

Redefining Gangsterism: Social Change Agents in the Black Power

By

Mara Parkington Davis

With

Parera 'Bongee' Mahauariki

Ngapari Nui

Denis O'Reilly

Eugene Ryder

Genesis 'TK' Te Kuru White

Supervisor

Dr Liam Martin

A thesis submitted to Victoria University of Wellington / Te Herenga Waka in fulfilment of the requirements for
the degree of Master of Arts in Criminology

School of Social and Cultural Studies / Te Kura Mahinga Tangata

Victoria University of Wellington / Te Herenga Waka

2022



Image supplied by Denis O'Reilly

“Each finger has a certain strength, but, when the fist is closed and hand works together, it is extremely powerful.”

- Denis

In memory of two Black Power whānau, Bongee and Carl, who both passed away during this project. Moe mai rā e ngā rangatira.

Abstract

The war on gangs in Aotearoa New Zealand seems to be a never-ending battle. Sensationalist rhetoric in the media and anti-gang political discourse fosters a range of negative stereotypes about gangs and those within them, presenting them as fundamentally criminal organisations. This thesis challenges the dominant narrative on gangs by instead exploring their evolving social movement potential. Drawing on participatory action research and collaborative partnerships established within the Black Power rōpū – one of the most well-known ‘gangs’ in the country – it shows members taking up important roles as agents of social change. The research found members reinterpreting in a localised context the anti-racist symbolism of the global Black Power movement, along with adopting practices and techniques more commonly associated with social movements. Through the kōrero of members themselves, this research shows how the rōpū are actively redefining the very meaning of the terms ‘gang’ and ‘gangster’. The research not only challenges prevailing public stereotypes within Aotearoa New Zealand, but contributes to the wider field of gang research by developing a collaborative methodology that works *with* not *on* the community that is ‘the gang’ and by demonstrating the roles these collectives play in grassroots projects of social transformation.

Acknowledgements

Bongee, Ngapari, Denis, Eugene and TK – the five men involved in this project, tēnā koutou, thank you. For you time, your mahi, your kōrero. I am honoured and privileged to call you my friends and collaborative researchers. Mangu Kaha / Black Power, ngā mihi ki a koutou – thank you for growing such wonderful social change agents.

Bongee – I am so saddened that you are no longer here. It has been an immense privilege to hear Bongee’s kōrero, filled with wisdom. He lived and breathed this movement and I am honoured to have seen and heard this from him. Bearing witness to the mana with which he held himself has been the privilege of a lifetime. To Bongee’s whānau – arohanui ki a koutou.

Ngapari – you have made space and time to share with me your kaupapa in the incredible mahi you do, and for that I am so grateful. Your generosity and awhi for those around you is a sight to behold, and I am lucky to have shared kōrero with you.

Denis – an absolute legend you are, comrade. One of my favourite memories from this project was coming to your kāinga and being introduced to the people in your life and the things within your life that bring you joy. Your legacy in Black Power holds so much mana – keep fighting that good fight.

Eugene – ngā mihi ki a koe, this project would not have existed without you. You are my friend but also a mentor, an inspiration, and an exemplary advocate – setting the best example for future social change agents. I am more grateful than I can express for our kōrero and your ability to hold such hope in your visions for the future of Black Power.

TK – your passion and relentless mahi for the cause is something I am constantly in awe of e hoa. From our video messages, to sharing grief, to standing in the awa in Whakatāne together, to writing about Te Tini o Meketū over zoom, we have had such a journey together and it has been beautiful – thank you for teaching me so much.

Dr Liam Martin – my supervisor, friend, and mentor – thank you. For the endless kōrero about anything and everything, the time spent brainstorming and working through ideas, the constant support, laughter, for making me grow in my writing and research – you gave so much to this thesis, and I have felt the meaning of manaakitanga so acutely through your mentorship.

I would like to thank the sponsors of the Rosemary Barrington Research Grant – for which I was awarded for this Master’s degree. This grant is in memory of Rosemary Barrington

and advancing the cause of social justice research in Aotearoa, I hope to have contributed to this kaupapa through this thesis.

To my friends in the criminology rōpū – thank you for your ongoing mahi in continuing the fight against injustice. A special thank you to Rebekah and Awatea – you two give me so much hope for a future of change in our justice system. To my office mates – Joe and Bethan – it was a joy to be on this hīkoi together, thank you for the laughs, support and friendship. I am so proud of you both and what you have contributed to the criminology research field.

To my friends, whānau and communities outside of criminology – all of whom there are too many to name – thank you for your ongoing support, check-ins, and for encouraging me to not let life pass me by. Mum, Dad, and Lizzie – I am forever grateful (to infinity) for you three.

And lastly, to the late Dr. Carl Bradley. You paved the way for this research, and I am saddened to not be able to share all of this with you. We had so much left to talk about, and to know that there was not enough time is to know the pain of grief. Your passing during the midst of this project made it all the more pertinent, and I hope to have done you proud.

Table of Contents

Abstract	2
Acknowledgements	3
Table of Contents	5
Introduction	7
Chapter Outline	9
Chapter 1: Literature Review – The Social Movement Potential of Black Power in Aotearoa	12
The War on Gangs in Aotearoa	13
The Orthodox Approach: Gangs as Criminal Organisations	18
The Alternative Approach: Gangs as Social Movements	21
The Politics of Black Power in Aotearoa	27
Conclusion	32
Chapter 2: Research Methodology – Building Collaborative Research Partnerships within Black Power	34
Participatory Action Research	35
Research ‘With’ not ‘On’ Communities	38
Decolonising Māori-Pākehā Research Collaborations	40
Building Research Partnerships within Black Power	44
Whakawhanaungatanga / Relationship-Building	45
Hononga / Collaboration	48
<i>Collaborative Design of the Interview Guide</i>	49
<i>Collaborative Interviewing</i>	50
<i>Collaborative Analysis of Interview Data</i>	51
Koha / Reciprocity	53

Conclusion	54
Chapter 3: “Te Tini o Meketū” – The Multitudes of the Upraised Fist	55
The Global to the Local	56
Reinterpreting Black Power and the Upraised Fist	60
Te Tini o Meketū – The Multitudes of the Upraised Fist	64
Conclusion	69
Chapter 4: “We Were Part Of A Pretty Conscious Political Crew” – Social Movement Practices within Black Power in Aotearoa	71
Black Power’s Adoption of Social Movement Techniques	72
The Involvement of Radical Intellectuals	73
The Coexistence of an Anticolonial Consciousness	77
The Political Development of Black Power in response to the Wāhine	79
The Evolution of New Leadership Strata: Social Change Agents & The Kahukura	83
Conclusion	87
Chapter 5: From The Patch to the Puhoro – Reimagining the Meaning of ‘Gang’ in Aotearoa	89
An Imposed Term: Rejecting the Link Between Gangs and Criminality	90
Black Power as Whānau	93
The Patch to the Puhoro	97
Conclusion	101
Conclusion	103
Kupu Māori	107
References	116
Appendices	137
Appendix 01	137

Introduction

The war on gangs in Aotearoa is in full swing. The National Party have just launched their ‘gang crackdown plan’ (“National’s gang crackdown plan...”, 2022), described as another “groundhog day announcement” (Tam, 2022) in a slew of anti-gang crackdowns as the country moves into the upcoming election-year campaigning, where ‘tough on crime’ law and order policies typically come to the fore. The accounts on gangs that dominate the headlines currently use emotive language to depict ‘gang warfare’ and ‘gang feuds’, perpetuating the sensationalist and crime-fuelled rhetoric on gangs and those within them, making people within gangs the scapegoats for crime in Aotearoa. With the politicisation of gangs ramping up, the media frenzy that ensues leads to an ‘us and them’ approach of isolating members of these groups we deem as gangs as the ‘bad’ group in society (“Rhetoric, politics mean gangs ‘left to rot’...”, 2022).

This coverage revives longstanding stereotypes about gangs in Aotearoa. In 1982, Kelsey and Young (1982) described what would be the evolving moral panic of gangs, specifically Māori gangs, where the views of supposed concerned citizens and the need for ‘order’ to be restored are predictably exaggerated and politicised (“Warning from history...”, 2022). This often occurs in times of change – globally and nationally – where identifying a group or groups as responsible for challenging this notion of ‘order’ facilitates scapegoating to overshadow the core issues that remain unaddressed (Kelsey & Young, 1982). For decades, media, law enforcement and politicians have all played a role in the ‘war on gangs’ in Aotearoa, and yet there are voices which are nullified in this kōrero – those within these groups we deem as gangs. Amongst the research on gangs in Aotearoa, with gang research having spanned decades by a variety of academics around the motu, (Andrae, McIntosh & Coster, 2017a, 2017b; Bellamy, 2009; Bradley, 2020, 2021; Desmond, 2009; Eggleston, 2000; Faleolo, 2014; Gilbert, 2013b; Hazlehurst, 2006; Kelsey & Young, 1982; Meek, 1992; Newbold & Taonui, 2011; O’Reilly, n.d.; Roguski, 2019; Roguski & Tauri, 2012; Tamatea, 2017), this research contributes to a small but growing body of scholarship which explores alternative conceptualisations of gangs that pivots from the ‘gangs and crime’ narrative that has dominated this field.

This thesis hears from those within Black Power, a gang come social movement, whānau and rōpū – resisting the war on gangs in Aotearoa. It challenges the narrow view of gangs as criminal organisations through collaborative research with five members of the group: Parera ‘Bongee’ Mahauariki, Ngapari Nui, Denis O’Reilly, Eugene Ryder and Genesis ‘TK’

Te Kuru White. While formal interviews were carried out with each individual, the interviews were only one part of a research methodology that engaged all as ‘collaborative researchers’ rather than simply ‘participants’. This meant establishing meaningful relationships based on trust and mutual respect, through exchanges that often went beyond the ‘requirements’ of gathering data, from kai and kawhe to spending the weekend at a wānanga hosted by Black Power Movement Whakatāne. Taking the time to build relationships allowed for doing the research collaboratively throughout: we discussed the goals of the project at the beginning, designed the interview guide together, and engaged in dialogue in the analysis of the interview data. In a field of gang scholarship dominated by research ‘on’ gangs, a key contribution of this thesis is the development of a collaborative methodology for working ‘with’ these communities.

Internationally, gang research is dominated by studies of the relationship between gangs and crime, such as attempts to explain why people join gangs and why gangs and their members engage in crime and violence (Wegerhoff, Dixon & Ward, 2019). This focus reinforces common public stereotypes about gangs as fundamentally criminal groups. In contrast, this thesis challenges the orthodox view, contributing to a small but growing body of research that examines instead their social movement characteristics and potential (see, for example, Brotherton & Barrios, 2004). Black Power in Aotearoa draws its name from an explicitly anti-racist global Black Power movement (Shilliam, 2012), and at its founding, adopted the upraised fist as the central image on the patch worn by members. This research shows how the group is actively reinterpreting this symbolism to guide political action and social change locally, and in the process, using a range of techniques and practices more commonly associated with social movements. This includes, for example, engaging with radical intellectuals to cultivate anti-colonial consciousness among members, and training leaders in making demands for social change. In pushing against the common tendency of gang researchers to frame their work around gangs and crime, a negative stereotype that plagues those within these groups, this thesis develops an alternative – a ground-up picture of consciousness raising and activism.

This thesis aims to offer alternative perspectives and qualitative research on the elements of Black Power that demonstrate an evolving social movement, with social change agents leading the rōpū in this hīkoi. Members have been resisting the war against their very existence in Aotearoa, and this research hears directly from these social change agents of Black Power, with their kōrero outlining the elements unique in the creation of their budding movement. In moving away from voyeuristic methods common in gang scholarship (Fraser,

2015), this thesis contributes to the development of collaborative methodologies with members of these groups we deem gangs, which centres the kōrero of those in Black Power – the collaborative researchers in this project.

