2016; Deckert & Sarre, 2017). Dhillon (2015) argues that state policing practices continue the undermining and terrorising of Indigenous peoples and that policing is the essential vehicle through which state actors continue the genocide, subjugation and containment of Indigenous Peoples. The increase in policing practices, albeit a persistent characteristic of white supremacy, has little to do with actually protecting the public, but one that is focused more on assimilating, annihilating and alienating the Māori 'other'.

Despite falling crime rates in the last two decades, the imprisonment rates have risen from less than 3,000 in the '80s to more than 10,000 people today (Bull, 2017). Beyond population increase, these figures indicate that incarceration rates have little to do with actual crime rates and are more related to the consumption, privatisation and use of prisons as a site of assimilation and control. Moreover, policing is woven into the contemporary neoliberalisation of security and the privatisation of the incarceration system. It is a business, and it is paired with dominant neoliberal ideology that contends that humans are rational, hedonistic

actors whose decisions can be reduced to cost/benefit calculations, and who therefore, can be behaviourally influenced by the threat of punitive measures (Deckert & Sarre, 2017).

Foucault's theory of Assemblage is a useful explanatory tool to elucidate contemporary securitisation and surveillance formations. The idea of security as a means to ensure safety has initially been a responsibility exclusive to the state and its criminal justice appendages (Schuilenberg, 2015). Foucault's concept describes the shift from state responsibility of security to private spheres. In particular, neoliberal legislation and ideology encouraged state power and surveillance permeation into private spheres such as welfare, education, health, and housing through private-public partnerships (Cerwonka, 2004; Harrison & Sanders, 2014; Schuilenberg, 2015). Moreover, Schuilenberg (2015) argues that security practices have shifted under neoliberalism from 'reactionary' to 'pre-emptive' risk-assessment methods that fuel surveillance, prevention, inspection and policing practices.

The modern arrangements of securitisation can be illustrated through a metaphor of weaving. Imagine weaving harakeke/flax; each muka or piece of fibre acts independently of one another; however, their interaction with one another influences a change, and each strand is coming together for one specific reason. The state has woven entities such as criminal justice, welfare and housing and the reason is to surveil deviancy from the Eurocentric classist prescriptions of citizenship. The result figuratively cloaks our communities in a veil of assumed preventative security.

The current era of neoliberal securitisation interacts with an historicised discursive construction of Indigenous Peoples as 'risky' (Cunneen & Tauri, 2016; Kramer, 2016; Walker, 2002) and relates to Foucault's concept of 'Biopower'¹⁴. The practice of state control is furthered by scholars who posit that, "The colonising agenda continues through social institutions (including the mass media), to undermine Indigenous health and wellbeing through its normalisation of racialised framing and

¹⁴ Biopower concerns the states attempt to control and subjugate bodies through numerous techniques.

negative stereotypes” (Barnes, et al., 2013, p.3). By weaponizing the representation of Indigeneity as inferior, ‘savage’, violent and uncivilised, the discursive narratives of Indigenous as a risk is etched into societal consciousness. Controlling images of risky Māori also interacts with anti-welfare and anti-poor narratives, particularly within the site of housing. As Goetz (2008) states, “For many, subsidised housing conjures up images of crime, social decay, and declining property values and quality of life” (p. 223). For wāhine Māori utilising welfare, the intersections of these representations justify their silencing and discrimination and reinforce their stereotype of a ‘risky tenant’.

Ranginui Walker (2002) was one of the first to argue ‘The Role of the Press in Defining Pākehā Perceptions of Māori’ and illustrates a discursive framing of gangs as a ‘Māori’ problem by the mainstream media. Contemporary scholars such as McIntosh (2018), Cunneen and Tauri (2016) and Norris and Lipsey (2019) argue that the problematisation of gangs as a Māori issue is a continued practice of criminalising the ‘other’ and factors in the over-incarceration of Māori. Stories about us, and not by us have reinforced narratives that link with ‘risk’. This in turn interacts with a hyper-surveillance and risk-assessment fuelled era that spreads across colonial institutions.

So, as discussed previously (see 2.2.2, 2.2.3, 2.4.1), Māori carry intergenerational trauma from colonisation, land dispossession, displacement, incarceration, programmes and policies that led to our abuse, controlling images and ongoing discrimination. But, still, we fight! There have been multiple attempts by Māori leaders and activist groups to advocate for Māori flourishing, revitalisation and wellbeing. The increased Mana Wāhine tribunal claims, land marches and groups such as Ngā Tamatoa are a few out of the many examples of agentic activism on behalf of our people. However, despite the cutting-edge activism in the 70s, the Indigenous ‘other’ colonial constructions persisted (Te Awēkotuku, 2019; Walker, 2004). Waitangi Day protestors, 1975 Land March and 1982 Bastion point protests are examples of cutting-edge Māori activism framed by media as troublemakers, threats and deviants (Bull, 2017; Evans, 2019). According to Linda Smith, accounts of resistance and survivance are a celebration of how Indigenous People “have retained cultural and spiritual values and authenticity in resisting colonialism.”

(1999, p.146). Moreover, African American activism had trickled into Aotearoa, and groups such as Black Power, Rastafarians and Ngā Tamatoa were politicising Blackness and Māoriness in resistance to non-Māori control over Māori lives (Shilliam, 2015; Walker, 2004). In fact, Black Power movements in the Auckland region successfully initiated Tatau te iwi Trust providing work schemes and securing a 1.2 million dollar building contract with Housing Corporation New Zealand (Walker, 2004).

The Māori political, economic and social action was framed as violent, for example, rural Urewera was framed as terrorists and urbanised Māori framed as criminals (Bull, 2017; Walker, 2002), and the media sensationalised the affiliation between government and ‘gangs’ very similar to what is happening today with the Labour Party and the Kahukura Methamphetamine rehabilitation programme (RNZ, 2021; Walker, 2004).¹⁵ Opposing parties fear-monger and sensationalize government affiliation with ‘gangs’ as criminal organizations and tax-payer funding of these behaviours. This sensationalism halts movements within these spaces and marks a targeting of populations that are constructed as deviant to garnish votes from the public (Inwood & Bonds, 2016).

Poata-Smith (2013) argues that scapegoating has a long history in settler New Zealand politics. The preoccupation with gangs served to distract attention from the impact of the ’80s and 90’s neoliberal restructuring and systems of power by highlighting Māori deviancy as the main social issue of concern. The focus on Māori deviancy has been persistent in Aotearoa, at one point in the mid 80’s, Rastafarian movements within a rural Māori populated town, Ruatoria, became the epicentre of media focus of Māori criminality, drug use and rural ways; however, the attention soon moved back to ‘gangs’, ‘savagery’ and Māori violence (Bull, 2017; Evans, 2019). Media representations of Māori as the criminal ‘other’ have continued in neo-colonial Aotearoa. For example, in a recent news essay, Leonie Hayden stated that “The rule seems to be prior to 1960 you’re a savage with a taiaha

¹⁵ The ‘Hard to Reach Programme’ has been awarded 2.7 Million dollars funding for three years from the Labour Government. Media and opposing parties has sensationalised this as tax payer money funding gangs, however, the programme is a live-in Mārae based rehilitation that helps members work through past traumas and addictions and is funded through ‘the proceeds of crime’ or assets that have been confiscated.

or a musket; after 1960 you're a savage with a leather vest and a patch" (2021, April 20) which can be seen from productions such as 'Once were warriors', 'Savages' and the latest series, 'Vegas'. Additionally, another frame that emerged in the 2000s was the sensationalisation of domestic violence and family violence, particularly around the Nia Glassie and Kahui Twin cases which constructed family violence as a 'Māori Problem' (Maydell, 2018). Although family violence within Pākehā families is present, the media created a moral panic and construction of Māori as violent and neglectful parents. The mothers received significant focus and criticisms even when the father had committed the abuse. By problematising the representations of Indigenous Māori as inferior, 'savage', violence-loving gang members, colonial hegemony is reinforced, and Māori voices are silenced (L. T. Smith, 1999; Stillwell, 2016).

Furthermore, the discourse of gang affiliation permeates society's consciousness alongside ideologies of 'risk', 'welfare dependency' and reinforce subsequent social policing (Norris & Lipsey, 2019). To clarify this, Māori have to navigate the current climate of neoliberal securitisation and their positionality of the 'criminal other' in the consciousness of Pākehā Aotearoa.

2.5 Wāhine Māori get caught in the crossfire

"Māori women belong to the group of women in the world who have been historically constructed as 'other' by white patriarchies and white feminisms. As women we have been defined in our difference to men. As Māori, we have been defined in terms of our difference to our colonisers. As both we have been defined by our difference to Māori men, Pākehā men and Pākehā women. The socio-economic class in which most Māori women are located makes the category of 'other' even more problematic." (L. T. Smith, 2019 p. 33)

This section introduces the intersection of wāhine Māori to the examination of colonisation and criminalisation. To understand the marginalisation and 'othering' of savagery for wāhine Māori, one must first understand the historicized subjugation and fracturing of Mana from a gendered perspective. Contemporary Mana Wāhine theorists have uncovered imposed gender hierarchies and traced patriarchy back to colonial roots. Ani Mikaere (1994) describes the misrepresentation of tikanga (protocols) and Pūrākau Atua by early settlers who recorded this knowledge through a patriarchal Eurocentric lens. Settler retelling of Māori stories was devastating to wāhine Māori whose sheroes were relegated to

secondary roles and reformulated as appendages to males (Mikaere, 2011; Yates-Smith, 2006). Furthermore, the spiritual role of women was undermined, and their sexuality framed as sinful by missionaries who were unable to comprehend Māori spirituality, or the complexity of their social configurations (Pihama, 2001; Simmonds, 2011; L. T. Smith, 1999; Pihama, 2001; Yates-Smith 1998). Settler state assumed a patriarchal Māori society and formulated Eurocentric laws on par with Christian beliefs, including women and their belongings (such as land) becoming property to men (Jahnke, 1997; Mikaere, 2011).¹⁶ The exclusion of wāhine Māori within society exacerbated land confiscation practices and further expropriated wāhine from their papa kāinga and mana. If wāhine were unable to hold title to land, they were unable to accumulate wealth, and transferring titles to male counterparts (husbands) also transferred power. The wāhine Māori population is further channelled into precarity through institutionalized colonial practices. For example, in education, Māori girls were prepared for domestic labour and low paid insecure jobs through settler initiatives (Mikaere, 2011; Wanhalla, 2006). The imposition of gender hierarchies therefore, punctured the relational configurations between tāne and wāhine that existed pre-settlement.

Tāne Māori are traditionally caring, nurturing, and very involved fathers. However, consistent framing of Māori men as warriors, ‘savages’ and criminals encourage internalized racism and a fractured sense of self (Hokowhitu, 2007). For wāhine this meant a shifting of responsibilities and relegation to ‘home-makers’ and ‘mothers’ when we once held diverse roles of politicians, composers, warriors and leaders (Yates-Smith, 2006).

As discussed earlier (see 2.4.1), the criminalization of Māori and persistence of the warrior trope has fractured traditional Māori masculinities. The normalisation of caring fathers was replaced with the normalisation of family violence, whether sensationalised by the media or not, this is not who we, as Māori are – it is how we have been constructed. Imposed gender roles has been detrimental to wāhine, tāne and whānau Māori configurations overall. For wāhine, the Eurocentric attack on traditional Māori whānau systems relegated their main societal role to individual

¹⁶ The settler colonial state will be termed as the ‘settler state’ for the remainder of this thesis for ease of reading, however, the use of ‘settler state’ is still in reference to settler colonialism.

caregivers devoid from collective support (Jahnke, 2013; Johnston & Pihama, 2019; Mikaere, 2011). Compounding the fracturing of gender relations is the increase in Māori incarceration rates. Scholars have argued that the mass incarceration of black and Indigenous bodies serves to fracture supportive systems and whānau systems through fostering of children and removing fathers from the home, and moreover, that “while state and federal governments enforce welfare policies that penalize poor women of colour for raising children outside of marriage they perpetuate a prison policy that discourages stable relationships in these communities” (Roberts, 2012, p.148).

The criminalization of tāne Māori has been well documented; however, the voices of wāhine and their experiences are foregrounded by wāhine Māori theorists.

Wāhine Māori are framed as appendages to tāne Māori through patriarchal European perspectives, and this is entrenched through law, therefore, they are not excused from the stigma of criminalization, gang affiliation and the accompanying stigma of ‘risk’. Across settler-state communities, the incarceration rate of Indigenous women has grown exponentially in the last few decades. In 2018 Indigenous women in Australia accounted for 34% of women incarcerated and were 21 times more likely than non-Indigenous women to be incarcerated (Tubex, & Cox, 2020). Canada has a similar rate of 40% of Indigenous women incarcerated despite only accounting for 4.3% of the population (Marques & Monchalín, 2020). In Aotearoa, from 1986-2009, Māori women's incarceration rate rose by almost twice that of Maori men and are now the most incarcerated group in the world (Cunneen & Tauri, 2016). Wāhine Māori make up 62% of the female prison population and over half of the community sentences (Bevan & Wehipeihana, 2015). The criminal justice system has therefore, been criticized by scholars for the growing rate of Indigenous Peoples interaction with the carceral state, as an historicized and institutionalized pipeline from poverty which continues the control and subjugation of the Indigenous ‘other’ (Jackson et al., 2018). Discretionary practices of police and over-policing communities of colour are deeply implicated in this trend. Additionally, in Aotearoa, the policing and control of gender can be traced to settler fears against Māori. Gender here is racialised and interacts with class concepts; for example, Wanhalla’s piece ‘To better the breed of men and

women' (2007), uncovers the ideological and political happenings of the early 1900s in response to the declining white birth rate. A push came for the purposeful breeding of middle-class white 'stock', and a reinforcement emerged of the ideologies of the sinfulness and hyper sexualness of pregnancy out of wedlock. The Pākehā fear of 'low stock' began the medicalized surveillance and policing of women's bodies through medical actors, Plunket and motherhood 'endowment' policies. State funding of Plunket has continued into contemporary society and is framed as support, however it is also a white feminist practice and formulated from Eurocentric ideals about maternity and birth (Simmonds, 2017). Wāhine therefore, are subjected to policing and control practices of the state in a gendered and racialized way.

It is imperative to discuss state violence alongside increasing Indigenous women's incarceration rates. The theft and plundering of land is legalized and the policing and abuse of Indigenous women is legalized and codified into state policies. (Dhillon, 2015). Indigenous women have incredibly high rates of police brutality, and incarcerated women report victimisation practices within prisons (Cunneen & Tauri, 2016). Dhillon (2015) argues that the implicit messages that are coded through the practice of justice actors encourage and justify exploitative practices by the public and moreover, contribute to high rates of missing and murdered Indigenous Women. Therefore, as Indigenous women, we are over-incarcerated but also under-protected. The criminalization of Indigenous women is twofold; it continues the containment, surveillance and policing of Indigenous bodies and justifies victimization of Indigenous women through lack of protection (Dhillon, 2015; Cunneen & Tauri, 2006). The narratives and laissez faire attitude towards wāhine Māori justifies and exacerbates practices of racism, social policing and discrimination.

Despite a neoliberal blueprint claiming a loss of state powers, those who interact with the foster system, the welfare system and the prison system are directly controlled by the state and locked out of mainstream society and economy (Roberts, 2012). For wāhine Māori, their social position as Māori channelled into poverty and framed as criminals increases their likelihood of interaction with foster systems and prison systems, and their position as wāhine and mothers also increases their

likelihood of interaction with welfare and motherhood programmes. This indicates that the gendered and racialised intersections for wāhine compounds interaction with institutions critiqued for their punitive practices of control. The current political and economic practice of neoliberalisation allows the state to preach self-responsibility, ignore the historical socio and economic environment and further the punitive control of subjugated and marginalized groups, such as wāhine.

Scholars such as Kingfisher (1999), Johnston and Pihama (2019), and Linda Smith (1999) have discussed, the intersection of savagery, Māori and welfare use and argued that poor single mothers are framed as ‘undeserving poor’ and are linked to tropes of hyper-sexual, irrationality and immorality (Johnston & Pihama, 2019). As Simpsons states, “the racist stereotyping of Indigenous women as promiscuous, sluts, dirty, unfit mothers, stupid, angry, apolitical, useless, skill-less, bad, crazy, unstable, disposable beings, which then became codified in the Indian Act” (2017, p.102). This racist frame against Indigenous women justifies the need for control and paternalism by the state (Kingfisher, 1999). Seccombe et al. (1998) posits that welfare is racialized in the United States and much of the stigma associated with the welfare state stems from racist ideas of cultures of dependency. Although the Black community has differing histories, some parallels can be drawn for wāhine Māori. Roberts (2012) analyses the link between foster care and prison and concludes the same as Jackson, McIntosh, Smith and Pihama (2018), that state care and education is a systemic pipeline that targets people of colour and perpetuates social inequality. The state apparatus of foster care, welfare and prison are punitive mechanisms that regulate and control the very communities most impacted by neoliberal welfare reform (Roberts, 2012).

Other scholars link Indigenous criminalisation and victimisation of Indigenous Women to settler concepts of natural and of being the same as land and property (Dhillon, 2015). By framing wāhine Māori as a natural resource, settler ideologies posit wāhine as something to be owned, controlled and moulded like ‘live-stock’ similar to how our celestial grandmother, Papatūānuku, is mistreated (Johnston & Pihama, 2019; Mikaere, 2011). Practices of colonisation reframed our relationship with whenua and home, and reframed wāhine as property to men and belonging ‘in the home’, these concepts were foreign to our people and were enforced through

the colonial gaze and practices of surveillance and policing (Johnston & Pihama, 2019; Yates-Smith, 2006). If the relationship between housing and justice has strengthened, and both have been a specific site of the assimilation, surveillance and control of wāhine Māori, it therefore becomes an important nexus to analyse.

Wāhine Māori are consistently blocked from the space and power to theorize and represent ourselves authentically. The misrepresentation of Māori, as previously evidenced, has had negative consequences. So, for this reason, wāhine Māori have revitalised the concepts of Mana Wāhine to reclaim our mana and tell our story.

As Leonie Pihama states:

It is important that Māori women take control of spaces where our stories can be told. This includes theoretical space. Our voices have been silenced for too long. The silencing of Māori women's voices has meant the silencing of our theories, worldviews. The marginalization of Mana Wāhine has meant that wāhine are constantly having to try and 'find' ourselves within the texts of the dominant group. We are forever trying to see ourselves in the images created by the... [colonizer]. (Pihama, Smith, Simmonds, Seed-Pihama, & Gabel, 2019, p.62)

Mātauranga wāhine was left out of discussions of housing, education, justice and economics. To restore the balance, our input is needed in areas that have particularly impacted us, such as welfare and housing. Moreover, there is a need to make visible the intersection of racialised and gendered violence and marginalisation that has continued since the first contact.

2.6 Housing

During the '80s, international discourse on neoliberalism and globalisation had emerged within Aotearoa politics. Ideologies of self-responsibility and individualism were becoming dominant within political spaces. Neoliberal discourse sought to reframe the housing issue from an issue of supply to an issue of demand, which reformulated the issue into citizens' inability to afford housing (Dodson, 2007). Furthermore, the private housing market became the primary object of housing allocation, which was promoted as objective, value-free, and

increase individual autonomy, and which was placed in binary to state control over housing. By 1982, the Accommodation Supplement was introduced, and by 1986 the Labour Party Government reconfigured the roles of the state, where tenants were given the option to choose where they were homed in the state-private housing market. The accommodation supplement was based on the idea that tenants are rational actors who will perform a cost-benefit calculation and find the most suitable housing for their situation (Dodson, 2007). By the 1990s, an era of punitive neoliberal welfare reform was well underway. The 1992 Housing Restructuring Act reordered the social housing policy and officially instated Housing New Zealand (HNZ). One year later, market rents were placed upon HNZ stock, and between 1992-1999 HNZ rents rose by 106%.

Between a similar period, 1991-2000, HNZ oversaw the privatisation of 14% of housing stock (Murphy & Clohner, 1995). State-owned housing stock quickly depleted, and social housing was reconfigured at market rates. Moreover, housing investors were able to monopolise the housing market which led to an inflation of housing value and therefore market rents (Cerny, 2010; Malva, 2017; Murphy & Kearns, 1994). What is left is a social housing system over-burdened with needs, and these needs primarily impact marginalised and disenfranchised groups. In the United States, housing has been posited by Desmond and Wilmer (2019) as a practice that reinforces inequality and poverty in poor-communities. They argue that landlords in poor neighbourhoods may raise rent prices to account for perceived risk and therefore, extract more profit than landlords in affluent areas. For low-socio economic areas that are framed by political and media discourse as deviant, this practice of risk assessment by landlords could be a compounding factor on the rising cost of housing.

Housing is therefore, positioned in this project as a race-making institution that is at a nexus with the justice system and perpetuates poverty (Bonds, 2019; Lewis et al.; Madden & Marcuse, 2016). Homelessness and evictions have become a hot agenda across the globe, giving rise to the framing of a 'housing crisis' (Madden & Marcuse, 2016; McNeil, 2016), however, the current focus on inadequate housing disregards Indigenous, poor and Black experiences of historicised and continued segregation into sub-par housing and homes (Madden & Marcuse, 2016; Ross,

1998; G. H. Smith, 2015; Walker, 2004). Moreover, “we forget that the first homeless were indigenous peoples” (Ross, 1998, p.46). The practices of land alienation (see 2.2.2), was a form of homelessness for Māori whose notions of home traditionally encompassed the whenua.

In general, Indigenous people are over-represented in homelessness statistics across the globe. In Aotearoa, Māori are four times more likely to be homeless than Pākehā and homelessness statistics are rising, especially for Māori under the age of 25 (Stats NZ, 2020). Likewise, 1 in 3 Māori live in damp homes and this is higher for our cousins, the Pacific populations.¹⁷ These statistics have been acknowledged to largely underestimate Māori and Pacific severe housing deprivation and only offer a glimpse into the unequal realities of the housing market. Groot, Hodgetts, Nikora and Leggatt-Cook offer the lived experiences and resilience of Māori who are experiencing homelessness and impoverished conditions and argue that “A sense of home-place constructs, strengthens, and upholds Ariā’s sense of cultural identity. Māori move between haukāinga (tribal homeland) and the streets of Auckland and in maintaining links across these locales, people such as Ariā transcend the homeless/housed distinction framing the international literature” (2011, p. 393). They rupture negative stereotypes associated with Māori homelessness by highlighting the resilience and tino rangatiratanga of a wahine named Ariā, and ultimately argued that housing services need to be adjusted to account for Māori cultural practices.

Housing has been posited as a site of control and exploitation and also, a site for revitalisation, autonomy and agency. Controlling housing can control labour, relationships, education and health (Madden & Marcuse, 2016; Whyllie, 2013). As previously described in ‘History of land confiscation and property imposition’ (see 2.2.2 and 2.2.3), colonisation highlights a systemic effort by colonisers to displace Indigenous Peoples and impose Western socio-spatial understandings of land ownership and individualistic ideals (Macoun, 2011). Therefore, Indigenous Māori encounter continued displacement, disconnection and disempowerment in the interests of land commodification and private euro-normative capital (Walker,

¹⁷ Damp is defined as a property where mould the size of an A4 paper is present sometimes or always (Stats NZ, 2020).

2004). Moreover, neoliberal securitisation and privatisation (see 2.4.2) has encouraged the permeation of risk calculations, surveillance and policing into social entities such as education and housing (Mcneil, 2016).

The narratives of certain groups impact policymakers and policy and, therefore, interact with housing (Schneider & Ingram, 1998). Globally, Indigenous and Black peoples battle housing discrimination and surveillance due to stigmas, historical marginalisation and racism (Goetz, 2016; Turner & Ross, 2003). In Minneapolis and Minnesota, Edward Goetz (2016), uncovered that housing advocacy groups found challenges in advocating policymakers and communities due to deep-seated stigmas against the poor and ‘racial other’. These stigmas conjured reactive practices of NIMBY (Not-in-my-backyard)¹⁸ and narratives of crime, social immorality and alcohol or drug use (Goetz, 2016; Inwood & Bonds, 2015). Another case study in the U.S found practices of surveillance and screening by housing actors towards First Nations and Indigenous Peoples (Turner & Ross, 2003). The study focused on New Mexico, Minnesota and Montana and found practices of steering (pandering to white ‘NIMBYism’ and encouraging segregation) and deception (showing available homes or not), and found an average of 28.7% discrimination towards Indigenous Peoples compared to white people (Turner & Ross, 2003). To compound housing racism, surveillance practices and risk calculation modes of deterrence have permeated democracies such as health, welfare and housing. Hogan and Berry (2011) found that discriminatory practice have moved from overt racism to subtle racism through an online audit study of discrimination in Toronto, Canada. They found practices of blocking access to available housing, particularly through ignoring requests or emails online and by making a person uncomfortable if they are an ‘undesirable tenant’.

Practices of the justice system can be evidenced within housing and welfare systems. For example, recipients of social services undergo drug screening, relationship surveillance, forced community work and punitive sanctions through denial of assistance. These practices are also evident in housing because laws are

¹⁸ The Phenomenon of ‘Not in my back yard’ is a practice of residents resisting and rejecting new development or new occupancy in their neighbourhood. Bonds and Inwood have described this phenomenon in relation to white identity and enforcing ‘white only’ spaces (2015).

embedded within housing agreements, and landlords actively enforce these laws. A good example is drug laws. A plant growing in the backyard does not impact the home's value in the future; it does not cause harm or pose a risk in resale value. However, tenancy agreements outright stipulate against cannabis on the property, and landlords enforce this and act as an appendage to justice actors. Moreover, tenants endure house-searches and receive punishments such as fines and evictions for not upholding 'contracts' (McNeil, 2016). The assemblage between justice welfare and housing systems is clear.

Miriama Mita, in her recent documentary, discussed her victimisation within the housing market in the '80s. The discrimination and oppression of wāhine Māori within housing is not a new phenomenon, as highlighted by early housing officer efforts and Mana Wāhine tribunal claims; however, within academia, the focus falls short. This is an important area of analysis due to the marginalised intersection of wāhine Māori and the importance of a home space for the retention of our cultural identity.

Considering poor single mothers, often stereotyped as the 'undeserving poor', were particularly vulnerable to being locked out of secure housing (Kingfisher, 1999), and the intersections of race rendered women of colour as dangerous and risky (Bonds, 2019; Seccombe et al., 1998). Therefore, the way in which the gendered stigma of 'deviant other' has emerged in housing discourse is a gap in Aotearoa literature and a silenced story in need of telling.

2.7 Conclusion

This chapter has focused on contextualising the contemporary social, economic, and political environment wāhine navigate in terms of housing. First the traditional Māori relationship with the whenua and ideas around a home space was examined with particular attention to the spiritual connection for wāhine Māori (see 2.2.1), which was followed by a discussion on colonisation, the misrepresentation of Māori and the accompanying land dispossession and attempted of Māori (see 2.2.2). The imposition of Western systems of land commodification and housing was critically examined (see 2.2.3), alongside capitalism and urbanisation, especially for its contribution to the marginalisation of Māori (see 2.2.4). Additionally, the resulting

constructions of Māori as criminal in the midst of cultural revitalisations and activism of the 80's was examined, with focus on the "othering" of Māori through Western systems of justice and child welfare (see 2.4.1). The criminalisation of Māori was then discussed in terms of the current surveillance era (see 2.4.2), this was then followed by a discussion of wāhine intersectionality, particularly in terms of welfare and criminalisation (see 2.5) Finally, the chapter discussed housing and its use as a site of racism and discrimination and wāhine Māori experiences (see 2.6).

Chapter 3

Wāhine Māori in political discourse – Getting out from down under

“In resisting colonisation, Māori whānau, hapū and iwi were structured into political formations identifiable as ‘Māori’. Thus, in the land wars of the 1850s-1870s Maori hapū were either ‘friendly Māori’ (to Pākehā settlers) or ‘rebel Māori’ (anti-Pākehā).” (L. T. Smith, 2019, p.39)

3.1 Introduction

This chapter aims to make sense of the information gathered from the Parliamentary Hansard speeches, to give context to the political narratives surrounding wāhine criminality and housing.¹⁹ This chapter will first outline the importance of language and particularly, how political discourse can impact our everyday realities (see 3.2). This is followed by an analysis of the political discourse from the ‘Gangs and Organised Crime Bill 2009’, and the ‘Residential Tenancy Act’ 1986, between 2009 and 2016 (see 3.3).

Selected New Zealand Parliamentary Hansard Debates (NZPHD)²⁰ are analysed to uncover the narratives which surround wāhine, criminality and housing. First, the ‘Gangs and Organised Crime 2009’, Political Hansard debates, are analysed to uncover gendered and racialised narratives of criminality. Second, the narratives, stereotypes and constructions found within the ‘Gangs and Organised Crime Bill 2009’ discourse, were traced and examined within, ‘The Residential Tenancy Act 1986’, Political Hansard debates of 2009-2016. The findings of the NZPHD analysis serve the basis of subsequent ‘interview’ questions for this research.

3.2 The Importance of Language

“From Maori women, who have experienced the brunt of colonial oppression, there are growing oppositional discourses which seek to shift the analysis from one of ‘other’ to that which positions Maori women at the centre.” (Johnston & Pihama, 2019, p.123).

¹⁹ The New Zealand Parliamentary Hansard Debates are recorded, and publicly available political debates surrounding particular bills and proposals and mark an excellent site to analyse dominant political ideologies and narratives.

²⁰ The acronym NZPHD will be used in place of ‘New Zealand Political Hansard Debates’ throughout the remainder of this thesis.

These are not new discourses but are grounded fundamentally in a resistance movement which has struggled for recognition of our rights as Māori women, and as Tangata Whenua (Johnston & Pihama, 2019, p.124). Policy and discourse influence the public consciousness around the targeted subjects of housing which then impacts the lived experience of these groups through stigma and public practices. Moreover, policy can dictate appropriate behaviours and is designed to bring change or control behaviours (Dodson, 2007; Schneider & Ingram, 1993).

Discourse is central to societal practices and key to understanding policy formulation. Language shapes and reflects the social world, and discourse is essential to the reproducing and reinforcing of power relations. A critical analysis of discourse uncovers the hidden effects of power and the hidden function of narratives which contain constructs such as racial, gendered and class constructs. (Chong & Druckman, 2007a). Public relation scholars have also implicated the mass media for its ability to set public agenda and to inform the public on 'what' to think about (McCombs, 1977).

Furthermore, Chong and Druckman argue that those in power can significantly influence the public's attitudes depending on how they frame their communications through media (2007b). Material objects such as housing have the ability, through discursive constructions, to create immaterial realities. Depending on the type of frame directed at the target population depends on whether they are constrained, penalised or awarded benefits. An example of social constructions within housing discourse includes 'mum and dad' landlords who encompass older, retired landlords; and 'risky tenants' as archetypal identities that justify the resistance to renter's rights (Bierre et al., 2010).²¹ The use of controlling images relates to colour-blind theories because race does not need to be mentioned for a connection to be made in public consciousness. For example, the pairing of gang related discourse with Māori discourse frames the 'gang' phenomenon as inherently Māori (Walker, 2002). Moreover, "Colonial discourses have operated on the whole effectively to lock Māori women out of crucial positions-positions which impact on our day to day lives and the lives of our people" (Johnston & Pihama, 2019, p.123). Housing is,

²¹ Mum and dad or 'Ma and Pa' landlords are a socially constructed identity that have both power and positively constructed identities (See Brierre, Howden-Chapman & Signal, 2010).

therefore, an excellent site to investigate the discourse of silencing, othering, and controlling of wāhine Māori.

Schneider and Ingram (1993) developed a theory about the social construction of target populations to help explain why some groups are more privileged by policy than others. The social construction of a population: "is the cultural characterisation of popular images of the persons or groups whose behaviour and wellbeing are affected by public policy. These characterisations are normative and evaluative, portraying groups positively or negatively through symbolic language, metaphors, and stories" (Edelman, 1988 as cited in Schneider, 1993, p.334). This theory can explain the dynamics of policy change as it is underpinned by the idea that disseminators of discourse and policymakers are heavily influenced to reproduce positive discourse and benefits to powerful, positively constructed populations. Furthermore, these same political actors attribute negative stereotypes and burdensome policy to populations framed negatively and who have little power in the political realm. These constructions are embedded in policy as messages, are internalised by the consciousness of society, and are relied upon to fear-monger and scapegoat (Schneider & Ingram, 1993). In alignment with an aim of this research, which is to highlight the political and social constructions of wāhine Māori. Schneider and Ingram's (1993) Social Construction of Target populations has been adapted to fit the case study of housing, criminalisation and gender, as illustrated in Table 1.

		Social Construction	
		Positive	Negative
Power	Strong	<u>Advantaged</u> Justice Actors Businesses Mum & Dad Landlords	<u>Contenders</u> Housing Speculators Property Managers
	Weak	<u>Dependent</u> Children Mothers * Disabled Peoples	<u>Deviant</u> Gang Members Drug Dealers/ Users Gang Partners Welfare Recipients

***Table 1.1: Social Constructs and Power
(Adapted from Schneider & Ingram, 1993)***

Relevant social positions are grouped depending on whether their construction is 'positive' or 'negative', and whether their political power is 'strong' or 'weak'. Advantaged groups include justice actors such as the police, businesses and 'mum and dad' landlords. Populations in the 'advantaged' social constructions and 'strong' social power group are the easiest for political figures to assign advantages as there will be little backlash from the group, and society will support policy that is favourable towards them. Consequently, they may unjustifiably be oversubscribed benefits. 'Contenders' include housing speculators and property managers whose constructions are often negative, such as 'slum-lord' or 'big bad landlord', but whose strong political influence can sway political candidates to assign hidden advantages in policy. It is important to note that constructions can be contentious. For example, the poor can be framed as either deserving and in situations out of their control or as lazy and benefitting from the hard work of others (L. T Smith, 1999). To illustrate, white mothers are generally framed positively as it is a noble cause to raise society's next generation (Kingfisher, 1999). However, single mothers, Indigenous and Black mothers, poor mothers and partners of criminals are often framed as undeserving, sinful, lazy, and impulsive (Kingfisher, 1999; Stillwell, 2016; Provan, 2012; Rua et al., 2019). These controlling images and negative stereotypes shift mothers from the 'dependant' group who have

positive social constructions, to the 'deviant' group who have negative social constructions. These social constructions therefore influence policy, which in turn reinforces dehumanising discourses, and ultimately influences discriminatory practices within systems such as housing.

It is important to note that many different initiatives can be developed to target the same issue. For example, when homelessness and precarious shelter is brought to the agenda in Aotearoa, the political representatives can advocate for a multitude of responses:

- Cash subsidies can be offered to the poor, cash initiatives can be given to companies to build more homes.
- The government can supply housing.
- Restrictions can be put on rental prices.
- Extra tax can be issued on second homes.
- Housing can even be reconfigured from a commodity to a human right. (Dodson, 2007)

In Aotearoa, the government favours subsidising lower socio-economic households and offering cash incentives to businesses to build more houses (Dodson, 2007). At the time this study commenced, the 2019 elections were nearing. Political candidates chose, create, reproduce, and represent specific target populations to garner more votes by seeming to address societal issues (Chong & Druckman, 2013; Inwood & Bonds, 2016). Politicians are able to influence the public by framing issues in a way that suits the party's agenda or policy position (Chong & Druckman, 2013). This practice can be seen through the continued fear mongering of gangs by the National Party, their solution is to create a specialised police force to target and harass gang members in a way that breaches human rights (Cooke, 2020). Gangs are often framed as a 'deviant' group, and yet they have little power to detest this type of legislation, and the public response is generally supportive, despite any breach in rights.