Chapter Outline

Chapter one of this thesis introduces and develops a theoretical framework for examining the social movement characteristics of groups more commonly understood as gangs. The chapter argues that the war on gangs in Aotearoa that has been facilitated by media, law enforcement, and politicians, who position gangs as the scapegoat for most crime in Aotearoa – and that these misconceptions are too often reproduced in gang research. With an onslaught of legal and political measures in Aotearoa that directly target gangs and those within them (Gilbert, 2013b; Gilbert, 2022), a rhetoric has been created that limits approaches towards these groups that do not encompass crime. This leads to the dominant narrative towards gangs globally – the orthodox approach of gangs as criminal organisations. The moral panic surrounding gangs leaves little flexibility in holding space for what this thesis deems the alternative approach – gangs as social movements. This theoretical framework is modelled from the street organisation come social movement the Almighty Latin King and Queen Nation of New York City (ALKQN) (Brotherton & Barrios, 2004). The argument here is that gangs have not been extensively researched within the frame of these groups as social movements, with researchers often missing the potential for members to operate as social change agents working with and for their communities. The chapter develops an analysis of the politics and history of Black Power in Aotearoa, setting the scene for the political nature and global activist inspiration that have led to the group adopting kaupapa of the global Black Power movement.

The second chapter develops a collaborative methodology for doing research ‘with’ not ‘on’ gang communities. Drawing on the empowering and community-driven tradition of Participatory Action Research (PAR) the chapter explores the navigation of Māori-Pākehā research collaborations (Vaeau & Trundle, 2020), outlining my own positionality as a Pākehā researcher on a te reo Māori and tikanga Māori hīkoi. The research partnerships established within Black Power were based on three elements. First, whakawhanaungatanga/relationship-building, and the importance of hui, kōrero and kai to this process. Second, the ethic of hononga/collaboration, expressed in this thesis through actions such as the use of real names, rather than pseudonyms, and the collective term ‘collaborative researchers’, as opposed to

‘participants’. Third, koha/reciprocity, the ways in which the kōrero and mahi from collaborative researchers was honoured in ways that were not necessarily ‘money’ or ‘cash payments’, but more meaningfully through acts of reciprocity. Collectively, these elements demonstrate a novel methodology for doing gang research in Aotearoa.

The third chapter provides a detailed account of how Black Power in Aotearoa have both adopted and reinterpreted the anti-racist symbolism of the global Black Power movement. This includes the decision, at their founding, to adopt the upraised fist as the central symbol on the patch worn by members. Lines of influence are traced to the Black Panthers in the United States of America (USA), and a visit to Aotearoa by Bob Marley recounted, where he met personally with key Black Power member and one of the collaborative researchers in this project – Denis O’Reilly. In arguing that Black Power are actively reimagining global symbolism in the context of Aotearoa, the chapter develops a case study of the rōpū ‘Te Tini o Meketū’ – which can be translated as ‘The Multitudes of the Upraised Fist’ – and how this global symbolism is being reconceptualised and guiding the work of social transformation being carried out in the Whakatāne chapter of the rōpū.

In the fourth chapter, the thesis examines four specific ways Black Power members are adopting practices and techniques more commonly associated with social movements. First, it shows the group engaging with radical intellectuals such as the ex Burma magistrate, Buddhist, and political activist Bill Maung as ‘the radical as trainer’ (Brotherton & Barrios, 2004), and Denis O’Reilly as ‘the theoretically informed radical’ (Brotherton & Barrios, 2004). Second, it looks at their engagement in Māori activism, and along with this, the role they play in anticolonial consciousness raising. Third, it explores the political development of the rōpū in response to wāhine, and ongoing attempts to change not only the narrative of women and gangs, but the actions in that space. Fourth, it describes Black Power’s unique conceptualisation of leadership as an action, not a role, through the adapted leadership identification system of the ‘kahukura’. Drawing on previous research of ALKQN (Brotherton & Barrios, 2004) as a foundation, the chapter demonstrates the evolving social movement potential of Black Power in Aotearoa.

The fifth chapter draws on the kōrero of the collaborative researchers to explore how members of Black Power are reimagining the meaning of the terms ‘gang’ and ‘gangster’. The chapter shows that members are consciously aware of the prevailing stereotypes evoked by these words – and often reject the ‘gang’ label altogether. At other times, the collaborative

researchers deconstructed this language: challenging the association with criminality, defining the group instead as whānau, and outlining the ways in which their identity encompasses more nuance than simply ‘gang member’. The chapter also develops a case study of how some members are moving away from the patch – perhaps the key symbol of gang membership in Aotearoa – and expressing their identification instead through the puhoro, a traditional Māori moko.

This thesis provides alternative conceptualisations that counter the current dominant narrative of gangs as criminal organisations. The research hears from those who are directly impacted by the ‘war on gangs’ in Aotearoa, whose voices have been nullified amongst the noise of sensationalism and criminality that overwhelms gang discourse. These voices are those of Black Power, collaborative researchers in this project, and identified social change agents in the rōpū, who are redefining what it means to be ‘gangster’. Through a collaborative research methodology that upholds the collaborative researchers as the experts, the elements of Black Power that contribute to their social movement potential are explored, with the theoretical framework of this research grounded in an alternative approach of gangs as social movements, as opposed to the orthodox approach of gangs as criminal organisations. The intentionality with which the Black Power rōpū draws from global Black Power and then localises this kaupapa in Aotearoa is just one element of their evolution as a social movement. Other elements of this evolution include the adoption of social movement techniques, particularly in their engagement in politics and developing novel leadership structures, and the reimagining of what being a ‘gang’ means, rejecting the imposed criminal connotations encompassing this term. In Black Power’s continuous navigation of the complexities that come with the territory of being deemed a ‘gang’, this thesis demonstrates how the rōpū remains staunch in their evolution to a movement that has whānau at the heart of it, moving away from traditional elements of gangsterism that hinder this progress.

Chapter 1:

Literature Review – The Social Movement Potential of Black Power in Aotearoa

Aotearoa is in a unique position globally when it comes to groups that are deemed as gangs, said to have more gangs per head than all countries globally (Deuchar, 2009), and one of the highest gang membership per-capita in the OECD (Bradley, 2020). Gangs in Aotearoa are seen as somewhat different to those in other countries in that they are relatively organised in how they present as a group, with patches, so-called hierarchical structures and established roles (Gilbert, 2013b). However, the uniqueness and the political potential of many gangs in Aotearoa is overwhelmed by the negative connotations and stereotypes attached to these groups, and the people within them.

Aotearoa's introduction and continued awareness of gangs has been cultivated to portray groups that aim to corrupt what would otherwise be a supposedly tranquil society. Specifically, the 1970s saw a rise in the negative presentation of gangs in the media, with Kelsey and Young (1982) noting a shift in the societal view of gangs in Aotearoa in the late 1970s as a result of three elements: the increase in membership, alongside leaders forming the organisational aspects of gangs; the increase in tension between gangs, with media capitalising on any violent outbreaks; and the increase in Māori and Pasifika members, which highlighted Aotearoa's already criticised treatment of indigenous peoples and society's resistance to Māori in particular becoming more outspoken in their own resistance to the colonial society forced upon them. The 1970s saw the media begin to curate the image that ethnic gangs were 'urban terrorists', with Meek (1992) commenting that this curated image assisted in the moral panic on gangs and was more of "an insight into Pākehā paranoia than as a reflection of reality" (p. 256), with a moral panic loosely defined as a disproportionate reaction to a group or individual based on the supposed threat they pose (Cyr, 2003). Roguski and Tauri (2012) argue that the beginning of the moral panic associated with gangs in Aotearoa is heavily connected to the fear of the Americanised 'gangster' influence, and the cultural elements of the increased presence of hip-hop and rap from the United States of America (USA) in Aotearoa, specifically certain types of music associated with crime, with an underlying prejudice that this is influenced by ethnicity.

The words ‘gang’ and ‘criminal’ have become interchangeable in Aotearoa, with Associate Professor Tamasailau Suaali’i-Sauni at The University of Auckland describing the difficulty in undoing the moral panic associated with the word (“Taking Issue: can gangs ever...”, 2020), and Roguski (2019) echoing this in how gangs have now become “an object of eradication” (p. 79). Suaali’i-Sauni poses the question that underpins the kaupapa of this research - “are they groups of like-minded social justice warriors or gangs?” (“Taking Issue: can gangs ever...”, 2020).

The infamous ‘war on drugs’ can be compared to what this thesis deems as a ‘war on gangs’. A core aspect surrounding this war on gangs and moral panic, is the belief of gangs and crime as synonymous, which has originated from targeted efforts by law enforcement, the ways in which gangs are represented in the media, and gang research tending to focus solely on gangs and criminality – such as the criminal drug trade supposedly driven by gangs (Curtis, 2003). In exploring the elements of gangs in Aotearoa specifically – such as the supposed ‘gang problem’, the vilification of members and the neglect of the political potential of these groups – this chapter will cover the complexities of this war on gangs in Aotearoa, followed by the orthodox approach to gangs that dominates gang scholarship – gangs as criminal organisations – overlapping with how the war on gangs in Aotearoa has been facilitated. The alternative approach that this thesis grounds itself in is that gangs are social movements, and through Brotherton and Barrios’ (2004) exploration of the gang come social movement the Almighty Latin King and Queen Nation (ALKQN), the neglected area of gang research that demonstrates the political potential of gangs is presented. This alternative approach sets the foundation for an historical outline of Black Power in Aotearoa’s political drive and activism within their communities, demonstrating their evolving social movement potential, and continued resistance to the war on gangs in Aotearoa.

The War on Gangs in Aotearoa

“There is probably no subject in the field of law and order that can provoke more selective and distorted coverage from the media, or a more emotive, and often ill-informed, rhetoric from those in authority, than gangs” – Justice Sir Clinton Roper (Roper, 1987, p. 87).

The 1950s saw the development of gangs in Aotearoa, and police immediately began to target gang clubhouses and any gatherings in public places of those in these groups they deemed to be gangs. This was despite the contradictory effects this had on the supposed ‘gang problem’, as the police tended to cause more conflict as opposed to de-escalating any (Gilbert, 2013b). The Mazengarb Committee in 1954, which was asked to investigate the risk and problems that gangs faced to communities, outlined that gangs *did not* pose a risk to society, and that the sensationalist nature of the media was a catalyst in this misconception (Gilbert, 2013b). Gilbert (2013a) describes Aotearoa’s response to gangs as populist and kneejerk, with a lack of evidential policies in combatting the supposed ‘gang problem’. Andrae, McIntosh, and Coster (2017a) further note the lasting negative impacts that the media perpetuation of moral panic has had on groups like gangs and those within them, and ways they are seen as a ‘threat’. The language used by the media in some ways has facilitated successive governments in Aotearoa to take punitive measures with gangs, as there has been the perception that the public are threatened and frightened by these groups (Winter, 1998). As noted by O’Reilly (n.d.), talking about gangs is “what the Police do when they want more resources or tougher laws, what politicians do when they want to get re-elected, and what news media do when they want to sell papers or increase audience share” (p. 8).

Police targeting gangs has been found to create more cohesion and collectivity within the gang, as when an outside group is seen to threaten a collective, the collective comes together to become more powerful in defending themselves and their group (Gilbert, 2013b). Authorities such as the police have maintained what Carr and Tam (2013) have labelled a ‘zero tolerance’ strategy for gangs in Aotearoa, with legislation enabling police to target groups that are deemed gangs, more so than other groups. The double standard between the police and gangs is highlighted by Gilbert (2019), who notes that the feeling of unity, camaraderie, and appearance (uniform and patch) is evidently similar, however one group is accepted and often glorified by society and the other is villainised, with members of gangs “visible folk devils” (p. 370). Even with evidential examples from gangs of community engagement, progressive activities and initiatives, gangs are still criticised and these actions are deemed ‘a front’ or turned into illegal and negative activities (Deuchar, 2009). As described by Jarrod Gilbert, author of *Patched: The History of Gangs in New Zealand*, when discussing an Aotearoa gang ‘fight night’ charity event, “if there’s one thing the public dislikes more than gangs misbehaving, it’s gangs behaving. It’s a front for organised crime! It’s all part of a recruitment

drive! The public isn't happy unless it's seeing menace" ("Jarrod Gilbert: Gang fight night...", 2017).

The infamous quote in Aotearoa politics when it comes to the stance on gangs was the late, former Prime Minister Norman Kirk's promise to "take the bikes off the bikies" (Gilbert, 2013b, p. 68), and begun what was just the beginnings of the populist rhetoric politicians would continue to perpetuate regarding gangs, with the campaign for the 1972 election in Aotearoa seeing the 'gang problem' as a popular election issue amongst political parties (Gilbert, 2013b).

In 1987, the Violent Offences Bill was created that added to the Crimes Act in increasing surveillance, such as electronic bugging, along with changes made to section 695A of the Local Government Act that allowed for the removal of gang fortifications (Gilbert, 2013b). Two years later in 1989, changes were made to the Criminal Justice Act that allowed courts to issue orders of 'non-association', and amendments to the Summary Offences Act allowed the police to "disperse groups of people threatening the public order" (Gilbert, 2013b, p. 137). These changes were a direct attack on gangs, and 1989 also saw the disestablishment of the Group Employment Liaison Service (GELS) – a government contract work scheme for members of gangs, and with this, saw the disestablishment of what is described as the social policy agenda for gangs (Gilbert, 2013b).

In the election year of 1996 in Aotearoa, with the first Mixed Member Proportional (MMP) government, gangs were used as a political and campaigning football (Gilbert, 2013b). Police called for more resources to 'control gangs', and Labour MP Mike Moore used this as a platform to become the 'anti-gang' politician of the time, claiming gangs were a 'threat to our democracy' (Gilbert, 2013b, p. 217). The Harassment and Criminal Associations Bill was introduced to Parliament in 1996 as a direct target on gangs during the 1996 general election (Gilbert, 2013b). The Justice and Law Reform Select Committee also began an investigation into the 'gang problem' in 1996, which Black Power members were present at – with the Invercargill Black Power President Harry Katene stating that racism was at the core of the issues when it came to gangs being targeted (Gilbert, 2013b). Roguski and Tauri (2012) echo this in their argument that the moral panic on gangs in Aotearoa is due to governments and state entities taking advantage of the 'hard to reach' communities that gangs often stem from, and the state use their status to further scapegoat these communities that are caught up in moral panics, a political tactic to avert attention away from the need to address ongoing and underlying issues.

A further example of the catalytic effect gang activity has on policy in Aotearoa, and was just one element amongst a raft of anti-gang legislation (Gilbert, 2013b), is when The Evidence (Witness Anonymity) Amendment Act in 1997 was rushed through Parliament in response to a gang attack on a civilian, and allowed persons in court the ability to give evidence without disclosing their identity to any and all parties (Gilbert, 2013b). Additional anti-gang legislation included amendments proposed for the Crimes Act in Aotearoa which would make it a crime to be part of or associated with a gang, and to reduce the number of members required for a criminal gang in order to prosecute more gatherings (Gilbert, 2013b). These proposed amendments however would be in direct conflict with The New Zealand Bill of Rights Act 1990, section 17, which allows the right to freedom of association (Gilbert, 2013b).

The perpetuation of the association between gangs and crime has persisted since the 1990s, with 2008 seeing The W[h]anganui District Council (Prohibition of Gang Insignia) Bill introduced, and 2009 seeing the Criminal Proceeds (Recovery) Bill, and the Gangs and Organised Crime Bill introduced (Gilbert, 2013b). Gilbert (2013b), at the time of writing *Patched: The History Of Gangs in New Zealand* noted that a more balanced and evidence-based approach toward gangs was unlikely, describing any alternative view politicians may have as “politically dangerous” (p. 291) and therefore unlikely to be shared.

Anti-gang legislation in Aotearoa has direct impacts on Māori in particular. The creation of certain legislations has actively played a part in colonising and criminalising indigenous peoples (Andrae et al., 2017a). The curation of the image that facilitates fearing indigenous peoples as criminals through policing and incarceration, or how indigenous peoples are often negatively portrayed in the media, all contribute to the colonial stereotyping of indigenous peoples as ‘savage’, and the belief that therefore the incarceration of indigenous men in particular is somewhat of a rite of passage and is expected by society (Henry, 2015). The ways in which policy, legislation, and law ‘other’ certain groups, and especially marginalised groups, is a direct result of colonisation in Aotearoa (Andrae et al., 2017a). Legislation such as the Tohunga Suppression Act in 1907, which prevented tohunga – a traditional Māori healing practice – is just one example of how colonisation has forced a Pākehā/westernised way of life upon Māori (Andrae et al., 2017a). The anti-gang legislation outlined above are evidence of acts of colonisation as a form of regulating indigenous movements (Blauner, 1972), as some research has demonstrated that the ‘street gang lifestyle’

is a way in which indigenous members of gangs resist colonisation, in the formation of a group united in camaraderie with each other (Henry, 2018).

The effect of these anti-gang laws has significantly impacted the public perception on crime, with society viewing gangs and their members as the source of crime in Aotearoa (Gilbert, 2013b). Gangs have been vilified, and from the perspectives of those misinformed by the media, police and politicians, there was no question that an increase of anti-gang laws meant that gangs *were* the problem, and therefore more needed to be done to ensure the safety of ‘the community’ (Gilbert, 2013b). Policies that target gangs are often in the suppression and law enforcement realm, as opposed to social policies that would be more helpful for communities, such as programmes that are not based on reactionary fears to gangs but instead to the underlying issues of poverty and detachment from whānau and community (Brotherton & Barrios, 2004).

The years of 2021 and 2022 have seen a rise in discourse surrounding gangs in Aotearoa, especially with the added complexities of heightened anxiety due to the COVID-19 global pandemic. Political rhetoric and the media presented an almost united front against gangs, and further perpetuated the notion that gangs should be forced out of existence (Gilbertson, 2021). With COVID-19 dominating the media in Aotearoa during the pandemic, 2021 saw reporting on how the virus had spread to ‘the gangs’ (Block, 2021), with headlines detailing cases associated with gangs such as “Coronavirus: Man with COVID-19, believed to have gang links, allowed to isolate at home” (Morrah, 2021); “Covid-19 Delta outbreak: Covid positive Black Power gang member bailed despite Corrections’ concerns” (2021); “Covid case who presented at Middlemore lives at Mongrel Mob gang pad” (2021), with notably less details provided for those not associated with gangs. Reporting on any gang-affiliated event during the pandemic, such as gang tangihanga, has been noted as ‘overdone’ (“Coverage of gang funerals overdone...”, 2021), with Denis O’Reilly highlighting the demonization of gangs during the pandemic in Aotearoa (Waatea News, 2021).

From perceived ‘controversial’ political engagement with gangs such as the Green Party Co-Leader Marama Davidson visiting a Mongrel Mob pad in 2021 (Small, 2021), to the politics of the gang gun ownership ban bill – a bill providing police the powers to ensure members of gangs specifically do not have access to guns (McCullough, 2021), the media attention on gangs shows no signs of slowing down. The rise in reporting on the Australian Comancheros gang now established in Aotearoa and the targeted police gang operation

‘Operation Trojan Shield’ (“Mongrel Mob, Head Hunters, Comancheros gang members arrested...”, 2021), along with the controversy surrounding ‘gang shootings’ (Ensor, 2021), have also contributed to the ongoing media frenzy with gangs. The funding of \$2.75million for a marae-based methamphetamine rehab programme – Kahukura – which was specifically designed for whānau in the Mongrel Mob gang, brought about much controversy from many, with the belief that the government was ‘funding gangs’ (Huffadine, 2021) for a “shoddy meth programme” (New Zealand National Party, 2021). This attention came at an oddly coincidental time of a Member’s Bill being drawn in Parliament that proposes to ban all public funds going to gangs (“Parliament to consider ban on public funds to gangs”, 2021), put forward by National Party MP Simeon Brown, who seems to have become the current ‘anti-gang MP’ (Hewett, 2021; Small, 2021). Another Member’s Bill has also been drawn that would lower the threshold for police seizing assets if a member of a gang is found with an illegal firearm (“Parliament to consider ban on public funds to gangs”, 2021). The year 2022 has brought about a further war on gangs as the National Party launch their ‘gang crackdown plan’ in the lead up to the 2023 general election amongst some so-called ‘gang tensions’, and propose harsher laws to put an end to gang recruitment and gangs altogether (“National’s gang crackdown plan...”, 2022). These proposed policies have been challenged in their accordance with the Bill of Rights and Human Rights Act (“Christopher Luxon seeks to rein in gangs...”, 2022), with history repeating itself in anti-gang laws’ accordance with human rights.

The ways in which gangs have been presented in news globally has been found to negatively represent those affiliated with gangs and focuses disproportionately on any violence that occurs (Meek, 1992). This can be identified clearly in Aotearoa’s response to gangs. The use of ‘emotive language’ (Roguski & Tauri, 2012) and ‘conflict-oriented language’ (Winter, 1998) used by law enforcement and media, along with continued associations made by government between gangs and crime, especially youth gangs and crime, fuels the moral panic and disregards research demonstrating the opposite, allowing the dominant, negative, narrative of gangs in Aotearoa to remain (Roguski & Tauri, 2012).

The Orthodox Approach: Gangs as Criminal Organisations

The definition of ‘gang’ has been highly contested within the gang research community (Wood & Alleyne, 2009), and one that Henry (2015) highlights is a definition that overtime

has moved from a group of individuals identifying either as a group, or with a certain code, and instead to criminal organisations. Early definitions of the term ‘gang’ in the English language were essentially a collective noun for a group of men, with the ‘delinquency’ aspect not in studies in the United Kingdom until the 1950s and 1960s (Fraser, 2015). The delinquency and criminal elements of gangs now overpower what were once discussions surrounding groups rich in history and culture, and the generalisations along with the desire from academics to have a sole definition of a gang, have allowed for this shift to occur (Fraser, 2015). Fraser (2015) notes that due to the tendency to reduce gangs and the definition of gangs to a monolith, the members within those gangs are therefore also reduced to a monolith, and yet the varying individuals within gangs are the defining feature of them. Through this international debate on the meaning of ‘gang’, this monolithic definition of gangs and crime has been somewhat agreed upon by many gang researchers, with gangs seemingly fixed as solely criminal organisations, and members of gangs as criminals.

Initially, the term ‘gang’ and the conceptualisation of this was determined by sociologists in the Chicago School to analyse a type of youth experience during immigration and industrialization in the United States of America (USA) (McDonald, 2003). ‘The gang’, at this time, was defined with the following features: a social organisation linked to migration to the city; loyalty to the group; hierarchy within the group; an identifier for members in the group; and as a group arising out of situations wherein access to mainstream society was limited or blocked (McDonald, 2003).

In Thrasher’s (1927) early infamous study of gangs in Chicago USA, it is stated that a group is not labelled a gang until it “begins to excite disapproval and opposition” (p. 30), which demonstrates that the origin of gangs is not in fact the group themselves, but the label with which society gives them. The type and amount of disapproval will depend on the society labelling the group, and the group then has to defend itself – which tends to bonds the group further and thus is perceived as even more ‘gang-like’ in its groupthink mentality (Thrasher, 1927). Henry (2015) also notes that groups of indigenous peoples tend to be more likely to be deemed a gang due to the portrayal of criminality associated with young people who are of ethnic minorities and/or from lower socio-economic backgrounds. There are other groups in society that could be deemed to be ‘gangs’, yet have been afforded societal acceptability. This can be seen with fraternities, with Sanday’s (1990) research outlining that criminal behaviour enacted by those in fraternities is determined as a type of ‘boys will be boys’ behaviour, as

opposed to the reality of a fraternity as a collective whose purpose is criminal behaviour, which is the definition seemingly reservedly applied to gangs – with dictionary definitions of gangs tending to “be veiled expressions of bourgeois disapproval” (Ball & Curry, 1995, p. 227).

Fraser (2015), in research of gangs in the global context, notes that applying the most common gang definitions and explanations from the USA means the cities and the cultures with which gangs emerge globally is erased, and therefore does not capture the rich history that encompasses each and every gang. Fraser (2015) therefore calls for gang identification as heterogenous, contingent, and geographically specific (p. xxvi). Venkatesh (2003) echoes the need for heterogeneity and argues that scholars have not extensively researched the nuances of *the individual* within a gang, and instead applied stereotypes and definitions to the collective, not allowing for the individual motives and values to be expressed. Venkatesh (2003) describes the variation between gangs as similar to the variation within individuals, that these are complex and evolving. The changes an individual goes through are important in understanding the motives in joining a gang, and the ways in which the relationship to the gang may evolve overtime, which is an under-researched area in gang research (Venkatesh, 2003).