Alternatively, counter-frames, counter-narratives and counter-storytelling are concepts that involve a resistance to hegemonic narratives, negative stereotypes and controlling images. For Indigenous peoples, language is used to identify who we are, where we come from, our relationality and to transmit knowledge and lessons through our stories (McCarty et al., 2006). This is partly why the revitalisation of

native languages, such as te reo, has been such an integral part of Māori flourishing. Language and storytelling are therefore highly regarded in Indigenous communities with stories holding the power to make meaning that can shape how people understand and live their lives (Tuck & Yang, 2012). Lastly, understanding and connections to whenua come from and are reinforcing our stories and narratives (Hampton, & DeMartini, 2017).

The current discursive reality in a neo-colonial settler state is Euronormative. Claiming the power of storytelling is an important part of imperialism and colonisation. Western stories were framed as intrinsic truth while Indigenous stories were framed as mythical and superstitious (Archibald, 2008; Hampton & DeMartini, 2017; Lee-Morgan, 2009). In Aotearoa, education has been posited as a core site of re-telling and re-imagining the ‘other’ and has been likened to a trojan horse by Linda Smith (2019e), she also states that for wāhine, intersections of race and gender marked a different type of ‘othering’ within discourse.

This process has turned Maori history into mythology and the Maori women within those histories into distant and passive old crones whose presence in the ‘story’ was to add interest to an otherwise male adventure. Through Western education initiatives, the English language and Western ideals were forced, and the European worldviews and practices became hegemonic. The imposition of English language carried with it the values and ideologies of western settler colonialism that has continued through narratives and discourse. For example, white supremacist narratives of the ‘savage’ other are insidious and are retold in differing ways but remain persistent. The war loving native[sic] or the violence loving criminal – either way the colonial myths of savagery, as an example, continue. Moreover, as Johnston & Pihama state, “Maori girls and women continue to experience the brunt of dominant discourses of ‘difference’” (2019, p.123).

Wāhine Māori must navigate their construction as the ‘sidekick’ in the story of the ‘savage’. Despite this we as Māori, have resisted these narratives and preserved and revitalised our own stories and languages. Kōhanga Reo, Kurakaupapa Māori, Wharekura and Te Wananga o te Aotearoa are educational initiatives and successful

stories of resistance against the genocide of Te Reo Māori and Mātauranga. Also, the launch of Māori Television and its success in airing Māori stories of activism and hope in te reo Māori is a particularly important step in counter storytelling and serves as a vehicle for counter-framing (Smith & Abel, 2008; Barnes, et al., 2013).

Counter-framing is the practice of offering a competing frame against an existing one and is often used to explain phenomena within political landscapes. For example, a competing political party might introduce the frame of elderly retired landlords to campaign against frames around slum lords. Initial frames are often stronger; however, they decay over time without reinforcement. The trope of the warring ‘savage’ has persisted over a long length of time and has been repeated often, so it is a powerful frame for Māori to resist. Framing and counter-framing is complex, for example, members of the public who are persuaded easily are more susceptible to framing strategies. Conversely, these same framing strategies might be counterproductive to those with strong attitudes or who are less persuadable. Moreover, the public’s consumption of a frame is entirely dependent on the mental accessibility and understanding of the argument presented. For example, participants in Chong and Druckman’s (2013a) study were asked for their opinion on allowing a hate-speech group a platform to speak. The participants were exposed to two different communications, one editorial discussed the importance of free speech and one discussed the threat to public safety in allowing hate-groups a platform. The frames the participants were exposed to subsequently influenced their tolerance (or intolerance) to hate groups. This indicates that communications and discourse do influence public perceptions and explains why propaganda and colonial attitudes have persisted over time. However, counter-narratives and counter-storying offer a hopeful resistance-based approach to overturning these hegemonic narratives.

Counter narratives empower communities on the margins through the agentic telling of their own stories, rather than to have them told by peoples in positions of power who serve their own agenda. Likewise, counter-stories and narratives serve to disrupt the influx of deficit-focused discourse against communities of colour (Ender, 2019). By telling our own stories, whether past, or present experiences we are able to re-establish our own worldview and re-present ourselves; in so doing,

revealing, retelling and remembering becomes a crucial anti-colonial and anti-capitalist tool (L. T. Smith, 1999; Hampton & DeMartini, 2017).

This method is a form of resistance against cultural annihilation through the revitalisation of cultural practices, narratives and Indigenous identities. Counter-storytelling also serves to analyse and counter-frame phenomena; by their very existence counter-stories challenge the normalisation of settler narratives. They challenge wisdoms through contextualising phenomenon and creating richer understandings of life through the voices of those on the margin. The televised programmes of Māori TV are a great example of counter-narratives from the perspective of the racialised and marginalised 'other'. An entire channel from a Māori perspective offers Māori a safe space to consume information about Māori activism, news, politics, achievements, history, stories, tradition, culture, practices and much more. The production of counter-narratives or oppositional discourses is important in resisting colonial stories of inferiority and therefore, the production of discourse from an intersectional lens of wāhine Māori is also important. This project serves to add to what Johnston and Pihama note are "oppositional discourses" which position wāhine Māori and our voice at the center of analysis (2019), and through this highlight critical issues of importance specific to wāhine and within housing.

3.3 Political discourse

"Colonial discourses have operated on the whole effectively to lock Maori women out of crucial positions-positions which impact on our day to day lives and the lives of our people" (Johnston & Pihama, 2019, p.123).

Political discourse is able to both reflect and construct our social realities, because messages are constructed and often internalised by the target population of the policies. This makes political language use crucial to understanding patterns of participation, power dynamics and the lived experiences of peoples, particularly those with little social, economic and political influence, such as Indigenous peoples in colonised communities. This project is mainly concerned with the nexus between housing and the criminal justice system for wāhine Māori and in order to reveal the discourse surrounding and linking these systems, the New Zealand Political Hansard debates discussing 'The Residential Tenancy Act' (1996), and

'Gang and Organised Crime Bill' (2009) will be examined. Due to the historical and continued subjugation of Māori, much attention will be paid to the constructions of Māori as 'criminal' and 'risky', to the linking of wāhine Māori to gangs, and the use of coded language to frame discussion and mark Māori as inherently problematic

3.3.1 The Gangs and Organised Crime Bill 2009

This section analyses the marking of Māori gangs and the unmarking of Pākehā gangs through coded language and discursive constructions which posit gangs as a 'Māori problem'. The use of covert racialised language which uses locations to identify the target of the narratives will be discussed. Additionally, the social constructions and the use of negative stereotypes, particular to Māori and wāhine will be examined. The 'Gang and Organised Crime Bill' was a bill proposed in 2009, which aimed to: increase police surveillance powers, penalties for organised crime groups, remove 'gang fortifications' and increase government powers to interject gang communications. Although the bill did not pass, the New Zealand Parliamentary Hansard debates offer political discourses and narratives of 'gangs', particularly in reference to tāngata whenua and housing. In critically analysing the racialised and gendered narratives within discourse about gangs and housing, narratives of surrounding wāhine are highlighted by the researcher. The political agenda is largely shaped and informed by the underlying attitudes and values of the public, particularly by those groups of the public who are framed positively and have access to political and social capital. Furthermore, policy initiatives and the discourse surrounding policy are embedded with messages which are internalised by the public. These messages can justify and encourage discriminatory attitudes, beliefs and practices (Chong & Druckman, 2007a; Dodson, 2007). The main message in the Gang and Organised Crime Bill was the dehumanisation of gang members, for example:

"Gang activity is insidious." (Power, 2009- National Party)

"They are repugnant, their activities are repugnant." (Cosgrove, 2009- Labour Party)

"Gangs are criminal organisations" (Garret, 2009- Act Party)

"They are outside the law and are not entitled to the same rights." (Garret, 2009- Act Party)

These quotes exemplify the dehumanization of gang members in Aotearoa. Māori are mentioned many times in the Gangs and Organized Crime Bills, however mainly by the Green Party and The Māori Party. According to Roberston, “people now speak in coded language, utilising a color-blind racist frame to discriminate against people of color” (2015, p.115). Rather than outright name cultures, people may choose to codify their language to signify the target population. This practice has been implicated as a continuing form of covert racism (Bonilla-Silva, 2015; Fleras, 2016). For example, Mongrel Mob and Black Power are primarily known as “Māori” gang collectives and they are mentioned multiple times, much more than the few times, only passing remarks are made towards “Pākehā” gangs. Although Labours’ Shane Jones supported the bill, he was also aware of how it appeared for Māori and said:

The fear we have on this side of the House—and I certainly have this fear—is that the Māori community will think, as they listen to the Māori Party, that bills of this nature are a punitive response directed disproportionately at Māori or perhaps Pacific Island families. The bill is colour-blind. (Jones, 2009 - Labour Party)

Shane Jones claimed that the bill does not see colour and that it is colour blind and not set to discriminate against Māori. However, Bonilla-Silva argues that colour-blindness is a form of racism. Colour-blindness ignores the colonial antecedents of gangs and impoverishment for Māori, and moreover, uses coded language to racialise narratives, while simultaneously denying the targeting of Māori populations within these same discourses. The bill is racially coded despite being purported as objective. Rather than outright target Māori for surveillance and control, gangs are framed as the target population. This is achieved through only highlighting locations with large Māori populations and by highlighting Kurakaupapa Māori schools in narratives surrounding gangs. By racially coding Māori in gang discourse, gangs are framed as a Māori issue. One passing remark towards a “Pākehā” gang stated:

I think Hell's Angels are probably the only gang who get their colours washed, and do not stink. (David Garrett, 2009 - ACT Party)

This statement from Garrett, can be linked to stereotypes about Māori cleanliness through the inference that all brown gangs must 'stink'. Negative references to Māori are often indirect and are used to segue into conversations about violence

and criminality, thus framing and indicating that these issues are connected to gangs and ultimately discursively painting Māori as the leading group involved in gang activity. Te Ururoa Flavell is a well renowned Te Arawa politician who advocates for Māori, and Te Tiriti o Waitangi and was primarily concerned about the racialised implications in the bill:

The problem really is like what I raised with the Minister today. According to the New Zealand view, this word "gang" relates directly to Māori gangs. Here we are debating, but there are many types of gangs. That name should be deleted. It should be removed so that this bill does not refer directly to Māori circumstances. (Te Ururoa Flavell, 2009 - Māori Party)²²

Although supportive of addressing drugs and violence, Flavell is aware that the bill is framed by prejudice and racist ideology. White privilege and supremacy are reinforced through coded language, such as that which Te Ururoa observed, to discriminate and target against Māori (Bonilla-Silva, 2007; Robertson, 2015). In this case, Flavell argues that the term ‘gangs’ is constructed as a racialised frame against Māori and should be removed from the bill. Shane Jones is implicated in racist, xenophobic, classist comments such as calling farmers “rednecks”, climate change protestors, “bible-bashers”, and claiming immigration is a threat to Māori identity and status. Shane Jones responds to Te Ururoa Flavell:

We have heard one response from the Māori Party, although I must say that I am unsure whether the party will back this bill or stand aside from it. Hiding behind the Māori language and providing unwanted cultural remedies to a multigenerational problem of criminalities will not, at the end of the day, cut the mustard... (Jones, 2009 - Labour Party).

He goes on to say:

...let us just go back to my colleague Te Ururoa Flavell with a very simple question. Does he stand in the Māori community as an unrelenting, unrelenting foe against gangs, or is he an apologist? Any group that organizes its young people and its women through menace and fear to continue criminality will never, ever be saved through Tikanga Māori, singing "Kumbaya", or any other soft approach. These people see softness as an invitation to continue their menace. When these people hear that they are not welcome on the marae any more, they giggle. They will go wherever they like and do whatever they like until they meet ringa Kaha—the hard, solid fist of law and order. That is why I am happy to see this bill go to a select committee. (Jones, 2009 - Labour Party)

²² Quote translated from te reo Māori.

Lastly, Jones theorises about the motive of gangs:

Gang culture thrives partly through the profit motive. If people cross the gangs, they mark them. They mark them because they are a threat to their established order, which is based, No. 1, on scaring the wits out of the community; and, No. 2, on recruiting through showing that down Easy Street lies easy money and easy fame, but also hardship for the victims of those who perpetrate the crimes on Easy Street. That is why we should have no tolerance of them. We should not normalize them. We should not use kinship or culture as a basis for explaining their ills. If they want to behave like criminals, they should be stripped of the Māori cloak and treated as the most dangerous, menacing form of criminals, which exist to kill, maim, rob, and be villains. Somehow or another, we are told that at the end of the day, that will not solve the problem. Why? It is not because of 100 years of colonization—which is the reason parroted by the various speakers from the Māori Party—but because in our communities people exist who are so disconnected from the institution of work and regular education that simply locking them up has proven to create a new recruitment ground, à la Ngāwhā prison (Jones, 2009 - Labour Party)

Shane Jones, formerly with the Labour Party, but who currently resides within the NZ First Party, he advocates for a decrease in the role of Te Tiriti o Waitangi within Aotearoa politics and moreover, opposes the responsibility of government in repairing historicised social harms on Māori. There are six points to analyse and address here; first, Jones devalues the use of te reo Māori in parliament, reinforcing the idea that it is secondary, unnecessary, and inferior to English as a language (i). Second, his comment around the "multigenerational problem of criminalities" is an overt reproduction of the trope that 'Māori are genetically inclined to violence and aggression', and completely dismisses the impact of colonisation and the subsequent coercion of our people into poverty (ii). Third, Jones appeals to emotion by discussing vulnerable populations (such as women and children) and marking them as victims of gangs. By implying that women and youth are organised by fear and intimidation by gangs, Jones is using a logical fallacy without fact or reason, and which can manipulate the emotions of the audience. Highlighting family violence is a gross mis-generalisation of Māori, or gang whānau and furthers the tropes of the 'savage' (iii). Fourth, tikanga Māori is rejected as a viable tool, and punitive Western measures are placed on a pedestal (iv). Fifth, is there any evidence to suggest that gangs 'scare the wits' out of the communities or is this a practice of fear-mongering and sensationalism carried out by politicians such as Jones (v)?

Sixth, and probably the most harmful to Māori as a community is the suggestion to disown Māori who affiliate with gangs, to cast them aside as ‘something else’ but not a part of us (vi). Encouraging the ‘othering’ of certain types of Māori encourages a divide between Māori without acknowledging the history, social systems and privileges that have led to the current situation. These narratives point to the way Māori are targeted within gang discourse and the negative narratives surrounding gang communities. Asian gangs are also briefly mentioned:

With Asian gangs coming in, they are making money from contract killings, extortion, and protection. Gangs are not whānau (Garrett, 2009 - ACT Party)

It is important to note that the Asian community represents another ‘other’ to the settler state and have continued to be framed as a threat to white settler New Zealand. This statement represents an appeal to biculturalism, of Pākehā co-option of Māori to unite against non-white settlers and immigrants. By appealing to biculturalism, Pākehā position themselves with the power to choose who stays and goes and erase and block other cultures, like the Chinese, some of whom have been present since early colonisation (Marie, 2010; Norris & Lipsey, 2019).

Moreover, for David Garrett to end the sentence with the Māori word ‘whānau’ redirects the listeners back to the target population of Māori, (bear in mind that David Garrett is not an advocate for te reo Māori) and illustrates the phenomena of Pākehā positioning themselves as adjudicators of who counts, and who does not count as “whānau”. Paternalistic Pākehā management of Māori affairs has been a constant occurrence since the Native Land Court wherein Pākehā adjudicated what whakapapa counts (Mikaere, 1994). The use of coded language which constructs Māori as the target population of gang discourse can be seen throughout the Gang and Organised crime NZPHD:

“...man stabbed because of the colour of his kura T-shirt.” (Turei, 2009 – Green Party)

“...violent crime that terrorised shopkeepers in South Auckland (Anderton, 2009 – Progressive Party)

“...during which there were raids in Tūhoe country...” (Flavell, 2009 – Māori Party)

The marking of Māori gangs and the unmarking of Pākehā gangs was enforced through the nature of the words used such as iwi names, which racially code the conversation to be about Māori. This kind of racial coding informs the reader or listener of who the target population is. The use of “kura t-shirts” to refer to Māori youth and their Māori School/'Kura Kaupapa' uniforms, and framing stories in areas known to have high Māori and Polynesian populations; Manurewa, Otara and Mangere construct 'who' the speaker is referring to. These words indicate that the speaker is discussing the Māori population without the need to use the word 'Māori'. This coded language racialises the debate in a particularly insidious way. Alternatively, Metiria Turei offers a te ao Māori (Māori worldview) perspective within the NZPHD and non-punitive suggestions to resolve the issue:

We welcome any provision that reduces violence committed by gangs. We welcome any provision that will enable the rehabilitation of gang members who are currently in prison to reduce the recidivism rate. We support any provisions that will support the families of gang members—the children and partners of gang members—to break out of the violence and poverty cycles into which they are entrapped by structural, social, and personal circumstances. (Metiria Turei, 2009 - Green Party)

Māori have constantly been researched and framed in terms of deficit statistics such as impoverishment. Ultimately, the debate and policy analysed in this chapter were framed to place Māori negatively, as the subject and the target population of this initiative. Metiria Turei who is a wahine Māori, offers the only balanced perspective within this debate further championing the need for increased voices from a wāhine Māori social position.

This section shows that the marking of Māori gangs and the unmarking of Pākehā gangs is achieved through using lexicons; such as, Kura Kaupapa, Te Reo and directing attention to majority Māori populated areas. This type of coded racialised language serves to construct the target population of the conversation, and moreover, ultimately serves to construct and reinforce narratives of Māori criminality and to problematise gangs as a 'Māori problem'. Additionally, the political discourse on gangs further reinforces ideas that wāhine and tamariki are victims of family violence in gang spaces and therefore, constructed as affiliated to gangs. The racialised discourse and analysis of the, 'Gangs and Organised Crime

Bill 2009', will now be traced within the Residential Tenancy Act in the following section.

3.3.2 The Residential Tenancy Act (1986) 2009-2016

The Residential Tenancy Act (1986) Hansard debates, between 2009-2016, are analysed here with specific attention to the findings of the Gangs and Organised Crime Bill discourse. Ideas on Māori criminality, racialised deficit narratives, gendered discourse and 'risk' are examined here from within the Political discourse on housing. The three main themes discussed in this section are the continued use of coded language to frame discussion on Māori, the entrance of gangs into housing discourse, and the introduction of wāhine and tamariki into discourse around gangs and housing. Similar themes emerge from within the Residential Tenancy Act (1986), as found in previous sections where locations and name references acted as lexicons to paint the picture of the target population, Māori, as the group most affected by housing issues.

"When you insulate a cold house without requiring modern efficient heating, it would still leave the tenants cold, freezing, and at risk of suffering respiratory diseases. Emma-Lita Bourne was a toddler from my electorate, from Ōtara in South Auckland." (Jenny Salesa, 2015 - Labour Party)

The case mentioned in this excerpt was a well-covered and sensationalised case about a Māori girl. The housing issue is framed discursively as a Māori issue. Considering the amount of statistics on how homelessness, insecure tenure, and the social housing crisis in Aotearoa disproportionately affects Māori, this claim is not far from the truth. However, the entrance of gangs into a housing discussion shifts the narrative about Māori from Māori being positioned as 'victims' to 'deviants'. The retort from Act party member David Garrett states:

There are big, bad tenants as well. I am afraid I do not have too much sympathy for gang member tenants who might be subjected to changes under housing New Zealand Corporation policy, but I digress slightly. (Garrett, 2009 - ACT Party)

The lack of context given for the gang situation and the appeal to self-responsibility based ideologies shifts the narrative from something that disproportionately impacts Māori to an issue of our own making (Stanley, 2016; Stillwell, 2016). By ignoring the context of gangs and the channelling of Māori into an impoverished and

criminalised population, Garrett infers that these are issues that Māori people are responsible for and that the issue is Māori in origin and causation. Garrett continues by appealing to ‘Mum and Dad’ landlords:

In fact, I believe that even some Labour members are property investors, in the sense that they own a nest egg rental property. People who invest in property are, by and large, mum and dad investors, as the Minister said in his speech. They own their own home and one additional property—or perhaps two if they are really entrepreneurial—which is their primary investment, their nest egg, and their security for retirement. (Garrett, 2009 - ACT Party)

There are multiple issues in Garrett’s speech. There was no statistical evidence to show that ‘Mum and Dad’ landlords are majority property investors. The figures show that only 19.7% of homeowners own between 2-3 houses, 29.8% of homeowners own four or more and 9.4% own 20 or more homes. Although these figures are confounded by the use of trusts and family-owned businesses, it still shows that ‘mum and dad’ landlords are not the majority landlord. However, they are often used to create a particular narrative and to appeal to other small investors for political support (Johnston, 2020). Garrett is appealing to a group framed positively by society and which holds power and therefore, can influence policy. Again, there is a normalisation of the current widening class divide between renters and owners without acknowledging neoliberal privatisation. The state has abandoned responsibilities, and its systemic practices of classism, racism and housing inflation are blocking future generations from homeownership (Dodson, 2016; Kelsey, 1993).

The ageing population already puts a strain on the labouring population as the number of people receiving the pension per hundred workers will more than double from 16:100 to 33-41:100 by 2040 (Stats NZ, 2020). Between 2001 and 2013, the only group to increase their homeownership were Europeans over the age of 75, by almost 10%, while a decline in Māori homeownership overall is disproportionate to the Pākehā rate of homeownership (Stats NZ, 2016). The growing rate of older citizens is concerning as the labouring population will provide pension welfare through their taxes and are more likely to be renting than any other generations than in Aotearoa’s history (Tinker, 2002). This phenomenon is reflective of the systems and practices that privilege Pākehā to the detriment of other ethnicities, and also, of

an ageing population that is hoarding wealth. Moreover, it is also reflective of the historicised colonial accumulation of land and wealth, and of the unspoken privilege that descendants of settlers hold (G. H. Smith, 1990; Rua, et al., 2019).

Despite systemic influences on the criminal justice system and housing markets, individualistic narratives without context are consistently reinforced. George Hawkins, a Labour party politician, brings wāhine Māori into the conversation about gangs and housing by saying:

We have mothers with young children come into our electorate offices who are trying to escape from bad partnerships, marriages, etc., and they want help to get a Statehouse so they can start their life over again. But quite often these people are hounded by gang members who are former partners. Who is going to stand up to a member of the Mongrel Mob and his mates, or to a member of Black Power and his mates, or any of the other gangs? In the end, these people are put under enormous pressure, and I think that this is one area that the select committee will need to look at very closely (Hawkins, 2009 - Labour Party)

The entrance of gangs marks a deviant group that holds little to no power and is negatively stereotyped by political actors. Consequently, these controlling images then warrant the denial of policy advantages and support the rationale for attributing burdens to this group (Kingfisher, 1998). There are three important points to address here. By connecting this group to wāhine Māori, who might otherwise be constructed sympathetically, this repositions wāhine as deviants (i) and warrants the removal of governmental support or policy protection which was already hard to attribute considering their totality of political power as a group (ii). Finally, this reflects practices of the 1850's-1870s of positioning Māori into a binary of 'friendly Māori' and 'rebel Māori', or good Māori/bad Māori (L. T. Smith, 2019). Although Hawkins makes a compelling case towards protecting the vulnerable of Aotearoa, he reinforces gang stigma and clarifies the racial target population through location lexicon, as follows:

But when one looks at some electorates and sees the turnover in population in areas where there are a large number of rental homes, such as in Manukau East, Māngere, Manurewa, and Botany, we see so many kids going into schools and coming out of school. (Hawkins, 2009) Labour Party

By highlighting areas that are largely Māori and Pacific Island populations, the target population is illustrated in the consciousness of listeners in the form of

racially coded rhetoric that allows the speaker to specify a culture without naming the culture.

3.4 Conclusion

This chapter has discussed the sensationalisation of Māori hardship within housing, the discourse that appeals to ‘mum and dad’ type landlords, and also, the reframing of wāhine Māori as; victims, deviants and risky tenants due to their proximity to gangs and the deficit narratives surrounding these groups. I have argued that Māori and Pacifica are the target population for negative narratives in terms of gangs and criminal activity. This is evident in the political discourse with these racialised discourses having filtered into the housing system and thereby marking them as ‘risky’ and ‘undeserving’ groups. Finally, the analysis of Political Hansard debates was used to underpin and formulate questions for the interviews for this research with wāhine Māori who reside in a community framed as a ‘gang town’. The narratives and discourse surrounding gangs and housing will be traced within the lived experiences of wāhine Māori later in Chapter 5 (Echoed Silences in Te Whare/Tangata), and Chapter 6, (Me aro koe ki te hā o Hineahuone: We are our own stories).

Chapter 4

Framing voices – Kaupapa Māori, Mana Wāhine and Discourse Analysis

“Our work and deeds have had a significant impact on Māori culture and society, breaking new ground, often in radical ways. And yet, our women, and their stories, have been buried deeper and deeper in the annals of time by the processes of oppression that seek to render us invisible and keep us out of the records.” (Irwin, 2019, p.67)

4.1 Introduction

This chapter outlines the importance of the theoretical frameworks and then describes Kaupapa Māori Theory (see 4.4) and Mana Wāhine Theory (see 4.4). In particular, the silencing of wāhine and the principles that relate to this research. The methods of discourse analysis and semi-structured interviews will be explained in terms of their ability to investigate and uncover the aims and research questions that underpin this project (See 4.5). This is followed by a discussion on the ethical guidelines provided by Moana Jackson which underpin and guide this research (See 4.5.3) Additionally, the community at the centre of this research will be introduced to give context of the place the research (See 4.6.1), followed by an introduction to the wāhine Māori involved in this project (See 4.6.2).

4.2 Theoretical framework

This qualitative research project is guided by Kaupapa Māori and Mana Wāhine theory. This section discusses the emergence and need for a specifically Kaupapa Māori theory and praxis. It outlines the main principles of Kaupapa Māori theory, and additionally, how this research weaves in these principles. The second part of this section outlines the historicised marginalisation of wāhine and the activism towards a specifically wāhine Māori theory. Finally, Mana Wāhine Theory and the principles underpinning the theory will be discussed and related to this project.

4.3 Kaupapa Māori

Kaupapa Māori utilises critical approaches to develop Māori centred research and advocate for decolonising ways of research (L. T. Smith, 1999; G. H. Smith, 2002). Graham Smith, as one of the leading theorists who developed Kaupapa Māori theory, was heavily influenced by his grandmother and mother (G. H. Smith, 2002).

Graham Smith (2002) states that the work of Kaupapa Māori Theory “deals with a very obvious truth: just as the oppressor, in order to oppress, needs a theory of oppressive action, so the oppressed, in order to become free, also need a theory of action.” (p.452).

This can be seen through the failure of the Western state to provide adequate education to Māori students within the Western education paradigm (Nepe, 1991). Western conceptions of education and knowledge were not mana enhancing to rangatahi Māori. Therefore, it was crucial for early Māori academics and flax-root activists to revitalise old traditions of Mātauranga and Kaupapa Māori into a working theory within the education space (G. H. Smith, 2002; G. H. Smith, 1990). Activists sought to create education initiatives based on Kaupapa Māori through the medium of Te Reo Māori. These initiatives were implemented to revitalise te reo Māori, Kaupapa Māori and more, and came in the form of: Kōhanga Reo, Kura Kaupapa Māori and Te Whare Wananga (Hohepa et al., 1992; Mahuika, 2008; Pihama, Cram et al., 2002; Nepe, 1991). The result was an improvement of rangatahi outcomes and experiences of education through these Kaupapa Māori education initiatives (Pihama, Cram et al., 2002). Kaupapa Māori theory, subsequently became used as an emancipatory and transformative approach to research (among other things) around the experiences, knowledge and practices of contemporary and tīpuna Māori (G. H. Smith, 2002). Within the academic context, Kaupapa Māori offered Māori researchers a vehicle to contribute to critical conversations about the colonial gaze, marginalisation, resistance and liberation through te ao Māori (Mahuika, 2008).

Kaupapa Māori Research and Theory utilises critical theorising in an attempt to dismantle systems of oppression and provide transformative research and practice. Moreover, Kaupapa Māori theory is based on Māori worldviews and stems from a long and complex knowledge system that holds valid Māori ways of being, seeing and doing. The basis of Kaupapa Māori stems from Māori cosmogony, epistemology and Te Reo Māori. Our tīpuna had their own traditional methods of inquiry about the world, which we as Māori still use. The validation of our world views and knowledge is at the crux of creating space for critical theorisation and “research for Māori, By Māori, With Māori” (Pihama, Tiakiwai & Southey, 2015,

p.7). It is important for us to hold space where we can talk back, re-present and validate our ways of knowing. It is a way to move from speaking on the margins to speaking from the centre (Simmonds, 2002). For this reason, some Māori are hesitant about research and theory, however, Kaupapa Māori contributes to a shift of 'the researched' becoming the 'researcher' (Denzin & Lincoln, 2008; Mahuika, 2008; Nepe, 1991; Simmonds, 2009; Simmonds, 2011; G. H. Smith, 2002; L. T. Smith, 1999). Adoption of Colonial theories to work towards Māori emancipation and to critique the settler state is fruitless; the master's tools will never dismantle the master's house (Lorde, 2001; L. T. Smith, 1999; G. H. Smith, 2002).

Kaupapa Māori Research also veers away from a prescriptive method approach and acknowledges that there are many ways to achieve transformative research goals, particularly from a group that expresses different ways of being Māori (Barnes et al., 2013; George, 2012). Māori are not a homogenous group; we are comprised of different whānau, hapū and iwi, who all have differing experiences and responses to colonisation. Moreover, we as wāhine, hold multiple identities simultaneously; such as, tuahine, kuia, mama, rangatira, woman, poor, criminal, single-mother, teacher, nurse and much more. This indicates a diverse relational web of connectedness and identity (Barnes, et al., 2013; George, 2012; Mahuika, 2008). Therefore, Kaupapa Māori offers a diverse approach to research to account for the multiplicities of Māori identity and to caution against the over-generalisation of Māori.

Kaupapa Māori Research can be highlighted through a set of principles that should be thought about when undertaking Kaupapa Māori Research, these are the principles of: Tino Rangatiratanga, Ka piki ake i nga Raruraru o te kāinga, Taonga Tuku Iho, Tikanga Māori, Ako Māori, Whānau, Kaupapa, Ata and Te Tiriti o Waitangi (Pihama, 2001; Pohatu, 2013; L. T. Smith, 1999).

The principle of Tino Rangatiratanga asserts the goal of "more meaningful control over one's own life and cultural well-being" (G. H. Smith, 2002, p.466). This principle underpins this project, as a key aim is towards the increase of wāhine control over decision making and autonomous power in our own lives and futures. Tino rangatiratanga, for this project, serves as an anti-hegemonic praxis towards

addressing wāhine needs and aspirations (G. H. Smith, 2002). This project serves as a counter-hegemonic narrative to wāhine experiences and theorising within housing. This is in alignment with the ‘kia piki ake i nga raruraru o te kāinga’ principle which asserts that research should positively benefit Māori communities and address our concerns. Additionally, Taonga Tuku Iho and Ako Māori are the principles of cultural aspirations and culturally preferred pedagogy and both serve to guide and support this project. Finally, Kaupapa is a ‘collective philosophy’ principle which is committed to the flourishing and utopian vision (L. T. Smith, 1999), and the principle of Āta or growing respectful relationships is important to create a reciprocal and culturally safe space for transformative action to happen through Māori ‘thinking, knowledge and application’ (Pohatu, 2005), such as that sought in this project.

4.4 Mana Wāhine framework

This study uses the tradition of Mana Wāhine as a theoretical framework to investigate the experiences of wāhine Māori navigating housing. This section will first outline the need and emergence of Mana Wāhine framework, followed by a discussion on the main principles of Mana Wāhine and how they are related to this project. Mana Wāhine theory is a branch of Kaupapa Māori theory and is critical in its stance in focusing on our status, power, experiences, and concerns and therefore, this project seeks to use a Mana Wāhine theoretical framework that places wāhine in the centre (Cavino, 2017; Pihama, 2001).

The misrepresentation of wāhine Māori and our herstories has resulted in the marginalisation of our mana, voice and knowledge (Mikaere, 1995). Early ethnographers who researched ‘on’ Māori were heavily influenced by their own patriarchal society and therefore, imposed their own understandings of gender roles and social organisation on Māori. Moreover, ethnographers refused to speak to wāhine Māori, instead they privileged the voices and perspectives of tāne Māori (Johnston & Pihama, 2019; Mikaere, 1995; Johnston & Pihama, 2019; Smith & Hohepa, 1990; Yates-Smith, 1995). Through the lens of patriarchal ideology and the dismissal of wāhine perspective colonisers constructed discourses of male supremacy that misinterpreted tikanga, the complexity of Māori social organisations and pūrākau (story) atua. Additionally, settlers recorded tīpuna

history and Māori cosmogony from their own misogynistic perspective which relegated wāhine as secondary or appendages to the role of tāne (Mikaere, 1994; Pihama, 2001; Simmonds, 2009). As a result, the complimentary role of masculine and feminine in stories was dismissed, and instead the masculine and male were centred. Consequently, Māori society was constructed as patriarchal and the mana of wāhine denied and therefore, misogynistic systems, practices and policies were introduced and enforced. Furthermore, the codifying of sexist attitudes into policy and legislation suppressed wāhine autonomy, knowledge, voice and mana (Johnston & Pihama, 2019; Mikaere, 1995; Simmonds, 2002; Smith & Hohepa, 1990; Yates-Smith, 1998).

Despite this, wāhine Māori have always held critical roles in Māori societies and continue to lead the way, as evidenced in areas such as the retention of tikanga Māori, land rights, te reo Māori and hauora (health) Māori (Pihama, 2001; Te Awekotuku, 1991). For example, the wāhine Māori's Welfare League lodged the Mana Wāhine claim with the Waitangi tribunal in the early 90s which specified housing as an issue directly impacting wāhine. This claim argued that the settler state had protected the mana of Māori men but failed to protect the intrinsic mana of wāhine Māori, thus wāhine spiritual, economic, social and political power had been diminished (Te Awekotuku, 1991). The loss of political, social and economic powers have contributed to the silencing and lack of tino rangatiratanga within housing.

Moreover, scholars and activists such as Merata Mita, Leonie Pihama, Linda Smith, Ngahuia Te Awekotuku, Ani Mikaere and Kathy Irwin advocated specifically for Māori feminism due to the silence within movements to address issues at the intersection of wāhine (Gray-Sharp, 2007; Te Awekotuku, 1991). For example, politicians and academics continued to construct discourse 'on' wāhine without their input, and who are at most risk from the colonial gaze through parenting and social services (Irwin, 2019). When wāhine Māori are studied as the racial *and* gendered 'other' our marginalisation and finesse in resisting oppression is understated (Smith & Hohepa, 1990).