The homogeneity of gangs and those within them is a common misconception of gangsterism, with gangs in the same country, the same city, being vastly different (Moore, 1991). Early analysis of gangs demonstrated that no two gangs were the same, therefore each gang should be evaluated on its own ‘merits’ (Thrasher, 2017), and similarity amongst gangs cannot be assumed (Deuchar, 2018). Gilbert (2013b) notes Walter B. Miller, an anthropologist, and his observation on perception regarding determining certain groups as gangs, saying “Put in general terms, if youth groups in a particular community appear to present a problem, they are perceived as gangs; if they do not, that community has “groups” but no “gangs”” (p. 22).

The orthodox approach of gangs as criminal organisations has dominated gang research. In moving forward from these archaic definitions of gangs = crime, we can refer to the comment made by Ralph (2014) in their work within gangs in Chicago, where he states “I realized that this organization couldn’t be understood outside of the community that gave birth to it” (p. 8). This speaks to the contextual element of gangs (Faleolo, 2014). That there is a continual attempt to find a global definition, and a definition embedded in criminality, however, gangs arise out of the communities with which they serve, and to generalise this is to do a disservice to the people of those communities. To neglect the fundamental core of gangs as simply groups within communities, is to perpetuate the sensationalist version so commonly

known and so manipulated with misinformation, allowing other elements that disprove the overdone theoretical framework of gangs as criminal groups as neglected areas of research.

The Alternative Approach: Gangs as Social Movements

This research is grounded in the theoretical framework that gangs are social movements. This was identified as early as Thrasher's (1927) study of gangs, who saw the ability of gangs to plan and discuss collective action. One 'gang' that has been at the forefront of this concept is the Almighty Latin King and Queen Nation of New York City (ALKQN), who state that they are indeed a social movement who advocates for the dispossessed and not only encourages pro-social behaviour, but demands it (Brotherton & Barrios, 2004). Brotherton and Barrios' (2004) seminal work *The Almighty Latin King and Queen Nation: street politics and the transformation of a New York City gang* makes the strong argument that the gang phenomenon has been misunderstood for too long, and instead declare a gang as a street organisation, a resistance, a social movement – in collaboration with ALKQN to demonstrate this.

In Barrios, Brotherton and Kontos' (2003) research of alternative perspectives of gangs, such as gangs as social movements, they note the crime-oriented perspective of gangs is an age-old perspective that does nothing but allow further populist ways to scapegoat gangs for issues within our society, and eliminates the other important aspects of community work and the drive for social change that is continuously omitted from research (Barrios et al., 2003). As noted in Bradley (2020), any definition of gang that encompasses that of the shadow economy or criminal elements needs to be revised in its potential lack of nuance, and Faleolo (2014) who calls for the homogenised criminality of gangs to be deconstructed.

Brotherton (2006) highlights that gang literature and the 'gangs/politics' discussion falls under one or more of the following five themes:

1. Gangs as goon squads;
2. Gangs are inherently conservative entities;
3. Supergangs and radical rhetoric ;

4. Underclass gangs and the implosion effect; and
5. Postindustrial gangs filling a political economic void (p. 252).

Expanding on the limitations outlined by Brotherton's (2006) five dominant themes in gang research, Brotherton and Barrios (2004) rightly question the common rhetoric of criminologists claiming that any social movement or anti-establishment language used by those in gangs is in order to justify certain behaviour, and that this vernacular was only possible of those in the middle and upper class.

“the possibility of gangs emerging with their own alternative political, economic, or even cultural agenda is never given serious consideration” (Brotherton & Barrios, 2004, p. 42).

Brotherton and Barrios' (2004) research does not define the term gang, but instead their alternative - a street organisation - deeming it:

“A group formed largely by youth and adults of a marginalized social class which aims to provide its members with a resistant identity, an opportunity to be individually and collectively empowered, a voice to speak back to and challenge the dominant culture, a refuge from the stresses and strains of barrio or ghetto life, and a spiritual enclave within which its own sacred rituals can be generated and practiced.” (p. 23)

Brotherton and Barrios (2004) note the lack of gang research focusing on the political possibilities of gangs, with their research moving away from the criminological theories and instead moving into the territory of social movement theories when applied to gangs. A common mistake in gang research is that researchers 'other' gangs and limit the capabilities of the gang to their reach within their community as futile, determining the positive connection with their community as non-existent (Brotherton & Barrios, 2004; Faleolo, 2014). Many researchers do not see gangs' political engagement as anything other than convenient, and as a response to crises, as opposed to the often historical nature of a gang's social change actions (Brotherton & Barrios, 2004). Instead, Brotherton and Barrios (2004) argue that many members of gangs ground themselves in philosophical and political thinking in relation to their community's place in society, and take inspiration from other radical groups in how to apply this to their own community. Some members are, and were, particularly driven by how they can serve their community through gaining traction politically and organising themselves as a

movement, in turn, creating positive change for ‘the underdogs’ (Brotherton & Barrios, 2004). Brotherton (2006) outlines this as the process of “consciencization” for members of gangs, which is the process of “consciousness development as social actors engage the overt and covert structures of power that keep them in a state of subjugation” (p. 251).

In Touraine’s (1981) analysis of social movements, there are two key elements. The first is the role that social movements play in furthering social change, while simultaneously revealing the injustices of the current systems where social change is needed. The second is what results from the actions of the social movement, which can curate more momentum and action (Touraine, 1981). Touraine’s (1981) work also explores the ways in which social change agents may be those who are rejected by society, yet still work tirelessly for their cause despite this continual rejection. This can be applied to Martínez’s (2003) concept of urban street activists. Urban street activists are defined by Martínez (2003) as the following:

“Urban street activists are individuals indigenous to their communities who are committed to change the social, political, and economic situation of their respective communities.” (p. 103).

Urban street activists are also defined as often coming from backgrounds considered deviant because they have held positions that are respected within gangs – however these respected positions allow for the trust needed to politicise and raise the consciousness of a group/gang (Martínez, 2003). It has not been uncommon for urban street activists to be involved in activist groups or movements – such as the Black Panthers – and then move into the gang sphere (and vice versa) bringing with them the knowledge of politics and activism (Martínez, 2003).

Sassen (2006), in her research on urban settings for gang engagement in politics, describes how the urban or ‘street’ setting allows for political engagement in a way that national politics does not allow. An urban setting for politics allows for informal political actors, such as members of gangs, who are predominantly excluded from the hierarchical nature and formal structured system of national politics (Sassen, 2006). What a city also provides is types of political engagement and activities that are not necessarily accepted by national politics, such as acts that are a protest against ‘the system’ in a way that is considered rebellious, with Sassen (2006) noting that “street-level politics make possible the formation of new types of political subjects that do not have to go through the formal political system” (p. 110). In the current

exclusionary nature of some of politics, gangs are becoming somewhat of the community organisers, facilitating young people to engage in a type of political and social change that suits those not accepted by society, and an evolution in who society views as political actors (Sassen, 2006).

Brotherton and Barrios' (2004) argument for gangs, or street organisations, as social movements is the following:

“gangs and gang members can be (1) change agents as well as adaptive social animals/groups in the world of highly unequal power relations, and (2) active repositories of knowledge of sociocultural resistance as well as reproducers of the dominant cultural value system” (p. 38).

Brotherton and Barrios (2004) use the research of McAdam (1982) and Morris (1984) to ground their own conceptualization of gangs as a social movement. Both McAdam (1982) and Morris' (1984) work followed the Civil Rights Movement of the 1960s in the USA and ignited discourse on how the dispossessed, oppressed and downtrodden in society could begin a social movement. McAdam (1982) and Morris (1984) concluded the following about social movements:

1. Oppositional movements to the status quo are not irrational responses by alienated individuals but reflect a rational necessity given the constantly unresolved social problems based in systems of unequal power and distribution.
2. Movement actors and leaders do not suddenly arrive on the historical scene but rather they are nurtured over time and emerge out of a long-drawn-out process of collective resistance traditions, including charismatic leadership traditions and multiple movement centers (see Morris 1984).
3. Much of the resources for social movements do not come from the coffers of generous outside benefactors but from the development of a network impetus and the already existing indigenous organizations that create social and cultural resources to meet the demands of the situation (Brotherton & Barrios, 2004, p. 48).

Brotherton and Barrios' (2004) book uses McAdam (1982) and Morris' (1984) social movement research to identify ALKQN's transition from a 'gang' – deemed a form of an underworld, laden with secrecy and violence – to a postindustrial social movement, such as their hosting of voter registration drives, clear goal setting by the street organisation, and a shift

in their overall political kaupapa. Brotherton and Barrios (2004) identify similarities between this process of transitioning to a social movement and the processes within political movements, noting the ebbs and flows of momentum that can see the movement deterring from the path for a time, and the generational divide within the movement contributing to this. With new leadership and new ideas comes tension that can be explained by the generational divide (Brotherton & Barrios, 2004) with those at the origin of both street organisations and political movements perhaps harbouring resentment to the inevitable change occurring, but more importantly are processes seen emulated in *both* types of movements.

For ALKQN, the transition to a social movement involved developing leaders as change agents, and realising that the political nature of their group would fill a gap in their community (Brotherton & Barrios, 2004). Brotherton and Barrios (2004) identify the elements contributing to this transition as the following:

- The involvement of radical intellectuals
- The evolution of new leadership strata
- The prison-to-street trajectory that avoids parochial turf wars
- The political development of and demands of the female members
- The coexistence of an anticolonial consciousness in the barrio
- The absence of any radical, alternative, political and social movements for the Latino/a working class (p. 25).

Brotherton and Barrios (2004) note ALKQN's social movement status having been somewhat inspired by the Young Lords Party and the Black Panther Party, along with other activists and radical movements, arguing that although gang researchers tend to claim that any social activism element of gangs stems from techniques driven by a criminal underbelly, gangs as social movements have historically come from members' drive to serve their community and gathering tools from inspiring activists and movements in-tandem with theirs in order to transition to social movements. ALKQN has proven that it can organise and mobilise those who society has given up on, those who no one else but their own community believes in, develop leadership positions for members, and achieve political traction (Brotherton & Barrios, 2004). For example, ALKQN has engaged in the political sphere by aligning with Puerto Rican

independentistas (social democratic political party), attending the Puerto Rican Day Parade and the National AIDS walk (Brotherton & Barrios, 2004). ALKQN gained the respect it had worked hard for in its community because of the drive to legitimise the street organisation and become an established part of its community, to the point where it has been relied upon by politicians, the public, and community groups for consultation (Brotherton & Barrios, 2004). The empowerment that members felt by gaining political knowledge and as if they had the capacity to create change, despite negative media and an assumption of failure from the majority of society, was crucial in their growth as individuals and as a movement (Brotherton & Barrios, 2004).

ALKQN relied on the support of experts in radical movements, and expressed their willingness to receive guidance, knowing this shift would not occur without some resistance from members in their community (Brotherton, 2006). Social movements globally have benefitted from the advice and guidance of experts in this field, and so to see a gang – which are often hesitant of authority figures due to past experiences – utilise a practice seen in other social movements, defies the stereotype that those within gangs do not know how to enable change (Brotherton, 2006).

Placing the concept of gangs as a social movement in a localised context – in Aotearoa – Shilliam's (2015) work identified Māori activists who saw the inevitability in gangs becoming political and their formation as street movements, even labelling gang behaviour as a form of "civil disturbance" (Shilliam, 2015, p. 48), with comparisons between the Black Power gang and other political groups in Aotearoa such as Ngā Tamatoa (Hazlehurst, 2006). It was always mooted that gangs could take on the political nature of street movements, and that the social disparities would give rise to action (Shilliam, 2015). Shilliam (2012) states that the Māori gang phenomenon is inherently political (Payne & Quinn, 1991) because although there may be elements that do not match the stereotypical political movements, the existence of Māori gangs "is testament to a basic collective survival strategy against the genocidal effects of urbanization and assimilationist policies" (Shilliam, 2012, p. 117). A symposium involving researchers from Western Canada, Aotearoa and Australia regarding indigenous street gangs noted the concept of *survivance* – "an action verb denoting the exercise of agency by individuals and groups in response to historical legacies and contemporary impositions" (Henry, 2018, p. 70). This was identified as a key factor amongst indigenous street gangs where members were actively challenging colonisation and were building a social movement of

resistance against colonialism (Henry, 2018), and can be seen in the actions of Black Power in Aotearoa to this day.

The Politics of Black Power in Aotearoa

“Black Power has got three things which are necessary for any political organisation to succeed: they’ve got organisation, discipline and courage. And with these three things they should be able to set up, not a political party so much as a political movement” – Bill Maung (Payne & Quinn, 1991, p. 123).

The origins of ‘Black Power’ as a movement is most commonly associated with the USA and was called for by Stokely Carmichael – a Black Power activist – at a rally in Greenwood, Mississippi 1966, where Carmichael roused the crowd when demanding for “Black Power!” (Slate, 2012). This movement was inspired by: Malcom X – one of the most well-known Black Power activists; writers such as Richard Wright who authored the book *Black Power*; and the global call for anti-colonialism, anti-slavery, and anti-racism, specifically from Africa (Slate, 2012). Slate (2012) states that there is therefore not a singular Black Power movement, but that the diversity within the movement globally can be labelled as “global Black Powers” (p. 5).

The Black Power movement in the USA was somewhat of a counter-culture to the Civil Rights Movement (1954 – 1964, Bell, 2014) that was closely associated with Martin Luther King Jr., but was an essential part of setting the political agenda in addressing racial divides in the USA (Joseph, 2009). The beginnings of Black Power saw immense criticism, and Joseph (2001) notes that the Black Power’s advocacy, political agendas and activism have been shadowed by the notion that the Black Power movement ruined the progress of the Civil Rights Movement. The Black Power movement was said to have ‘tarnished’ the Civil Rights Movement, and was coined as the “evil twin” (Joseph, 2001). Bell (2014) notes that literature on social movements has been prone to “lumping together Black Power activists as a ragtag group of illiterate, uneducated, and unorganized thugs” (p. 26), which demonstrates the established prejudice against this movement.

The introduction of Black Power in Aotearoa was seen as a threat, especially with the violent imagery that was presented of Black Power in the USA. The presence of Black Power

in Aotearoa began in prisons in the 1970s, with a newsletter run by Tim Shadbolt – “a...Pākehā non-conformist” (Shilliam, 2015, p. 39) and those in prison then disseminating information about the Black Panthers and Black Power. This led to the recognition of similarities between Māori and Pasifika struggles in Aotearoa, and those of people of colour in the USA, with an article written by an incarcerated person stating to “stand firm....as our coloured brothers in America are doing” (p. 39).

Black Power literature spread from prisons, with the president of the King Cobras gang leaving prison with the book *Seize the Time* by Black Panther, Bobby Seale (Shilliam, 2015). The spread continued to the South Auckland suburb Ōtara, with the introduction of texts outlining global racism, and the interest in Black Power within schools grew, with the university community following (Shilliam, 2015).

The presence of Black Power in prisons especially fuelled the fear of this supposed radical movement upsetting Aotearoa society (Shilliam, 2015). However, there was a definite move toward the adopting of the Black Power movement, which Shilliam (2015) sees the attraction of as due to the fact that the movement in the USA was led by young people of colour, which was inspiring to a young generation of Māori and their fight for mana motuhake. The term ‘self-determination’ can be seen echoed throughout literature of the USA Black Power and Civil Rights Movement (Blair, 1977) as well as through the mana motuhake equivalent in Aotearoa. The racial disparity between Māori and Pākehā in Aotearoa has been compared to the disparity present in the USA during the Civil Rights Movement of the 1950s and 1960s (Payne & Quinn, 1991), and Shilliam (2015) directly compares ‘urban Māori activists’ with the Black Power in the USA, and how the elements of Black Power globally, such as: “the oppositional aesthetic and ideology” (p. 36); the rallying together as a community; the embracing of one’s blackness; and liberation – have all influenced Black Power in Aotearoa.

In connecting the global Black Power movement to the Black Power group in Aotearoa, the name must first be acknowledged. Thrasher’s (1927) early analysis of gangs in Chicago in the 1920s first noted the importance of the name of a gang, in which Thrasher (1927) claims the name of a gang denotes the essence and common values of the membership. The ‘esprit de corps’ element of the gang, the symbolism, the traditions, the habits, and the name are all factors contributing to the collectivity with which gangs take action (Thrasher, 1927). As the members within the gang identify with the essence of the gang (Thrasher, 1927) it creates an almost unbreakable bond which provides unity in the lives of those in these groups. The name

of the gang 'Black Power' in Aotearoa has as much nuance to it as the global Black Power movement, or movements. Black Power in Aotearoa created what Gilbert (2013b) defines as 'subcultural elements' within the gang, with the global Black Power movement inspired name, the use of the upraised fist on patches and as a form of greeting or acknowledgement to fellow members, and the call of 'Yo!', 'Yo fuck yo!' and 'Yozah!'. There was meaning incorporated in every decision made by Black Power, and this has been evident in the uptake and reinterpretation of these subcultural elements by members and the commitment in how Black Power members in Aotearoa represent themselves (Gilbert, 2013b).

The origins of Black Power in Aotearoa began in the 1970s (Shilliam, 2015). Reitu Harris formed the 'Black Bulls' in 1970, with the initial purpose to awhi young Māori new to Te Whanganui-a-Tara/Wellington from rural parts of Aotearoa. This was following the closure of youth hostels by the Department of Māori Affairs (Shilliam, 2015), and the goal was to form a gang with other Māori men who were in state care and disconnected from their Māori whakapapa, such as their marae and iwi ("Black Power founder...", 2017). In a confrontation between the Mongrel Mob and the (then) Black Bulls, the Mongrel Mob asked "and who are you?", with Harris replying "we are the Black Power" – later noting inspiration for this name from the South Africa apartheid resistance (Shilliam, 2015), with influence from Martin Luther King, Malcolm X and the Civil Rights Movement (Payne & Quinn, 1991) – "American black liberationist namesakes" (Newbold & Taonui, 2011, p. 176). There is some controversy as to whether Black Power originated in Whakatāne in the late 1960s (Newbold & Taonui, 2011), and the name 'Black Power' was also said to have been used by perhaps one West Auckland Polynesian youth gang in the 1970s, however it is generally believed the origins of the now Black Power began in Te Whanganui-a-Tara (Gilbert, 2013b).

Black Power has been deemed one of Aotearoa's most prominent gangs (Bellamy, 2009), with their structure and governance noted as one of the reasons for their continued presence in Aotearoa (Hazlehurst, 2006). Black Power has even been used as an example of how other gangs can engage with change, and are noted as role models for other gangs, described by a representative from Criminal Intelligence in the 1990s as "a progressive organisation" (Payne & Quinn, 1991, p. 117). There have always been progressive programmes and initiatives within Black Power, however often the public or the media are not aware of these because those within Black Power do not feel the need to publicise what they know will

just eventually be used against them – as it is common for those within gangs to learn over time the almost solely negative consequences of engaging with the media (Gilbert, 2013b).

Bill Maung, Reitu Harris and Denis O'Reilly are all said to be key influential figures in the evolution of Black Power. Denis O'Reilly, an activist and advocate, and a collaborative researcher in this project, helped to form the capabilities of Black Power to what political advisor of Black Power, the late Bill Maung, saw as a 'Māori resistance' (Gilbert, 2013b). O'Reilly developed a critique of the inequalities between Māori and non-Māori – and deemed Black Power as a “modern urban tribe” who could facilitate this Māori resistance against the ever-present over-powering colonial state (Gilbert, 2013b, p. 63). Maung viewed Black Power in a similar way, and being an activist himself, having left Burma during political turmoil, saw Black Power as a voice for Māori to express the continued inequities they faced. Despite criticism that gangs have faced, Maung was staunch in his belief that being part of Black Power would help Māori 'go further' (Gilbert, 2013b).

Black Power are well known for their connection to Māoridom, or tikanga Māori, with urbanisation having played a huge role in the disconnect many members have with their taha Māori (Payne & Quinn, 1991). The late Reitu Harris, the first and longest national president of Black Power, was a key figure in recovering many young Black Power members' sense of Māoridom (“Black Power founder...”, 2017). Harris banned members from wearing Nazi insignia to separate comparisons to the Mongrel Mob, and instead encouraged a connection to their taha Māori (Gilbert, 2013b). There has even been a recent rise in members of gangs in Aotearoa being fluent in te reo Māori, and further engagement with marae and iwi, with Genesis 'TK' Te Kuru White, māngai of Black Power Movement Whakatāne, and collaborative researcher in this project, noting their chapter as “very much part of the fabric of the marae” (Jackson, 2021).

Another collaborative researcher in this project, Eugene Ryder, has been a long-time community advocate within Black Power. Ryder argues that whānau and iwi are better fitting words to describe what Black Power is (“Video: Take a rare glimpse inside Black Power...”, 2017), with Bradley (2020) reiterating that the family or whānau element of gangs in Aotearoa is part of its 'cultural milieu' (p. 9). Ryder explains that members of Black Power whakapapa to Black Power itself, but not necessarily the genealogical form of Māori whakapapa such as Ryder's genealogy to Ngāti Kahu, but that the whakapapa is regarding “common lines of purpose to which they are all committed” (Shilliam, 2015, p. 26).

Black Power's relationship with Rob Muldoon – former prime minister of Aotearoa – was crucial in its political connectedness, with Muldoon hosting Black Power members in his parliamentary office, and members performing a moving haka at Muldoon's funeral (Christian, 2019; Newbold & Taonui, 2011). O'Reilly was a key figure in Black Power's relationship with Muldoon, with letters demonstrating their friendship and O'Reilly's influence on Muldoon's perspective of gangs (Gilbert, 2013b). A surprising relationship to many as Muldoon was not known for being supportive of Māori or Māori-led movements (Gilbert, 2013b), yet invested in the lives of members of a group that was deemed profoundly problematic by society.

Muldoon's relationship with the group allowed for O'Reilly and Black Power to utilise their work co-operatives – Walton House and Te Kaha Trust – in Te Whanganui-a-Tara, with Muldoon advocating for these work initiatives, stating “It's far more constructive if these young people can do this kind of work, earn some money, and gradually build their organisation into a club, rather than a gang” (Gilbert, 2013b, p. 98). Although Muldoon received much criticism regarding these initiatives, he was impressed by them and with the Group Employment Liaison Service (GELS) in particular that came out of the 1981 Committee on Gangs, with the intention of not dismantling these groups, but supporting members in engaging in prosocial work (Roguski, 2019).

O'Reilly went from a detached youth worker to a GELS field officer, to GELS chief executive, all while maintaining his Black Power membership (Gilbert, 2013b). The gang liaison officers and group employment schemes demonstrate the ways in which members of gangs have effectively contributed to society, in ways which the public tends to deny. The Wellington chapter of Black Power – through the Wellington trust *Te Waka Emanaki* (the canoe of caring) (Shilliam, 2012) – was noted as the most successful trust in receiving funding from the government for their work co-operative, with O'Reilly a prominent member, and other chapters such as Black Power Sindi in South Auckland replicating similar initiatives (Gilbert, 2013b).

Black Power members have been actively involved with politics in Aotearoa over the years, engaging in: sit ins in Parliament (Shilliam, 2012); protests such as Bastion Point in 1978 (Shilliam, 2012); the Springbok Tour in 1981 (Shilliam, 2012); the 79-day Māori land occupation at Moutoa Gardens in 1995 (Shilliam, 2012; Gilbert, 2013b); the Foreshore and Seabed protest in 2004 (Newbold & Taonui, 2011); the Super City Seats protest in 2009 (Newbold & Taonui, 2011); and various campaigns in parties or local government elections

(Shilliam, 2012). Abe Wharewaka, the president of Black Power Sindi ran a newspaper titled *Te Iwi O Aotearoa*, aiming to raise the political consciousness of members (Shilliam, 2012). Members of Black Power engaged with the Waitangi Tribunal on breaches of Te Tiriti o Waitangi in 2008, claiming that gangs were a direct result of colonisation (Shilliam, 2012). Harris even ran for the Māori political party in 1980, Mana Motuhake, in which Black Power's thirty seven chapters at the time were brought together to ensure a collective voice (Hazlehurst, 2006). This unfortunately did not result in the way in which Harris envisaged (Hazlehurst, 2006) however the action of a gang itself being so directly linked to a political party is demonstrative of Black Power's inherently political drive.