Unlike imperialistic approaches to research which reinforce power hierarchies, Mana Wāhine is uniquely wāhine, and because of our subject position, intrinsically critical of power hierarchies. Additionally, Mana Wāhine originates from ancestral knowledge and ways of seeing and being which have been revitalised to reassert our valued role and status within Māori and wider society (Pihama, 2001; Simmonds, 2011; Te Awekotuku, 1991). The themes found within waiata, whakapapa and whakataukī, for example, reaffirm our position as repositories of knowledge, autonomous beings, and our treasured role in society (Jahnke, 1997). Wāhine status is also affirmed through pūrākau atua such as our creation story of Papa and Rangi, for example. Although narratives differ across hapū and iwi, the very creation of the world as we know it today is based upon a divine union of feminine and masculine, a balance of men and women (Pere, 1982). Moreover, the central importance of Whare Tāngata, and therefore wāhine is clear within these stories which make them a powerful tool of analysis. (see Sykes, 1994; Mikaere, 1999). Following the traditional link between wāhine and whare, and also that we are repositories of knowledge, it is important to foreground wāhine voice, particularly within a colonial system which has attempted to diminish and silence our wāhine voice.

Mana Wāhine as a theoretical framework is intrinsically intersectional in its acknowledgement of the overlapping areas of hierarchy and marginalisation such as sexism, racism, homophobia, classism, ageism and ableism, which affect interconnectedly (if not directly) all Māori. An intersectional type of framework recognises overlapping areas of marginalisation and places different forms of privilege and oppression at the forefront of inquiry. Additionally, Smith (1999) outlines political, ideological and practical areas that are of crucial importance to Mana Wāhine as: whānau, wairua (spirit), Māori men, state, Indigenous women and white women's projects. These areas are complimented by Pihama's (2001) identification of key characteristics of Mana Wāhine theory as: me te reo Māori ōna tikanga, whakapapa, whānau, recognition of diversity, wairua, Te Tiriti o Waitangi, decolonisation and mātauranga wāhine.

As with Kaupapa Māori theory, Te Reo Māori Ōna Tikanga is a central aspect to Mana Wāhine analysis. Te reo is said to be a vehicle to te ao Māori and tikanga

Māori. Therefore, the kupu of whenua, tāngata whenua and whare tāngata are at the forefront of inquiry as it serves to remind and reinforce that wāhine traditionally hold tino rangatiratanga.

Wāhine are deeply connected to whenua, whare and whānau. This project focuses on all of these concepts. Whānau acts as an important social organisation within Māori culture and this project challenges the normalisation of Western nuclear family arrangements through the principle of whānau (Pihama, 2001). Moreover, this project also adds to the conversation that Te Tiriti o Waitangi has not been honoured, and the mana of wāhine Māori has not been protected. As wāhine Māori are at the crux of this project, it is imperative to critique the settler states lack of adherence to Te Tiriti o Waitangi and negligence to protect the mana and voice of Maori women.

The principle of ‘recognising diverse realities’ is key to this project (Pihama, 2001). Pihama writes from her experience, that “to be Māori is often viewed as ‘more’ important than any other form of identification. This assumes that we are able to leave parts of ourselves at the gate” (Pihama, 2001, p. 278). Although she was referring to sexuality and te reo Māori within education, parallels can easily be drawn for this project. Gang members and wāhine Māori who are conceived as affiliates are still whānau Māori. According to Irwin (2019), “There is still destructive debate taking place in some quarters over who are ‘real’ and, heaven forbid, ‘acceptable’ Māori women” (p.68). This way of thinking in terms of gang communities’ disregards that ‘gang’ identity is rooted deeply in colonial processes of criminalising and marginalising the ‘other’. So therefore, as Māori it serves no positive goal or outcome to further ‘other’ or deny the differing identities of our own. Pihama (2001) furthers that, “Mana Wāhine theory must be flexible enough to provide for the complexities of our present situation, and inclusive of the diversity that exists around us” (p.280). This is crucial to this project because wāhine Māori within gang communities are also navigating what it means to be Māori, to be wāhine, to be affiliated or coded as criminal, and many other intersecting aspects of their identity, and thus, marking a particular diversity of experience and knowledge. A part of the identity of being wāhine is in navigating and resisting the colonial gaze and negative narratives constructed around our

supposed inferiority. However, through decolonisation and deconstruction of Western mythologies that are normalised, we can come to see ourselves in the eyes of our tīpuna, and by doing so produce counter-hegemonic narratives that are decolonial themselves. Similarly, mātauranga wāhine intersects and compliments the recognition of diversity. This study serves to add to mātauranga wāhine through wāhine active co-theorisation of their mana and what is being done to it, in the context of housing and within a criminalised community.

4.5 Methods

This section, Methods, outlines the tools used to investigate the research questions and aim of this qualitative research. This section discusses the tools of discourse analysis as it is used within the research and also the use of semi-structured interviews. Additionally, this section will also outline the ethical guidelines that have guided this project. Academic literature was investigated and discussed in Chapter two, Literature served to understand the contemporary conversations around criminality, wāhine and housing. Furthermore, discourse analysis of the political discourses in the previous chapter serve as an inquiry into the social constructions and political discourse in political rhetoric. The primary research of semi-structured interviews (*see 4.6*) will provide a narrative to enter the conversation about housing and Criminality from a position that is often silenced.

4.5.1 Discourse analysis

In this section, the method of discourse analysis will be discussed, with particular reference to housing discourse. Discourse analysis was used in three main areas of this research project. First, the main areas of language and knowledge reproduction were investigated within literature. Second, a discourse analysis of NZPHD was conducted to identify narratives surrounding wāhine Māori and gangs. Finally, wāhine theorisation and narratives are analysed in relation to the literature surrounding them and political discourse in Aotearoa.

Discourse analysis investigates how parts of a text relate to each other, the context, and dynamics within which the text is situated, and also, discourse analysis is able to acknowledge power and hegemonic discursive practices. Trappes-Lomax describes discourse analysis as, “language in use, language above or beyond the

sentence, language as meaning in interaction, and language in situational and cultural context” (2004; p.134). Discourse analysis comes from a Western social constructionist epistemology and posits our understanding of the world through discursive and social practices (Hastings, 2000). However, discourse analysis can also be used in a Kaupapa Māori framework as it is a “methodological tool for analysis and research and is connected through critical theory, tino rangatiratanga, social change and a need for research that is transdisciplinary.” (Jackson, 2015, p.264)

This project investigates narratives and conversations specific to wāhine and the criminalisation of Māori from a Mana Wāhine perspective, and also, within the context of living under a neo-colonial settler state. The way issues are defined impacts policy outcomes and experiences for those who are directly targeted by the policy. For example, when social housing is framed as lifestyle housing, it receives much support from the white population (Goetz, 2008). However, when the same policy initiatives are framed as ‘affordable housing’, they are conflated with concepts of race and class and receive much less support (Goetz, 2008). Goetz, highlights that ‘words do matter’, and public opinion is impacted by the social construction of the group targeted. He has also shown that words do not need to specify a race directly for racialised images to be conjured (2008).

Considering that those with social capital and power can impact public perception through the dissemination and consumption of their narratives, it is important to critique and highlight dominant discourses (Chong & Druckman, 2007a). For example, politicians’ debate in the public space, and through this, construct narratives and champion narratives that support their policy positions. The Parliamentary Hansard debates are therefore, an excellent site to uncover the construction of wāhine Māori within housing and their construction as appendages to criminality and gangs (*see* 3.3).

For this reason, the discourse within Parliamentary Hansard debates, the Gangs and Organised Crime Bill (2009), and The Residential Tenancy Act (1986), have been analysed in section 3.3. How the discourse is deployed, why the discourse is employed, and the implication of this discourse is all within the scope of this

project. For example, the ‘how the discourse is employed’ seeks to uncover deficit narratives within the text such as, sensationalism, racism, moral panics, or racially coded language. This in return, informs the reader who the targeted group is without overtly stating ‘Māori’, but still discursively framing the issue as a ‘Māori problem’. The first text analysed was, The Gang and Organised Crime Bill 2009 NZPHD. The constructions of gangs as a ‘Māori problem’ was analysed, particularly in terms of the target population of gang narratives. This construction of the target population was then traced within, the Residential Tenancy Act 1986 debates between 2009-2016, to uncover the ‘seeping’ of these constructions into the housing market discourse. How wāhine are constructed within the home, as mothers, and in relation to gangs was at the forefront of inquiry when analysing discourse in parliament.

The themes that emerged from the NZPHD discourse analysis were used to develop semi-structured interviews. The interview process, which I define as a co-collaborative knowledge-creating space, was a space where the narratives from political discourse could be traced into the lived reality for wāhine Māori. The knowledge and narratives gifted by the wāhine show the real-lived impact of the political discourse, and additionally, served as a space of theorisation and for the construction of counter-hegemonic narratives.

4.5.2 Whakawhitiwhiti kōrero

The primary data collection method used within this research was through semi-structured interviews that serve to give space for wāhine voices that are otherwise silenced. This section will discuss the method of participant recruitment and the ‘interview’ process. The formulated questions acted as a guide, but the interviews were flexible, and space was provided for those contributing to theorise and digress towards their specific issues or agenda without constraint.

Māori and Indigenous researchers are very clear on the removal of ‘othering’ and hierarchies in the research paradigm, and therefore, to acknowledge the co-construction of knowledge, the research participants will be referred to as the wāhine collective (Bishop, 1998; Simmonds, 2017).

Wāhine Māori were selected for recruitment for the interview data collection method. Five wāhine were recruited through a snowballing technique. An initial partner who expressed interest in the project was interviewed, and towards the end of the interview gave details of at least two wāhine Māori who might also be interested in the project. The ages of the wāhine averaged 24, however, one respondent was a kuia and offered a different perspective and experience to the four participants in their 20's. The interviews were conducted mainly kanohi-ki-te-kanohi (face-to-face), although, due to time constraints some interviews were conducted via phone which was agreed upon by some of the wāhine collective as it suited their busy schedule. The interviews were conducted between August 17th to August 30th, 2019, during a time chosen by the partner. The interviews were undertaken in the wāhine homes for three reasons:

- 1) To gain a feel of the home they were living in.
- 2) In an attempt to keep the wāhine collective anonymous by avoiding public spaces.
- 3) To foster comfort and cater to the needs of single mothers who inadvertently made up most of the wāhine collective.

Despite this preference, the wāhine collective were advised that the interview could be held elsewhere. Interviews lasted on average one hour, the shortest being 40 minutes and the longest lasting an hour and a half. Initially, to ensure accurate representations the interviews were to be recorded with an audio recorder (Model 8822) and transcribed at a later time. This was true for all interviews except for one participant who preferred not to be audio recorded. Instead, the researcher recorded notes during the interview and showed the notes to the partner to ensure they were correct. Additionally, we all grew up together and I knew their private responsibilities. I also knew that the level of accountability, loyalty and respect we have for one another could have led them to burn-out in an attempt to support me. For this reason, rather than asking them to read entire manuscripts, I offered a quick conversation instead which they all preferred. We had casual conversations about what I was including and if that felt right to the wāhine, and they were given the opportunity to direct, remove or question any of the points. The research whānau were also given a copy of the final draft for another chance to critique or remove any kōrero.

Furthermore, due to passive racism often going undetected, it is important to highlight covert practices of discrimination within the housing system (Turner & Ross, 2003; Hogan & Berry, 2011). The interview questions were adapted from the works of Turner and Ross (2003) and Hogan and Berry (2011). Turner and Ross (2003) investigated practices of housing discrimination in states that have large Native American populations whose demographics align with that of Honotapu community. They found practices of steering and deception by landlords that increase housing cost and limits housing choices for the tenants. Steering refers to the geographical steering of tenants away from affluent, white neighbourhoods and quality homes. (Turner & Ross, 2003). Hogan and Berry (2011) also discuss practices of subtle discrimination in the housing market through deception and blocking access to available homes. An example of deception is the practice of advising one racial group that a home is not available but offering it to people of a different racial group. Whereas blocking is ignoring emails and making undesirable tenants feel uncomfortable (Hogan & Berry, 2011). The terms blocking, steering and deception will be used throughout the analysis of interviews.

4.5.3 Ethical considerations

It is the researcher's utmost responsibility to protect the agency, self-determination, dignity and intrinsic mana of the wāhine collective contributing to the project and also the community the research is based in. This was partly achieved through the acknowledgement of the wāhine collective as co-constructing a sort of pūrākau of wāhine, as a counter-narrative to mainstream assumptions about Māori lives. Additionally, wāhine were given the autonomy to change, remove or withdraw from the research. The target community was chosen for multiple reasons; such as, the high number of Māori residing in the area, the subsequent media coverage of the area framing it as a 'gangland and ripe with violence' and the socio-economic status of the community.

The researcher's subject position was also taken into account, and therefore the relevance of my lifelong observation of the community. However, due to the small population of the community and other ethical considerations, largely being the fear of retaliation by landlords and property managers towards the wāhine collective –

the community will not be named, and the wāhine involved have been assigned pseudonyms. Anonymity was forced due to ethical requirements of a thesis and the 'vulnerable' status of the wāhine collective. This is problematic in that I cannot formally name and acknowledge the wāhine, their knowledge and their monumental contributions to the project. Anonymity was utilised because only one property management company exists in my community and has monopolised the market. This means that there are less options to find alternative housing agents if the relationship with the current one turns sour. It is the goal of this project to contribute to a betterment of housing experiences, not contribute to further blocking of access to housing. It is, therefore, extremely important to ensure that the wāhine remain anonymous to protect them from agent retaliation. To protect the data and people involved, password-protected devices stored the information and the files themselves have also been encrypted with a password. Any information which could lead to the identification of the community or an individual was removed, and the wāhine collective were asked to sign a consent form. The consent form explained the ethical issues of anonymity and my inability to ensure their anonymity due to the size of the town and the nature of partner recruitment. The wāhine involved were not concerned about being named in the project, however after discussing the possible repercussions it was agreed that anonymity is the safest route. Additionally, although it was advised that contributors be interviewed separately due to the issues of anonymity, the majority (4/5) desired to be interviewed in pairs. This is not uncommon in small Māori communities that are quite collective and bound by relational processes, in fact, its culturally safe and expected, and moreover something that should not be objected to by Māori researchers, particularly Kaupapa Māori researchers invested in balancing power relations.

This project is also guided by a set of ethical guidelines which Moana Jackson outlines as:

1. Ethic of prior thought: Drawing on the wisdom of our ancestors; understand what has been in order to understand what is now, and then to build what will be.
2. Ethic of Moral or Right Choice: Research requires a moral focus. Ask will this be right, moral, tika? Theory does not exist

in isolation; there are possible human consequences emerging from what we do.

3. Ethic of Imagination: There is joy to be had in our flights of imagination; it often takes leaps of poetic imagination to lead us to facts/evidence.
4. Ethic of change: Research should be seeking transformation in the lives of those we research with. Change can be transitioned more easily with effective research.
5. Ethic of Time: 'Māori time'; there is value in this. Time is a whakapapa-based series of never-ending beginnings. Our notion of time recognizes the interconnectedness of all things. Don't be pushed into doing things to meet someone else's timetable if it doesn't feel right. There is nothing wrong with stepping back and/or letting go if the project is not right. So, know our time, and what time is right for us.
6. Ethic of power: 'By us, with us, for us'. If knowledge is power, then we need to be really clear about whose knowledge we are defining. If it is our knowledge, that gives us power to be who we are.
7. Ethic of courage: To research well we need to be brave. To do transformative research, we need to be brave.
8. Ethic of honesty: In our researching, be honest. Acknowledge that our people were/are Human, fallible, made/make mistakes. But, be honest about ourselves with a wise and loving heart. There is strength in gentle criticism.
9. Ethic of modesty: The seduction of academic success can be very alluring, and promote notions of hierarchical elitism. Remember always that we are mokopuna and that we have (or will have) mokopuna, and we must carry our knowledge modestly.
10. Ethic of Celebration: Celebrate our knowledge, our uniqueness, our survival. (Jackson, 2013)

Jackson's ethics were used to guide the research process and fit exceptionally with the ethics of the community as well. Without modesty the access to community knowledge and narratives would have been blocked, one must enter these communities humble like a kūmara - 'kāore te kūmara e kōrero mō tōha reka'. My supervisor at the time of interview, noted that the community felt like it was running on island time. This is because we are especially disconnected from the fast-paced nature of urban life. 'Māori-time' is the norm and to rush people or processes is disrespectful, and therefore, Jackson's ethics of time has been especially useful. Additionally, ethics of power and change underpin the aims and justification of this research, it is the hope that this project contributes to a transformational change in housing and privileges other tino rangatiratanga and mātauranga on wāhine Māori issues.

The methods of discourse analysis and the co-construction of knowledge through interviews are used together to uncover the political construction of criminality for wāhine Māori and their lived experience of this discourse. Moreover, Jackson's ethical framework as discussed above which underpins the use of these methods and compliments the use of a Kaupapa Māori and Mana Wāhine theoretical framework. The framework and methods were used to uncover the nexus between criminalisation of wāhine Māori and how this impacts our experiences of housing.

4.6 The research whānau

This section contextualises the community in which this research is undertaken. The socio-economic status and appeal of the community is discussed along with our relationship with authority. Additionally, the wāhine collective who contributed to this research are introduced in general and individually.

4.6.1 Contextualising place

The interviews for this research were conducted in a small rural town of fewer than 5000 People, of which Māori are the majority at 70% of the population (Stats NZ, 2019). Similar to other towns with large Māori populations, the town is often framed by the media as a gang town through constant reporting of gang activities within the town and without much attention towards positive events. This is a town marked by its deprivation, which according to The Socioeconomic Deprivation

Index, has a deprivation level of 10, the highest score of deprivation possible (Atkinson et al., 2019). Returning to the adaption of Kingfishers (1999) social construction of a target population, the community is framed as deviant and holds little capital to champion our issues of interest. Therefore, the locals may find that their concerns are left off the agenda of national and local governments.

Like most rural towns, limited vocational choices and a lower expectation of employment pathways is the norm. Forestry, road works, factory work, and other seasonal work such as fruit picking are the area's staple employment (ILO, 2014). The following extracts from my journal will serve to set the scene of the town studied. In the first two days:

We laughed, caught up, and enquired about family. We drove to the beach, an hour or so from the main hub, and discussed life, the land, and stories of the land and people. The interconnections clear – land, property, people, living. (20/08/19)

This community is guarded, authority is a threat, and there is a resounding 'anti-snitching' code of ethics that binds one another relationally, it therefore took a few days for trust and rapport to be established. It took days of kōrero, kai and being re-integrated in the community again; performing duties and helping out. I didn't expect such hesitancy about research, especially because, much information, experiences and feelings had been shared continuously over the years and essentially catalysed this project. I think intersecting conceptions of 'authority' and 'formality' are complicated in a community where anti-authority and informal settings are the norm due to its colonial history.

To understand this, the reader must understand everyday tensions the community experience with authority. An example from my journal recount such an experience whilst driving past a police officer:

TeRauhina - ol [referring to the officer by name] aye, where are all the cops?

Alice - they were hard out about a month ago stopping and searching vehicles, asking people for their phone numbers?

TeRauhina - they can't do that.

Alice - yeah, [Wahine 1] had it too.

Alice - undercover cops and everything...." (20/08/19)

This is home to this wāhine collective, to which I belong. We have beautiful countryside our awa is clean and our moana is plentiful. We know each other by car and wave to every third car that drives by on our empty streets. Our pets roam free, and so do we. We spend a lot of time ‘roaming’ around the motu (place), we still get into mischief, but we are mostly mothers now and have watched each other’s tamariki grow. Our community is built on trust and support and like whānau, we bicker and squabble but beware the outsider that messes with one of our own.

4.6.2 The wāhine collective

This section outlines the collective of wāhine contributors in general and then moves to introduce them individually. The wāhine interviewed were mainly between the ages of 24-30, except for one wahine who was a grandmother. All the wāhine have experienced ongoing insecure housing and were renting or looking for rentals within the area. Every person's name and place names have been replaced with pseudonym for safety reasons. The younger wāhine were all single parents at the time of interviews. Although this was not a prerequisite to contribute to the research, it does allude to the type of group demographics that are struggling to look for housing or who are utilising social housing. It is important to express that some wāhine felt anxious about their knowledge, however, once they were at ease with the ‘interview’ process a great amount of wisdom, insight and mana was shared.

Although representative of patterns and concepts found within the data, the themes and sub-themes are also profoundly interwoven. Therefore, themes will appear across multiple categories to conceptualise the underlying patterns and do justice to the narrative the wāhine were co-constructing. The collective of wāhine who partnered in this project, although similar in demographics, all held diverse positions. In the following section I will briefly discuss each wāhine in order to contextualise the wāhine and their experiences.

Alice

Alice is a 29-year-old solo parent of two boys under the age of five, who has been navigating the housing system in Honotapu for roughly seven years.²³ During this time, she has moved homes on average once per year. Before this, she had migrated to a larger city, however, the call of home eventually brought her back to Honotapu. Alice's migration patterns are important because Alice has experienced rentals in both urban and rural settings and with both private and property agency rentals. Alice was one of the catalysts for this research because of the vast amount of conversations we have had about housing in Honotapu over the years. Alice was locked out of utilising the local property management agency, and she theorised that this was due to her history of advocating for healthy homes standards.

Alice's main concerns were around the standards of the homes, the practices of landlords and the inability of housing and political actors to hear, see and support others like her. Despite the amount of discrimination she has endured within the housing system, she remains an avid advocate for other wāhine and consistently theorised about the realities for wāhine in Honotapu. Alice's manner is extremely humble, and she has a deep willingness to help others. Alice and other wāhine support and help each other, despite their own struggles to navigate a social welfare scheme that is not designed to meet the needs of wāhine Māori mothers. Alice is currently preparing for a hearing with the Tenancy Tribunal, has attained full-time employment and continues to help others in her spare time.

Selina

Selina is a 27-year-old wāhine Māori who is currently solo-parenting both of her children. Selina's children are under the age of five. Selina was raised in a church home away from Honotapu, but eventually found her way home to Honotapu and to the loving support of her whānau. They have exponentially aided her journey and provided a safety net for her and her children. Selina has traversed the housing rental market for approximately nine years, spending on average three years in each home. Before using rental accommodation, Selina boarded with whānau. Selina

²³ The ages stated are the ages of the whānau during interviews.

experienced issues accessing the local property management company where she was judged for the actions of her children's father.

Selina has had various houses through the local property manager and developed creative ways to gain access to the private housing market as well. During our conversations, Selina lived in social housing; a rental classified as 'emergency housing'.²⁴ Selina's experience with social housing was somewhat nuanced; she was socially policed, surveilled and expected to attend parenting programmes. Nevertheless, she found the price of the rent and the security it afforded convenient. Selina's main concern was financial loss through the discriminatory practices of property.

Marla

Marla is a 24-year-old solo parent of a child under the age of 5. Marla was living with her mother as she was unable to access the rental market. In the past, Marla has rented in Honotapu central and was currently looking for a rental locally and in nearby areas as well. Marla has struggled with housing actors not seeing her as a worthy tenant and consistently felt judged by the property agency. She has spent much time with whānau members and offers many anecdotes of surveillance that intertwined with negative stereotypes. Throughout our kōrero, Marla highlighted a number of stereotypes associated with parenting, children and ethnicity.

Marla was also extremely passionate about her whānau members' experiences of surveillance and policing, which indicates a deeply loyal person bound in the aroha of whanaungatanga. She is not blind to the biased screening processes by housing actors and is visibly angered that this is happening. Moreover, Marla has investigated and used housing support services and advocates, which she also critiques, highlighting what is missing in these areas. She is currently renting through whānau.

²⁴ 'Emergency Housing' is a governmental housing scheme in Aotearoa designed to provide accommodation to people with nowhere else to stay. It is similar to social housing where you pay a subsidised rent to live in state-owned housing.

Miranda

Miranda is a 24-year-old solo parent with a child under the age of 5. Miranda was living with her mother at the time of the interviews but has spent time renting in other larger urban areas for study. The only access she has had to private rentals in Honotapu was through whānau or their connections. Miranda has never been given the opportunity to rent through the local property agency and felt this was due to a criterion that blocked out specific people, particularly solo parents. She theorises that home-owners are wanting childless professionals that work constantly and who are never at home. Therefore, Miranda felt unfairly discriminated against whenever she submitted an application or attended a house viewing. This impacted her mental health so much that she rejected the use of the local property management company and would only apply for rentals outside that entity.

Dale

Dale was the only person in the wāhine collective that was over the age of 30. Dale has lived in rentals in Honotapu for over 30 years and therefore has observed the changing housing patterns in the area. She was the only wahine interviewed who had positive interactions with the local property manager and who had anecdotes of navigating missed rents and how to perform for housing actors to achieve the best result. Dales main concern was health and safety within rentals, particularly because she often had her mokopuna staying with her. She wanted to provide them with the best possible environment and effectively advocated for changes such as carpeting and heat pumps despite the growing rent increases. Dale felt that the support system needed to match the growing cost of living and renting, as past injuries have prevented her from participating in the workforce.

4.7 Conclusion

This chapter outlined the tools and methods used to conduct this research project. The theoretical framework of Kaupapa Māori was discussed in relation to this research followed by an outline of the importance of Mana Wāhine theory, its principles and how it connects to this research. Additionally, the methods of discourse analysis and semi-structured interviews was explored along with the ethical guidelines which underpin the research project.

Chapter 5

Echoed silences in Te Whare/Tangata

“here we are physically present, we are often vocally absent, while in the spaces where we are vocal, the forces of the already powerful act to deny our physical presence. Hence we continue to speak and to participate from the dominant group’s margins that form our centres.” (Waitere & Johnston, 2019, p.89)

5.1 Introduction

In this Chapter, the discrimination experienced and theorised by the wāhine involved in this study will be discussed through three main concepts in terms of the dynamics of power and control: (i) power and discrimination, (ii) local and non-local tensions and (iii) social policing of Māoriness, motherhood and relationships. Wāhine knowing and thinking can be highlighted through their observational skills and theorising of their experiences in the housing market and from a marginalised social position; this offers rich data about the uneven power dynamics that leads to discrimination based on race, class and gender. First, background information is offered to contextualise the wāhine perspectives. Following this, the first section, ‘Repositories of Knowledge’ (see 5.2), discusses abuse of power within housing; such as, blocking housing access, reliance on power-laden relationships, the loss of money through bonds and repairs, steering of wāhine into substandard housing, rents rising due to repairs and silencing tenants. The next section, ‘Making our differences visible’ (see 5.3), highlights the power dynamics of housing speculation and the tensions that arise with growing outsider influence on rural towns. This is discussed in particular to council spending focused on tourism, preferential renting to outsiders, empty homes, corporate entities gaining space in rural areas, rising rents and changing ownerships. Additionally, a nuanced discussion of a Pākehā allyship is offered. The final section, ‘Reinforcing the ‘other’ (see 5.4), highlights the dispersion of policing practices of surveillance and control within the housing market, such as policing Māoriness, hygiene, presence of children and motherhood. The policing of relationships was a salient sub-theme and is discussed in three parts. First the interconnection between welfare and housing in discouraging relationships, second the practice of separating wāhine and tāne and third, the impact of social policing relationships on whānau. Additionally, social policing was

also discussed in terms of social policing of intimate lives and friendships and policing tenant substance use.

The district under enquiry is considered rural, with a small, majority Māori population. The community has been framed through a deficit model as ‘high deprivation’ level 10 and has featured consistently in discourse as a gang town (Atkinson et al., 2019; Graham-McLay, 2020, 22 January; Taonui & Newbold, 2016). Conversely, the area is highly regarded for its natural environment, and therefore, appeals to holidaymakers, nature tourism and has become a hotspot for property speculation. Neoliberalisation and privatisation of the housing market has exponentially increased the cost of housing and rent in the last decade, and ultimately, blocked out new home-owners in a multitude of ways: rising rents leave little disposable income for those who are attempting to enter the market, house prices are rising as fast as people can save, property speculators are enjoying tax breaks that home-owners are not, those who have generational wealth accumulation have monopolised the market, and speculators are not taxed on their capital gains - which means buying a home and leaving it empty for a year will have a significant return of non-taxable profit (Dodson, 2007; Murphy & Cloher, 1995; Rua, et al., 2019; L. T. Smith, 2015). However, this practice contributes to the shortage of rental properties and a hike in market rent prices (Dodson, 2007; Malva, 2017; Murphy & Cloher, 1995). In the housing terrain, power dynamics are acutely uneven and are exacerbated by the intersections of race, gender and criminality. With a shortage of rental properties available, housing agents are afforded and subsequently exercise control, surveillance, blocking and discrimination. Wāhine theorising and navigating this environment is discussed in this chapter.

5.2 Repositories of knowledge: Wāhine theorising power and control

A theme that wāhine presented through their theorisation was the power dynamics that lead to discriminatory and racist practices within the housing market. Practices of blocking access to homes are discussed in particular to deterrence and speaking out. Additionally, the uneven power dynamics of the area is highlighted in terms of the types of forced relationships within housing and tensions around bond loss and repairs. Finally practices of steering, silencing and moving wāhine are discussed alongside the nuanced perspective from one wahine.

Through neoliberalisation many of the state assets, including housing, were sold off and privatised (Murphy & Cloher, 1995; Rua, et al, 2019). What is left of our social housing system is hopelessly bogged down and overburdened with need. As previously discussed, for some of our most vulnerable peoples, the only option is private rental accommodation which forces a relationship laden with uneven power dynamics. A previously state-owned system transitioned to a private or free market with few checks, balances and oversights to guard against exploitation and monopolisation. The town in question previously had two property management companies. In the last decade, there has been a shift that has resulted in only one property management agency for the whole area. The result is a housing monopolisation of the market with little to no competition outside private landlords and social housing. Monopolies are a product of our current economic system; a peak free-market economy with increased inequity and uneven power dynamics (Cerny, 2010; Malva, 2017; Murphy & Kearns, 1994).

The majority of the respondents felt judged, blocked, deceived and steered into substandard housing by housing actors. Likewise, state-sanctioned housing initiatives (such as emergency housing) presents their own set of issues in policing and displacement of tenants.

There were four main themes surrounding property blocking theorised by the wāhine collective of this project: Treating people poorly as deterrence (*i*), blocking and steering as racialised practices (*ii*) and blocking as retaliatory practice(*iii*) and the practice of blocking further housing when wāhine advocate for their rights (*iv*), are all examined. Below is an account by Miranda detailing the feeling of judgement through stereotypes when interacting with the head property manager:

Miranda - *I already know, because I'm not old [laughs] and I don't look like the most professional person. But you know, I dressed nicely, I think. but she just... did the whole look you up and down thing with a look on her face. But it wasn't just me, it was everyone... like the way she even talks is condescending.*

Miranda - *She makes me feel like... when I went there; she literally made me not want to be there. I was just like -I don't even want the house anymore if I have to deal with you.*

Despite Miranda's finances being secure and having positive references from previous rentals, she felt stereotyped and discriminated against. The treatment and demeanour towards Miranda, subsequently acted as a deterrent to her using the agency to gain housing. Hogan and Berry call this "opportunity diminishing" and describe it as the following: "during a meeting or viewing, the landlord projects discomfort, reluctance, or disinterest to a potential tenant from one racialised group only to show warmth and interest to someone from another racialised group" (2011, p. 154). This practice is used to block, steer and deter 'unwanted' tenants (Hogan & Berry, 2011). Similarly, Alice and Selina provide a similar, although more overt experience of being blocked from utilising the local rental agency:

***Selina** - And anyway she said "I'll ring you when we find another house" that was a lie; she didn't ring me, not once at all. And how I knew that there were heaps of houses because they used to put a chalkboard outside, they don't do that anymore...and they used to have all the names of houses that need to be rented, so I went over to the thing and I was like "oh can I have an application for one" and she said, she gave me the straight chop [denial]*

***TeRauhina** - She didn't even give you an application?*

***Selina** - Nah and I was like you said you were going to ring me when you found a new house, she goes "well sorry you're not eligible" and fuck I just walked out...*

***Alice** - oh yeah, my mum went in to get an application, do you remember that? To get one because she wouldn't give me the forms or anything, and she said "if it's for [Alice] then no" and I never missed a payment or anything.*

Wāhine highlight a type of violence which is connected to the power to adjudicate as wielded by the property management company. In the same way that Turner and Ross (2003), found sophisticated practices of deception and steering of Native Americans into sub-par residencies; wāhine Māori have theorised practices of screening, deception, steering and blocking within the housing market. Turner and Ross (2003) investigate this in Minnesota, New Mexico, and Montana, which are settler-colonial communities with significant Indigenous populations and the community closely aligns with Honotapu demographics. These similarities are significant because they reflect the continued colonial projects of white supremacy and also, the shared experiences Indigenous, and Māori are continuing to navigate. The practices of blocking, steering and deception within housing, are therefore linked to an ongoing neo-colonialism. Alice explains she might have been blocked

out by the property manager because she had used her voice and advocated for her rights too many times:

Alice - I think I moaned a bit too much with the first house because she kept telling me that the tenancy said the house was condemned and all that...yeah I rang them up and then they said "how can we say it's condemned when we can't see the house, if it is then the council would have put a sticker on it" but she[Property Agent] said we had 7 days to move out. Then she gave us this house that was for sale to move into. So, we just moved there because we couldn't be bothered with it, but we should have just stayed there, but nah, it was yuck anyway.

Alice has teased out underlying expectations that wāhine should accept substandard housing and not fuss about it. Additionally, she untangles ideas of a woman's perceived worth as depicted in the practices of the welfare system. The social welfare system relies on the notion of individual responsibility and therefore, only expects a bare-minimum living standard for those of society who are not in paid employment (Seccombe et al., 1998). Moreover, the stigma towards welfare mothers has leached into the consciousness of housing actors; who in turn, provide sub-par property management services and steer wāhine Māori into unsuitable accommodations.

The relationship with the property manager is forced due to a lack of other housing options, which exacerbates the need to carefully navigate the housing terrain. Selina describes the relationship that they have to navigate in order to attain housing:

Selina - yes! And she draws you in. Because she was trying to say she was related to my partner at the time, and related to his mum somehow blah blah blah... all of a sudden, she was flipping the script saying he wasn't allowed at my house and all this crazy stuff, and then she draws you in and starts being nice to you for a whole year or whatever, and then after that she just starts cutting you off. She tells you she's going to put you in a better house, and she puts you in a worse house than she did before!

Selina points out that inter-personal relationships needed to be navigated carefully. Problematic inter-personal relationships are a product of a discriminatory system which empowers owners and disempowers renters. The uneven power dynamics of housing allows for discriminatory relationships, while the monopolisation of the market in Honotapu forces wāhine to navigate these relationships. The language used here is synonymous with that of abusive and coercive relationships: she 'draws you in' - like love bombing or the honeymoon period; then 'flips the script' with

coercive and controlling behaviours - like the tension stage of abuse, and finally, she ‘cuts you off’, discriminates or blocks you from housing access – the explosion stage (Walker, 1979).²⁵ It is problematic that wāhine must navigate these interpersonal relationships to secure housing in a settler system that allows and possibly reinforces this behaviour.

Honotapu is a small community with largely long-term residents who do not need to move homes often. In short, housing managers would make substantially less profit in this community than cities, and it has been argued by Desmond & Wilmers that they may consequently seek alternative means to generate capital (2019). Considering the energy and deposit it takes to file a claim with the Tenancy Tribunal, some wāhine felt it was easier to consider that money a loss and move forward. Alice and Selina discuss the energy of tribunal and bond loss:

***Selina** - [Tenancy] Tribunal again! And I've already done that before with the last one, and with her. After we did all the signing of papers, I was so pissed off I was like "fuck you I needed that money!"*

[in a later conversation]

***Alice** - they charge heaps for cleaning even though you spic-span[thoroughly clean] it. My Nan did it from head to toe and she still charged 300 bucks[dollars] for the cleaning.*

***Selina** - And it's always 300 dollars ay, because she charged me 300 and tried to say that's how much the dumping cost, she's a rip off so she doesn't have to give the bond back!*

Multiple factors make this practice possible. Firstly, the colonial, social, economic and political terrain that housing operates creates an uneven power dynamic, and secondly, historicised state abuse and dehumanising narratives work to silence and marginalise people (Stanley, 2016; Stillwell, 2016). Whether their voices would be heard through state initiatives like the Tenancy Tribunal is another layer of uncertainty. Housing actors play on these phenomena through the expectation that their tenants will not take legal avenues of redress, and if they do, tenants can expect retaliation by housing access being blocked. This expectation is epitomised by Alice's comment about complaining too many times - or advocating for her rights. Additionally, wāhine were blocked due to the cost of housing:

²⁵ This is in reference to the cycle of abuse theory developed by Walker (1979), which argues that in intimate partner violence there is a cycle of honeymoon, tension then abuse.

***Marla** - mmm no one wants to be paying 400 bucks for only 2 bedrooms, but... nah like at least 3 bedrooms. You know, some of the prices are stupid. You've got a 4-bedroom house worth 400 and you've got this one studio bedroom apartment that looks really nice but its 450 and it's only one bedroom.*

Marla is reasonably practical in her housing assessment and her rejection to accept this as an expected standard. However, rising rents are an issue that further block wāhine Māori from obtaining quality homes.

Another issue wāhine identified was in the bond recovery process once leaving a tenancy. Selina discusses a situation where her door had become damaged by her partner and because of her previous experiences with the property agency, she chose to seek outside aid to fix the door. The following encapsulates just how insidious the misuse of power had become in the realm of housing in Honotapu.

***Selina** - ...and I had said to her "no I'm going to get my own door and we're going to fix it up, so I don't have to pay your husband" but then she [property agent] got him to turn up the next day without me knowing and put a door on it. By the time I got there it was too late because we had just got this door and he's like "oh Nah Susan told us to come and do it" and I was like "I already told her I'm getting my own door" what the hell. And around that time that's when my mum passed...*

Selina dealt with organising the door whilst also dealing with the very recent passing of her mother and so had little energy left to dispute the happenings. To compound the issue, Selina felt the job was substandard and had to then sell on the door she had already purchased.

***Selina** - ... It was foam, I've never seen a foam door. You go and punch it, and it was this mushy foamy stuff I've never seen a door made out of that stuff before it was weird... Well, she charged me 580 bucks for a tini arse[sub-par] door that didn't even fit properly. There were big gaps underneath, and the doors didn't even lock properly! There was a big a gap in the doorway, 580 bucks she charged me for that, and it was her husband.*

Alice, another wahine, also highlights the same pattern within her tenure and theorises how the property manager had hired her husband to perform inadequate repairs and maintenance on her mother's property:

***Alice** - When she gets someone to fix stuff up, it's her husband, like she fixed the shed ... that's plywood ay*

***Tash** - What if you guys said you've found someone, she has to find the person?*

Alice - She gets all the people because he made a door with locks [referring to mothers shed] and it couldn't even lock and because there was a hot-rod in the shed... you could just open it... all the locks were shit. It's those locks that slides across but if it's windy it just goes 'shhkh' and they all unlatch... Her husband does all the jobs.

Later in the conversation, Selina alludes to just how much money she felt she lost through that particular rental. Having had multiple rentals, this had been an ongoing and consistent issue.

Selina - But yeah, she's a con artist... When we got a lot of businesses here that do it a lot cheaper than that, like what the fuck, then you always get your husband, that's just more money in the pocket for you aye Susan!

What we examine in these comments is the unequal terrain of housing that make way for the abuse of power. If there was verbal confirmation that tenants would repair an issue and no notice of entry to undergo repairs, then the property manager illegally entered the premises. It is also wrong for the property manager to hire her husband to repair things at a rate that far exceeds what other professionals are charging. By performing low quality and defective installations and repairs, as with Selina's door, the property manager and her husband put tenant's material goods at risk and jeopardise the security and warmth of the home, which accumulates as added costs for the tenants in terms of heating.

Furthermore, according to the wāhine, the materials used were not high quality, and neither wāhine could understand how it could cost hundreds of dollars more than what was quoted through outside sources. The property manager displayed deception, steering money into her pocket and blocking the tenants from attaining alternative means of repairs. In the following kōrero Alice and Selina co-theorise the standard of a particular house they were both steered into and left due to the unreasonable state of repair:

Alice - It rained in the lounge, why didn't I like that house...

TeRauhina -... you had like black mould ay, was that that house or was that a different house?

Alice - And it was leaking roof, like it rained inside you had to put a bucket under...

Selina - and my sister was in that house before and it was growing mushrooms

Alice - It had mushrooms behind the toilet.

Selina - Mushrooms up the toilet.

Alice - And they just put a board over the top.

[Laughs]

Selina - and it was like coming out of the ground.

Alice - all around the toilet.

Tash - Like no one, do you guys see no one cares about women of colour... Like no one, you got kids, they don't care. Mushrooms growing out the toilet?!

[All laugh]

Tash - They put a board over it, oh my god.

TeRauhina -Is that the one where they had black mould and then they just painted over it for the next tenant?

Alice - [Nods]

TeRauhina -It was that one ay? And then you went back

Alice - And I peeled the paint ay because it was leaky...

[Interruption]

All the wāhine, outline cases of being moved into substandard housing, steered into conditions that were not suitable, and mentioned repairs made by the local property manager, that served to cover up, rather than remedy the issue. Painting over mould conceals the issue and also impacts the health and wellbeing of the tenants. Furthermore, these experiences are consistent with literature that argues the extreme oppression and disregard by settler state towards women of colour. As Tash points out, no one cares about Black and Brown mothers, which is exacerbated by socioeconomic status and proximity to men deemed as 'savage' gang members and criminals (Abramovitz, 2006; Kingfisher, 1999; Lewis et al., 2020). Controlling images and stereotypes of female savagery ideologically serve to justify hardship and normalise struggle for marginalised communities. Another wahine, Dale, offers a nuanced perspective on the practices of the local rental agency. Dale is an older grandmother who comes from the area; she has had multiple rentals and is currently residing in a single-unit flat, which she rents through the local property management company. When asked what she thought of the property manager, she replied:

Dale - She helps me, she gives me time, when a lot of people run her down I just giggle because I know she is pretty good to me... All it is though is pay your rent, at the end of the day, because landlords end up on top of them but hey that's life it's so hard. It's hard to live.

TeRauhina - how much is this?

Dale - 200 and that's without power

***TeRauhina** - That would be one of the cheaper places in Honotapu aye*

***Dale** - It used to be 170 then went up to 180 now its 200, so she insulated and carpeted it went boom!*

***TeRauhina** - And she's going to put a heat pump in?*

***Dale** - I'm expecting it to go up again but WINZ (Work and Income NZ)*

***Dale** - Tell the government our rents goes up how about putting our benefits up*

Across the board, the property manager was acknowledged for at least performing repairs; sometimes, they were not the standard that the wāhine expected, which prompted them to move; and as stated previously, caused future blocking in rentals for the inconvenience. For Dale, she felt grateful that the property manager maintains the property. What can be interpreted is that there was a massive rent hike in a small amount of time because the house was requested to be brought up to a healthy home's standard. High rents in lower-socio economic areas are commonplace, as housing actors offset the assumption of risk and financial loss (Desmond & Wilmers, 2019).

New Zealand government housing schemes also present issues of power and abuse and reflect the state's attitude, the continued subjugation of Māori bodies, our self-autonomy and our tino rangatiratanga. Selina shows an example of this:

***Selina** - Yeah and instead of putting me into a hotel I've cracked[attained] one of the core Emergency Homes down Paeroa street. I've been with them, first I was down at the big house down there, I was in there for about 7 months and then they moved me because a bigger family needed to go in there. So, they moved me to the other emergency house, but altogether I've been with them for a whole year and 2 months.*

In Selina's analysis of events, there is an echo of wards of the state and how the state has control over Māori lives and bodies. There are also parallels with controlling practices of incarceration and child removal initiatives. The dispersion of ideologies and practices from the justice system has led to further control over brown bodies in the realm of housing. There is a consistent lack of autonomy over our bodies and control over where we are going in settler state contexts. Similar practices are present in housing because movement is initiated and directed by state actors, as described by Selina. Unlike private housing, social housing is not restricted by the same laws and can move people more freely than the private sector.

However, displacement by private sectors will be discussed later in terms of housing speculation and ownership changes. This presents an issue across the terrain of state and private housing as a whole; this is paternalistic moving and controlling wāhine bodies. The message implied is that this is the standard they deserve to live in. Additionally, silencing of wāhine serves to disguise and camouflage discrimination by housing actors. When asked to theorise about reasons people would not complain about the property management agency or seek compensation, Selina explained:

Selina - Yeah, and that's it I think, everyone's too scared that they're going to get a bad [reputation] and won't be able to... will get a bad name from her.

Housing insecurity is so pervasive in the consciousness of locals that their 'reputation' of being a good tenant is upheld through remaining silent and compliant. As examined by Alice previously, the monopolisation of rental housing by the rental agency creates an added tension through uneven power dynamics and as illustrated, creates a situation similar to that of slum lording.

This sub-section discussed the stereotypes and stigmas of being wāhine in terms of treatment, blocking, steering, surveillance and policing of motherhood around cleanliness. The misuse of power in taking tenants bonds and moving bodies was highlighted with a small discussion on the nuanced perspective of an older wāhine. Finally, the practice of silencing wāhine tenants was discussed with attention to the monopolies that grow in the current economic terrain. The current economic system of neoliberalism also makes way for unregulated speculative investment, which has seen an increase in outsider interest in the area of Honotapu. The next section outlines the tensions between local-and non-local peoples within the community with particular attention to the current economy and practices of gentrification that unfold, moreover the highly regarded nature setting is highlighted as an area that attracts outsiders.

5.3 Making our differences visible: Local and non-local tensions

The rising interest of non-locals and housing speculation will be examined in this section, 'Making our differences visible: Local and Non-Local Tensions', as well as other outside influences and phenomena that impact housing access and

availability for wāhine Māori in the Honotapu community. The main areas of analysis in terms of local and non-local tensions focus on local government expenditure, preferential treatment of ‘outsiders’, the impact of holiday homes and capitalist ventures, the clash between rural/urban world views and the absolving of responsibility of duty of care from landlords to property agents.

The community in question is often juxtaposed between the criminality of the peoples and the untouched nature surrounding it. Rising house prices and the influx of property investors in areas with lower house prices have increased non-local interaction in the communities housing market. In the last decade, the booming housing market has seen a flood of investors in rural areas attempting to capitalise on lower house prices in anticipation of housing inflation. Non-local interference has emerged as a particularly salient point of conflict for the local wāhine who were navigating the housing market.

Furthermore, within the last decade, the local council has put much effort and millions of dollars into encouraging tourism and attracting non-locals to the area. For example, walkways, mountain bike tracks, playgrounds, and beach renovations have been undertaken, many of which are not practical to many long-standing community members’ immediate needs. Local government indifference to local struggles is exemplified by Alice, who had struggled with liaising between council and landlords to remedy a pest issue. Alice felt that the council did not care. When she was asked what she thought the council cared about, she answered ‘money’, which led to the following co-analysis:

***TeRauhina** - How much did they spend on that new playground do you know?*

***Alice** - Oh, I can't remember but it was heaps aye*

***TeRauhina** - It was heaps. It was a ridiculous amount, right, for our kids...*

***Alice** - Yeah...*

***TeRauhina** - That footpath, the gravel road...*

***Alice** - Oh yeah, that dumb[sic] walkway and the roads to the beach changed it to roads instead of gravel...*

***TeRauhina** - Bathrooms with Wi-Fi...*

***Alice** - with Wi-Fi down at the beach toilets...*

***TeRauhina** - So trying to go tourism maybe... would you say that?*

Alice - Yeah, cause there's freedom camping everywhere, even behind Osler's... people have tents up behind there by those toilets... you're allowed to camp there

The efforts of the council to attract capital into the area has led to a neglect of their community members, or as Dale puts it simply when asked what groups of people she rents from:

Dale - Money talks, shit walks.

Dale has unpacked concisely and articulately the target population that local government is pandering to, and alternatively, which target populations are disregarded. Council used millions of dollars to develop an unusable playground during the summer, this is due to lack of shade and the playground equipment heating to unsafe levels for children to interact with. Dale is referring to the power that accumulates apposite wealth. Council expenditure is an interesting co-theorisation of the broader influences on our situation, particularly in terms of capitalism and tourism. What is equally striking is that effort, time and money are spent on these ventures to attract and serve outsiders. Meanwhile, locals are struggling to have health and safety issues resolved or even phone calls returned. Furthermore, stigmas through perceived gang affiliation and intersections of race and class have led to outsider preference by housing actors. When discussing how hard it is for her to find available housing, Selina noted the pattern of preference by housing actors.

Selina - but then you get people that transfer from out of town. Like how do you get that house straight away? There's heaps of people that have come from Schmidt or [Urban Jurisdiction] or out of town and get houses straight away.

Non-locals seem to attain a home “straight away”, meanwhile the locals, whose ancestors walked the whenua, gathered in the streams and returned to the whenua, we as mokopuna are struggling to find quality housing, secure housing or even a home-place at all. The preferential treatment of outsiders is noteworthy, in terms of the local communities’ private life being public knowledge (due to the small population and interconnectedness of the township), whereas an outsider is less likely to be screened for their past, whānau, or friends they keep. Non-locals are privileged because they are given a degree of privacy that locals are not afforded. It is also likely that non-locals are seen as more respectable due to assumed lack of

proximity to gang members and poverty. One of the smaller townships in the district is implicated as being particularly hard for local people to access the rental market. This is theorised as being partially due to the number of holiday homes in the area by Marla.

***Marla** – Cousin, I'm telling you 70% of the homes out ParePare are empty, like 70% of the year... and I'm being honest. Honestly over, well over 50% are hardly [used], homes are empty.*

Marla is explaining that she felt the majority of these homes were holiday homes and were only occupied during the summer period of the year. This analysis disrupts narratives of 'housing shortage' and points to inequality in Aotearoa. While some struggle to find rentals, others are able to afford multiple homes.

Recently, a laboratory was built in the area due to its unique rural location. This has been an added source of conflict for locals for several reasons. However, in terms of housing, the tensions were mainly around the effects on housing availability. Miranda explains:

***Miranda** - That's another thing wrong with renting back here, they rent to... other people, like the Laboratory has majority of all the rentals in ParePare. There are no rentals available. ...The people that bought the dairy out there, they don't even have a house to rent because there's none to rent, they've given them all to the lab, because the lab will offer to pay a higher rate than anyone else...*

***Marla** -Big money*

***Miranda** -...they pay like 380 for this white house*

***TeRauhina** -So they're buying for their workers?*

***Miranda** - yeah but you know, they are more inclined to give it to them because of the money they are getting...*

This laboratory generally hires non-locals to work due to the prior training needed to perform the roles. However, this adds pressure on housing availability and further locks out the local population due to property acquisition solely for lab employees. Non-local acquisition of property is a common theme throughout the interviews and is often the reason wāhine Māori are evicted from their tenancies. Moreover, big corporations have gained access to rural space, surrounded by whenua Māori, building laboratories and researching things that are inextricably tied with the elite. The use of the term 'other' indicates that the non-locals who are given preference are not seen as part of the community. Dale offers a warning as to why patterns

have emerged that favour non-locals, or at least cause tensions when outsiders migrate or enter business ventures in small towns:

Dale - No some don't understand our ways. Have you ever heard the saying country bumkins and city slickers?

A disconnect occurs between non-locals and locals, including lifestyle norms, expectations about dress, speech, and ideas about civility. Moreover, an immense amount of Pākehā non-locals are entering a space that has been predominantly Māori populated. This community has undeniable whakapapa connections to one another and a staunch commitment to te reo and tikanga Māori. The contrast between rural Māori worldview and urban Pākehā worldviews may cause more confusion, tension and misunderstandings. The settler gaze is once again in close proximity to Māori; this time, it is not Māori urbanisation, but Pākehā counter-urbanisation and migrations that are transpiring. Pākehā counter-urbanisation directly contributes to the rising house prices in the town in question. The changing house costs and inflation of housing have been observed by wāhine, who are living through it. When asked about patterns and distributions of housing Dale answered:

Dale - the price of rent is skyrocketing to the fucking moon... There's a shortage of housing unless you have money to buy your own home.

Dale observed the rising house prices and can recollect paying far less in rentals. It is observationally clear to the wāhine that rental prices have risen, and moreover, Dale alludes to the idea that the housing shortage is only so for renters, there is not a housing shortage if you have money and are able to buy your own home. When asked about the changes of patterns regarding housing actors, Alice provided accounts of the fluctuating owners:

Alice – Well, the house in HinaUri Street was property [agency], back to him [landlord] then property[agency], and when I was in that Kui Street it went from that cop to that other man. Like change of ownerships.

TeRauhina -Not locals though ay?

Alice – Schmidt, they're always Schmidt people.²⁶

TeRauhina -Oh wow, that's not too far from home. Must be cheaper here than Schmidt to buy houses.

Alice – Yeah

²⁶ Schmidt is a pseudonym used in place of the neighbouring cities place name.

Alice documents the growing pattern of non-local investment and sale of rental properties. Within one year, her rental home had changed ownership three times. Later in our discussion, we talk about a different rental property and the trickle on impact of persistent ownership changes:

TeRauhina -Why did you move [from] that one?

Alice - Cause then the man that was buying it wanted to rent a room in the house...And I was like nah, like live with us?... and so, he moved in

An interesting issue emerged was odd requests, such as the new owner who requested to reside with Alice. Alice's rental home changed owners, and the new owner wanted to rent a room and live with Alice and her children. She refused this arrangement and ultimately had to move houses. Alice shows agency and intelligence, it is not safe for our wāhine and tamariki to be around strange men. The statistics are too alarming, and solo-mothering wāhine a 'vulnerable' position in the eyes of society, and therefore, at additional risk for attempted victimisation. The 'practice' on behalf of the landlord is also questionable on the basis that it is difficult for these wāhine to acquire housing and might be forced into the situation if there was no other option.

Outsiders buying homes in a low-socio-economic area block access to the locals, displaces locals and contributes to rising prices due to demand.²⁷ Housing speculation in New Zealand has grown and seen an increase of speculative interest in rural Māori areas that were formerly disinvested (Freeman & Cheyne, 2008; Rehm & Yang, 2020). With the current housing inflation and capital gains practice, buying and selling houses have increased (Rua, 2019). Investors increased interest in public infrastructure and renovation of existing houses for upselling is a form of gentrification. Gentrification is the increased interest, claiming of space, and transformation of space by those with capital in areas that were disinvested or otherwise void of large-scale commercial activity (Freeman, 2005). The current housing market is positioned so that non-locals are given priority because those seen as wealthier and more civilised, are also seen as bringing capital into the district. Class conflict is inherent in the process of gentrification as it necessitates

²⁷ Small rural communities have seen a high housing cost increase all over Aotearoa which indicates this is not a case specific to this community but a trend across rural Aotearoa.

the displacement of poorer residents in favour of the affluent (Freeman, 2005). Moreover, Lydersen (1999) argued that gentrification was apartheid by both race and class. As middle to upper-class Pākehā and non-locals invest, speculate and settle in the area, the locals who are predominantly Māori and pipelined into poverty are displaced and locked out of the local market. Moreover, these locals live on their papa kāinga. What does it mean to displace Māori from their whenua further? A form of neo-colonisation and practice of continued displacement of Māori.

Selina describes a positive experience with a non-local homeowner from her last private rental:

***TeRauhina** - Are your landlords white, are the people that own these houses are they white? But it's hard for emergency housing because its council...*

***Selina** - its government, its government owned so yeah. Well, my last house I never met the owner, I never met the owners. I only met one owner who bought the flats, the one that did them up and he was lovely, he was Pākehā, and he stuck up for me*

***TeRauhina** - Was he from Here?*

***Selina** - No... He came from out of town and started buying up houses... And doing them up, doing them up meke, but still giving them to Susan. But he was lovely. He actually had my back this one-time Susan tried to overcharge me. When I was living in that flat, he [the owner] was slowly doing it up and doing doors and stuff, well they were using my power... So, his deal was that 'since we are using your power, we will give you some money to pay for the power bill', well when I said that I accidently smashed one of the windows... by booting it. So, I said to him "instead of giving me the money can you pay for the windows...and that's the power sorted" because I was already paying fifty bucks anyway, so my power was all goods, and then he goes "oh yep deal done".*

So, Susan kept hounding me about my windows and I said "no, well me and my landlord have already come up with a situation", well she started yelling at me, and my dad was there, and I was like 'what the fuck'? Oh, because someone told me she was in my house, so I boosted back from my dad's and I was like "what are you up to?" And she was like "I'm just coming in blah blah blah change the locks and this and that" and I was like "what for?" And she's like "because you haven't got this window fixed", I'm like "excuse me, me and the landlord have an agreement, the new owner, we have an agreement where he's going to fix those windows for using my power. You weren't here, that was just mine and his agreement, not yours! You're not paying for the power", and then she just picked up this strife. Then the landlord turned up, and he goes, "no no no we don't need any of that", because I started getting really hefty, like started picking up my voice and swearing and ready to fuckin punch her in the face. But then he comes and goes "oh we don't need this, no yes, me and this young girl has sorted this out

Susan, you don't need to worry about this." And then she's like "oh fine" and then struts off because she knew she was all shit [the problem]

TeRauhina - *She should have said sorry.*

Selina - *Wanted money out of me for nothing, because she wanted her husband to fix it because he's a carpenter or something like that*

Racialisation may link with non-local presence as stated by Alice casually, "I don't know many white people around here...", there is also an interesting example here of what it means to be a Pākehā ally in the case of extreme misuse of power. There is still a level of responsibility that landlords have for their tenants, despite absolving responsibilities through third party entities, such as housing agencies. Through interjection of the property manager into an already established and working relationship, the altercation could have resulted in negative consequences for Selina if it wasn't for the presence of a Pākehā non-local male, whose voice and authority outweighed that of the property manager's. It is problematic that wāhine must pander to this relationship. Additionally, if Selina had physically retaliated after months of 'hounding', feeling 'pissed off' and 'scared', she would have been prosecuted as a criminal and further blocked from access to housing and other foundations to citizenship (Knapp, 2019).

Moreover, the practice of outsourcing power and responsibility has been highlighted by neoliberal state practices. The absolving of housing responsibilities by outsourcing to private sectors, was a means of negating duty to Te Tiriti o Waitangi and duty to citizens on the idea of housing as a human right. Landlords can use the same practice. By outsourcing housing agents, landlords 'save face' or maintain positive relationships whilst agents carry out the 'dirty work' or things that may negate their portrayal of niceness. The performative aspect of niceness works three-fold. Firstly, landlords may be able to make unprofessional requests such as using power sources from their tenants. Secondly, tenants are less likely to pursue maintenance, especially through legal avenues such as Tenancy Tribunal, and thirdly, landlords are avoiding accountability for exploiting their tenants whilst still reaping the financial benefits for this practice. Arguably, landlords are still complicit in the discrimination of their tenants and should be held accountable, despite how nice they are.

The tensions of local council spending on outsiders, the practice of gentrification from outsider housing speculators and the tensions that occur within transactions between locals and non-locals was theorised by the wāhine partnered. The next subsection, reinforcing the ‘other’ in housing, discusses the surveillance and policing of the wāhine partnered and their whānau members.

5.4 Reinforcing the ‘other’ in housing

The way wāhine are policed in their intimate relationships, their private lives, and by their stereotypes are analysed within this section, Reinforcing the ‘other’ in housing. The main areas of social policing explored was firstly, the use of criteria to police and block identities and Māoriness. Secondly, the policing of motherhood was theorised by wāhine to be a salient area of surveillance particularly in terms of children and cleanliness. Finally, the policing of romantic relationships is discussed and categorized into two sections, social policing of relationships and intimate lives and the impact this has on whānau relations and wealth.

Social policing is the practice of community members surveilling and policing what is conceived as anti-social behaviour, much of which has been codified into law and framed as criminal. For example, drug use could be conceived as a health issue, however, due to criminalisation it is stigmatised and policed by different government organisations and the public. Social policing stems beyond criminal activities into anything seen as anti-social or against the Western ideal of civility. Social policing of existing or potential tenants is a salient thread that weaves into all aspects of this project. In a small community with whakapapa connecting most people, the lines of private and public are blurred. The use of criteria (whether real or imaginary) to screen potential tenants is linked to a common theme of social policing by housing actors. Private lives are subjected to the scrutiny of housing actors who have public access to this information through informal channels. This process vets’ potential tenants based on their history, whānau history, whānau, relationships, and the company they keep, and is based rarely on factual evidence or previous tenancies. Criteria were discussed by multiple wāhine involved in this project as implicitly and explicitly racialised and gendered. When asked why she could not access the rental market, Selina responded:

***Selina** - Yup at all, she even... I even went in there and asked her if I was able to get a house at all even though I'm not with Bruce. She said 'no' and then she had to write out an email for my landlord [emergency housing] people to prove that I wasn't actually ever going to get a house through her- and she did. She was going to say because I wasn't eligible or something like that, but she said, 'she does not meet criteria'. That's what she said that the owners said I don't meet the criteria...*

***TeRauhina** - So you reckon criteria could have to do with like things like that?*

***Selina** – yeah, and plus she tried to say, “oh nah kids”. That the owner doesn't want kids in here because it's brand new and they don't want them wrecking their house and this and that. But then again, this lady that I knew that moved into that house, she had four [kids]! And I was like 'that's so hypocritical'.*

Social policing of the target population is interconnected with stereotypes of that population and is tied deeply to the access to private and racialised stereotypes. Marla explains.

***TeRauhina** -Do you think ethnicity plays a role?*

***Miranda** - Umm I think so sometimes, like you know in the nicest way - hard-core Māori...*

***TeRauhina** -What do you reckon are the main issues, like tensions there are between landlords and tenants, like what's the main problems with housing, or main problems landlords have with tenants?*

***Marla**- I think it's like with what Miranda was saying if you have kids, or you're Māori or whatever, no one... they don't expect you to be able to clean a house... I think it's just a judgemental part of it all. From the get-go, they will expect you to fuck the house up.... They just constantly think that, you know, you're going to fuck up, so they're just quite rude.*

Miranda noted, that looking like a 'hard-core' Māori would be a factor when asked if ethnicity played a role. I asked her if she thought being Māori could be affiliated with 'gang culture', to which she replied, “I reckon if they don't dress nicely, they would be”. This illustrates that the wāhine are theorising intersecting stigmas of class, race, welfare queen tropes and Māori 'savagery' tropes. The term “hard-core” Māori implies a visibility of Māoriness as well as stereotypes of 'what' Māori look like (Houkamau & Sibley, 2015). The criteria of children were present in the blocking of Selina's access to rentals, which her persistence and expertise revealed was a deceptive criteria and barrier. Underlying the hypocrisy is the perception of certain kinds of parents and incompetence around parenting (Kingfisher, 1999; Seccombe et al., 1998). The 'off the record criteria' is utilised depending on 'who' is presenting the request, and moreover, can be seen across wāhine theorisation as

a salient area of social policing of identities. Miranda also discusses the stigmas of property destruction and violence, by explaining that Māori are expected to “fuck the house up”. This begins the exploration of the stigmas of Māori homemaking and wāhine motherhood. Marla describes an incident of breaching peace and privacy to inspect cleanliness:

***Marla** – Nah, she tries to get one up on you cousin. I remember my aunty was renting a house down HineUri street. Aunty [June] she’s a real clean freak... Anyway Susan, kept coming over randomly and bringing people over for inspections without letting us know, and bring people onto the property, [bring] potential buyers onto the property without any notice.*

***TeRauhina** -that’s like illegal ay?*

***Marla** - After the third time I think [Leslie] ended up saying something to Susan she ended up starting to ring up and be like “I’m going to be there in the afternoon” and then like after half an hour she was there... She would say she would be there in the afternoon and it’s 10 o’clock in the morning and then 1030 comes around and it’s... Susan’s out at the door, she’s like “oh I did call, I did say I was coming”.*

***TeRauhina** -What do you think she was trying to do?*

***Marla** -I don’t know, I feel like [sighs] I feel like... because it was always for inspections and stuff. It’s like she didn’t believe that we kept the house that clean, I felt like she was trying to snap[catch] us out that the house wasn’t that clean... there was like five kids, six kids... and the same with [Mahinarangi] when [Mahinarangi] was living down at down at ParePare ave, she was coming over randomly without letting [Mahinarangi] know that she was coming over for inspections...yeah and she[Mahinarangi] would keep it quite tidy, but there were a couple of times she would just pop up and be like “oh someone’s going to come and look at the home today”.*

The tropes of Māori 'savagery' and motherhood intersect with historicised perceptions of poor Māori hygiene. The stigma of uncleanliness stems from settler discourse, such as ‘wash day at the pa’ (1964), which framed Māori as pre-modern and uncivilised and was etched into children’s psyche by mass distribution in schools (Steward & Dale, 2016). As Marla examples, this narrative continues in settler contexts and continues to impact wāhine, particularly in terms of housing surveillance. Unsurprisingly, most landlords are Pākehā in their mid to late 50’s and older (boomer generation), and likely were exposed to colonial discourse which (mis)represented the home and living of rural Māori.

In response to questioning about the criteria of rental properties, Miranda explained that:

Miranda - *Yeah because there was a couple years back... they didn't give some... I'm trying to remember who it is ... they didn't give someone a house because they had kids*

TeRauhina - *Yeah, I've heard of this ... it's quite a common thing aye?*

Miranda - *They got units and that house that are for rent and they have been for rent for quite a while, but you can't get them unless you're a retiree or a single couple with no kids.*

The presence of children was theorised to impact the likelihood of attaining rentals whether you were in a relationship or not. Miranda elaborates with another example further on in the discussion:

Miranda - *I don't know if the person that got the house, applied through someone else... but the person who has it is someone younger than me and their girlfriend, and there were families that applied to that house too.*

TeRauhina - *oh so it went to people without children?*

Marla - *so it went to a couple without children who spend six weeks on a boat.*

Miranda and Marla felt that the presence of tamariki was actively policed and a significant barrier in attaining a rental. The housing actors blocked wāhine Māori through policing their whānau configurations which they framed as 'criteria'. However, as Selina pointed out, the use of criteria presents an excuse for blocking housing rather than being an objective practice.

The double jeopardy tropes of female sexual savagery may have been a salient factor. Western religious views and racialised images of the 'savage' stigmatise unmarried or single Māori mothers as hyper-sexual, irrational and the cause of society's issues (Murphy, 2019; Provan, 2012; Simmonds, 2011). The presence of tamariki, especially multiple tamariki for a single mother, may have cultivated ideas about welfare queens,²⁸ therefore, tamariki posed a perceived risk in the eyes of housing actors. Poor and Brown solo-mothers are framed as both inferior, and also a threat to settler society (Ross, 1998; Seccombe et al., 1998). More specifically, wāhine represent the means to continue our culture, whilst simultaneously being misrepresented, as 'irrational' and a 'risky' tenant (Abramovitz, 2006; Ross, 1998;

²⁸ 'Welfare Queens' is a stereotype popularised in the United States to refer to welfare beneficiaries who 'misuse' the social welfare system and links with the colloquial term 'dole bludger' here in Aotearoa.

Johnston & Pihama, 2019; Zhou, 2008). The presence of our tamariki threatens settlers in both of these ways within the housing system. Intersections of Māori single mothers are explored further in Selina's analysis of the programmes she was forced to take while in 'emergency housing'. Selina had to attend weekly women's parenting meetings to retain her tenancy:

TeRauhina - *Did they get you to do courses and stuff?*

Selina - *yeah girl I got to go to a woman's group, we've got to do 'strengthening with families. You got to do a lot just to be in these emergency houses, which is funny because... it felt like I was the only one that was getting interrogated, because I never ever hear anything about this lady[non-Māori] that was in my old house and it was like "why were you hounding me when I've missed only one?" [meeting]. Oh, that time I came to my girls to go get Bruce, I had to miss the Friday. You know, they kind of hounded me about that one woman's group I missed, and I was like 'fuck I was going to everyone!' [Non-Māori woman] missed heaps. You know, it was hard, just like interrogating me, to do all the deedas[things] to stay in that house.*

The underlying message of this policy is that wāhine Māori who are solo-parents, and who are unable to acquire housing, need to be taught how to be good parents. The forced programmes and courses are individually focused, rather than understanding of the structures and colonial systems that create and reinforce housing disparity. Abramovitz (2006) argues that within the welfare state; race, class and gender matter, and although her research focuses on the United States, some parallels can be drawn here. For example, she argues that "from the start the welfare state favoured assisting white households, especially married couples" (p.364, 2006). Discrimination against Māori solo-mothers is evident in this analysis. Selina's women's group epitomises white feminism and the settler states' lack of understanding of the time constraints wāhine have to manage. Moreover, actors within this programme illustrated racialised surveillance and policing. Selina was policed more than a Pākehā single mother and found the whole process 'hard' rather than 'helpful'. Groups that were designed as support were ultimately demeaning and added to the practices of control, policing and paternalism (Illich, 1990; Pihama, 2001). Punitive welfare responses create a situation where wāhine are stigmatised for solo parenting but also discouraged from being in a relationship by welfare policy:

Selina - *Yeah and that's it I think and everyone's too scared that they're going to get the bad [reputation] and won't be able to... will get a bad name from her.*

Alice - and because everyone's like with their partners on the benefit [giggles] and she'll nark[report].

Tash - So if you're a single woman, you can get a place, but if you partner up its harder for you to get a place?

Selina - Way harder, she just...

Tash - it's almost, it's almost against 2 parent households...

Later Selina alludes to the social policing of her relationship and how she navigated around it:

Selina - That's why I never ever got cut off, when I was seen with the kids' father, because we weren't together. But he was staying over with the kids and stuff, that's the difference, you got to be de-facto to be in a relationship.