Black Power has not been without its struggles in aligning with the direction activists within the gang such as Harris, O'Reilly and Maung had envisaged (Gilbert, 2013b). O'Reilly has noted that the philosophies posited by Harris and Maung may have been understood by some, but the change in direction for the group didn't come without resistance, and without misunderstandings (Payne & Quinn, 1991). As O'Reilly points out, how does a young man who was just released from prison identify with the philosophical teachings of Bill Maung (Payne & Quinn, 1991)? However, the root of Black Power has always been, and continues to be, to impact positively the lives of those who have become part of the collective, and especially in cultural and political competency for young Māori (Gilbert, 2013b), with a continuous commitment to the conscientisation of members.

Conclusion

The debate over the term 'gang' and what constitutes a gang has led to criminological literature dedicating a disproportionate amount of research effort into finding a definition that can be agreed upon. The tendency for gang researchers to define gangs through criminality (Wegerhoff et al., 2019) has meant that a deeper exploration of the political potential and social change within gangs has been a neglected area of research.

As this chapter has shown, gangs have been the chosen societal scapegoat for problematic behaviour in communities, and the 'war on gangs' persists. The war on gangs in Aotearoa specifically has demonstrated the ways in which gangs have been directly targeted since their origin through legislation, politics and media, which have all dictated the imagery with which gangs are now associated – as violent, criminal organisations that must be

disestablished in order to restore civil harmony (Kelsey & Young, 1982). This war on gangs in Aotearoa has been facilitated by the dominant narrative of gangs as criminal organisations, and the synonymy of gangs, crime and the drug trade (Curtis, 2003). The orthodox approach of gang research – gangs as criminal organisations – has been curated through the amplification of police interaction with members of gangs, sensationalist media exaggerating these interactions, politicians utilising their anti-gang stance as a campaigning tool – all of which contributing to research on gangs focused on these elements as opposed to the aspects of gangs that are neglected and evidently demonstrate gangs evolving as progressive organisations or social movements (Curtis, 2003; Barrios et al., 2003).

This thesis takes a more novel approach to groups deemed as gangs, providing the alternative approach of gangs as social movements, utilising the street organisation ALKQN in the USA to demonstrate the political potential and political drive of gangs (Brotherton & Barrios, 2004). Black Power in Aotearoa is a prime example of a group that has developed social movement and subcultural elements from the global Black Power movement (Shilliam, 2012), emulating similar processes to that of ALKQN in its political activism (Brotherton & Barrios, 2004) and community-driven kaupapa, with a particular focus on members' taha Māori and the development of a Māori movement/resistance.

The following chapters of this thesis will demonstrate the ways in which Black Power in Aotearoa have contributed to social change in their communities and continue to do so in their political drive on a local and national level. This literature review illustrates how the war on gangs has dominated the public domain for too long, and the communities within which gangs reside have experienced, and had to live with, the consequences of this prejudiced stereotyping. An alternative approach will allow for a detailed analysis of how gangs have always been capable of enacting social change, and Black Power are leading this change in Aotearoa.

Chapter 2:

Research Methodology – Building Collaborative Research Partnerships within Black Power

This chapter builds on research methodologies that commit to collaborative research partnerships with gang communities, with the foundation of this research to first and foremost value the mana and knowledge that those involved bring to this kaupapa. In contributing to a body of gang scholarship that works collaboratively with those in gang communities, the research builds on and is guided by methods that specifically engage in working ‘with’ instead of ‘on’ – in this case, those in the group – Black Power. It begins by examining the influence of participatory action research (PAR) on the research approach, and then, turns to the tradition of collaborative and decolonising research with communities, specifically gang communities in Aotearoa.

This approach was shaped by two research traditions. First, participatory action research (PAR), with a particular focus on a key component of PAR being to work ‘with’ not ‘on’ communities involved in the research. With PAR stemming from action research, which grounds itself in ideals of actioning change through research, this research tradition aids in developing and contributing to the research methodologies that demonstrate working collaboratively with gangs, as opposed to common voyeuristic methods (Fraser, 2015). This research tradition – with the centring of the community as the focus of research – was the evident choice given the commitment to the development of collaborative gang research along with the established and evolving research partnerships with Black Power.

The second research tradition that was worked in within this research was decolonising Māori-Pākehā collaborations. In the specific context of Aotearoa, the project has also been shaped by my own positionality as a Pākehā researcher working with a largely Māori community, and at a personal level, has involved a te reo Māori and tikanga Māori hīkoi. My approach has been guided by ideals and strategies that scholars across a range of fields argue are essential to decolonising research partnerships between Māori and Pākehā (Bishop, 1995; Smith, 1997; Smith, 2012; Vaeau & Trundle, 2020). This work informed my approach in a range of ways, perhaps most importantly, by emphasising the importance of whakawhanaungatanga/relationship-building. In this project, the relationships established within Black Power were built on ideals of reciprocity that go beyond the narrow requirements of ‘gathering data’ for academic research.

In drawing together threads from the traditions in this research methodology, the seminal work of Brotherton and Barrios (2004) with the Almighty Latin King and Queen Nation (ALKQN) street organisation has been especially influential. Brotherton and Barrios' (2004) commitment to collaborative methodologies is based on the need for respect and trust in the relationships with the ALKQN community and aims to both aid in social justice reform and create a space for open conversations between all those involved in the research. In setting a framework for furthering social change among gang communities, Brotherton & Barrios (2004) constantly asked themselves, and those involved in the research, the following questions: Who will benefit from the knowledge? Who will do the writing? What questions will be asked and of whom? This project has constantly returned to these issues as a way to think through power balances, authenticity, and the larger challenges of doing research collaboratively.

Participatory Action Research

This research uses PAR as a framework with which to work in, and this section of the chapter will outline the origins of participatory action research, justify its legitimacy as a research tradition, explore the potential difficulties of working within this particular research tradition, especially in a westernised tertiary institute, as well as the importance of working 'with' not 'on' communities, specifically with gang research.

Action research, the overall research tradition with which PAR is within, can be defined as the collection of data, in whichever form that may take, for the purpose of making change and taking action on a specific cause (Barnsley & Ellis, 1992). Action research creates strategies and programs based on the lived experiences of people, as opposed to theories (Barnsley & Ellis, 1992). Action research has a key focus on possibility, instead of prediction, with the overall goal to discover what the future holds in the specific area of research and what those within the community of research interest collectively see and want the future to hold for their community (Elden & Chisholm, 1993).

Action research originated because traditional research methods, often guided by western concepts (Smith, 1997), did not work with the concept of working 'with' rather than 'on' communities and therefore other methods had to be created in order to allow those not often invited to collaborate on research, into the research sphere (Small, 1995).

The basis of action research comes from the question of ‘*how*’ (Barnsley & Ellis, 1992). In action research we must ask *how* people’s experiences differ, and *how* we can change societal issues and situations in need of change. Action research can have a positive impact in notably under-researched areas as those within those communities are respected through the commitment to learning and understanding their situation (Barnsley & Ellis, 1992), and provided with an opportunity to ensure their community is more accurately represented than it would be in other research traditions (Burke & Hadley, 2018). The research informed by those within the community of interest also provides different data than a perspective from an external source (Burke & Hadley, 2018).

PAR is a research tradition within action research, originating in the 1940s from the work of Kurt Lewin and the Tavistock Institute, and is research done through experimenting, learning, and then taking action from those learnings (Chevalier & Buckles, 2013). One of the most utilised definitions of PAR (Williams & Cervin, 2004), and the definition that this research uses in referring to PAR, is that of Reason and Bradbury (2001):

“to bring together action and reflection, theory and practice in participation with others in the pursuit of practical solutions to issues of pressing concern to people, and more generally the flourishing of individual persons and their communities” (Reason & Bradbury, 2001, p.1).

As described by Baum, MacDougall and Smith (2006), the heart of PAR is collectivism, reflection, and the drive to understand and improve the systems around us. A key word used to explain PAR is ‘empower’, as research utilising PAR methods should empower both the researcher, the researched, and the wider community (Baum et al., 2006). This empowering nature of PAR ties into the action chosen, and all those involved in the project collaborate in the decision-making process of what action will further the research (Baum et al., 2006).

As community activists, Barnsley and Ellis (1992) note the importance of researching areas that are in need of change and action. The ‘action’ part of PAR is a continual process, not only to be utilised at the end of the research, as change can occur throughout the process (Barnsley & Ellis, 1992). This purpose of applying research ‘findings’ (Barnsley & Ellis, 1992) is the intention for this research, in attempting to change the narrative on gangs. Lawson (2015) even describes PAR as a political act, due to the drive for collective action, and the coming together of people with a united goal. Willms (1997) echoes this, with their commentary on PAR as a transformation at both the personal and societal level.

In line with the application of findings, another key aspect of PAR that differs from many other traditional research methods is the rejection of objectivity and instead the incorporation of critical self-reflection by all research parties (Kemmis, McTaggart & Nixon, 2014). This emphasises the value of the experience and knowledge brought to the research by the community engaging with it, something which cannot be acknowledged or valued without the neglecting of objectivity (Kemmis et al., 2014). The purpose of PAR is to create social change, and this change cannot be created without the investment of interests and passion, thus naturally eliminating objectivity (Kemmis et al., 2014). Stoudt and Torre (2014) reiterate this and that participatory action researchers have, and should have, no problem in using research to advance social change. Elden and Chisholm (1993) echo this, noting that participatory action researchers specifically choose research that is not value neutral, as it is “change oriented” (p. 127) and therefore has a goal not based in neutrality, but in change and movement.

As noted by several academics and researchers who base their research methodologies in PAR, it is research that can be seen as ‘scientifically other’, and its scientific integrity is not as valued as other methods of research (Williams & Cervin, 2004). Therefore, Williams (Williams & Cervin, 2004) acknowledges the importance of grounding and defending this particular research method.

Baum et al. (2006) call for the way research legitimacy is measured to be reviewed, as the ways in which researchers engage with communities, or form lasting relationships, is not encompassed in the measures of successful research. If PAR is seen to be a less legitimate form of research, less researchers will engage in it, as it is known for taking a significant investment of time and resources, with the ‘result’ being seen as lesser than the investment into the research (Baum et al., 2006). This research, through its methodology, argues that research with an investment in the communities one is working with provides richer and more valuable research, through the research process itself and the way in which it is applied.

Felner (2020) discusses the difficulties with undertaking PAR in a tertiary institution, and the clinical nature with which tertiary institutions often require the formal ‘researcher’ and ‘participant’ titles, along with meeting various deadlines, timelines, and ethics approval. Felner (2020) notes that keeping to these frameworks can affect the research and damage the organic processes with which PAR strives for in working with people, therefore meaning that often PAR cannot be done in its most traditional form, and must be adapted to fit with the confines of an institution (Felner, 2020).

Dodson, Piatelli and Schmalzbauer (2007) acknowledge that western academic institutes tend to push the westernised framework of academia that encourages sole claim of research, individualistic research design, and hierarchial research methodologies, with a clear imbalance between ‘researcher’ and ‘participant’, and participatory action researchers need to be aware that support for research often comes with the caveat of the need for it to be individually led.

Williams and Cervin (2004) question how scientific research and the requirements of this fit with what the community of interest needs, and how research processes framed by an institution are of potential detriment to the community. The aim of PAR is to allow for a community to be engaged with collaboratively, yet it is questioned how an institution, the framework of a degree, and rules and regulations then fit in with a community’s specific goals for creating change, along with the nuanced and evolving nature with which this comes about (Williams & Cervin, 2004). As noted by Williams and Cervin (2004), it is a fine balance in managing the tensions of research requirements, and the needs of the community one is working with. The core of this questioning is why it is that the knowledge of a community, and especially the lived experiences of a community, have to be made legitimate through an institution such as a university, through research, through the scientific community and through academia, and these questions weigh heavily on the participatory action researcher (Williams & Cervin, 2004).

Research ‘With’ not ‘On’ Communities

“The knowers and known in a community come together with academics to allow learning and action to emerge. Validity is measured by the depth of relationship, plurality of knowing, practical significance, and enduring nature of inquiry” (Burgess, 2006, p. 432).

This research works within the integral PAR concept of working ‘with’ not ‘on’ communities engaged in the research. Community groups are refusing the act of research being ‘done’ to them, and being used for access to a population that may not be easily accessible (Barnsley & Ellis, 1992). PAR allows for the continuous involvement and collaboration with members of community groups who may have been deceived in the past (Barnsley & Ellis, 1992), with a focus of clarity around involvement and decision-making in the research process (Barnsley & Ellis, 1992). As emphasised by Barnsley and Ellis (1992), the direction should be

taken from the community group that the research will affect. Grassroots movements and social change begins within the communities themselves, and a commitment for research to emulate the ways in which grassroots movements action social change is a crucial aspect of PAR (Barnsley & Ellis, 1992).