The assemblage between; surveillance, policing, housing actors and punitive welfare policy is striking. This kōrero examples both, a dispersion of ideologies and practices across systems, and also an interconnecting interaction between systems. The housing actor used policing practices to report to the welfare office.

Moreover, the punitive welfare approach is positioned to reward single-parent households by providing financial and material support and encouraging mothers to stay single out of fear of losing state assistance (Seccombe et al., 1998). This is a paternal act on behalf of the settler state and entrenches dependency on the state. A list of questions delivered by Work and Income highlights how invasive they are towards relationships: Do they stay three or more nights a week? Do you have a sexual relationship? Do you socialise together? Answering yes to these types of questions indicate to the welfare system that you are in a relationship and that this person should be supporting your children (Work and Income New Zealand, 2019). Relationship policing creates a reluctance and fear for wāhine to move into relationships (or even accept support from co-parents) out of fear of losing financial support. These systems of incentive are antithetical to the unification of whānau and overall empowerment and mana of whānau.

Alternatively, solo parenting is demonised and stigmatised through the imposition of Western religious ideologies. Solo mothers are framed as irrational, in need of paternalism, and linked to welfare dependency (Hodgetts et al., 2017). This intersects with settler patriarchal and paternalistic ideas of wāhine 'savagery',

‘hyper sexuality’ and ‘bad-mothering’ (Kingfisher, 1999; Murphy, 2019; Ross, 1998). Therefore, wāhine solo mothers are demonised in the consciousness of society, and simultaneously, disciplined from establishing meaningful romantic relationships through settler policy and welfare systems. Limiting wāhine from meaningful romantic relationships is helpful to the settler state as it creates a dependency on the colonisers, blocks whānau from building wealth, and ultimately keeps power in the hands of settlers.

Miranda and Marla were both in the process of finding a suitable rental, whereas Alice and Selina were trying to retain and enhance their living situation. Alice and Selina provided a nuanced perspective of criteria and felt that romantic relationships were the most salient criteria that blocked them from housing and moreover, is an area of particular social policing and surveillance by housing actors. Policing of intimate relations is discussed in two parts: the practices of social policing intimate lives and relationships and the impact and repercussions of policing whānau relationships. Policing relationships is described by Alice when asked about the central tensions and frictions that occur between housing actors and tenants:

Alice - Do you mean just like not letting the partners at the house?

TeRauhina - Yeah that's a big one, I think?

Tash - Yeah because not having partners in the house, I mean, what if ...what is the main reason behind that anyway? Not having partners in the house.

Alice - Maybe they are scared they are going to smash it up?

Alice demonstrates the awareness of stigma for our Māori men, the stigma of violence, destruction and perceived risk for homeowners.

Considering the pattern of social policing relationships that had emerged from the wananga sessions, Alice was asked where the men were residing, if it wasn't with their partners or families:

*Alice - They can stay at the Men's Hostel, heaps of them stay there
[Giggles]*

Tash - What is it a hotel or something

Alice - Big hostel thing with heaps of rooms and it's all filled with men

The practice of separating tāne and wāhine is discriminatory. Hostel living is not a safe, practical or positive environment to have children, which ultimately obstructs fathers from extended childcare duties or overnight stays, placing more pressure, labour, and constraints on Mothers. Childcare and respite are extremely beneficial support provisions. This is time wāhine can rest, socialise with friends and whānau, and work on projects. As a co-parent, it is the bare minimum to assist in childcare, however, the discursive reality is that women are positioned as the primary caregiver. Additionally, by separating wāhine and tāne living arrangements, housing actors extract wealth from two sides of the whānau; this also acts as a barrier for whānau to put their money together, save, and enter the housing market themselves. Whether this is the result, or the aim of social policing is debatable. However, the fracturing of whānau is a direct consequence of housing officer's social policing the relationships of wāhine Māori.

Alice illustrates that relationship policing worked both ways as she was blocked from the home tenanted to her children's father:

Alice - Yeah, she gave him a house on Mahuika Street, but I wasn't allowed there. That's when I had my other house, but I changed to Kui Street.

Selina expands on this practice through antagonisms she endured with her housing agent about her children's father.

Selina - Yep, she's [property manager] the manager. If she saw Bruce, she'll come and do a house inspection and if she saw him [Children's Father] she would end up ringing me up telling me to go in and see her. And she was like "I saw Bruce at the house" and I said "yeah but he just turned up that morning" like, what are you going to say, he didn't stay there.

Selina - yeah, she just... she'll try to find any excuse to get your partner out of there, and just have you and put you in a shit as house.

After being asked if the property manager comes with stereotypes and knowledge about their whānau, Selina continues with an experience of a whānau member:

Selina - Yes! She does that badly because a lot of people around here are [gang affiliated]. Well, a lot of our women always seem to... Well, they take their partners with them. One of my cousins had been living with her mum and her stepdad for a while, her and her two kids. She had been living with her mum for a while and she finally got this house. Well, she had been in there three days and then she had mistakenly said to Susan "Well Susan, when my partner gets off the bracelet he's

coming home”, well Susan said, “oh sorry you can’t live here”, and she was like “oh what”.

The surveillance and control of Māori bodies and whānau is reflective of housing officer policies in the 1930s (Wanhalla, 2006). Previous colonial housing actors policed and enforced the nuclearisation of whānau arrangements. This practice disconnected and harmed our already existing support structures, and now we see a further diminishment of whānau Māori through the separation of wāhine and tāne. Interestingly, this practice examples the continued relationship between the settler state and housing actors in surveilling, controlling and policing Māori.

Furthermore, the policing and surveillance of relationships within housing is explicitly stated by wāhine. This raises questions about the impact of the current housing system on the health of wāhine and tāne relationships and the additional stress placed on these relationships. Selina also shows another implicit criterion of ex-incarcerated individuals, thus impacting many Māori due to our high policing rates and interaction with the carceral system. In the current surveillance era, criminal record screening of tenants has risen and compounds institutional exclusion (Thatcher, 2008). Although discrimination within the housing market is illegal, it is hard to prove and is often not worth the time, effort or retaliation to pursue. The interaction between incarceration, housing exclusion and the fracturing of whānau can be seen. State actors can be a direct barrier to a working relationship through policing, social policing and surveillance.

Moreover, this surveillance can prevent Māori fathers from being present in the lives of their children. This practice further fractures whānau configurations that were already nuclearised and attacked during colonisation through policy and policing. Alice’s comment about being blocked from her partners home is important. She has observed and experienced the practice of policing and separating partners and has illustrated that despite their integrity, wāhine were also banned from visiting their partners or children’s fathers. The stigma of risk is apparent for wāhine and tāne Māori, and the social policing of intimate lives are present beyond relationships. Intimate lives were policed, particularly around substance use and

friendships or company that the tenants kept Selina highlights how this practice was codified into policy in her emergency housing tenancy:

Selina - Yeah and I have to go. I have to go, its... it's a part of being with the house and you get a million rules. There are a million rules around the house in bright yellow!

The rules Selina is discussing include: no alcohol or drugs, no visitors and no partners. Through social policy and targeted programmes, housing can dictate people's relationships and the support people can utilise as a solo parent. In emergency housing, Selina has outlined that visitors and romantic relationships are not permitted. Policing and enforced isolation by housing actors send wāhine the implicit message that their social position is unworthy of social life. Consequently, wāhine Māori must make executive decisions between support and relational practices or maintaining shelter. There are also latent messages about the company impoverished and marginalised people keep. There lies an assumption that our friends, families and romantic partners are a risk to the health of a home. This idea of 'risk' denies the reality in Honotapu, where the community is highly interconnected and acts as a support system. This practice further segregates and Individualises Māori as if we are not a part of a wider social system. The construction of people as individuals who are somehow disconnected from the unequal power, settler contexts and settler systems absolve the state from responsibilities.

Moreover, there is an implication and expectancy that these groups will be using drugs, which raises the question - would Pākehā males abusing pharmaceuticals be treated the same? The policing on self-medication practices or 'drug use' weighs heavy as a burden on the poor and Māori communities. Literature in the United States argues that drug policies and enforcement of drug laws are racialised and disproportionately impact women of colour (Ross, 2004). In Aotearoa, research has uncovered that the war on drugs is discursively framed through political debates as an issue linked directly to low-income areas, Māori and gangs (Lewis, et al., 2020; Provine, 2007). The majority of the offences wāhine Māori are charged with in the Criminal Justice System are non-violent crimes such as theft, fraud, and drug use (Ministry of Justice, 2021). Rules against alcohol and drug use offers a discretionary loophole for the eviction of tenants. The criminalisation of substance

use also presents a lack of understanding about the use of substances to self-medicate in a society where mental health supports are direly lacking. The policing and surveillance of substance use within housing is further implicated through the allyship and advocacy of a particular work and income employee:

Selina - I thought I was going to get kicked out but I realised the WINZ lady said to me “no they’ve got to come up with a good enough excuse for you to move out like your selling illicit drugs or your smoking methamphetamine or anything on the property that is not allowed -not allowed to drink all that sort of stuff.” so she said “You won’t have a problem because you won’t smoke methamphetamine.”, and she said “Well they’ve got to come up with a good enough excuse to kick you out, they can’t just kick you out cause you got to come through me”, so I was like ‘well I’m pretty safe then’.

Selina has furthered the implication about these groups in terms of the sale and use of methamphetamine. Methamphetamine sale and use is often carried as a stigma by low-socioeconomic wāhine Māori (and tāne), and therefore presents these groups as a high risk in the perceptions of homeowners and the state. It is important to note that methamphetamine use in a rental is a very low health risk. To put this into perspective, the meth levels of transference from surfaces of a contaminated home are 1/50th of the level administered to children with ADHD through medication (Kim, 2016).²⁹ Low Levels of methamphetamine contamination in houses causes an extremely low health risk, conversely, there are many health risks associated with black mould that is present in most of the wāhine stories. Furthermore, recent advances in technology and business have seen an increase in products such as the “P Alarm”, which functions similar to a smoke alarm where the use of methamphetamine activates it. Here heralds a warning; that mandating these within social housing and private rental accommodations is increasing surveillance and social policing. Increasing (in)justice practices within the rental market will disproportionately impact Māori, Pacifica and the poor. Methamphetamine readings present as another avenue that landlords may commandeer the bond or block or evict tenants on the basis of health risks, whilst at the same time disregarding health risks previously outlined, such as, plumbing, mould, heating, ventilation and pests.

²⁹ Applies to standard levels 0.5-1.5ug/100 which is the current level that LL will deem 'contaminated'. Latest research suggests it should be 15ug/100 as a guideline because the risk is posed at around 30ug/100 (Kim,2016)

Wāhine Māori have shown immense intellect and agency in their ability to theorise their circumstance in a nuanced way. They are not simply informants providing a narrative of their experience; they are thinkers who are actively making meaning, constructing new knowledge and developing an in-depth understanding of marginalisation. Moreover, their commitment to learning and understanding has resulted in a lived expertise in navigating social systems. In this section, wāhine uncovered sophisticated practices of surveillance, policing and attempted control over wāhine bodies and identities. Because the social positioning of most of the partners was intersecting with motherhood, this emerged as a salient area of policing in terms of the amount of children and cleanliness of wāhine as mothers, moreover an insidious practice of fracturing and blocking meaningful relationships was presented by local wāhine which implicates a racist practice against whānau Māori hauora.

Furthermore, rising house prices across Aotearoa have encouraged property developers to invest in cheaper homes in cheaper areas to rent out or profit from after a few alterations. The resulting tension is increased activity by non-locals in the housing market, which blocks locals and increases housing dislocation due to constant buying/selling. Moreover, local governments have focused their gaze on attracting tourists/non-locals and pandering to their interests. It seems that without care of duty to the community, particularly in terms of housing, the local council represents outsiders in favour of their community.

5.5 Conclusion

This chapter discussed wāhine stories about their mana and what is done to it within the realm of housing. The blocking and steering of tenants, monopolisation of the market, loss of money and silencing of wāhine was discussed in the first section, 'Repositories of knowledge' (see 5.2), this was followed by a discussion of the tensions between locals and non-locals in 'Making our differences visible' (see 5.3), particularly in terms of neoliberalism and gentrification. The final section, 'Reinforcing the other' (see 5.4), examined practices of the justice system such as policing, or social policing within housing, the practice of relationship policing proved to be a significant area of surveillance. The next chapter, 'Me aro koe ki te

hā o Hineahuone: We are our own solution’, discusses the strategies and practices wāhine use to navigate the system with consideration to the discrimination that was discussed in this chapter, ‘Echoed Silences in Te Whare/ Tangata’.

Chapter 6

Me aro koe ki te hā o Hineahuone: We are our own solution

Women who were explorers, poets, chiefs and warriors; heads of families; founding tīpuna or ancestors of various hāpu and iwi. Their deeds were remembered in waiata and whakataukī. Their labour helped their colonisers build a nation; their work helped a culture survive against the odds. (L. T. Smith, 2019, p.41)

6.1 Introduction

In this chapter the resistance strategies and survival practices in response to racism and discrimination are discussed. Throughout wāhine theorisation of their situation, three main themes of resistance emerged as important: Navigation of a racist and discriminatory system (i), informal information channels (ii), and survivance (iii). The first section, 'The cost of silence' (see 6.2), is a reminder of the actual emotional, physical, mental and spiritual cost the current housing system has on wāhine and whānau. The next section, 'Wāhine navigating a racist system' (see 6.3), discusses practical and effective navigation of the system and its allies; for example, negotiating and self-advocacy, navigating the system and forced dependency on colonial systems, networking and understanding the chain of power hierarchies, and networking and finding avenues of support. The third section, 'Through the kūmara vine: Informal Information Channels' (see 6.4), highlights the collective and creative practices of finding informal information through whānau and friends; and highlights the resistance to prescribed capitalist channels and competitive capitalistic ideologies. Additionally, sharing information on utilities, unsafe practices and actors, safe advocates and actors, and legal advice will be discussed. The following section, 'Fragments: Picking up the pieces' (see 6.5), outlines ingenious practices of resistance and survival in a system that denies and limits wāhine flourishing. Survivance practices are discussed in particular to four key areas, performing civility and 'playing the game', rejecting institutions that diminish our mana, and collecting evidence to tell our story. The final section, 'Mana Whānau', discusses the importance and support whānau and the community as a whānau provide in the context of housing discrimination (see 6.6).

Forcing wāhine Māori into unhealthy homes with substandard repair work is a side of Aotearoa that is hidden and relies on anti-welfare, anti-gang and anti-Māori narratives to justify it. The wāhine involved in this research are experts at understanding the structural and ideological processes at work and resist the internalisation of racism or self-blame. As wāhine Māori, we are not passive recipients of colonial abuse. In contrast, we resist! We are autonomous, collect evidence and tell our story, navigate the system, support each other, and are experts at material provision and trade (L. T. Smith, 1999). There are a host of forces against wāhine Māori in the housing search of which requires intellect, creativity and resistance to negotiate and ultimately to be successful in these contexts. Overall, the following chapter documents the authentic agentic authority of the wāhine collective in this study who I posit as collaborators in this work.

6.2 The cost of silence

“That women should play a key part in the survival of iwi identity through the preservation of iwi history in waiata is entirely consistent with their role as whare tāngata, through which they ensure the physical survival of the iwi by continuing the whakapapa. (Mikaere, 2017, p.63)”

Throughout the discussions with wāhine, a salient theme that emerged was the emotional and psychological cost and labour it takes to attain, secure and maintain rental housing. Before the practical resistance strategies of these wāhine are discussed, a brief discussion of the emotional, physical and mental costs of the current housing market will be briefly touched on. A lack of access to housing was a significant source of stress and unnecessary as Selina points out:

Selina - ... and that's where I've been going - to privately owned. And just fuck! Like, I ventured out. It took weeks of stress just trying to look for private owners. It took a while and now I'm in an emergency home, but that's run through WINZ.

Selina recognised that the energy of searching for private rentals was stressful:

Selina - I've just kind of just stopped.... stressing myself out looking for myself a house.

However, social housing came with its own sources of labour and stress for Selina:

Selina - It was stressful as. I've got to go in and sign papers every two weeks with this house and keep updating. I've got to show that I'm still looking for homes. It's just stressful... I had to have nearly every week, proof that I was looking for a home, and it was stressful. I ended up

going to my mate that's a painter, that paints a lot of people's houses I was even getting him to ask landlords and stuff like that.

TeRauhina - *And that's like, this is Honotapu, there not that many houses...*

Selina - *Houses exactly like -*

TeRauhina - *How can you keep- you want me to keep applying to the same house?*

Selina - *Exactly! Exactly [All Laugh]*

Acts of deception were also emotionally charged:

Selina - *yeah and plus she tried to say oh nah kids, that the owner doesn't want kids in here because it's brand new and they don't want them wrecking their house and this and that. But then again, this lady that I knew moved into that house, she had four[children]! And I was like 'that's so fucking hypocritical', I was bumming out... but then she moved out so I thought oh yep, I might have a chance on that house. But she moved out and bought her a home, and then she had already hooked one of her church mates up into her [rental] home.*

Selina's analysis of this experience is insightful and tells of the emotional toll this kind of diligent work takes when navigating stigmas, state actors and discrimination. Insecure housing can be attributed to a host of emotions such as stress and fatigue. Housing agents contribute directly to a slow violence towards wāhine Māori by placing them in unhealthy homes, causing extra stress and unnecessary labour (Pain, 2019). Control, containment, and surveillance of Māori bodies was particularly highlighted in Selina's case, who was tenanting a social housing property. As discussed previously, there is little housing availability, which led her having to reapply for the same properties. This practice is an impractical use of Selina's and the state actors time and energy. Furthermore, the energy and stress it takes to continuously seek housing that does not exist is detrimental to health and wellbeing and implies an assumption of dishonesty from those using emergency housing. When a large amount of emotional, mental and physical labour of our wāhine is concentrated on housing, there is little left to raise tamariki and maintain self-care. Insecure housing or the threat of homelessness can have dire physical and mental health implications. Discussions of friends and whānau experiences of homelessness and feelings associated with insecurity were commonplace in the majority of the interviews.

Miranda - *You've got people out here that really need somewhere to stay. There's somewhere available but they won't give it to you because, you know, you don't fit the criteria- even if you're homeless, even if*

you're homeless pretty much... you have like so many people who are just living with their mates, living with anyone because there's hardly any rentals at all.

Selina offers an analysis of the welfare systems response to insecure housing and homelessness:

Selina - *Yeah that's how the system rolls you've got to be living in a cardboard... box to actually be heard. Because I've got two children I kind of haven't let it get that far. I don't want to ever get that far, my parents never ever had us in a car so I wouldn't want that for my own children. Just keep fighting. It was stressful but I did it. This emergency housing - It's good because it's a roof over my head, and it's not mouldy. It's insulated and stuff like that, carpets, fire... It was just, it was hard. And some people have more kids and stuff like that. You have to be basically living in your car for them to really help you.*

Selina critiques the practices of the current welfare system and offers a counter narrative to the dominant assumption that our social welfare system is supporting those in need. She felt it was challenging to receive assistance, and the assistance available was for particularly extreme cases of homelessness. Selina analyses the performative aspect of receiving assistance - that people have to be publicly suffering to be heard and highlights the desensitised nature of the system and its actors towards hardship. The following reflects the toll and burnout of the housing system on wāhine and ultimately whānau wellbeing:

Selina - *To be just me and my kids, not anyone in my space, or having to deal with my father when he's having a bad day, or you know just stuff like that I love to be in my own zone. Plus, I like to clean... and males at a certain age don't!*

Selina - *Cause I, I like my own space especially when you have two kids, I got my own kind of ways of living, yeah...*

Marla has a similar outlook on needing her own space:

Marla - *it's gotten to the point where you know, I'm getting old now, and I do need to live on my own, you know the price did affect me before but nah doesn't really bother me now, it's actually just trying to look for a house*

It is also important for grandparents and extended whānau to have their own space and lives outside of their children and mokopuna which is reflected by the following:

Marla - *Yeah and it's... you know mums talking about getting our own lives and we're like umm...*

Wāhine need to have a sense of personal tino rangatiratanga and own space because of a system that costs unnecessary energy and labour and therefore, a restorative method wāhine may use is in semi-isolation. Wāhine felt the need to find their own space and juggled this with the lack of homes available. The drive to leave parental homes was at odds with housing accessibility, but personal ambition of wāhine and inherited mana from our tīpuna compelled the mission:

Selina - Because I've got two children I kind of haven't let it get that far. I don't want to ever get that far, my parents never ever had us in a car so I wouldn't want that for my own children. Just keep fighting.

Ka whawhai tonu atu. We will fight on and on because we are descendants of resilient, resistant and resourceful peoples and continue this legacy. Selina expressed this in passing, but its meaning is powerful. By design, the housing system, the carceral system, the welfare system, and the education system, contribute to the marginalisation of wāhine who continue our culture (Cunneen & Tauri, 2016; Kingfisher, 1998; Mikaere, 1994). Selina expresses deep empowerment and deep strength to 'just keep fighting', which was her attitude and practice navigating all of these systems. This reflects our continued fight towards our tino rangatiratanga. However, it should not be normal for our wāhine to see the journey of settler systems as a 'fight'. Wāhine strength can be a source of cultural pride and resistance; conversely, it is a double-edged sword, being 'strong' can be exhausting. Tropes of strength also reinforce expectations that wāhine Māori will model this stereotype and engage in positive responses to racism, discrimination and microaggressions. The strong woman trope can be silencing for wāhine Māori as an ideal because there is an aspect of stoicism attached to it.

Moreover, by stereotyping wāhine Māori as strong and resilient, the state can position this target population as not needing protection. The positioning of wāhine as strong reinforces the indifference by policymakers and trickles into policy and lived experience (Hill, 2004; Wilson & Serisier, 2010). It is also likely that the strong wāhine trope has influenced our need for personal space at times. Wāhine Māori are framed as nurturing, resilient, and the breast of burden, however, we as

Māori, should not be complacent with the strength of our wāhine; protectors need to be protected as well.

6.3 Wāhine navigating a racist system

“...much of our ‘selves’ has been denied, and hence, for many Maori women there is an ongoing struggle to centre ourselves, to deconstruct colonial representations and to reconstruct and reclaim knowledge about ourselves.” (Johnston & Pihama, 2019, p.124)

This section highlights the agentic and creative navigation and understanding of the housing and social system by wāhine. Negotiation, navigation and networking were major themes. Throughout our kōrero, negotiation in the form of self-advocacy within housing was a salient practice, particularly in terms of negotiation with state institutions and housing actors. Additionally, wāhine navigate the intersecting systems of housing and criminalisation, and resist forced dependencies and threats from state actors. Finally, wāhine deconstruct the power hierarchies within the system and form networks and allies with state actors; such as, case managers and Plunket support workers.

As noted previously, the housing market in Honotapu is often hostile and indifferent towards wāhine based on settler stereotypes and stigmatising narratives. Housing actors were not unlike slumlords and have served as a salient site of discrimination. Importantly, the successful navigation of relationships and the system requires an expertise and a skill set that is not as acknowledged as other types of knowledge, and yet, it has been a powerful form of praxis in resisting and responding to intersecting stigmas and discrimination. Wāhine raised self-advocacy as a particular salient strategy of resistance and tool to navigate racism and discrimination in housing. These wāhine, or co-theorists as I have termed them, highlighted a complexity with this issue earlier in the previous chapter (see p.86), in that - advocating for healthy homes and for their rights could have them labelled as a ‘troublemaker’, or as someone who creates extra work for the housing actor. Consequently, the wāhine formed creative but assertive ways to advocate for themselves whilst walking the thin line of good tenant/bad tenant perceptions. Selina advocated for her rights in an agentic and creative way to ensure that she

would not be ‘blocked’ from future rentals because of her self-advocacy. This is evidenced in the following excerpt where she felt the home was too unhealthy and decided to negotiate with the property manager to leave:

***Selina** - I was getting sick when I was hapū... they [Doctors] told me I wasn't even supposed to be in the flat because it was black mould and that's why I was in and out of hospital with my big boy. I ended up leaving that house because a new owner came, fixed it up, asked if I wanted to stay in there and I said "no" because I needed to expand because I was pregnant. So, Susan moved me down to another home she said was better, but it was worse.*

Dale sums the situation up articulately:

***Dale** - Have to have the gift of the gab, if you don't get it the first time you have to keep hassling them, keep at them, you have to.*

In the following quote, Selina, another wahine, describes her own efforts to self-advocate about the presence of mould in her home:

***Selina** - And I keep moaning, and they keep saying "sorry" and it's like sorry is not fixing it. I need it done... [I've had] heaps of conversations with her, Susan, heaps. She said, "oh I'm waiting for the owner, the owner can't afford it" and she ended up selling it. She convinced the owner to sell the home and she ended up selling it real cheap and that's why I had to move out...*

Selina has exposed the power imbalance in relationships between tenants, landlords, and rental agencies. Wāhine are often systemic experts in housing and human rights. The rental Selina was living in was so unhealthy that it was directly responsible for her hospitalisation. Therefore, to leave this home, she used the excuse of needing to upsize. This was a method she used to maintain the relationship with her homeowner while also removing herself from an unhealthy environment. As Dale states, in constantly ‘hassling’ the housing actors, wāhine ensure and our issues are being heard. Nevertheless, ‘hassling’ and following up on repairs and maintenance is a gross amount of emotional and intellectual labour. It echoes our need and the failing of housing actors, but is also draining and time-consuming.

Moreover, the gift of the gab refers to one's ability to use language to produce the best possible outcome, in this situation, for housing. The gift of good communication skills and the power of voice are autonomous tools of negotiation. We have negotiated since colonisation and continue to negotiate with

colonial/housing actors. Through voice, we can illicit emotions, sow thoughts and empower one another. Tame Iti supports the use of one's voice and argues that "just because someone has authority does not mean they have more mana" (2015, 5:22). Alice negotiated in a similar way. She used her knowledge of council responsibilities and their chain of hierarchy to aid her in seeking a remedy through self-advocacy as follows:

Alice - Yeah

TeRauhina -Yeah, so when you rang them, you rang them right? Did they say they would help? The council?

Alice - They said they'd get someone to look. I rang first time, and then the next time the lady said she "didn't know what I was on[talking] about". Then the next time I rang and chose fire hazard.

TeRauhina -Oh yep, to push the issue. Yep, and she said she'd get someone to come look... and was anything supposed to be followed up from that?

Alice - Ring me but they didn't.

TeRauhina -And this problem's been here since you moved in?

Alice - Yup

TeRauhina - A year ago?

Alice - it's eaten all the base of our beds and in the couches...

TeRauhina -The rats?

Tash - They just eat up, destroy your furniture?

Alice - yeah, they must have been nesting in our bed because, you know how it's got that material cover on the bottom, well it was all ripped and then all the wood bits [were] all bitten and chewed into, and then in the corner it was all this rat shit.

Alice contacted the council to address the health and safety hazard after her private landlord refused to action the pest issue. She said the landlord was really nice, but claimed that it was not his responsibility, as the rats were likely coming from the house next door. This was a private tenancy with which Alice had no formal Tenancy Agreement, and from where she was eventually evicted during Covid-19 level 4 lockdown, 2020. Alice demonstrated a deep knowledge of council abilities and responsibilities. Additionally, wāhine are agentic in knowing and using state policy to our advantage. Local Councils have building policies that allow them to take action against building owners, particularly where buildings are likely to harm

health.³⁰ Alice was self-determining in her navigation of the pest issue and sought ‘formal’ avenues of redress. Unfortunately, the implementation of the building policy is dependent on the competence of the actors within the council. It is after all, a racist and discriminatory system, and local councils are settler state authorities.

Alice - Yeah it was through Susan and then I had to pay [rental agent] rents, and him[landlord] privately rent and then back to her [rental agent] they kept chopping and changing. Then he wanted someone to go through the house two days before we were moving but we couldn't because we had all our stuff everywhere... And we had people coming and going with all my stuff everywhere ... he just said, "I had to" and he "was bringing the cops" and all this, but the cops can't do anything because it's not to do with tenancy.

Alice had to navigate between two actors in order to make payments and, more seriously, had to contend with threats of the police being called by the private homeowner for something that she was within her legal rights to do. In the last two days in the home, the homeowner demanded that Alice allow potential buyers to view the home. This conversation was recorded through a cell phone application at the time, which revealed his aggressive tone, derogatory language choice and threats. As a solo parent with children, it was not practical for people to be entering her house during the final stages of moving; it is also within her rights to limit access to certain days. The connection between housing and the criminal justice system is further highlighted by the landlord's misinformed attempt to involve the police and his supposed entitlement to use these services over a slight inconvenience. It begs the question of whether the criminalisation of Alice's social position informed the discriminatory and arguably racist, practices and attitude of the landlord.

Conversely, there is an immense amount of foresight, agency and expertise needed to arm oneself with tools such as a voice recorder with the view to use it to assert her rights. The recorded communication was used to question the landlord later

³⁰ "Once Council has received information regarding a potentially dangerous, insanitary or affected building Council will set the following procedures in motion: Respond and investigate all building complaints or notification from internal sources or third parties... When there is non-compliance with a notice or an immediate danger is apparent Council consider enforcement action and use the powers available under sections 126 and 129 of the Act and apply to the district court for an order authorising Council to carry out the work. Council will advise the building owner of its intention to apply to the court at least ten (10) days prior to making the application."

when he denied the conversation and told potential buyers to enter the premises against Alice's wishes. Alice successfully navigated the threat of third-party intervention and navigated well between the private housing and state justice systems.

Due to the systemic configurations of state entities being interwoven, connected and dependent on one another, wāhine must effectively advocate for rights, and navigate multiple racist systems and its actors simultaneously. Sometimes relationships with institutions need to be navigated or maintained as a living entity that required skill, knowledge, and expertise. In terms of the welfare state, Rua et al. (2019) describe the navigation institutions for precariat Māori whānau as "an 'obstacle course' that requires well-honed skills to navigate..." (p. 130). This is true too for the housing system, which is interwoven with punitive welfare and justice systems. Selina describes a moment of agentic authority in navigating around a forced dependency on a housing actor.

Selina - Because I went and applied for this nice house down the road, it had just been put up [for rent], it was 300 and something bucks[dollars] but I didn't care, because I was basically... I was desperate. I was desperate, so I went down there. I didn't see Susan because we don't see eye to eye. I ended up seeing Pauline, this other lady that works there but she doesn't work there anymore and asked her for an application. I got an application - went and filled it out. Susan rang me the next day and said "sorry, application denied", and there was still nobody in that house...I tried other angles by going through her [Susan's] other workers. But it didn't work because they still have to go through her to get the a-ok for the putting the people in the homes.

There are two main points of analysis in Selina's discussion. Firstly, our desperation sees us as wāhine Māori, going back to racist and discriminatory systems and their actors that perpetuate our poverty. Secondly, Selina points to her interpersonal relationship with the property manager as a major factor for why she needed to navigate around her. Wāhine are constantly factoring in the maintenance of toxic relationships with institutions and their actors to preserve their access to the mainstream housing market. Thirdly, this forced dependency on a working relationship with the sole rental agency has highlighted the creative, agentic and knowledgeable navigation of the market by wāhine. For example, networking with other people involved with the rental agency to seek answers and to navigate the

person seen as a barrier. There is an extensive amount of knowledge and expertise required to act with tino rangatiratanga. Wāhine tino rangatiratanga and networking is also highlighted in the following account describing the system and relationships between institutions:

TeRauhina - *Is that how you maintain that emergency housing? is that you have to prove that you are actually looking and applying?*

Selina - *Looking yes, it's because it's for the big bosses down in Wellington and stuff.*

TeRauhina - *So they've set it up kind of like WINZ?*

Selina - *yeah and that's the thing - if the land-the people that have the contract with the homes that we are in, which is not [company name] anymore but it's a company. If they say that they're going to evict you it goes through WINZ first, so WINZ has the [final say]. They've got to come up with a good enough excuse to evict you to let WINZ know. WINZ evicts you. Because it is actually under government, but they needed someone to contract it here in Honotapu which is the business that is in the old [Support] house, the old drug and alcohol place.*

In Selina's case, the support from social welfare actors was positive, to the extent that it helped her to make linkages and understand the chain of hierarchy in emergency housing:

Selina - *I had to do it like that otherwise I thought I was going to get kicked out. But the WINZ lady said to me "no they've got to come up with a good enough excuse for you to move out like your selling illicit drugs or your smoking methamphetamine or anything on the property that is not allowed" -not allowed to drink all that sort of stuff. So, she said, "you won't have a problem because you won't smoke methamphetamine" and that "they've got to come up with a good enough excuse to kick you out, they can't just kick you out because you've got to come through me". So, I was like well I'm pretty safe then, yeah.*

Selina deconstructed the chain of hierarchy from her 'emergency tenure', in privately owned businesses, to state entities (work and income) and to the settler state itself - "big bosses down in Wellington" (state actors). This knowledge allowed her to traverse between her rights, obligations and demands of each relationship. Selina can track a clear understanding of the link between her situation and the settler state. She understands the power dynamics and the changing patterns and uses this in her analysis to guide her actions. The shift from state ownership of social housing, to private ownership of social housing through neoliberalism has been well recorded and linked to growing inequality (Hodgetts et al., 2017; King,

2017; Poata-Smith, 2013; Rashbrooke, 2013; Rua, 2019). Additionally, the dispersion of responsibilities from the settler state to private entities has absolved the state from its social responsibilities, which has created a web of agencies that complicate the journey of social housing (King et al., 2017).

The relationship Selina established and nourished with her Work and Income case manager inspired an allyship. This is especially highlighted by the comment that “you got to come through me”, which implies that the WINZ (Work and Income New Zealand) worker was invested in blocking the termination of Selina’s tenancy under unjust reasons. Selina was able to find a systemic loophole around social policing and discrimination through the chain of hierarchy. Moreover, the caseworker presents a moment of refusal and resistance to the rules and regulations imposed by the emergency housing entity. Instead, the caseworker blocked discriminatory evictions through the protection of Work and Income policy. Moreover, the worker had expressed that Selina “wont be smoking methamphetamine”, which indicated there was confidence and assurance of the type of person Selina is, which is only determinable through an established and sustained relationship.

The allied worker shared knowledge with Selina that Selina used to minimise the stress and labour previously used to maintain her emergency housing relationship. However, different entities hold different powers and sometimes are peppered with allies and programmes that are supportive, for example:

***Selina** - Because when you have your babies you get adjourned to tamariki, [iwi] workers, social worker aides, so they help you as well. They help you hard-core until the babies two...they just basically support you. If you need people; to go with into WINZ or go see the council. Or you know, go find more housing, they do Emergency housing as well. It's supposed to be emergency housing, but no one really leaves...They stay there for years. So, they do those as well, but there's a big waiting list in Housing New Zealand.*

***TeRauhina** - So would they come with you to check out a house and stuff?*

***Selina** - Yeh... they ask you first, they ask you if you want them there with them. If you don't then they come visit you another time. But they just keep checking up on you to see if you're alright. They're cool, they are like social workers... but for you. And then you get the social, like a helper aid for the child as well, like a Plunket nurse lady that checks up on them until they are, I think two.*

Selina continues to discuss the support of Plunket nurses:

Selina - When I was in the mouldy houses, they were helping me ... because they've got a big ginormous [housing] list... and because they would give you cleaning products. They go to this place in [nearby city], it was a house and caring place, and they'd give you all this bucket full of nice cleaning [stuff], vinegar was the actual cleaning product ...To help get rid of the mould. They were helping you to try and get rid of the [mould].

Tash - But not to get a get better housing though? they wouldn't advocate for better housing? they would just help you clean the one you were in?

Selina - But they would try, because they have listings... but the listings were so big, people had been on there for years.

Although Plunket is couched in European understanding of maternity, this kind of advocacy is less intrusive and more supportive than the practices of women's groups which take on a punitive stance towards wāhine. Selina utilised the social welfare responsibilities in housing to gain support and assistance in finding a home. The same practices are found within Rua et al. (2019) and King et al. (2017) work which investigated the navigation of social services by Māori whānau. Labour and needs are weighed alongside the 'approachability' of service providers and sometimes, whānau would prefer to go without support then face mana diminishing treatment. Alternatively, whānau sometimes found allies and supportive institutions and peoples. Although Plunket nurses and advocates were eurocentric state-led initiatives, they were supportive and invested in the health and wellbeing of wāhine and tamariki. Albeit their voices and job title were not empowered enough to advocate directly to the tenancy tribunal, landlords or agents in circumstances of maintenance or tensions. It is also interesting that the previous two allies within the institutions (WINZ, Plunket) were both wāhine from the area, who are showing up, or supporting other wāhine, this will be discussed in more detail in the conclusion (see 7.3). However, it seems the nurses were reluctant to get involved or encourage applications to the tenancy tribunal.

6.4 Through the kūmara vine: Informal information channels

This section highlights the creative, agentic and relational practices of wāhine when investigating information on housing. Sharing was a significant theme across the interviews with wāhine. This concept is expressed in many ways and will be

discussed across five main areas, such as: information through whānau, friends and social media, and the practice of networking and resisting capitalist competitiveness. Additionally, sharing information with one another is discussed in particular to; utilities, unsafe institutions, safe advocates and legal advice.

In this housing landscape, formal information or access channels are blocked or unusual in the; search, maintenance, and policies of the housing market. The wāhine involved with this project therefore, practised alternative and informal channels to attain housing and share understandings of rights and responsibilities. Relationship building and nurturing is a key aspect to collective flourishing. There were many circumstances of wāhine using their personal friend and whānau ‘channels’ to ask about and to attain housing:

Selina - I ended up going to my mate who's a painter, who paints a lot of people's houses. I was even getting him to ask landlords and stuff like that.

Alice, another wāhine, has a similar example:

Alice - I just met them randomly. Like my mum, I got that other house through her mate. Those cops, they owned that one, and then this fulla[man], I was just living at nans and he just randomly asked [if I needed a house], and then next minute he was related... to dad.

The creativity and importance of using their ‘channels’ in the community is highlighted by Selina’s example of needing to utilise a painter acquaintance as he would have knowledge of houses that are nearly ready for rent. Wāhine are creative on who to approach that could offer unofficial advice on available homes. Alice described similar practices, which for her came about due to her being blocked access to the mainstream housing market, and therefore, being forced to find private tenure. Whānau as informal information channels intersects with support explored in-depth later (see 6.6). The use of whānau as ‘channels’ was a shared creative decolonial practice the wāhine theorised during hui. All wāhine agreed that pre-established relationships and whānau members were crucial in finding information about housing availability via pre-established relationships. We have our own ways of doing things that are generally very relational, and therefore, resistant to the prescriptions of ‘professional’ ‘formal’ avenues. Social media also became a valuable space for information finding, networking and sharing as Selina can illustrate in the next quote:

Selina - I ended up having quite a few interviews through Facebook, there were a lot of us! A lot of people going to interviews to suss out[view] the house, to walk around with the owners. Because a lot of people knew I was still looking for a home, they'd tag me [on Facebook]. So, it was pretty cool like that... I even set it out where I looked up online, the dates and stuff. I had it categorised; newspaper, social media, private, and then face to face.

Social media, traditional media, face to face interactions (or relationship building methods), and private rentals shared by word of mouth were all explored and sorted accordingly by Selina. Social media, mainly Facebook, was an informal yet creative tool because collective support was quickly available and managed whilst caring for children and other duties. Majority of the wāhine collective chose informal housing channels such as social media, friends and whānau, and ultimately resisted engaging with housing actors they felt dehumanised by. Most of the wāhine involved with this project discussed a multiple avenue approach to seeking housing and sharing this information. Despite these wāhine seeking housing having competing interests, they helped each other and shared information; this can be further evidenced the following interaction:

Selina - This chick I knew ended up moving in there, and I was like ayy "how did you end up getting that?", but she goes to church and stuff like that, she's a really awesome lady, like a really awesome chick...

This indicates a broader practice; the wāhine all talk, share knowledge and support each other. Their face-to-face interactions gave space and time for information sharing and collecting, their relationality afforded them the ability to reject the colonial and competitive practices of withholding information. They exchange information and often resist the settler capitalistic urge of competitiveness in the search for homes. Additionally, this also introduces the importance of performing respectability. The intersection of church membership can disrupt stigmas of risk, danger and 'savagery', as it is associated with respectability and can be a strategy in navigating the colonial system as a whole (*see p.131*).

An important part of informal information collection was the sharing amongst wāhine of learning safe and unsafe peoples and places. Naming and bringing to light discriminatory and racist practices was a widespread collective practice by the wāhine in the community. Every kōrero undertaken with wāhine included conversations about the analysis and experience of other wāhine or whānau, and

more specifically, particular practices and actors that are discriminatory. Collective sharing of information acts as a protective knowledge basket which shelters and redirects whānau through safer pathways to housing.

***Marla** – She [Whānau member] would keep it quite tidy but there were a couple of times Susan wouldn't give her notice that she was coming over to do inspections or she would just pop up and be like "oh someone's going to come and look at the home today."*

Miranda and Selina have similar warnings:

***Miranda** - And because, I don't think I've ever heard anything good about Susan.*

And that:

***Selina** - like it was a power struggle when I was renting with Susan.*

As with many other sub-themes, this links with previous discussions around power and a system which preys on the vulnerable and empowers housing actors to the disempowerment of tenants. Selina's use of the term 'power struggle' is indicative of the power dynamics and hierarchies present in certain institutional environments. This allows for people of power to actively exploit vulnerable peoples. The number of stories that emerged about discriminatory practices is protective and resistant. Forewarned is forearmed. Wāhine tell their stories to develop a collective understanding of what rights or boundaries need to be enforced, or what institutions to avoid. Alternatively, allies and support spaces were also shared amongst the wāhine as Marla names a housing advocate:

***Marla** - She's the one that is supposed to be helping... She helps with the housing and stuff...I don't know who she works for. I know she does some work for [business]. I know she's one of the people you can go talk to about housing New Zealand and also, [Iwi Organisation], apparently, they help with housing.*

Marla outlined several networks and people who may assist with housing, including the local iwi. Research was a common practice undertaken by wāhine and their whānau members. Marla is an expert researcher and therefore knew the people allocated to help, the channels to take, and the roles people should be undertaking. In the next example, Selina discusses her cousins' rental being terminated because her partner was an ex-convict and the informal advice her father was able to provide:

***Selina** - No! My father said to her, they can't. He's researched it*

TeRauhina - Yeah, he would to because he has to know his rights.

Selina - Yeah, he went into depths and he was like “nah that’s why she won’t argue with me”

Tash – So, they depend on people not knowing their rights or not having...

Selina - Yep, she does.

Selina’s father has made the effort, to research and understand housing and human rights. Furthermore, he provided an informal information channel and acted as an advocate for Selina’s cousin. To reiterate, the housing actor “depends on people not knowing their rights” and will “argue” with tenants if they do not. This furthers the point that wāhine need to carefully traverse interpersonal relationships with housing actors.

Informal information channels discussed were in the form of friends and whānau and were either kanohi-ki-te-kanohi or through social media. Informal channels act as a supportive system for the acquisition of housing knowledge. The area of housing that wāhine and whānau shared with one another were in the form of available housing, problematic housing and legal advice. The next section Fragments: Picking up the pieces, will outline practices of resilience and the practical efforts wāhine take to secure their whānau health and wellbeing. The way wāhine navigate respectability politics, colonial corporations, housing issues and the collecting of housing issue evidence will be explored in the next section.

6.5 Fragments: Picking up the pieces

For indigenous peoples the passage into a new century is really a continuation of a struggle that began five centuries ago. The optimism that prevails is based on the belief that now more than ever before in the last 500 years indigenous peoples are better able to respond. (L. T. Smith, 1999, p.108).

This section, Fragments: Picking up the pieces, examines the themes of survival and resistance which emerged continuously in wāhine kōrero. Four main points are raised within this theme, the performing of civility, resisting the use of settler institutions, protecting health and collecting evidence. Additionally, collecting evidence is discussed in particular reference to the mobile phone age. Survivance has been described as survival and resistance or, “The power of indigenous peoples to change their own lives and set new directions, despite their impoverished and

oppressed conditions” (L. T. Smith, 1999, p. 153). As has been illustrated, the colonial housing system can be an area of control, surveillance, discrimination and racism. It also marks a specific area of survivance, particularly for wāhine mā, who often navigate multiple social positions (mother, lower class, women, Māori). Wāhine have adopted ingenious methods and strategies in navigating, resisting and surviving this system.

A salient strategy the wāhine adapted to the housing terrain of stereotypes, stigma and surveillance was through performing civility or respectability. The echo of narratives about Māori as ‘savage’ and ‘uncivil’ is insidious and has to be navigated in this system. Rua et al. (2019) have previously discussed how whānau “get into character”, “play the game” and “pretend” they are something that they are not through appearance, behaviour and attitude when interacting with social services. Dale explains her strategy:

***Dale** - Having good references from the last places I've rented. I was taught to keep the inside and outside of your home clean and that shows what sort of person you are on the inside and out.... Have to have the gift of the gab.*

Mirandas Analysis is also telling:

***TeRauhina** - Do you think ethnicity plays a role?*

***Miranda** - Umm I think so sometimes, like you know in the nicest way - hard-core Māori.*

***TeRauhina** - Do you think because we... live in a town with a lot of... what the media would call gang activity. Do you think that being Māori might position you in people's heads that you might just be a risk factor? you might just be associated?*

***Miranda** - I reckon if they don't dress nicely, they would be.*

Mirandas strategy in performing civility includes personal appearance:

***Miranda** - I already know because I'm not old [laughs]. I'm not old, and I don't look like... the most professional person, but I dressed nicely, I think. Susan just did the whole look you up and down thing with a look on her face. But it wasn't to just me, it was to everyone.*

By performing, wāhine counter stereotypes while simultaneously securing and maintaining housing. The “gift of the gab”, “keeping us good”, and “dressing nicely”, refers to performance through; articulating ourselves, performing tasks and presenting civility. Civility politics was used to issue work orders, attain and retain housing (Habibis, et al., Taylor, 2011). Performing civility is an ingenious strategy

adopted by wāhine to traverse the racist terrain, although it is not directly unsettling the system, it is resisting assimilation. In this analysis, whiteness is made visible. Miranda's theorisation includes a class and race analysis, as a "hard-core Māori", or hyper-visible Māori, may experience more discrimination in the housing market. Dressing nicely loosely translates to dressing 'Pākehā' and 'middle-class', and epitomises the practice of civility politics or "playing the game" (Rua et al., 2019). In Aotearoa, power dynamics and wealth has overwhelmingly ended up in the hands of Pākehā. Every wāhine spoken to have a Pākehā landowner. Therefore, it is whiteness that we perform for. Although performance is energy consuming, it is a method to resist discrimination and assimilation through 'acting'; whilst keeping our authentic selves. Performing or 'playing the game', is a counter-practice to discrimination and racism by appearing assimilated or 'civilised' and therefore, accessing spaces otherwise blocked.

The need to 'play the game' is epitomised in the following analysis of Selina in her attempt to counter stigmas and stereotypes:

Selina - Even when I was coming to do this emergency housing. I was doing everything they wanted me to do, so I was keeping us intact and good. I just kept on board with everything they wanted me to do, the programmes, the courses, everything. I was doing it, so they wouldn't have anything to moan about with me and my family or... you know, like 'you're not keeping them safe' and stuff like that because you aren't trying.

Selina's relationship with the social housing sector is an act of direct maintenance. However, she performs the role and plays against the narrative of the 'savage Māori Mother'. Again, by performing duties we 'play the game' (Rua et al., 2019). Her analysis illustrates the awareness of racist narratives and direct attempt to negate it and navigate the systemic bias. Selina preserves her relationship with the institution by performing these arbitrary tasks and is actively disrupting the narrative. Although this 'game' is energy consuming, there are other types of games that serve to protect our hauora, for example, Alice discusses her practice and approach to moving homes: Alice has a similar practice and approach to moving homes:

TeRauhina - how do you keep them like stress free while moving, how do you keep your family wellbeing up?

Alice - Make them help

[All Laugh]

TeRauhina - I love that

Alice - No one's usually stressed... like yay a new house

TeRauhina - ahh yep, it's a fun thing and yep which room do you want

Alice's comments reflect the practice of fun and frames the act of moving in a light-hearted manner. By making the children help with moving, she creates a game, a time of new beginnings and freshness. For children that have had their bodies constantly shifted because of the housing market configurations, the act of moving homes was normalised, but it still was not framed in a negative light. Moving was framed as a fun time that involved chains of relationships and broader collective support. Brown's (2010) point that games were a peace-making and connective tool is encapsulated by these laughter and community involvement examples. Fun and laughter are some of the most protective emotions, and it is vital for human wellbeing to engage in play. It is not a chore if it is play, it is not stressful if it is play and it is not shameful if it is play. Play was woven into our tīpuna lives and is a gift that we inherited that continues to protect us, empower us and enhance our lives (Brown, 2010).

Once the tenancy has been secured, a different set of difficulties arise that highlight the wāhine responses', resistance, and dignity. Wāhine developed resourceful practices as a consequence of unhealthy housing, lack of advocacy, active silencing, retaliation for speaking out and disregard for tenant rights. Alternative ways of rectifying housing issues such as mould, plumbing, and bargaining will be discussed. Selina offers methods to achieve this in housing that was contaminated with black mould:

Selina - The mould was in the walls. So, every second day I would have to wipe the walls with newspapers and stuff. It was disgusting. To the point where I wouldn't have my kids sleeping... in the room. We slept in the lounge. Even when I had [child's name], I made her a little cosy area in the lounge and blocked off the rooms because it was too mouldy. It was too sickening, so I made sure that she was away from windows and all that kind of shit. I just bunked her up in the corner of my lounge, and we'd sleep in the lounge on the mattress because it was so mouldy.

The property agency placed these wāhine in homes without allowing them to choose, apply, or shop around. Therefore, to keep their whānau 'intact' wāhine found creative practices of survival. To offset the health impacts of a mouldy home,

Selina restricted their bodies to the living room, where she felt it was less damp and more manageable. Moreover, Selina laboured daily to keep the mould at a safe level for her children and created 'safe spaces' or bunks for them to sleep. Alice also practised this due to pests. In Selina's house, there was a significant plumbing issue which she was working around:

Selina - Yeah, just for the kids' sake. Because ew, no one wants to poo on poo, and piss on piss. Gross, that's disgusting, that's what animals do. Fuck I don't know, it just grosses me out. But my whole house is clean, and I've got blocked fucking plumbing. It's like the washhouse and the kitchen are all connected... because once it gets blocked up, both of them come up. The kitchen sink starts overflowing, and so does the bathroom. But that's the only problem I'm having at the moment with this house. The other houses were mould and rats and yeah.... it'll be a week tomorrow [since the issue started] ... It's so hard, I've been trying to keep on top of it with the bucket.

After a week of plumbing issues, Selina has found ways to keep her home hygienic and the amenities usable. She used a bucket to flush wastewater away and discussed earlier that she refrained from using the bathtub to wash the children. Selina clarifies that this is not how we as Māori live. Additionally, she makes it clear that it is disgusting and beneath us as human beings; she actively counters settler narratives about us as uncivilised. Furthermore, the term 'clean' appears multiple times, as Selina is actively reframing the narratives of Māori mothers as 'unclean' and 'neglectful' (Murphy, 2019; Provan, 2012; Simmonds, 2002). The previous chapter discusses the expertise, knowledge and ability wāhine Māori have in theorising their experiences. If they are consistently repeating phrases about hygiene and being clean, it is because they have theorised that this is a salient area of stigma, racism and discrimination, and therefore, work towards negating the narrative. This is a counter-narrative and resistance to negative stereotypes and stigma. Moreover, black mould can impact health and contribute to respiratory illness in tamariki, the preoccupation with cleanliness is protective and ensures our survival.

Researching, investigating and collecting evidence were standard practices discussed by all of the wāhine involved in this project. The current terrain of unfettered neo-liberalism allows for marginalisation of 'vulnerable' groups. The wāhine have, in response, adopted a practice of investigating practices and collecting receipts. This is proactive and anticipatory of discrimination by people in power. Collecting evidence is theorised through four main areas: collecting

evidence on pests, third party repairs, bond loss and unhealthy homes. Selina illustrates a method of alternative means of pest control as well as collecting evidence:

Selina - We had it on camera, we were showing [Previous Rental Manager] that it's infested with white rats because it must have had babies [laughs]! It must have had babies up there it was so fat! We had made these traps, Bruce always came up with these mean[awesome] as traps, and he grabbed a washing basket, it was a steel one and it had this metal on there. Well, it got it, because he had it leaning up and it wacked the pencil down. It was that strong and mighty it wacked it off! It was a steel washing basket, that's how fat and big it was, and we caught it on camera. We saw it whacking it off and running to its babies, so that was the reason why it got condemned, plus it was rotting in the walls.

The lack of prioritising maintenance has led to the tenants finding cost-efficient and effective methods to remedy things themselves. In this instance, the father of Selina's children created rat traps out of household items and set up surveillance to further investigate the issue. The neoliberal surveillance era has aggravated practices of policing and surveillance across all sectors of society, enhancing the gaze on us as Māori, as lower-class, as wāhine and as 'appendages' to criminals. In the realm of housing, policing and surveillance has emerged as a discriminatory practice that breaches the peace and privacy of tenants. However, technological advances and relatively cheap access to technology such as mobile phones have allowed a reverse of documentation and evidence collecting by tenants (Cunneen & Tauri, 2016; Wilson & Serisier, 2010). People stigmatised as dirty, criminal and irrational might otherwise have been discredited before the age of cellular phones, where nearly everyone carries a camera and video camera in their pocket. We can resist through this evidence; we can tell our narratives and counter popular media discourse.

Selina, during the interview, had been without plumbing for over a week. The lack of plumbing was no fault of the emergency housing organisers but the dishonesty of the local plumber. The main issue revealed to be deceit on behalf of the local plumber:

Selina - Well, I told them last Friday, I wanted it done before the baby's birthday. Because I knew there was going to be partying, and... babies going to the toilet and stuff. Well, they didn't turn up on Friday, and it's the weekend and no one's fuckin working on the weekend. So, I bummed out...But this is the funny thing, the plumber dude - because I go to a

course at my landlord's place - well they said the plumber had come in and gave them a receipt. And I go, "Well funny that because he hasn't been to my house. He must have been to 7 [Mahuika Street] just out of town, because there's another 7 Mahuika street in [township]." and they were like, "what, so he gave us a receipt for a plumbing job he didn't do?" and I said, "yeah, 'cause he didn't come to my house." You can tell when someone's come to plumb because your ground is all dug up. The last time he came and did it, he left all the dirt out and left a big hole.

This example demonstrates the historicised, discursive and systemic environment that has led to power hierarchies playing out in vulnerable populations. It is not that these are 'bad seeds', but rather that the soil is rich for the growth of racism and discriminatory practices of 'vulnerable populations'. Selina's relationship, and persistent and transparent communications with the housing officers led to the exposure of malpractice. Furthermore, having had experience, her knowledge led to her ascertaining whether or not the job was actioned. More importantly, Selina called the housing actors into action to remedy the problem and provide housing within a reasonable state of repair. It takes self-determination and finesse to navigate the relationship in a way that elicits a positive response. In a similar situation, Alice navigates between the local Council and tenancy advocacy services to investigate the practices of the property management company.

Alice - Susan kept telling me that the tenancy said the house was condemned. I rang them [Tenancy services] and they said, "how can we say its condemned when we can't see the house? if it is then the council would have put a sticker on it". Then I rang them [Council] and they said it wasn't [condemned]. But she [Property Agent] said we had 7 days to move out, then [she] gave us this house that was for sale to move into. So, we just moved out because we couldn't be bothered with it. We should have just stayed there... but nah it was yuck anyway...

Alice's analysis highlights that even when evidence is not used to confront discriminatory practices; it can be used to reclaim our story, tell our story, and own our story. It is resistant. Collecting evidence and sharing stories are used to inform each other and as counter-narratives of resistance and survival. Here we have an example of breaching laws, deception and steering by housing actors. By collecting evidence and not blindly accepting their stories as truth; wāhine can resist manipulation, undertake investigations, and make informed, conscious decisions as a result. Alice sourced the truth by navigating multiple agencies and collecting receipts about how condemnation of housing plays out. Additionally, Alice was

able to determine through liaising between the local Council and tenancy services that her home was not condemned. This is the rental that had black mould and mushrooms growing by the toilet, so it is logical that she did not fight to stay. Selina's investigatory know-how is also theorised in the following discussion about housing bonds:

***Selina** - ... Oh she's ridiculous! She even took all my bond and told me that I left rubbish. It took us three days to clean the house. All that we left there was this one big fucking couch, but it was all dried out. It wouldn't have cost three hundred dollars! That's how much she charged me for the rubbish, and then she charged me 580 for the door. She charged me something else which took my whole \$1100. I didn't get any of that back. And I said "nah nah nah, there was no rubbish left in there, why aren't I getting at least my 400 dollars back? I don't care if you kept that 500 because I didn't pay for that door, but still, it shouldn't have cost you 300 bucks to take any of my rubbish" ... Anyway, I went to the dump, and I said to her [the refuge worker], "how much do you think it would have cost to throw out a big three-seater old couch that had been dried and sitting there?" and she goes, "ohhh about 25 bucks, not even that, like 20 bucks".*

***TeRauhina** - Are we allowed to ask for a receipt when people do bond things like that, or?*

***Selina** - Well I think we are we are actually eligible to ask for receipts, but you see I was just in too much strife where she wasn't giving me another house and I was already pissed off.*

Selina questioned the amount of bond taken to remove rubbish, so she investigated the local refuse station to estimate the cost of the chair that was dumped. She is agentic, and she knows something is wrong and seeks evidence to prove her suspicions. Wāhine utilise in-depth knowledge of the system and policy and to seek receipts and reparation. However, the emotional, physical and mental energy and labour tenancy tribunal requires is immense and "not worth it". Concerning the rental property, which was contaminated with mould, Selina provided proof of photos to encourage the agent to rectify the hazard.

***Selina** - it was sickening. It was even to the point where the wallpaper was peeling back and all the mould was at the back of the wallpaper, it was disgusting. And she knew it was there I was taking photos like...*

Collecting evidence may encourage housing actors to remedy the issue because they would be held accountable within the tenancy tribunal. It is the law that houses are rented out in a reasonable state of repair and maintained accordingly. When we collect evidence and present it with requests of maintenance, we are agentic, we are telling them that we are not tacit complicity to our discrimination, we are promoting

our dignity and the way we know we deserve to live. We are not simply grateful for having a roof over our head, because we know we deserve more than the absolute bare minimum. Furthermore, whether the receipts are actioned in tenancy tribunal or not is irrelevant. Wāhine collect receipts because; our story and our (informal) research have produced vast knowledge and understanding of the colonial system, its actors, and various ways to resist with mana and tino rangatiratanga.

6.6 Mana whānau

“This form of social organisation ensured a degree of flexibility for women not possible within the confines of the nuclear family. The presence of so many care givers, and the expectation that they would assume much of the responsibility of child rearing, enabled women to perform a wide range of roles, including leadership roles.” (Mikaere, 1994, p.140)

Mana Whānau outlines the community as a form of whānau and the importance of whānau support while navigating the housing system. Wāhine consistently named whānau when discussing support. The provision of materials and support from whānau was often the safety net that caught people from falling into homelessness. The theme of whānau support first turns towards ideas of friendship, whānau and whanaungatanga as a safety net within the housing system. The concept of ‘over-crowding’ is critiqued from a wāhine position and followed by the importance and need of whānau support systems. This section finishes with a discussion on the positive impacts we have on one another and ourselves when we support and engage in the collective.

Before conducting this research, I envisioned moving homes as a negative experience for everyone and expected their kōrero to reflect my assumptions. My understanding was likely due to prolonged living in a city setting with no whānau support, which guided my experiences. I had forgotten what it was like to have whānau, friends that are whānau, or to have multiple people arrive on the day of moving to help. I forgot that many hands make light work and light-heartedness. Both Alice and Selina describe this phenomenon when shifting between rentals:

Selina - when I got my flat and ended up going to the Paeroa house. It was only around the corner, so I was walking it in the pram [all laugh] carrying it down the road and then we walked the trolley back from the supermarket and we used that [laughs] trolley, yeah nah, we just made it work cause yeah, we just made it work

***TeRauhina** - And you can make it like, it's kind of... there's something that makes you come together there's like strength in that... doing that stuff, that way*

***Selina** - Yeah!! And everyone was like "are you alright" and I'm like "it's only over there, yeah, I'm alright I'll just walk it there" and it was cool cause I knew where all my shit was because I was the one taking bits and bobs over there, and the big stuff we just used the car, so nah it was pretty easy.*

The way Selina and Alice thought, and framed the act of moving, impacted their experience and protected the wellbeing of their whānau. In Selina's case, the community was stopping and asking if she needed assistance. It is also clear that moving home by foot was approached in a jovial manner, which positively impacted the experience of her tamariki, and most likely the onlookers who were offering assistance. There is restoration happening in Selina's story. Our actions impact one another, and there is restoration and reparation in these positive interactions in the collective. Settler colonial ideologies of class, gender and race are woven into certain practices. For example: moving without a vehicle (by foot) in urban settings is stigmatised as 'poor' as 'hori' or linked to tropes of 'welfare queens'. In our hometown, Selina has actively dismissed colonial configurations of shame and whakamā based on wealth. The response of the public is also indicative that it is a collective dismissal, at least in terms of moving by foot. It was not judgement in the onlookers' gaze but a good-natured understanding and willingness to help. In a low socio-economic community, this was the norm. We laugh and embrace our 'horiness' because deep down, we know that it is resourceful, agentic, creative, practical and fun!

A salient theme that emerged in the findings was the amount of whānau support needed to navigate and survive in the community. Selina has utilised rentals for nine years, within that time returning to immediate and extended whānau for housing support:

***Selina** - ... I'm gonna say nine years cause two years I was boarding with my parents and my uncle [Hennessy] so about nine years... I ended up basically being homeless... and lucky if it wasn't for my old man, I would've had nowhere.*

This is one of the ways we show up for one another as whānau and was a common theme across all wāhine involved, sometimes the home was offered as a rental from whānau:

***Miranda** - yup I lived in one, but that was through my baby's father's grandfather...*

Other times the whānau home offered a source of respite:

***Marla** -It's easier cousin, it's a lot easier living with mum and them
Marla - Yeah, it's a lot easier like if I've had a bad week, I don't pay for anything I've got the support here....*

Sometimes friends acted as whānau or were thought of as whānau and offered to share their home. People often lived in extended whānau and multigenerational configurations as a safety net and backup when access was blocked. The following conversation highlights the need for whānau support. Tash is not Aotearoa born and was trying to gauge the situation:

***Tash** - So you would have to have a real strong support family system even though there's housing available?*

***Selina** - You do*

***Tash** - You gotta depend on your family a lot?*

***Selina** - A lot*

This brings the conversation back to the discussion of housing availability. As previously discussed, the narrative of scarce housing availability does not resonate with the wāhine, who observe empty housing and are obstructed from tenure in those homes. In cases where wāhine cannot attain rentals, whānau acts as an intermediary between rentals and is a preventative measure against homelessness. Moreover, since privatisation initiatives were incorporated in the 90s, the state has sold its housing assets and moved to a more punitive incentivised welfare system. Despite our appearance on the world stage as egalitarian, Aotearoa currently has the highest rate of inequity and inequality than seen before. Additionally, the state has continued to cede responsibility and power to private entities whose capitalist motivation is profit before people (Hodgetts, et al., Madden & Marcuse, 2016; Rashbrooke, 2013). The result is a safety net with holes in it that filter out people from receiving assistance.

In this community, locals attend Kōhanga, primary school, college, work in the same spaces and interact with other locals daily. We grew up together and journeyed through the perils of tangihanga, relationships, employment, housing and childrearing with each other. Miranda discusses friends as a source of housing support:

***Miranda** - ...you have like so many people who are just like living with their mates, living with anyone cause there's hardly any rentals at all*

Selina discusses this protective system:

***Selina** - But I was lucky I had that support system too, like their grandparents and stuff always dropped off a kai or a milk and a bread you know, it was good in that aspect so I'm lucky I had that support, if I didn't have that support or that whānau around cause I woulda been...*

***Selina** - 100 bucks which was for kai. I couldn't barely buy smokes, or you know, I couldn't barely buy anything. I just had to buy kai. So, I was just lucky that at the time I had the kids' father there that could help provide our other needs...*

In Honotapu, many whānau whāngai (adopt) friends into their support system. When we say whānau, we are talking about the entire community regardless of blood share. However, it should be noted, that majority if not all of the community members share iwi, hapū or relatives and therefore we are whānau. When people befriend someone in this community, they befriend their whānau. Systems of whānau persist and endure and serve as patchwork for the governmental safety net. In other words, traditional practices of whānau support catch us when we fall through the 'official' welfare net. Moreover, these comments reflect the amount of 'couch-surfing' that may be happening and most likely flying under the radar of local authorities. Couch-surfers are a hidden statistic as it is often not recorded in homelessness records, however, the practice is considered a form of homelessness by Zufferey & Parkes (2019).³¹

The term 'couch-surfing' seems incorrect for the phenomena discussed, and almost implies that the couch-surfer is a burden that must hop from one couch to another. Back home, people are welcomed into the whānau, become whānau and generally

³¹ According to the housing Improvement Regulations Policy, a household must meet the following conditions to meet overcrowding standards: No more than two people per bedroom, those two people, if they are over the age of 10, must be of the same gender or living together as husband and wife (Freyberg, 1947; Goodyear, Fabian & Hay, 2012).

stay with that whānau until they have enough footing to find their own space. In this living arrangement, the 'couch-surfer' may undertake childcare responsibilities, cooking, cleaning and other ways of actively contributing to the household other than a financial koha (gift). Framing of 'over-crowding' may be culturally bound or a racially coded way of criminalising Māori ways of living. Policy surrounding over-crowding is linked to culturally bound assimilation policies since the 1930's Native Housing schemes and officers (Wanhalla, 2006). These policies serve to criminalise and problematise Māori ways of living and are culturally linked to Western notions of civility (Cavino, 2017; Johnston & Pihama, 2019). Policies like these do not acknowledge traditional ways, for example, Marae sleeping, and perpetuate settler surveillance and denigration of Māori ways of living. Moreover, it is a contradiction of the settler state to enforce Western standards of nuclear family living arrangements, especially when the support system of these extended living arrangements catches people where the welfare system fails.

Every person involved in this project was involved in a cycle of giving food and receiving food from whānau members and friends. Sharing was a salient and continuous practice that was observed and was an active norm in the community and was discussed previously (*see* p.126). Reciprocation between whānau and friends was a prominent practice. Selina has previously discussed the use of other people's vehicles to move large items. Alice also utilised whānau members vehicles and labour to minimise moving costs.

Reciprocating labour, time and necessary materials was an act of collective resistance in an insecure housing market. In Honotapu, things were often traded or given in good faith, especially food. In other words, things were given without the expectation of return. However, this behaviour was often reciprocated during times of need, creating a weave of giving and taking. Off-record, everyday conversations involved: how people were, what they were doing and how they were coping. A salient practice that emerged among the wāhine in down-time chit chat was creating, trade and provision of goods. All of the wāhine had hobbies and specialities, which included: bee keeping, lotion making, medicine making, raffling, thrifting, hunting, fishing, caring, vegetable growing and fruit growing. Many of these items were traded. For example, a raffle ticket may be paid for with honey, lotions or food rather than using money. The community trade system that

rejects the need for the dollar is decolonial and supplementary for wāhine living on strict dollar diets. This collective way of life has the ability to offset poverty and indicates the relational web of connectivity within the community. There is also a collective effort in bond recovery that was shared by multiple wāhine:

Selina - My mum, oh my dad, my aunty, and me and the kid's dad all cleaned up the house

Alice - even [hatter] 's house, he, the one he had on Rohe [street] that's the one my nan cleaned everything

Providing labour, time and necessary materials was an act of collective resistance as rising costs of housing have resulted in less disposable income for whānau who rent. Moreover, Alice highlights that the cost, stress and burden of moving is offset by the collective action and support of whānau and the wider community. Whānau members are conscious and active resisters to bond loss. Cleaning the property should ensure that bonds are repaid, and money is not taken from the whānau budget. It is also another person who can vouch for the standard the home was left in. As discussed in the 'Echoed silences in Te Whare/ Tangata' chapter, spending budgets are tight, and bonds are a significant amount of money to recover. An example of this was Alice's grandmother's attempt to clean her grandchild's father's house. The logic is: if the father loses money, the children lose also.

The act of supporting one another has had some positive trickle on effects for whānau members. It is reflective of the concept of āko and broader concepts of balance and harmony. A person can be both teacher and learner simultaneously, and also both supporter and supported. Selina's example illustrates this:

Selina - I know the way of my daddy and he smokes cigarettes and stuff inside and I just didn't like that, yeah, but it was good though because once I moved in, he, you know, adjusted, made sure the house was...scrubbed the walls and stuff like that, because I had baby, you know, so he adjusted it was pretty cool like that

Selina illustrates a beautiful phenomenon. Through supporting each other we rise to the challenge of being our best selves for our tamariki and mokopuna. We are resilient and perseverant through aroha for one another. Selina continues:

Selina - yeah so nah. everything's pretty good and plus I've got mum and she was there to help me with my big boy like she would babysit him and she would stay sober for my boy cause we had this like kind of agreement like mum I don't like alcohol and that kind of stuff around my kids so... when I come can you be a bit sober, can you stay sober

until you drink, you know while I bring my son over and visit and then you can drink, and she used to all the time and if she was drunk, cause I turned up a bit too late, I'd let her have a quick loves, and then id pack him off take him off id be like see ya mum we come see you tomorrow when your hungover, well come spend the day with you, shed be like ok my daughter thank you. You know she was cool like that I'm wrapped that I had that support system cause if I didn't, I don't know where I'd be.