Stoudt and Torre (2014) describe PAR as an ‘ethical stance’ on who holds the knowledge and how it should be shared. The concept of ‘with’ rather than ‘on’ in PAR is also correlated to this ethical stance or ethical commitment to the kaupapa of PAR and the ‘right to research’ being inclusive of those the research is with (Stoudt & Torre, 2014). The overall goal of PAR is to combat injustice, and Stoudt and Torre (2014) state that research *with* communities allows for this battle to begin.

A key aspect of qualitative research, but more specifically PAR, is the ability for the community engaged with the research to reclaim their voice, especially if it has been previously disregarded, and to empower and acknowledge the knowledge they bring to the research, as it will directly impact their lives (Williams & Cervin, 2004). PAR allows for the different expertise, experience and knowledge that those involved bring to the research, and the various perspectives which allow for a more nuanced research analysis (Burgess, 2006). Minkler (2004) notes that this type of research doesn’t have to seem as if one is ‘giving up’ knowledge or research processes in order to accommodate others, but instead it is a sharing of the diverse expertise from within the research group, and acknowledging the value with which each set of expertise adds to the research.

The ability of those outside of the academic community to reclaim their voice and have the issues facing their communities heard sets a precedent for other research in allowing those with lived experience to be the mouthpiece or māngai of their experiences (Williams & Cervin, 2004). As noted by Fine (2013), PAR challenges the traditional confines of western academia by creating pathways for others to enter this sphere despite previous exclusion. Fine (2013) notes that the continuous perpetuation of the homogenous academic researcher voice silences those that are oppressed or who do not have access to the academic world, and to enable this to occur repeatedly is deemed “epistemological violence” (p. 695).

Costley, Elliott and Gibbs (2010) highlight the importance in being open to the tensions and issues that can arise within collaborative research, instead of just “paying lip service” (p. 104) to collaboration with the intent of personal gain, and instead approach this method with openness to the transference of power. Smith (1997) describes the ‘power-with’ relationships

that evolve in PAR, which is power that is shared amongst people, with the knowledge that this sharing of power is fluid and flexible. This commitment to collaboration and exchange of power narrows the gap between the traditional ‘researcher and research subject’ divide, and allows for diversity in knowledge (Costley et al., 2010).

How PAR aligns with collaborative gang research is a key element in the use of this particular method. Brotherton and Barrios (2004), in their qualitative work with the Almighty Latin King and Queen Nation (ALKQN), describe the gang phenomenon as objectified, with few researchers ever truly committed to investigating and changing the issues that lie with the researcher and researched relationship. This has been a key element in developing a specific research methodology for building research partnerships within Black Power, with the combination of PAR, research ‘with’ not ‘on’ communities – specifically gang communities – and decolonising Māori-Pākehā research partnerships.

In keeping with community-specific research, PAR has been noted as a form of research that is one of the best suited research methods when working with indigenous peoples as this particular method more evidently values the knowledge that indigenous peoples or communities can bring to research projects and processes (Caxaj, 2015). Many westernised approaches to research are irrelevant to indigenous communities (Caxaj, 2015). PAR can be seen to be more closely connected with the principles of Te Tiriti o Waitangi and within te ao Māori, such as partnership and in its purpose for collectivism, compared to more individualistic, westernised frameworks for research, even within the qualitative research field (Williams & Cervin, 2004), and these decolonising partnerships will be discussed in the following section.

Decolonising Māori-Pākehā Research Collaborations

“action research might address Māori concerns since it tries to move beyond seeking explanations and understandings that often suit the researcher, but that may be of little use to those who are researched. Action research seeks to enable participants to engage in critical reflection in order to promote change” (Bishop, 1995, p. 41).

This diversity of knowledge and ‘power-with’ concept referred to (Smith, 1997) lead to an important aspect of this research, which is myself as Pākehā working with mainly Māori collaborative researchers and how this has been navigated in working with decolonising

research methods, while working with my collaborative researchers in adherence with appropriate cross-cultural research.

When first considering why as a Pākehā I should or should not engage in research that impacts or involves Māori, I used Bishop's (1995) guidance through his thesis *Collaborative research stories : whakawhanaungatanga* as a form of reference. Bishop (1995) states that there are two reasons why non-Māori should be involved in Māori research. The first is that there are those who are becoming bicultural and wanting to work within te ao Māori frameworks in their commitment to Te Tiriti o Waitangi, and this should be encouraged, as there should be more spaces in which the partnership agreed upon in Te Tiriti o Waitangi is upheld. Smith (2012) echoes this, noting that within Aotearoa, bicultural research is developing, and encourages researchers to think about the ways in which they will honour the Te Tiriti o Waitangi partnership within their work (Smith, 2012). The second reason is that Pākehā cannot continue to leave the mahi that is involved in the Te Tiriti o Waitangi partnership solely to Māori – it is a partnership, and this must be upheld by both Māori and non-Māori (Bishop, 1995). Especially for non-Māori in assisting in the deconstruction of the colonial systems structures that have contributed to the formation of gangs – in relation to the infamous quote from the legendary activist Angela Davis, “in a racist society, it is not enough to be non-racist, we must be anti-racist”, and participating in the disestablishment and critique of colonial systems is part of this. Bishop (1995) discusses that “the pursuit of social justice is a task that all New Zealanders must be engaged in” (p. 33), and this is a core kaupapa of this research. The fight to empower those who have been disempowered, that is the responsibility of all (Bishop, 1995).

In outlining the ways in which this research engages in decolonising research partnerships, the text *Decolonising Māori-Pākehā Research Collaborations: Towards an Ethics of Whanaungatanga and Manaakitanga in Cross-Cultural Research Relationships* by Vaeau and Trundle (2020) will be used to demonstrate the stages of this research that work within this framework.

Vaeau and Trundle (2020) outline that those working within decolonising research methodologies face the hurdle of Pākehā defensiveness, which can come in the form of creating an uncomfortable environment for Māori to be Māori, through the lack understanding and acknowledgement from Pākehā of mātauranga Māori and Māori well-being. In order to decolonise, power structures and hierarchy must be disrupted (Vaeau & Trundle, 2020). A

strategy outlined by Vaeau and Trundle (2020) is to ‘unmask white supermacy and question the status quo’. This is the process of Pākehā working collaboratively with Māori by first questioning the ways in which they (Pākehā) have been taught, or have done, research methodologies in the past – often in a westernised framework that has different measures of ‘success’. Vaeau and Trundle (2020) neutralise the term ‘ignorance’ to apply to Pākehā researchers, and can be applied to myself in terms of this research and how I have had to confront the ways in which working within a westernised tertiary institutions can limit collaborative research and partnerships; how I have researched in the past – changing certain aspects of this process to work towards decolonising research; and how I conceptualise certain things through a westernised framework which I have needed to confront this continuously throughout the research.

In terms of understanding mātauranga Māori, ensuring my cultural competency, and confronting Pākehā ignorance, I have engaged on a te reo Māori and tikanga Māori hīkoi during 2021/2022 (and will continue this beyond these years) so as not to rely on my collaborative researchers to do this mahi for me, and as a commitment to Te Tiriti o Waitangi and person living in Aotearoa. My te reo Māori hīkoi for 2021 began by enrolling in Te Wānanga o Aotearoa’s course Te Ara Reo Māori – He Pī Ka Pāo, which involved eight months of weekly three hour classes, four one-day wānanga, and two noho marae/noho marae-style weekends, in learning tikanga Māori and te reo Māori. Assignments were completed throughout the year, with the year’s course ending by giving a speech in te reo Māori to the class. 2021 also involved engagement in other tikanga Māori and te reo Māori practices/courses, having been involved in a course through *Engaging Well* surrounding how to enact Te Tiriti o Waitangi principles in day-to-day research practices, in one’s workplace and in the community; te reo Māori lessons and the course *Groundworks: Introduction to Te Tiriti o Waitangi* through one of my workplaces; and participation in pōwhiri on marae through one of my other workplaces. 2022 has seen a continuation of my engagement in Te Wānanga o Aotearoa in learning te reo Māori, this time in an online course with the knowledge that Pākehā should not take up physical space in the in-person courses that are popular and should prioritise tangata whenua.

These commitments to te reo Māori and Te Tiriti o Waitangi in no way compensate for the systemic colonial structures that benefit and privilege me. It is however, a necessary step forward in ensuring that I commit to applying decolonising methods in all areas of my life, such as this research. This hīkoi has been a significant element of this project, as I immerse myself in practices that my collaborative researchers engage in, and has helped to assist in

collaborating in culturally contextual ways. For example, I was able to prepare my pepeha/mihi when I was welcomed onto a marae for a wānanga hosted by Black Power Movement Whakatāne. I was also able to re-examine in critical and non-defensive ways the Pākehā/westernised lens through which I viewed certain things, for example, when TK was describing to me that their rōpū were building a school/kura, I made the immediate assumption of a building. TK explained to me, that especially in te ao Māori, kura is not just a ‘building’ (as it often is in a westernised framework).

“Kura's not just a building, our kura is our environment, our awa, our maunga, the kai that goes- that runs through our river, our whenua - that's the kura – where the people are.”

- TK

These learnings, as I engaged in the te reo Māori and tikanga Māori hīkoi throughout this research, made a significant impact in learning and unlearning ways to ‘do’ research, and to ‘do’ decolonising work. This ties into the profound impact the work *Imagining Decolonisation* (Kiddle, Elkington, Jackson, Ripeka Mercier, Ross, Smeaton & Thomas, 2020) has had on myself (and many others) in how Pākehā should contribute in the work of decolonisation, with it being emphasised that listening, learning, trusting, and taking our cue from Māori should be at the forefront of any decolonising work.

This research also draws from the ways in which Bishop (1995) outlines collaborative research that incorporates a commitment to Te Tiriti o Waitangi in his work. Bishop (1995) describes the lack of respect to Te Tiriti o Waitangi in research being done to Māori – as opposed to with, and further research with Māori needs to remedy this in its approaches. For example, Bishop (1995) notes that in article two of Te Tiriti o Waitangi, Māori were assured tino rangatiratanga – self-determination – and had authority to determine what was taonga. This has not been upheld in research ‘on Māori’, and therefore research ‘with’ Māori needs to ensure that a collaborative process in keeping with Te Tiriti o Waitangi allows for this autonomy on deciding what is taonga (Bishop, 1995). Bishop (1995) outlines the key questions that have been put forward by Māori regarding research involving Māori: initiation - how is the research approached; benefits – who does the research benefit; representation – is the research adequately representing all voices; legitimacy – does the research legitimise Māori knowledge; and accountability – how are the researchers held accountable. Smith (2012) notes that even the term ‘research’ itself stems from European imperialism and colonialism, and that

research within the westernised scientific paradigm and institutions is how colonialism is regulated. This research, in moving away from colonialist research methods through using PAR, with a specific focus on ‘with’ not ‘on’ and decolonising partnerships, aims to deregulate the colonialism in this context by working with collaborative researchers in addressing accountability in this research.

The collective nature with which PAR honouring Te Tiriti o Waitangi values all those within the research, meaning there is no hierarchy of importance, also differs from the westernised framework of Pākehā taking on the ‘expert’ role (Bishop, 1995). Bishop (1995) notes the ways in which Pākehā have placed their voice as superior on subjects and research regarding Māori, undermining and disempowering the kōrero Māori have provided to a particular research sphere. The commitment in this research to uphold the mana with which the voice of Māori bring to the research is demonstrated by working collaboratively with all researchers, and deeming the collaborative researchers as the experts. It is the kōrero of the collaborative researchers that is the essence of this research, and therefore the protection of their taonga, their kōrero, is of the utmost importance. It is my role, as the research initiator, to lead with this kaupapa in mind. As expressed by Bishop (1995), the history of Aotearoa cannot be exclusive to one voice. Especially with the perpetuation of negative gang narratives in the media, the voice of many members of gangs, and Māori, must be heard so as to challenge the stereotypes determined by others. One of the ways in which Vaeau and Trundle (2020) outline decolonisation is that it involves “a set of active and ongoing projects which seek to dismantle and interrupt the contemporary manifestations of colonisation” (p. 210), which this research aims to be a part of and contribute to by transforming negative stereotypes of members of Black Power, a predominantly Māori ‘gang’.