Both of Selina's parents have demonstrated that through supporting one another, we can make positive changes for ourselves as well. As previously discussed, alcohol and tobacco have had dire consequences for Māori. Through caring about the health and wellbeing of their mokopuna, Selina's parents have effectively prolonged their own health and life. Mana whānau can also be exemplified through Selina's breastfeeding her child:

Selina - we are definitely surviving at the moment, it was a power struggle when I was renting with Susan, it was hard... nappies and shit like that lucky I breastfed, lucky I breast fed, so I didn't have to buy the baby powder! Because that would have been an extra 40 bucks[dollars], I would have been really broke.

Although Selina's choice to breastfeed was constrained it is also a practice which enhances the health and wellbeing of both māmā and pēpi (baby).

6.7 Conclusion

This chapter, *Me aro koe ki te hā o Hineahuone*: We are our own solution, has outlined resilient strategies and responses to uneven power dynamics, and discrimination in the housing market. The physical emotional and financial cost and threat of homelessness was discussed to reiterate the conversation, and avoid narratives that posit Māori resilience, as the answer to housing discrimination (see 6.2). Wāhine practices of resistance and survival were woven throughout the remaining discussions; particularly in terms of their navigation of the system, use of informal information and survivance. Navigating a silencing and discriminatory system requires voice, mana and an immense amount of knowledge. Wāhine advocated for themselves and others, and additionally, were creative in their means to navigate around forced dependency on the state and its complicated web of

agencies peppered with allies (see 6.3). Another important theme highlighted by wāhine was informal information which was a network of creative and collective information. This was an anti-capitalistic form of resistance that countered negative stigmas and protected the collective (see 6.4). Moreover, practices of survivance were discussed in terms of ‘playing the game’ and performing civility politics. Wāhine actively countered the stigma of the ‘savage’ Māori Mother while resisting state support. Additionally, wāhine worked actively towards the health of their whānau and collected receipts to own the narratives and empower the collective (see 6.5). Ultimately wāhine put forth the protective, agentic practices of wāhine and whānau Māori that serve to offset the negative impacts of the current housing system (see 6.6).

Chapter 7

We will re-present ourselves, we will tell our story, and through this, we will heal, we will challenge, and we will rise

7.1 Introduction

At the core of this thesis is the voices of wāhine Māori who are navigating a colonial housing system. An overview of the findings relating to each of these research questions is provided below (see 7.2), followed by an indication of some of the ways in which they can be seen to interact (see 7.3). Moreover, the perceived limitations of the research and its contributions is discussed (see 7.4) and the chapter ends with some recommendations relating to future research (see 7.5).

7.2 Overview of research findings

This section, Overview of research findings, discusses the research questions: How are Mana Wāhine voices framed in political discourse? What are the underlying factors that contribute to the suppression of wāhine voices in housing? How have wāhine resisted, survived and responded to these underlying factors? What are wāhine aspirations in this space? The questions are discussed and answered individually and in detail in this section.

7.2.1 The first research question: Overview of findings

How are wāhine Māori voices framed in political discourse?

The literature examined shows a historicised narrative constructed by early settlers and colonists of the Māori ‘savage’. Mana Wāhine scholars especially note gendered and racialised discourses which misrepresent and frame wāhine Māori as the “savage other”, ‘sexual deviants’, ‘irrational’, ‘bad mothers’ and in need of assimilation and ‘saving’. These discourses continue within the political landscapes and influence policy initiatives. Discourses of inferiority and difference also impact the amount of influence wāhine have on these policy initiatives. As a group constructed as both powerless and deviant, wāhine voices are often left out of planning and wāhine advocates are often unheard. Moreover, wāhine Māori are

often framed through a colonial lens in political discourse which contributes to the silencing of their voice within housing.

Furthermore, by constructing gangs as a 'Māori problem', whilst also highlighting wāhine proximity to gangs, wāhine Māori are often framed as appendages to criminals. This is exemplified through both the 'Gangs and Organised Crime Bill 1961', and the 'Residential Tenancy Act 1986' Hansard debates. Political discourse surrounding gangs was fraught with colonial stereotypes and coded with racialised language that directed the audience's focus on Māori and Polynesian communities. The colonial tropes of the 'female savage' was especially present in the 'Residential Tenancy Act' which framed wāhine as, 'in need of saving' and victims of gang violence. Additionally, the connection of gangs to wāhine has the potential to shift Māori solo mothers from a political framing of 'deserving poor' to a frame of 'undeserving poor' through their repositioning as 'deviant'. In effect, wāhine were framed in the political discourse as the 'undeserving poor', the 'undeserving other', the victim 'other', and the 'deviant' or 'savage' 'other'.

7.2.2 The second research question: Overview of findings

What are the underlying factors that contribute to the suppression of wāhine voices in housing?

Suppression of wāhine voices consist of many factors which intersect due to the complexities of systems and ideologies. Only the factors which were salient for this particular group of wāhine are discussed, and therefore, this is not an exhaustive discussion of all factors that impact wāhine voice.

The first occurrence of wāhine silencing is through colonisation and settler imposition of Western norms and practices. Settler Christian ideologies of race and gender 'othered' wāhine by framing them as the female 'savage other'. The construction of wāhine as 'inferior' and as appendages to tāne ultimately led to colonial practices and policies which denied wāhine mana and therefore, mana wāhine voice. This continued trope of the female 'savage' continues in neo-colonial discourse, policy and practice and serves to block wāhine participation and voice in housing today.

Furthermore, colonial legislation, practices of marriage, the Native Land Court and education further compounded marginalisation by channelling wāhine Māori into impoverishment by firstly, blocking their ability to own property or wealth; and secondly, by educating them only enough so they were useful in the eyes of Pākehā as ‘house servants’ and ‘house-wives’. Many whānau are living the legacy of intergenerational precarity and poverty, and moreover, the fracturing of whānau through land alienation and urbanisation schemes. A largely precarious wāhine population are also in closer proximity to welfare through motherhood and the use of the welfare system. In addition, stereotypes associated with the poor, and solo parenting also impacts wāhine voice due to their lack of political power, and also, framing wāhine as deviant and ‘undeserving poor’ positions them in a place where political actors are less likely to acknowledge their issues or suggestions. Patriarchal and racist ideologies within the council and welfare systems contribute to lack of support and aid within social housing, which often compound the blocking of self-advocacy made by wāhine.

Political discourse and historicised framings of wāhine as risky, deviant and appendages to gangs contributes to the systemic silencing of wāhine. Both narratives of ‘the criminal’ and ‘the victim’ serve to position wāhine as irrational, risky and in need of saving from the settler state. These saviour narratives serve to justify the control of wāhine and perpetuate practices ‘on wāhine’, not ‘with or by wāhine’. The socio-political and economic terrain in which wāhine traverse is one which is particularly marginalising and silencing for wāhine Māori. Settler neoliberal capitalism enhances competition and practices that benefit the wealthy, often to the detriment of the impoverished. The privatisation of prisons has morphed incarceration into a profit orientated business which targets Māori as the number one commodity, an over-incarcerated and impoverished population is more likely to be constructed as deviant, and thus have little social and economic powers. This is where the echo chamber of our voices is found – on the margins.

Likewise, current housing practices have seen a rapid growth of property speculation, particularly in smaller areas. The influx of outsider influence and presence in areas where wāhine reside contribute to the drowning out of voice,

particularly in housing. Through pandering to the rich, Pākehā and powerful populations, wāhine voices are unheard.

7.2.3 The third research question: Overview of findings

How have wāhine resisted, survived and responded to these underlying factors?

Faced with a system that denies and limits wāhine mana, wāhine have employed tools and practices of survival that resist and respond to discrimination within housing. Individually, practices of self-care, home maintenance, fun, self-advocation, and gathering evidence all play major roles in easing the emotional and physical impacts of low-quality and insecure housing. Collectively, however, the use of traditional practices and whānau systems of support served as an important space of resistance and survival.

There is a clear pattern wāhine Māori have connected to traditional practices and thinking in response to a negligent system. As a result of the neglect and lack of support from the state, wāhine have continued to utilise traditional knowledge and practices to restore our collective networks (Jolly & Tcherkézoff, 2009; Macfie, 2000; L. T. Smith, 1999).

Furthermore, by removing ourselves from a forced relationship and seeking alternative paths to home tenure, wāhine illustrate the protective net of whānau support and empowerment. Whānau support allows us to divert situations that might be negative for our wellbeing. It is this focus on pathways of knowing, attaining and finding; it is through people and relationships, we learn, discover, and share resources; wāhine prove to reject state and neoliberal prescriptions and make decisions outside the state. Returning to traditional whānau living arrangements eases feelings of desperation and allows us to take time to find appropriate homes (if needed). The rental of whānau homes is a creative way to reject the discriminatory, institutionalised way of home-finding and is a practice that ensures our mana stays intact.

Wāhine have illustrated the protective net of whānau support and empowerment, and the significance of these systems in surviving and resisting colonial systems.

Māori are traditionally relational, and our kinship includes hapū and iwi. These chains of relationships are actively created and maintained in a net of connectivity. This collective way of life has the ability to offset poverty and indicates the relational web of connectivity within the community. Systems of Whānau persist and endure and serve as patchwork for the governmental safety net. In other words, traditional practices of whānau support catch us when we fall through the ‘official’ welfare net. These practices are in direct contradiction of the settler state that enforces Western standards of nuclear family living arrangements when the welfare system fails. Living configurations should be the choice of whānau, hapū, iwi and individuals to determine for themselves, not state policy. Whānau safety nets offer more than providing a physical space; they are a source of material provision, mental and emotional support of childcare, and much more.

This safety system reflects that housing and home can be more than a site of racism and discrimination; it is a space where we can reclaim, return and share knowledge.

7.2.4 The fourth research question: Overview of findings

What are wahine aspirations in this space?

What emerged in our kōrero was an immense amount of aspiration. Wāhine comments highlight that we know how to live, have human dignity and know when we live against these values. It is poignant how we, as wāhine Māori retain a sense of self and worth, and in the face of oppressive systems that dehumanise us, still maintain that we deserve better.

Wāhine actively aspire towards a future for their tamariki and their mokopuna that is healthy and stable. For many, the beginning of a healthy whānau begins in the space you call home. Homes that were healthy and free from mould were highly desired, along with security of tenure so that wāhine did not have to pander to individual housing actors to retain their rental. Wāhine were driven to report, collect evidence and advocate against a discriminatory system as a commitment towards a future free from discrimination, particularly in housing. For example, relationship policing and the fracturing of whānau within the housing system was an issue explicitly advocated against by wāhine and a salient area that wāhine wanted to see change.

Additionally, a recurring aspiration found in wāhine kōrero was the want and need to have our own space. In a housing system proven to be insecure and competitive, wāhine desire for a home of their own reflects two things:

- (i) a desire to maintain tino rangatiratanga over where, when and how we live, and
- (ii) the need for wāhine to have a space of rest and recovery from the abuse of the colonial system.

This is not to say that wāhine desired to be away from whānau systems but rather, have a more balanced and less dependent living situation. This also coincides with the need of the state to take more seriously the need of wāhine utilizing welfare, as Dale states, “Tell the government our rents go[es] up how about putting our benefits up”, to have our own space we need to be able to afford to enter a privatised housing market, whether rent or buy.

Collective aspirations were also enduring in this space as the community traded outside of capitalist prescriptions of the dollar, and deeply nourished their desire to empower themselves and others. This was especially true for wāhine who consistently advocated and supported each other. The desire to not only to survive on an individual level, but flourish past the margins together is clear. Why else would we continue to advocate for ourselves and others in a system that is not hearing our voices? Because ka whawhai tonu atu.

7.3 Putting the pieces together

Wāhine Māori are in an intersectional social position. They navigate interconnected stigmas and narratives of gender, class and race while traversing notions of criminality due to perceived gang affiliation and criminalisation. In neoliberal Aotearoa, these ideas weave neatly into an assemblage of surveillance, policing, and discrimination in the housing market. How wāhine Māori in communities framed as ganglands navigate negative stereotypes and stigmas within the housing market was investigated. In addition, their practices of resistance and resilience and return to traditional ways were analysed to produce counter-hegemonic narratives. Wāhine Māori in this community have shown tino rangatiratanga in resisting racialised, gendered, criminalising and classist discourses and practices. Although

nuanced, wāhine have effectively negotiated a system that is designed to trample their mana, and they have done so in a way that protects and revitalises Māori culture and self-dignity with the limited tools they are afforded.

Wāhine unpacked practices of blocking, steering and deception in the form of emotional, financial, and psychological abuse. Housing actors consistently placed Māori mothers in unhealthy and sub-standard housing, causing an increase in hospital visits and respiratory issues in their children; their voices were subsequently silenced, and needs were ignored, which lead to excessive labouring on things that are not their responsibility. Alternatively, if their voices were heard, the wāhine felt overwhelmingly discriminated against and blocked from further housing when they advocated for their rights. Blocking eventuated into “weeks and months of stress” trying to find shelter which increases the likelihood of ‘couch surfing’ and homelessness. After attaining a home, wāhine experienced social policing and privacy breaches through surveillance and social policing of their relationships and capabilities. Social policing was evidenced through forced parenting programmes, unwarranted entries, house searches, spying and landlord privilege to private information. Moreover, the exposure to health risks, the consistent emotional distress and strenuous physical and mental labour contribute to deficit statistics of Māori by continuing the disruption of whānau, and impacting the physical, spiritual and psyche of our wāhine. Considering the health implications of black mould and the qualitative evidence offered by wāhine that argue that they were expected to improvise, compromise and stay silent about unhealthy standards- It is not the noisy musket that kills us fast anymore, but the mould that kills us silently and slowly.

Current housing arrangements are incommensurable to te ao Maori understandings of social goods, health and wellbeing. If one person was impoverished, in unhealthy conditions or without a bed, it reflected poorly on the entire hāpu. What emerged within this deeply hopeful and inspiring research was the flourishing of practices and ideas that indicate a continuation and strength of cultural traditions. The values, practices and ideologies of collectivity remain, and they serve to nourish and protect whānau, hapū and iwi when met with disdain from the settler state, its actors and its capitalists. The wāhine are collective in their approach to attaining, securing and

advocating for rights. Moreover, whānau and friend networks served as informal knowledge channels or spaces of refuge when housing was unavailable. More importantly, whānau bettered themselves for each other and their tamariki and mokopuna and were creative in acquiring and trading material goods and supports. These findings are important as they illustrate the lived experiences of negative and intersectional stigmas and stereotypes and ultimately highlights counter-narratives and resistance.

What is significant about this research is that wāhine present as agentic persons who have deep-set knowledge and expertise of the system and their situation. The paternalistic state has been evidenced not to offer adequate assistance but rather punitive systems of surveillance, policing and arbitrary support programmes. Wāhine should have the autonomy of their budget and choice of which programmes would benefit their situation. The settler states paternalistic and punitive approach to welfare and social housing schemes creates more labour, stress and often does not contribute to the betterment of whānau Māori and the implicated messages within these programmes are mana diminishing. Considering the expertise and integrity of wāhine, an empowerment approach fits best as wāhine often know the most practical direction for their whānau. This is not to say that the wāhine collective of this research did not need support; in fact, the opposite was true. State-sanctioned support workers and advocates were highly regarded and often aided with material supports, knowledge and advocacy. For this reason, it is also suggested that support workers, plunket nurses, and iwi representatives need to be afforded more powers, resources and rights to advocate and support people, particularly Māori mothers and especially within the housing market. If support peoples were able to advocate for healthier homes, rather than assist in cleaning dampness, then there would be a counter-gaze, counter-surveillance, and the power of a third party who may be afforded stereotypes of civility in contrast to single Māori mothers utilising social welfare.

This thesis serves as a call to action for researchers, policymakers, politicians, and activists. Rental policy revision is not adequate to counteract the housing issues and loopholes of privatisation and speculation. As has been evidenced, landlords often operate in lawless ways with populations who have been relegated to the margins

and historically excluded. At the minimum, the tenancy services need to employ officers to actively patrol landlord practices and behaviours. The current policy has not been effective in protecting and assisting Māori pipelined into poverty and a renting population. Other policy suggestions include:

- Tax on secondary homes. (wealth tax)
- License needed to landlord and repeat offenders that breach tenant rights cannot hold a license.
- Regular audits of the housing services being provided.
- Limit the cost of rentals and housing.
- Rent to buy schemes incentivised, especially through affirmative action.
- Privacy laws enforced and sanctions for those that breach privacy rights.

However, rearranging policy to accommodate for life-long renters is merely a band-aid on the issue of extensive wealth and land accumulation from colonial settlers and their descendants, which has led directly to the life pathways of contemporary Māori. A more radical reframing of housing and whenua needs to happen, and also Māori relationship with the whenua needs to be incorporated into the ethos of Aotearoa to begin to honour Te Tiriti requirements. The current housing system is built wholly on Pākehā notions of land, environment, family, commodification and exploitation. Programmes need to be instituted that allow Māori populations to move from renting to owning their own homes, predominantly rural areas experiencing another wave of colonisation. We need to protect the next wave of Māori being pushed out from their haukāinga through Western schemes, Western concepts and Western interests. This phenomenon has reinvigorated and reinforced the Pākehā gaze and notions of Māori criminality, which has then entrenched ideologies of ‘who’ is a risky tenant and whose ‘interests’ are protected. Ideally, to amend and provide space for decolonisation, the state could adhere to Te Tiriti o Waitangi and an active return of whenua and tino rangatiratanga for iwi, hapū and whānau to rectify the selling of state home assets and the theft of whenua and tino rangatiratanga.

Rather than conclude, this chapter marks a space of beginning. For Māori, time is not linear; there is not a set beginning and end to things. This project needs to be the beginning of an end because the issue of criminalisation of Māori persists and insidiously etches into all factions of our settler society. While the housing sector is under-supplied, prison beds are oversupplied. While young Māori mothers

struggle to find accommodation, they are rapidly targeted and pipelined into prison accommodations and in both these instances, wāhine undergo punitive control of their bodies, surveillance and social policing. At the very least, we need to be angry, rather than apathetic to the hardships of our people, we need to locate these hardships within the context of colonisation and moreover, if we have the bones, we need to be an activist, an advocate and an ally and E tu!

7.4 Limitation and contribution

The small sample of wāhine partnered in this project is a limitation of this research project. Given that the issues presented are systemic and discursively etched into Aotearoa society, it is arguable that other Māori communities have similar practices and processes in the housing market and is worthy of further investigation. Given that this research focused on social policing within housing, the practices of local police were left out of discussion which would have provided a good comparative base to the practices that were discussed within housing. The most limiting aspect of this research was due to the ethical guidelines in undertaking research on 'vulnerable' communities, the wāhine collective who collaborated in this research could not be named and therefore, could not be acknowledged for their mahi and expertise, and due to the small scope of the research limited to renting and rentals, the wāhine who collaborated were not asked about their aspirations beyond rental accommodation.

7.5 Future research

Comparisons between justice practices and housing actors could be useful in this area, for example, what would experience with these different systems look like beside each other? A larger scale study including many jurisdictions marked by historically significant Māori populations within urban settings would also offer nuanced theories and experiences of criminalisation and social policing within the housing market and, therefore, notable for further research.

This type of research could also look towards building upon counter-narratives of wāhine and tāne Māori within and outside of settler-colonial systems. Although there has been significant work in this area, colonial tropes of brown inferiority and Māori gang affiliation remain popular in media and politics. More widely,

comparative research on this phenomenon between Indigenous Women and Black women is worthy of a thorough investigation to link settler-colonial systems and practices of white supremacy.

References

- Abramovitz, M. (2006). Welfare Reform in the United States: Gender, race and class matter. *Critical Social Policy*, 26(2), 336–364.
<https://doi.org/10.1177/0261018306062589>
- Adds, P. (2005). Te Āti Awa of Taranaki – War and a kind of Peace. In *Te Ara: The encyclopaedia of Aotearoa*
- Adichie, C. (2009). Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie: *The danger of a single story*. TED. [Video file].
- Agozino, B. (2004). Imperialism, crime and criminology: Towards the decolonisation of criminology. *Crime, Law and Social Change*, 41(4), 343–358.
- Amore, K., Viggers, H., & Howden Chapman, P. (2021). Severe Housing deprivation in Aotearoa Aotearoa, 2018 – June 2021 Update. He Kāinga Ora.
<https://www.hud.govt.nz/assets/News-and-Resources/Statistics-and-Research/2018-Severe-Housing-deprivation-estimate/Severe-Housing-Deprivation-2018-Estimate-Report.pdf>
- Andrae, D., McIntosh, T., & Coster, S. (2017). Marginalised: An insider's view of the state, state policies in Aotearoa and gang formation. *Critical Criminology*, 25(1), 119–135. DOI:[10.1007/s10612-016-9325-8](https://doi.org/10.1007/s10612-016-9325-8)
- Archibald. (2008). *Indigenous storywork: educating the heart, mind, body, and spirit*. UBC Press.
- Atkinson, J., Salmond, C., & Crampton, P. (2019). *NZDep2018 Index of Deprivation, Final Research Report, December 2020*. University of Otago.
- Barnes, A. M., Taiapa, K., Borell, B., & McCreanor, T. (2013). Māori experiences and responses to racism in Aotearoa New Zealand. *Mai Journal*, 2, 63–77.

- Bedggood, D. (1980). *Rich and Poor in Aotearoa: A critique of class, politics and ideology*. Allen and Unwin.
- Bevan, M., & Wehipeihana, N. (2015). *Women's experiences of re-offending and rehabilitation*. Department of Corrections.
- Bhandar, B. (2018). *Colonial lives of property: Law, land, and racial regimes of ownership*. Duke University Press. <https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctv11smjpm>
- Bierre, S., Howden-Chapman, P., & Signal, L. (2010). 'Ma and pa' landlords and the 'risky' tenant: Discourses in the Aotearoa private rental sector. *Housing Studies*, 25(1), 21-38. <https://doi.org/10.1080/02673030903362027>
- Bishop, R. (1998). Freeing ourselves from neo-colonial domination in research: A Māori approach to creating knowledge. *Qualitative Studies in Education*, 11(2), 199-219. Sense Publishers. <https://doi.org/10.1080/095183998236674>
- Boast, R., & Hill, R. S. (2009). *Raupatu: the confiscation of Māori land*. Victoria University Press.
- Bonds, A. & Inwood, J. (2015). Beyond white privilege: Geographies of white supremacy and settler colonialism. *Progress in Human Geography*. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0309132515613166>
- Bonds, A. (2019) Race and ethnicity I: Property, race, and the carceral state. *Progress in Human Geography* 43(3): 574–583. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0309132517751297>
- Bonilla-Silva, E. (2000). "This is a White Country": The Racial Ideology of the Western Nations of the World-System. *Sociological Inquiry*, 70(2), 188-214. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1475-682X.2000.tb00905.x>
- Bonilla-Silva, E. (2006). *Racism without racists: Color-blind racism and the persistence of racial inequality in the United States*. Rowman & Littlefield.
- Bonilla-Silva, E. (2010). *Color-blind racism*. In P. Rothenberg (Ed.), *Race, class, and gender in the United States*. Worth.

- Bonilla-Silva, E. (2015). The structure of racism in color-blind, “post-racial” America. *American Behavioral Scientist*, 59(11), 1358–1376.
<https://doi.org/10.1177/0002764215586826>
- Brave Heart, M. Y. H., & Daw, R. (2012). *Welcome to Takini’s historical trauma*.
<http://historicaltrauma.com/>
- Brayboy, B. M., & Deyhle, D. (2000). Insider-outsider: researchers in American Indian communities. *Theory into practice*, 39(3), 163-169.
https://doi.org/10.1207/s15430421tip3903_7
- Brett, A. (2020). ‘I’m Not Even Making That Up’: Myths About Moriori and Denials of Indigeneity in New Zealand. In *History in a Post-Truth World* (pp. 199-217). Routledge.
- Brookes, B. (1997). Nostalgia for ‘innocent homely pleasures’: The 1964 Aotearoa Controversy over Washday at the Pa. *Gender & History*, 9(2), 242–261.
<https://doi.org/10.1111/1468-0424.00057>
- Brown, H. (2010). Nga Taonga Takaro: “The Treasured Games of Our Ancestors.”. *Australasian Parks & Leisure*, 13(1), 11–14. <https://search-informit-org.ezproxy.waikato.ac.nz/doi/10.3316/informit.042502789053975>
- Bull, S. (2017). Crime and Māori in the Media. In A. Deckert and R. Sarre (Eds.), *The Palgrave Handbook of Australian and New Zealand. Criminology, Crime and Justice* (pp. 737- 752). Palgrave MacMillan
- Cavino, H. M. (2017). Towards a method of belonging: Contextualizing sexual violence in Māori world. [*Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Syracuse University, Syracuse*].
- Cerny, P.G. (2010) The competition state today: from raison d’État to raison du Monde, *Policy Studies*, 31:1, 5-21.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/01442870903052801>

- Cerwonka, A. (2004) *Native to the Nation: Disciplining Landscapes and Bodies in Australia*, University of Minnesota Press.
- Chong, D., & Druckman, J. N. (2007a). Framing public opinion in competitive democracies. *American Political Science Review*, 101(4), 637-655. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0003055407070554>
- Chong, D., & Druckman, J. N. (2007b). *Framing theory*. *Annual Review Political Science*. 10, 103-126. <https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev.polisci.10.072805.103054>
- Chong, D., & Druckman, J. N. (2013). Counterframing effects. *The Journal of Politics*, 75(1), 1-16. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0022381612000837>
- Cooke, H. (2020). National promises tougher stance on gangs, youth offenders. *Stuff News*. <https://www.stuff.co.nz/national/politics/300079303/national-promises-tougher-stance-on-gangs-youth-offenders>
- Crenshaw, K. (1991). Mapping the Margins: Intersectionality, Identity Politics, and Violence against Women of Color. *Stanford Law Review*, 43(6), 1241–1299. <https://doi.org/10.2307/1229039>
- Cunneen, C., & Tauri, J. (2016). *Indigenous criminology*. Policy Press. <https://doi.org/10.1111/hojo.12221>
- Davey, J., & Kearns, R. (1994). Special needs versus the “level playing-field”: Recent developments in Housing policy for indigenous people in Aotearoa. *Journal of Rural Studies*, 10(1), 73–82. [https://doi.org/10.1016/0743-0167\(94\)90007-8](https://doi.org/10.1016/0743-0167(94)90007-8)
- Davis, A. (2000). Masked racism: reflections on the prison industrial complex. [Article reprinted from Colorlines]. *Indigenous Law Bulletin*, 4(27), 4-7.
- Deckert, A., & Sarre, R. (2017). *The Palgrave handbook of Australian and New Zealand criminology, crime and justice*. Springer International Publishing.

- Denzin, N. K., & Lincoln, Y. S. (2008). Critical Methodologies and Indigenous Inquiry. In N. K. Denzin, S. Lincoln, & L. T. Smith (Eds). *Handbook of critical and indigenous methodologies*. Sage.
- Desmond, M., & Wilmers, N. (2019). Do the poor pay more for housing? Exploitation, profit, and risk in rental markets. *American Journal of Sociology*, 124(4), 1090-1124.
- Dhillon, J. K. (2015). Indigenous girls and the violence of settler colonial policing. *Decolonization: indigeneity, education & society*, 4(2), 1-3.
- Dodson, J. (2007). *Government Discourse and Housing*, Aldershot: Ashgate Press.
<https://doi.org/10.1177/0042098007088478>
- DuBois, P. (1991). *Centaurs and Amazons: Women and the Pre-history of the Great Chain of Being*. University of Michigan Press.
- Durie, M. H. (1998). *Te Mana, Te Kāwanatanga: the politics of self determination*. Oxford University Press.
- Durie, M. (2017). Kaupapa Māori: Indigenising Aotearoa. In Hoskins, T. K. & Jones, A. (Eds.), *Critical conversations in kaupapa Māori* (pp. 13–20). Huia Publishers.
- Earle, A. (1909). *A Narrative of a Nine Months' Residence in Aotearoa in 1827*. Whitcombe and Tombs
- Edleman, M. (1988). *Constructing the Political Spectacle*. Chicago. University of Chicago Press.
- Edwards, B. (2002). Deep insider research. *Qualitative research journal*, 2(1), 71-84.
- Elkington, A. (2017). An explorative study into the everyday lives of young Māori fathers. *Journal of Indigenous Wellbeing*, 2(3), 3-17.

- Ender, T. (2019). Counter-narratives as resistance: Creating critical social studies spaces with communities. *The Journal of Social Studies Research*, 43(2), 133-143. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jssr.2018.11.002>
- Evans, R (2019). The Negation of Powerlessness: Māori feminism, a Perspective. In L. Pihama, L. T. Smith, N. Simmonds, J. Seed-Pihama & K. Gabel (Eds.), *Mana Wahine Reader A Collection of Writings 1987-1998 Volume I* (pp. 19-28). Te Kotahi Research Institute.
- Fleras, A. (2016). Theorizing micro-aggressions as racism 3.0: Shifting the discourse. *Canadian Ethnic Studies*, 48(2),
- Flynn, M., Carne, S., & Soa-Lafoa'I, M. (2010). Māori Housing trends 2010. *Housing New Zealand Report, 2010*. <http://www.hnzc.co.nz/>
- Freeman, L. (2005). There goes the hood : Views of gentrification from the ground up. ProQuest Ebook Central <https://ebookcentral-proquest-com.ezproxy.waikato.ac.nz>
- Freeman, C., & Cheyne, C. (2008). Coasts for sale: gentrification in New Zealand. *Planning Theory & Practice*, 9(1), 33-56. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14649350701843846>
- Freyberg, B. C (1947). *Housing Improvement Regulations*. New Zealand Government.
- George, L., Ngamu, E., Sidwell, M., Hauraki, M., Martin-Fletcher, N., Ripia, L., & Wihongi, H. (2014). Narratives of suffering and hope. *Mai Journal*, 3(3), 183-196.
- George, L., Norris, A. N., Deckert, A., & Tauri, J. (2020). *Neo-Colonial Injustice and the Mass Imprisonment of Indigenous Women*. Springer International Publishing AG.
- Goetz, E. G. (2008). Words matter: The importance of issue framing and the case of affordable housing. *Journal of the American Planning Association*, 74(2), 222-229. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01944360802010251>

- Goetz, E. G. (2016). Resistance to social Housing transformation. *Cities*, 100(57), 1–5.
- Goodyear, R. K., Fabian, A., & Hay, J. (2012). *Finding the crowding index that works best for Aotearoa applying different crowding indexes to census of population and dwellings data for 1986-2006*. Stats NZ.
- Graham-McLay, C. (2020, 22 January). ‘People are fearful’: New Zealand Police admit gang violence is out of control. *The Guardian*.
<https://www.theguardian.com/world/2020/jan/22/people-are-fearful-new-zealand-police-admit-gang-violence-is-out-of-control>
- Gray-Sharp, K. A. P. (2007). Taniko: A mana Wāhine approach to research. *Women’s Studies Journal*, 21, 40–58
- Grbic, D., Ishizawa, H., & Crothers, C. (2010). Ethnic residential segregation in Aotearoa, 1991–2006. *Social science research*, 39(1), 25-38.
<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ssresearch.2009.05.003>
- Groot, S., Hodgetts, D., Nikora, L., & Leggatt-Cook, C. (2011). A Māori homeless woman. *Ethnography*, 12, 375– 397. Sage.
<https://doi.org/10.1177/1466138110393794>
- Groot, S., Hodgetts, D., Nikora, L., Rua, M., & Groot, D. (2015). *Pani me te Rawakore: Home-making and Māori Homelessness without hope or a Home*. Huia Publishers.
- Haami, B. (2018). *Urban Māori: The Second Great Migration*. Oratia Books.
- Haenga-Collins, M. (2017). Closed Stranger Adoption, Māori and Race Relations in Aotearoa New Zealand, 1955-1985. [Doctoral Thesis, Australian National University
- Hampton, R., & DeMartini, A. (2017). We cannot call back colonial stories: Storytelling and critical land literacy. *Canadian Journal of Education/Revue canadienne de l’éducation*, 40(3), 245-271.

- Hattery, A. J., & Smith, E. (2021). Policing black bodies: *How black lives are surveilled and how to work for change*. Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.
- Hayden, L. (2021, April 20). Vegas keeps the Māori warrior-gangster trope alive for another generation. *The Spinoff*. <https://thespinoff.co.nz/atea/20-04-2021/vegas-keeps-the-maori-warrior-gangster-trope-alive-for-another-generation/>
- Higgins & Meredith (2011). Te mana o te wāhine - Māori women. In Te Ara: The encyclopedia of New Zealand. <https://teara.govt.nz/en/te-mana-o-te-wahine-maori-women/print>
- Higgins, R. (2012). New Zealand: The Māori people. In M. D. Palmer & S. M. Burgess (Eds.), *The Wiley-Blackwell companion to religion and social justice* (pp. 412- 424). Chichester, United Kingdom: Blackwell.
- Hikuroa, D. (2015). Zealandia to Aotearoa: How permanent is Home?. In M. Kepa, M. McPherson & L.Manu'atu (Eds), *Home: Here to Stay* (pp. 1 -22). Huia Publishers.
- Hill, C. P. (2004). *Black sexual politics: African americans, gender, and the new racism : african americans, gender, and the new racism*. ProQuest Ebook Central. <https://ebookcentral-proquest-com.ezproxy.waikato.ac.nz>
- Hodgetts D., Stolet, O., Chamberlain, K & Groot, S. (2017). Penal Welfare What it does, And why we should change it. In Groot, S., Tassell-Matamua, N., van Ommen, C., & Masters-Awatere, B. (Eds). *Precarity: Uncertain, insecure and unequal lives in Aotearoa New Zealand* (pp.64-75). Massey University Press.
- Hogan, B., & Berry, B. (2011). Racial and ethnic biases in rental housing: An audit study of online apartment listings. *City & community*, 10(4), 351-372. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1540-6040.2011.01376.x>

- Hohepa, M., Smith, L. T., & McNaughton, S. (1992). Te Kōhanga Reo hei Tikanga āko I te Reo Maori: Te Kōhanga Reo as a context for language learning. *Educational Psychology*, 12(3-4), 333-346.
- Hokowhitu, B. (2007). The silencing of Māori men : deconstructing a 'space' for Māori masculinities. *New Zealand Journal of Counselling*, 27(2), 63–76.
- Hooper, K., & Kearins, K. (2004). Financing Aotearoa 1860-1880: Māori land and the wealth tax effect. *Accounting History*, 9(2), 87–105.
- Houkamau, C., Sibley, C., (2015). Looking Māori predicts decreased rates of home ownership: institutional racism in housing based on perceived appearance. *PloS One* 10 (3), e0118540. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0118540>
- Housing First Aotearoa (2018) *Ira Mata, Ira Tāngata: Auckland's Homeless Count report*. Auckland Council. Retrieved from [https://www.Housingfirst.co.nz/culturally-appropriate-responses-needed-to-address-maori-homelessness/Housing First](https://www.Housingfirst.co.nz/culturally-appropriate-responses-needed-to-address-maori-homelessness/Housing%20First)
- Illich, I. (1990). To hell with good intentions (reprinted speech from 1968). In J. C. Kendall & Associates (Eds.), *Combining service and learning: A resource book for community and public service, Vol. I* (pp. 314-320). Raleigh, NC: National Society for Internships and Experiential Education.
- ILO (International Labour Organization). (2014). *World of Work Report 2014: Developing with jobs*. Geneva: International Labour Office, ILO
- Inwood, J., & Bonds, A. (2016). Confronting white supremacy and a militaristic pedagogy in the U.S. settler colonial state. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 106 (3):521–29. <https://doi.org/10.1080/24694452.2016.1145510>
- Irwin, K. (2019). Towards Theories of Māori Feminisms. In L. Pihama, L. T. Smith, N. Simmonds J. Seed-Pihama & K. Gabel (Eds.), *Mana Wahine Reader A Collection of Writings 1987-1998 Volume I* (pp. 66-82). Te Kotahi Research Institute.

- Iti, T. (2015, June, 18). Mana: The power in knowing who you are. [TEDX Video]. Youtube. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qeK3SkxrZRI>
- Jackson, A.-M. (2015). Kaupapa Maori theory and critical discourse analysis: Transformation and social change. *AlterNative: an International Journal of Indigenous Peoples*, 11 (3), 256–268. <https://doi.org/10.1177/117718011501100304>
- Jackson, M (2013, July 3). 10 Ethics of Kaupapa Māori Research. He Manawa Whenua Research Conference. Hamilton New Zealand.
- Jackson, M., McIntosh, T., Smith, L & Pihama, L. (2018, November). *School to Prison Pipeline: Education, Systemic Racism and Issues of Incarceration for Māori, Aboriginal and African American Youth*. Presented at the annual International Indigenous Conference, Auckland, Aotearoa
- Jahnke, H. (1997). Towards a theory of mana Wāhine. He Pukenga Kōrero- A *Journal of Māori Studies*, 3(1), 27-37.
- Johnson, A., Howden-Chapman, P., & Eaqub, S. (2018). *A stocktake of Aotearoa's Housing*. Wellington, New Zealand: Ministry for Business, Innovation and Employment.
- Johnson, J. T., Cant, G., Howitt, R., & Peters, E. (2007). Creating anti-colonial geographies: Embracing indigenous peoples' knowledges and rights. *Geographical Research* 45, 117–20. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1745-5871.2007.00441.x>
- Johnston, P & Pihama, L. (2019). The Marginalisation of Māori Women. In L. Pihama, L. T. Smith, N. Simmonds, J. Seed-Pihama & K. Gabel (Eds.), *Mana Wahine Reader A Collection of Writings 1987-1998 Volume I* (pp. 114-125). Te Kotahi Research Institute.
- Johnston, K. (2020, January 06). Part-time paradise: Mum and dad landlords own more than a third of property. *NZ Herald*. <https://www.nzherald.co.nz/nz/part-time-paradise-mum-and-dad-landlords->

[own-more-than-a-third-of
property/L5S3MVSOUZLW74K575GKAO3NU/](#)

Jolly, M. (2018). Contested Paradise: Dispossession and Repossession in Hawai'i. *The Contemporary Pacific*, 30(2), 355–378.
<https://doi.org/10.1353/cp.2018.0031>

Jolly, M., & Tcherkézoff, S. (2009). Oceanic Encounters: A Prelude. In M. Jolly, S. Tcherkézoff, & D. Tryon D. (Eds.), *Oceanic Encounters: Exchange, Desire, Violence* (pp. 1-36). ANU Press.
<http://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt24h8jn.8>

Keane, B. (2010, 11 March). 'Te Māori I te ohanga – Māori in the economy – Urbanisation', Te Ara – the encyclopedia of New Zealand,
<http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/te-maori-i-te-ohanga-maori-in-the-economy/page-6>

Kelsey, J. (1993). Rolling Back the state, Privatisation of Power in Aotearoa New Zealand. Bridget Williams Books.

Kim, N.D. (2016). *Technical commentary and opinion relating to the nature, health significance and persistence of trace of methamphetamine on indoor surfaces. Report 1: nature and health significance*. School of Public Health, Massey University.

King, D., Rua, M. & Hodgetts, D. (2017). How Māori precariat families navigate social services. In S. Groot, C. van Ommen, B. Masters-Awatere, and N. Tassell-Matamua, (Eds.). *Precarity: Uncertain, insecure and unequal lives in Aotearoa New Zealand*. Massey University Press.

Kingfisher, C. P. (1999). Rhetoric of (female) savagery: Welfare reform in the United States and Aotearoa/New Zealand. *NWSA Journal*, 1-20.

Knapp, D. R. (2019). Fanning the flames: Gaslighting as a tactic of psychological abuse and criminal prosecution. *Albany Law Review*, 83(1), 313+.

- Kramer, J. (2016). Securing sovereignty: Private property, Indigenous resistance, and the rhetoric of housing. In H. Randell-Moon & R. Tippet (Eds), *Security, race, biopower* (pp. 185-205). Palgrave Macmillan.
- Lee-Morgan, J. B. J (2009). Decolonising Māori narratives: Pūrākau as a method. *MAI Review*, no. 2, 1–12. <http://hdl.handle.net/2292/18230>
- Lee-Morgan, J. B. J. (2019). Pūrākau from the inside-out: Regenerating stories for cultural sustainability. In J. Archibald, J. B. J. Lee-Morgan & J. De Santolo (Eds), *Decolonising research: Indigenous storywork as methodology* (pp. 151- 170). Zed Books.
- Lewis, C., Norris, A. N., Heta-Cooper, W., & Tauri, J. (2020). Stigmatising Gang Narratives, Housing, and the Social Policing of Māori Women. In *Neo-Colonial Injustice and the Mass Imprisonment of Indigenous Women* (pp. 13–33). Springer International. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-44567-6_2
- Lorde, A. (2001). The master's tool will never dismantle the master's house, in: K. K. Bhavnani (Ed.) *Feminism and race* 89-92. Oxford University Press, 89–92.
- Lydersen, K. (1999). Shame of the cities: Gentrification in the new urban America. *LiP Magazine*, 15.
- Macfie, A. L., & Macfie, A. L. (Eds.). (2000). *Orientalism: A reader*. NYU Press.
- Madden, D., & Marcuse, P. (2016). *In defense of Housing*. Verso. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1468-4446.12330>
- Mahuika, R. (2008). Kaupapa Māori theory is critical and anti-colonial. *MAI Review*, no. 3, 1–16.
- Malott, C. S. (2011). The Anti-Imperialist Pedagogy of Joe L. Kincheloe. In *Key works in critical pedagogy* (pp. 407-412). Brill Sense.

- Malva, S. (2017). Land, housing and capitalism: The social consequences of free markets in Aotearoa New Zealand. Economic and Social Research New Zealand.
- Marie, D. (2010). Maori and criminal offending: A critical appraisal. *Australian & Aotearoa Journal of Criminology*, 43(2), 282-300. <https://doi.org/10.1375/acri.43.2.282>
- Marques, O., & Monchalin, L. (2020). The Mass Incarceration of Indigenous Women in Canada: A Colonial Tactic of Control and Assimilation. In *Neo-Colonial Injustice and the Mass Imprisonment of Indigenous Women* (pp. 79–102). Springer International. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-44567-6_2
- Maydell, E. (2018). ‘It just seemed like your normal domestic violence’: ethnic stereotypes in print media coverage of child abuse in New Zealand. *Media, Culture & Society*, 40(5), 707-724. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0163443717737610>
- McCarty, T., Romero, M., & Zepeda, O. (2006). Reclaiming the Gift: Indigenous Youth Counter-Narratives on Native Language Loss and Revitalization. *American Indian Quarterly*, 30(1/2), 28-48. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4138910>
- McCombs, M. (1977). Agenda setting function of mass media. *Public Relations Review*, 3(4), 89–95. [http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/S0363-8111\(77\)80008-8](http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/S0363-8111(77)80008-8)
- McCormick, T. (1998). Convicting domestic violence abusers when the victim remains silent. *The BYU Journal of Public Law*, 13(2), 427–.
- McIntosh, T. (2018, August 28). Tracey McIntosh: Investing in state care not state prisons. RNZ. <https://www.rnz.co.nz/national/programmes/sunday/audio/2018668665/tracey-mcintosh-investing-in-state-care-not-state-prisons>
- McNeill, J. (2016). Regulating social Housing: Expectation for behaviour of tenants. In Malcolm Harrison & Teela Sanders (Eds). *Social Policies & Social*

- Control: New Perspectives on the 'Not-So-Big Society'* (pp. 181-198). University of Bristol. Policy Press.
- Mead, H. (2006). *Tikanga Māori : Living by Māori Values*. Huia (NZ).
- Metge, J. (1964). *A New Maori Migration*, Athlone Press.
- Meyer, M. A. (2001). Our own liberation: Reflections on Hawaiian epistemology. *The Contemporary Pacific*, 13(1) 124-148.
<https://doi.org/10.1353/cp.2001.0024>
- Mikaere, A. (1994). Maori women: Caught in the contradictions of a colonised reality. *Waikato Law Review: Taumauri*, 2, 125–149.
- Mikaere, A. (1995). *The balance destroyed: The consequences for Māori women of the colonisation of tikanga Māori*. [Unpublished Master's Thesis, University of Waikato].
- Mikaere, A. (1999). Colonisation and the imposition of patriarchy: A Ngāti Raukawa woman's perspective. *Te Ukaipo*, 1, 34-49.
- Mikaere, A. (2007). Tikanga as the first law of Aotearoa. In L. Te Aho (Ed.), *Yearbook of New Zealand jurisprudence special issue tikanga Māori me te mana I Waitangi Māori laws and values, Te Tiriti o Waitangi, and human rights* (pp. 24-31). University of Waikato School of Law.
- Mikaere, A. (2013). *Colonising Myths – Maori Realities*. Huia Publishers.
- Ministry of Justice (2020). *Department of Corrections Annual Report 2019-2020*.
https://www.corrections.govt.nz/_data/assets/pdf_file/0018/42273/Annual_Report_2019_2020.pdf
- Ministry of Justice (2021) *Data Tables*. Ministry of Justice.
<https://www.justice.govt.nz/justice-sector-policy/research-data/justice-statistics/data-tables/>

- Mitrou, F., Cooke, M., Lawrence, D., Povah, D., Mobilia, E., Guimond, E., & Zubrick, S. R. (2014). Gaps in Indigenous disadvantage not closing: a census cohort study of social determinants of health in Australia, Canada, and New Zealand from 1981–2006. *BMC Public Health*, 14(1), 1-9.
- Moeke-Maxwell, T., Nikora, L.W., & Te Awekotuku, N. (2015). Homedeathscapes: Māori End-of Life Decision-making Processes. In M.Kepa, M. McPherson & L.Manu'atu (Eds), *Home: Here to Stay* (pp. 33–53). Huia Publishers.
- Moeke-Pickering, T. M. (1996). *Maori identity within whanau* [Doctoral dissertation, University of Waikato]. The University of Waikato Research Commons. <https://hdl.handle.net/10289/464>
- Murphy, L., and R.A. Kearns (1994) Housing New Zealand Ltd. Privatisation by Stealth, *Environment and Planning A*, 26, p623-637.
- Murphy, L., & Cloher, D. (1995). Economic restructuring, housing policy and Maori housing in Northland, New Zealand. *Geoforum*, 26(4), 325–336. [https://doi.org/10.1016/0016-7185\(95\)00029-1](https://doi.org/10.1016/0016-7185(95)00029-1)
- Murphy, N. (2011). *Te Awa Atua, Te Awa Tapu, Te Awa Wāhine: An examination of stories, ceremonies and practices regarding menstruation in the pre-colonial Māori world* (Doctoral dissertation, University of Waikato).
- Murphy, N. (2019, 28 September). *Tapu: Te Awa Atua and the reclamation of Mana Wāhine* [Presentation]. National Library Te Puna Mātauranga o Aotearoa. Wellington. <https://natlib.govt.nz/events/tapu-te-awa-atua-and-the-reclamation-of-mana-Wāhine-september-28-2019>
- Nepe, T. M. (1991). *Te toi huarewa170urocea: Kaupapa Maori, an educational intervention system*. [Doctoral dissertation] University of Auckland.
- Norman, W (2019). He Aha Te Mea Nui?. In L. Pihama, L. T. Smith, N. Simmonds, J. Seed-Pihama & K. Gabel (Eds.), *Mana Wahine Reader A Collection of Writings 1987-1998 Volume I* (pp. 13-18). Te Kotahi Research Institute.

- Norris, A. N., & Billings, J. (2017). Colorblind ideology, mass incarceration, and controlling racial images: An intersectional analysis of presidential rhetoric from 1969–1996. *Journal of Ethnicity in Criminal Justice*, 15(1), 79–98. <https://doi.org/10.1080/15377938.2016.1256847>
- Norris, A. N., & Lipsey, K. (2019). Public attitudes toward new prisons in Aotearoa and deficit narratives: A quantitative survey. *International Criminal Justice Review*, 29(4), 348-360. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1057567718803147>
- Nunn, K. & Bell, D (1999). Law as eurocentric enterprise. In R. Delgado, & J. Stefancic (Eds.), *Critical race theory: The cutting edge* (71-79). Temple University Press.
- Orange, C. (2015). *Te Tiriti O Waitangi*. Wellington: Bridget Williams Books.
- Pain, R. (2019). Chronic urban trauma: The slow violence of Housing dispossession. *Urban Studies*, 56(2), 385-400. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0042098018795796>
- Pere, R. (1982). *Ako: Concepts and learning in the Maori tradition*. Astra Print.
- Pere, R. (1987). To us the dreamers are important. *Public and Private Worlds*, 59, 6-19.
- Pere, R. T. (2006). A celebration of Māori sacred and spiritual knowledge. In J. Kunnie & N. Goduka (eds), *Indigenous peoples' wisdom and power: Affirming our knowledge through narratives* (pp. 143-160). Ashgate.
- Pihama, L. (2001). *Tīhei mauri ora: Honouring our voices. Mana Wāhine as a kaupapa Māori theoretical framework* (Doctoral dissertation). Auckland University.
- Pihama, L. (2010). Kaupapa Māori Theory: Transforming Theory in Aotearoa. *He Pukenga Kōrero*, 9(2), 5-14.

- Pihama, L., Cram, F., & Walker, S. (2002). Creating methodological space: A literature review of Kaupapa Māori research. *Canadian Journal of Native Education*, 26(1), 30–43.
- Pihama, L., Reynolds, P., Smith, C., Reid, J., Tuhiwai-Smith, L., & Te Nana, R. (2014). Positioning historical trauma theory within Aotearoa New Zealand. *AlterNatives*, 10(3), 248–262. <https://doi.org/10.1177/117718011401000304>
- Pihama, L., Smith, L. T., Simmonds, N., Seed-Pihama, J., & Gabel, K. (2019). *Mana Wāhine Reader A Collection of Writings 1987–1998 Volume I* (Vol. 1). Te Kotahi Research Institute.
- Pihama, L., Smith, L. T., Simmonds, N., Seed-Pihama, J., & Gabel, K. (2019). *Mana Wāhine Reader A Collection of Writings 1999–2019 Volume II* (Vol. 2). Te Kotahi Research Institute.
- Pihama, L., Tiakiwai, S.-J., & Southey, K. (2015). *Kaupapa rangahau: A reader. A collection of readings from the Kaupapa Rangahau workshops series.* (2nd ed.). Te Kotahi Research Institute.
- Poata-Smith, E. T. A. (2013). Inequality and Māori, 148-158. In Rashbrooke, M. (Eds). *Inequality : a New Zealand crisis*. Bridget Williams Books.
- Pohatu, T. W. (2013). Āta: Growing respectful relationships. *Ata: Journal of Psychotherapy Aotearoa New Zealand*, 17(1), 13-26. <https://doi.org/10.9791/ajpanz.2013.02>
- Pool, I., & Kukutai, T. (2018). ‘Taupori Māori – Māori population change—Decades of despair, 1840–1900’, *Te Ara-- the Encyclopedia of New Zealand*, <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/taupori-maori-maori-population-change/page-2> (accessed 18 August 2021)
- Porter, A. (2016). Decolonizing policing: Indigenous patrols, counter-policing and safety. *Theoretical Criminology*, 20(4), 548–565. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1362480615625763>

- Provan, S. (2012). The Uncanny Place of the Bad Mother and the Innocent Child at the Heart of New Zealand's 'Cultural Identity'. PhD Thesis. University of Canterbury. <http://dx.doi.org/10.26021/4416>
- Provine, D. M. (2007). *Unequal under law race in the war on drugs*. University of Chicago Press. Public Works act 1908 <http://www.enzs.auckland.ac.nz/docs/1908/1908C160.pdf>
- Rashbrooke, M. (2013). Inequality and Aotearoa. *Inequality: a New Zealand crisis*. Bridget Williams Books.
- Rehm, M. & Yang, Y. (2020). Betting on capital gains: housing speculation in Auckland, New Zealand. *International Journal of Housing Markets and Analysis*, 14(1), 72–96. <https://doi.org/10.1108/IJHMA-02-2020-0010>
- Rewi, P., & Higgins, R. (2015). Home and the Māori Language. In M.Kepa, M. McPherson & L.Manu'atu (Eds), *Home: Here to Stay* (pp. 33– 53). Huia Publishers.
- RNZ (2021, 15 July). Is Labour funding the Mongrel Mob with drugs programme? What you need to know. *NZ Herald*. <https://www.nzherald.co.nz/nz/is-labour-funding-the-mongrel-mob-with-drugs-programme-what-you-need-to-know/F3SFKZUNEM2LN52YSGTUU6BZVQ/>
- Roberts, D. E. (2012). Prison, foster care, and the systemic punishment of black mothers. *UCLA Law Review*, 59(6), 1474–.
- Robertson, D. L. (2015). Invisibility in the color-blind era: Examining legitimized racism against indigenous peoples. *American Indian Quarterly*, 39(2), 113-153. <https://doi.org/10.5250/amerindiquar.39.2.0113>
- Ross, L. (1998). *Inventing the savage: The social construction of Native American criminality*. University of Texas Press.
- Ross. L. (2004). Native Women, Mean-Spirited Drugs, and Punishing Policies. *Social Justice (San Francisco, Calif.)*, 31(4 (98)), 54–62.

- Rua, M., Hodgetts, D., Stolte, O., King, D., Cochrane, B., Stubbs, T., Karapu, R., Neha, E., Chamberlain, K., Te Whetu, T., Te Awekotuku, N., Harr, J., Groot, S., (2019). *Precariat Maori Households Today (Te Arotahi Series Paper, 2019 No. 02)*. Ngā Pae o te Māramatanga [Māori Centre of Research Excellence].
- Schneider, A., & Ingram, H (1993). Social construction of target populations: Implications for politics and policy. *American Political Science Review* 87 (2): 334–47. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2939044>
- Schuilenburg, M., & Hall, G. (2015). *The Securitization of Society: Crime, Risk, and Social Order*. NYU Press.
- Secombe, K., James, D., & Walters, K.B. (1998). “They Think You Ain’t Much of Nothing”: The Social Construction of the Welfare Mother. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 60(4), 849–865. <https://doi.org/10.2307/353629>
- Seed-Pihama, J. (2019). Kapohia Ngā Taonga ā Kui Mā: Liberty from the Theft of Our 178 Matrilineal Names. In L. Pihama, L. T. Smith, N. Simmonds, J. Seed-Pihama & K. Gabel (Eds.), *Mana Wahine Reader A Collection of Writings 1999-2019 Volume II* (pp. 178-189). Te Kotahi Research Institute.
- Shilliam, R. (2015). *The black Pacific: Anti-colonial struggles and oceanic connections*. Bloomsbury.
- Simmonds, N. (2009). *Mana Wāhine geographies: Spiritual, spatial and embodied understandings of Papatūānuku*. University of Waikato.
- Simmonds, N. (2011). Mana Wāhine: Decolonising politics. *Women’s Studies Journal* 25(2): 11–25.
- Simmonds, N. B. (2017). Honouring our ancestors: Reclaiming the power of Māori maternities. In H. Tait Neufeld & J. Cidro (Eds.), *Indigenous Experiences of Pregnancy and Birth*. Ontario, Canada: Demeter Press.
- Simpson, L. B. (2017). *As we have always done: Indigenous freedom through radical resistance*. University of Minnesota Press

- Smith, G. H (2015). The dialectic relation of theory and practice in the development of Kaupapa Maori Praxis. In Pihama, L., Tiakiwai, S. J., & K. Southey *Kaupapa rangahau: A reader. A collection of readings from the Kaupapa Rangahau workshops series*. Te Kotahi Research Institute.
- Smith, G. H. (1992). Research Issues Related to Māori Education. In *The Issue of Research and Māori*. Auckland: Research Unit for Māori Education, University of Auckland.
- Smith, G. H (2002). The development of kaupapa Maori: theory and praxis. University of Auckland.
- Smith, G. K., Hoskins, T., & Jones, A. (2012). Interview Kaupapa Maori: The dangers of domestication. *New Zealand Journal of Educational Studies*, 47(2), 10-20.
- Smith, J., & Abel, S. (2015). Ka whawhai tonu matou: Indigenous television in Aotearoa/New Zealand. *New Zealand Journal of Media Studies (Online)*, 11(1), 43–56. Smith, L. (2012). *Decolonizing methodologies: Research and indigenous peoples* (2nd ed.). Palgrave Macmillan.
- Smith, L. T. (1999). *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples*. Zed Books.
- Smith, L. T. (2015). Kaupapa Māori research— some Kaupapa Māori principles. In L. Pihama, S.-J Tiakiwai, and K. Southey (Eds). *Kaupapa Rangahau: a reader. A collection of readings from the Kaupapa Rangahau workshops series*. (pp. 46-52). Te Kotahi Research Institute, Hamilton, Aotearoa.
- Smith, L. T. (2019). Māori Women: Discourses, Projects and Mana Wahine. In L. Pihama, L. T. Smith, N. Simmonds, J. Seed-Pihama & K. Gabel (Eds.), *Mana Wahine Reader A Collection of Writings 1987-1998 Volume I* (pp. 39-52). Te Kotahi Research Institute.

- Smith, L. T., & Hohepa, M. K. (1990). *Mana Wāhine, mana Maori: a case study*. Maori Education Research and Development Unit, Education Dept., University of Auckland.
- Smith, R. G. (2017). Public sector criminological research. In A. Deckert & R. Sarre (Eds), *The Palgrave Handbook of Australian and New Zealand Criminology, Crime and Justice* (pp. 33-49). Palgrave Macmillan, Cham.
- Solyom, J. A., & Brayboy, B. M. J. (2011). Memento Mori: Policing the minds and bodies of indigenous Latinas/os in Arizona. *California Western International Law Journal*, 42(2), 473–.
- Stanley, E. (2016). *The road to hell: State violence against children in postwar New Zealand*. Auckland University Press. <https://doi.org/10.11157/anzswj-vol29iss1id367>
- Stanley, E. (2017). From care to custody: Trajectories of children in post-war New Zealand. *Youth justice*, 17(1), 57-72. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1473225416669145>
- Stats NZ. (2016). *Changes in home-ownership patterns 1986–2013: Focus on Māori and Pacific people*. https://ndhadeliver.natlib.govt.nz/delivery/DeliveryManagerServlet?dps_pid=IE26304763
- Stats NZ. (2016). *National Population Projections 2020-2073 [data tables]*. Wellington: Stats NZ. URL: <http://nzdotstat.stats.govt.nz/wbos/Index.aspx?DataSetCode=TABLECODE7542#>
- Stats NZ. (2019). *2018 Census place summaries*. Stats NZ. ISBN 978-1-98-858361-7). Published in September 2019. <https://www.stats.govt.nz/tools/2018-census-place-summaries>

- Stats NZ. (2021). *Sub-National Population Projections 2018(based)-- 2014* [data tables]. Stats NZ.URL: <https://www.stats.govt.nz/information-releases/subnational-population-projections-2018base2048>
- Stats NZ (2020, May 19). *More than 2 in 5 Māori and Pacific people live in a damp house – corrected*. Stats NZ. <https://www.stats.govt.nz/news/more-than-2-in-5-maori-and-pacific-people-live-in-a-damp-house-corrected>
- Steward, G., & Dale, H. (2016). 'Dirty Laundry'in Maori Education History? Another Spin for" Washday" at the Pa. *Waikato Journal of Education*, 21(2), 5-15. <https://doi.org/10.15663/wje.v21i2.268>
- Stewart, G. (2019). Mana Wahine and Washday at the Pā. *Educational Philosophy and Theory*, 51(7), 684-692.
- Stillwell, L. (2016). *I Am Not the Problem: Challenging Deficit Narratives of Indigenous Development Through Alternative Media*. Masters Thesis, Massey University. <http://hdl.handle.net/10179/10218>
- Stubbs, T., Cochrane, W., Uerata, L., Hodgetts, D., & Rua, M. (2017). The Māori precariat: A silhouette. In S. Groot, C. vanOmmen, B. Masters-Awatere, & N. Tassell-Matamua (eds). *A class in the making: Precarity in New Zealand*. Massey University Press.
- Sweet, P. L. (2019). The sociology of gaslighting. *American Sociological Review*, 84(5), 851-875. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0003122419874843>
- Sykes, A. (1994). Constitutional reform and mana Wāhine. *Te Pua*, 3(2),15– 20
- Taonui, R (2012). *Māori and Legislation - The Native and Court*. In Te Ara: The encyclopaedia of Aotearoa
- Taonui, R., & Newbold, G. (2016). Staunch: Māori gangs in urban New Zealand. In G. W. Streich (Ed.), *Urban social capital: Civil society and city life* (p. 159–175). Routledge.

- Tapiata, H (Host). (2019, February 20). *The Whakapapa Effect : Understanding whakapapa* [Audio Podcast]. Retrieved from <https://www.hanatapiata.com/podcast?offset=1550661980593>
- Tapsell, P. (2002) A Marae identity in urban Aotearoa New Zealand. *Pacific Studies*, 25(1/2): 141–71.
- Tauri, J. (1998). Family group conferencing: A case-study of the Indigenisation of Aotearoa's justice system. *Current Issues in Criminal Justice*, 10(2), 168-182.
- Te Ara - The Encyclopedia of Aotearoa (2017). Urban Māori. Retrieved from <http://www.teara.govt.nz/en/urban-maori>. Accessed 14 Feb 2018
- Te Awēkotuku, N. (1991). *Mana Wāhine Maori: Selected writings on Maori women's art, culture and politics*. New Women's Press.
- Te Awēkotuku, N. (2019). He Whiriwhiri Wahine: Framing Women's Studies for Aotearoa. In L. Pihama, L. T. Smith, N. Simmonds, J. Seed-Pihama & K. Gabel (Eds.), *Mana Wahine Reader A Collection of Writings 1987-1998 Volume I* (p. 19-28). Te Kotahi Research Institute.
- Thacher, D. (2008). The rise of criminal background screening in rental housing. *Law & Social Inquiry*, 33(1), 5-30. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1747-4469.2008.00092.x>
- Tiakiwai, S. J. (2015). Understanding and doing research: A Māori position. *Kaupapa rangahau: A reader*, 74.
- Tinker, A. (2002). The social implications of an ageing population. *Mechanisms of Ageing and Development*, 123, 729–735.
- Trappes-Lomax, H. (2004). Discourse analysis. In A. Davies & C. Elder (Eds.), *The handbook of applied linguistics* (pp. 133–164). Blackwell Publishing.
- Tubex, H., & Cox, D. (2020). Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Women in Australian Prisons. In L. George, A. Norris, A. Deckert & J. Tauri, *Neo-*

- Colonial Injustice and the Mass Imprisonment of Indigenous Women* (p. 133–154). Springer International. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-44567-6_2
- Tuck, E., & Yang, K. W. (2012). Decolonization is not a metaphor. *Decolonization: Indigeneity, education & society*, 1(1).
- Turner, M. & Ross, S. (2003). *Discrimination in Metropolitan Housing Markets: Phase 3 – Native Americans September*. The Urban Institute Press.
- Waitere, H & Johnson, P. (2019). Echoed Silences in Absentia: Mana Wahine in Institutional Contexts. In L. Pihama, L. T. Smith, N. Simmonds, J. Seed-Pihama & K. Gabel (Eds.), *Mana Wahine Reader A Collection of Writings 1999-2019 Volume II* (pp. 83-104). Te Kotahi Research Institute.
- Walker, L. (1979). *The battered woman*. New York: Harper & Row.
- Walker, R (1979). The Urban Māori. In New Zealand Planning Council (Eds). *He matapuna: a source: some Māori perspectives*. Aotearoa Planning Council
- Walker, R. (2002). Māori News is Bad News. In J. McGregor and M. Comrie (Eds) *What's news?* (pp. 215–232). Dunmore Press.
- Walker, R. (2004). *Ka whawhai tonu matou struggle without end*. Penguin Books.
- Wanhalla, A. (2006). Housing un/healthy Bodies: Native Housing surveys and Māori health in Aotearoa 1930-45. *Health and History*, 8(1), 100-120.
- Wereta, W. (1994). Māori Demographic Trends. *Social Policy Journal of New Zealand*, 3, 52–62. Ministry of Social Development.
- West, L. M., Donovan, R. A., & Daniel, A. R. (2016). The Price of Strength: Black College Women's Perspectives on the Strong Black Woman Stereotype. *Women & Therapy*, 39(3-4), 390–412. <https://doi.org/10.1080/02703149.2016.1116871>
- Whyllie, C (2013). Inequality and Education. In M. Rashbrooke, M (Ed), *Inequality: A New Zealand Crisis*. Bridget Williams books (134-147)

Wilson, D., & Serisier, T. (2010). Video activism and the ambiguities of counter-surveillance. *Surveillance & Society*, 8(2), 166-180.

Wirihana, R., & Smith, C. (2019). Historical trauma, healing and well-being in Māori communities. In Smith, C. W. I. T. R., & Tinirau, R. (Eds.). *He Rau Murimuri Aroha: Wāhine Māori insights into historical trauma and healing*. Te Atawhai o te Ao Independent Māori Institute for Environment & Health.

Woods, M (2002). '*Integrating the Nation: Gendering Māori Urbanisation and integration, 1942– 1969*', [Doctoral Thesis, University of Canterbury].
<http://dx.doi.org/10.26021/4042>

Work and Income Aotearoa (2019). *Relationships and income assistance*. Publication No. ALLA0011. Ministry of Social Development. New Zealand.

Yates-Smith, A. (1998). Reclaiming the Ancient Feminine in Māori Society: Kei wareware i a tātou te ūkaipō. I L. Pihama, L. T. Smith, N. Simmonds, J. Seed-Pihama & Gabel (Eds). *Mana Wāhine Reader: A collection of Writings 1999-2019*. (p.50-60) Te Kotahi Research Institute.

Yates-Smith, A. (2006). Te Ūkaipō - Te Taiao: The mother, the nurturer – nature. *Women's Studies Journal*, 20(2),13-22.

Zhou, M. (2017). Motherhood, employment, and the dynamics of women's gender attitudes. *Gender & Society*, 31(6), 751-776.
<https://doi.org/10.1177/0891243217732320>

Zufferey, C., & Parkes, A. (2019). Family homelessness in regional and urban contexts: Service provider perspectives. *Journal of Rural Studies*, 70, 1–8.
<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jrurstud.2019.08.004>

Legislation:

Anderton, J. (2009, June 10). Gangs and Organised Crime Bill: First reading. *New Zealand Parliamentary Debates*, 635, 6283.
<https://www.parliament.nz/en/pb/hansard->

[debates/rhr/document/49HansD_20090910_00000734/gangs-and-organised-crime-bill-second-reading](https://www.parliament.nz/en/pb/hansard-debates/rhr/document/49HansD_20090910_00000734/gangs-and-organised-crime-bill-second-reading)

Cosgrove, C. (2009, June 10). Gangs and Organised Crime Bill: First reading. *New Zealand Parliamentary Debates*, 635, 6283.
https://www.parliament.nz/en/pb/hansard-debates/rhr/document/49HansD_20090910_00000734/gangs-and-organised-crime-bill-second-reading

Flavell, T. U. (2009, June 10). Gangs and Organised Crime Bill: First reading. *New Zealand Parliamentary Debates*, 635, 6283.
https://www.parliament.nz/en/pb/hansard-debates/rhr/document/49HansD_20090910_00000734/gangs-and-organised-crime-bill-second-reading

Garret, D. (2009, May 26). Residential Tenancy Amendment Bill: First Reading. *New Zealand Parliamentary Debates*, 654, 3827.
https://www.parliament.nz/en/pb/hansard-debates/rhr/document/49HansD_20090526_00001208/residential-tenancies-amendment-bill-first-reading

Garret, D. (2009, June 10). Gangs and Organised Crime Bill: First reading. *New Zealand Parliamentary Debates*, 635, 6283.
https://www.parliament.nz/en/pb/hansard-debates/rhr/document/49HansD_20090910_00000734/gangs-and-organised-crime-bill-second-reading

Hawkins, G. (2009, May 26). Residential Tenancy Amendment Bill: First Reading. *New Zealand Parliamentary Debates*, 654, 3827.
https://www.parliament.nz/en/pb/hansard-debates/rhr/document/49HansD_20090526_00001208/residential-tenancies-amendment-bill-first-reading

Jones, S. (2009, June 10). Gangs and Organised Crime Bill: First reading. *New Zealand Parliamentary Debates*, 635, 6283.
https://www.parliament.nz/en/pb/hansard-debates/rhr/document/49HansD_20090910_00000734/gangs-and-organised-crime-bill-second-reading

[debates/rhr/document/49HansD_20090910_00000734/gangs-and-organised-crime-bill-second-reading](https://www.parliament.nz/en/pb/hansard-debates/rhr/document/49HansD_20090910_00000734/gangs-and-organised-crime-bill-second-reading)

Power, S. (2009, June 10). Gangs and Organised Crime Bill: First reading. *New Zealand Parliamentary Debates*, 635, 6283.
https://www.parliament.nz/en/pb/hansard-debates/rhr/document/49HansD_20090910_00000734/gangs-and-organised-crime-bill-second-reading

Salesa, J. (2015, December 8). Residential Tenancy Amendment Bill: First Reading. *New Zealand Parliamentary Debates*, 710, 8624.
https://www.parliament.nz/en/pb/hansard-debates/rhr/document/51HansD_20151208_00000016/residential-tenancies-amendment-bill-first-reading

Turei, M. (2009, June 10) Gangs and Organised Crime Bill: First reading. *New Zealand Parliamentary Debates*, 635, 6283.
https://www.parliament.nz/en/pb/hansard-debates/rhr/document/49HansD_20090910_00000734/gangs-and-organised-crime-bill-second-reading

Aid to Public Works and Land Settlement Bill 1908

Government Advances to Settlers Act 1894

Government Advances to Workers Act 1906

Indian Act 1876

Loan Appropriation Act 1863

Maori Housing Act 1935

Native Housing Act 1935

Native Schooling Act 1867

New Zealand Loan Act 1863

The Housing Restructuring Act 1992

The Manpower Act 1944

The New Zealand Settlement Act 1863

The Public Works Act 1981

The Suppression of Rebellion Act 1863

Te Tiriti o Waitangi 1840

Tohunga Suppression Act 1907