Building Research Partnerships within Black Power

For too long, members of Black Power have had their narrative written for them. If the narrative of gangs in Aotearoa is to change, it is working ‘with’ not ‘on’ that is necessary to ensure this change. Aldrige, Medina and Ralphs (2008) emphasised that their research with members of gangs aimed to not further stigmatise members, and that they were determined to demonstrate the genuine nature with which they cared about the individual members, as opposed to their place as authors amongst academic research. Aldrige et al. (2008) placed huge importance on ensuring it was known that they cared about making a difference in the lives of

those who had been previously double-crossed by researchers, and gaining the trust of those hesitant to believe this rhetoric of ‘genuine care and interest’ that has been used for deception in the past. This concept of relationship-building and not using Black Power members solely for research, for my own personal academic career, or for further negative stereotypes to be perpetuated, has played a huge role in how this research has been conceptualised. This research draws from Vaeau and Trundle (2020) in their decolonising research partnership process between Pākehā and Māori, and in doing so has informed the three key components of the research partnership with Black Power: Whakawhanaungatanga/Relationship-Building; Hononga/Collaboration; and Koha/Reciprocity. This chapter will refer to collaborative researchers by their first name or nick names, as that is how I know them and how they are known in their communities.

Whakawhanaungatanga / Relationship-Building

Whakawhanaungatanga, or relationship-building, is at the heart of this research. Drawing from Bishop’s (1995) definition of whakawhanaungatanga as a research process, this process involves the nurturing of relationships among those engaged with the research – the establishment and maintenance of these relationships as a core part of research; researcher involvement – ensuring researchers are involved in each stage of the research, physically, ethically, morally and spiritually; and addressing power and control issues through participant-driven research – issues are resolved in a way that honours the participant-driven nature of this research (Bishop, 1995). As noted by Kemmis et al. (2014), the ‘success’ of PAR partially comes from the depth of the relationships with those involved in the research, as the outcomes of the research cannot truly represent the community at hand if these relationships are not established.

It was my connection with Eugene Ryder that made this project possible. After collaborating with Eugene on research towards my Honours’ thesis in 2020 (*Gangs – A Social Movement*), we continued to kōrero often – because the relationship was built on whakawhanaungatanga, it extended beyond the formal ‘end’ of the thesis. When I began to start thinking about doing further work towards a Master’s degree, the process began with getting Eugene’s input about what research was needed in the gang sphere, and having a general discussion about the role of social activism within an evolving gang movement. These early conversations with Eugene were an important opening for collaborative research to shape the

broad goals and aims of the project, and they point to the way that relationships based on whakawhanaungatanga provide the foundation for collaborative approaches to gang research.

My connection with Eugene was also the starting point for building a larger network of relationships within Black Power. My relationship with Eugene facilitated the connection with other social change agents within Black Power, for example – Denis O'Reilly and Ngapari Nui. The late Dr Carl Bradley, a colleague at Te Herenga Waka, had established relationships with members of a particular chapter of Black Power, which led to the connection to two others who would become crucial collaborative researchers in the project: Genesis 'TK' Te Kuru White and Parera 'Bongee' Mahauariki.

After these initial connections were made, I worked to develop the relationships through an ethic of whakawhanaungatanga – as I had with Eugene – in which the recorded interview was only one part of a larger process. At the very least, I had a hui and kōrero with each collaborative researcher before engaging in any 'formal' research. The simple act of sharing kai, or a kaputī, prior to engaging in a recorded kōrero (usually at a separate time altogether) was an important step to a process of relationship-building based on whanaungatanga and our informal kōrero surrounding – politics, Black Power, whānau, whakapapa, te reo Māori, mahi, the justice system, mutual friends, exchange of literature – facilitated whakawhanaungatanga taking place. These hui have been crucial in the relationship-building element of the research, by meeting with Black Power members kanohi ki te kanohi in order to establish a relationship and build rapport prior to any formal 'interview'.

A central part of the whakawhanaungatanga within this research involved travelling from Wellington to Whakatāne to take part in a wānanga hosted by Black Power Movement Whakatāne. The late Dr Carl Bradley, having established trusted relationships with the chapter, facilitated my own relationship with this chapter to grow. TK organised an online hui with rangatira of Black Power Movement Whakatāne and myself, in order to establish the research kaupapa, which allowed for the formal process of mihi and whakawhanaungatanga to take place. This process was important as it was TK and Black Power Movement Whakatāne who brought their own protocols and processes to this research, which enabled further collaboration in partnership due to this gesture. TK and I engaged (and continue to do so) in kōrero via mainly video calls and video messages on Facebook, and this led to extension of an invitation to come to Whakatāne for a three day wānanga hosted by 'Te Tini o Meketū' – a rōpū based in the Whakatāne rohe, facilitated by Black Power Movement Whakatāne. Travelling up to

Whakatāne, and the warmth and embrace of the members of Te Tini o Meketū was pivotal in whakawhanaungatanga with the whānau of Black Power. Learning mau rākau, engaging in kōrero with the wāhine of Black Power, assisting with kai preparations, learning the history of Black Power Movement Whakatāne, engaging in the mihi whakatau processes wherein my hīkoi with te reo Māori meant I was able to understand and engage in culturally contextual practices, and playing with the tamariki were all part of the critical relationship-building within the community of Black Power, allowing for relationships to be grounded in an intent for longevity and genuine friendship, as opposed to solely research relationships.

These hui and time investment in connecting with members of Black Power assisted in developing and establishing trusted relationships and was crucial not only to the PAR method, but also in setting a precedent for other gang research. Deuchar (2009), in his research with Glasgow youth gangs, noted that spending time with those within the youth gangs, outside of any formalities, was crucial in establishing trust and a level of comfort not found in the formal side of research. This relationship building allowed for the more formal aspects of research such as interviews, to take place more comfortably (Deuchar, 2009), as the interviews are embedded in a relationship that was present before and extends after, or outside of the formal research period. Travelling to Whakatāne for the wānanga was an important step in ensuring whakawhanaungatanga has been exercised through the maintenance of relationships with collaborative researchers extending outside of the formal research. Commitment to maintaining relationships with the collaborative researchers is of utmost importance, as these relationships are not limited to the research period but are a commitment to the person as an individual as opposed to the ‘research subject’, as emphasised by Littman, Bender, Mollica, Erangey, Lucas and Marvin (2021) in their recognition of each member of their research by viewing and valuing them as a *person* before anything else. This extension of whakawhanaungatanga outside of the formal research has involved Eugene providing support in the ethics process, seeking external advice and involving me in hui surrounding this; doing contract work for Matau Cultural Annotators, of which Denis is the co-director, which involved interviewing and transcribing a kōrero with an incarcerated wahine at Arohata prison; post-Black Power Movement Whakatāne wānanga engagement through continuing the report writing of these wānanga that TK and the late Dr Carl Bradley started – working alongside TK through multiple zoom hui to write these reports collectively; the open invitation for attending Black Power Movement Whakatāne wānanga; working with Ngapari on the concept of koha, and how this can be honoured in the way collaborative researchers have engaged with this project; ongoing

engagement with Bongee on similar mahi we work on – such as Bongee’s mahi on the COVID-19 response in his rohe, and my correlating mahi; and the ongoing kōrero with all collaborative researchers in exchanging interesting articles, kōrero and ideas throughout the research period.

Hononga / Collaboration

Developing a network of relationships within Black Power based on whakawhanaungatanga was the foundation of the collaborative methods employed in the project. The term hononga is defined as the following: union, connection, relationship, bond (Moorfield, 2021). This union and collaboration through connection with the collaborative researchers is the essence of this ethic of the research. The commitment to collaboration is expressed in the basic language used throughout this research: I have used the term ‘collaborative researchers’ as opposed to the term ‘participants’ when referring to all those engaging with this research. This upholds the concept of working ‘with’ not ‘on’, and a commitment from myself to partnership and respect of the time, knowledge, and effort of the collaborative researchers, as well as a commitment to the code and values of PAR (Felner, 2020; Penrod, Loeb, Ladonne & Martin, 2016). It also is in tautoko of Vaeau and Trundle’s (2020) research of ‘giving credit where credit is due’ when it comes to Māori-Pākehā research collaborations, and this semantic and methodological choice was intentional as the collaborative researchers have developed this research with their cooperation, contributions, knowledge, and time.

I also use the real names of collaborative researchers, instead of pseudonyms. As noted by Bishop (1995), research with Māori means most likely using real names instead of pseudonyms, due to the importance of whakapapa to Māori and in honouring their kōrero. Bishop (1995) states “to use pseudonyms would have been difficult because the whakapapa of these ideas would be lost, for this story is not mine alone but the collective work of all the people whose names appear in these pages” (p. iv). Bishop (1995) also discusses that to deny Māori ‘membership’ within a research group, and for non-Māori to play a part in this, further perpetuates colonisation and lack of respect for Te Tiriti o Waitangi in full participation of Māori. This is why this research, with consent of the collaborative researchers, uses real names in order to value the mana and mātauranga that the collaborative researchers bring, upholding their valued expertise.

As well as these choices around language – using ‘collaborative researchers’ instead of ‘participants,’ and real names instead of pseudonyms – the commitment to hononga shaped key decisions throughout the project. In this section I will describe how the ethic of hononga/collaboration informed specific choices over how to collect and analyse the data presented in this thesis. In particular, this section will focus on the collaborative design of the interview guide, the collaborative approach to interviewing and the collaborative analysis of the interview data.

Collaborative Design of the Interview Guide

The ethic of hononga informed the development of interview questions through the collaborative design of the interview guide with the collaborative researchers. This was a crucial aspect of the research, as collaborative researchers were able to frame what we would eventually kōrero about when it came to the formal part of the research – the interviews. As a basis for beginning the interview process, I formed some questions that were relevant to the kōrero I initially spoke about with collaborative researchers prior to any ‘formal interview’. These questions were:

- What social / community activism have you engaged in within Black Power?
- What social / community activism have you engaged in outside of Black Power?
- Who have been your political and/or social change mentors?
- Have you been influenced by global activism and/or global movements? i.e. Black Power in the U.S.A. and the Civil Rights movement.
- How would you describe the ways in which Black Power and its social change elements have developed overtime?
- Have you seen a shift in gangism / gang culture overtime?
- How do you envisage the future of gangism / gang culture and social change agents in the Black Power?

Collaborative researchers and I then worked together to develop these questions and what each collaborative researcher would like to discuss in more depth, with each individual having certain aspects they may like to focus on. The intent behind this is to ensure the common homogenising of members of gangs is not perpetuated (Hagedorn, 1996) and that this research, alongside upholding the partnership within Te Tiriti o Waitangi and PAR, ensures continuous

involvement and consultation with collaborative researchers in every aspect of this research. The finalised pātai that were followed in each interview can be seen at Appendix 01, where there can be seen to be a shift in the title and use of the word ‘gangism’, replacing it with ‘gangsterism’, which originated after kōrero with collaborative researchers as to what kupu they identified with more.

Collaborative Interviewing

The ethic of hononga also informed how the interviews were conducted, in the kōrero itself, as well as the journeys taken in order to kōrero with the collaborative researchers.

This research used semi-structured interviews (May, 2011), and ‘interviews as conversations’ (Bishop, 1995) with a set of questions decided on by myself and the collaborative researchers, but with the opportunity to allow for other kōrero to occur, pātai to be asked, and an in-depth exploration to take place. The reasoning behind using semi-structured interviews is that this then leaves the potential for the analysis to draw from all interviews and having the ability to compare themes in the kōrero, but also adapting to the individuals within the research (May, 2011) and working with the collaborative researchers to determine their view on the pātai. In order to draw conclusions about the research, there needed to be some similarities across the interviews, however this research does not claim to be generalizable to the whole of Black Power, and therefore the individual interviews are seen as stand-alone interviews, and the open-ended format was deliberately chosen in order to allow flexibility for each collaborative researcher’s individual kōrero – and value their role as experts in this research.

The development of an ‘enhanced research relationship’ (Oakley, 1981; Bishop, 1995) has been crucial in this research and Oakley (1981) states that the best type of interviewing which leads to a non-hierarchical relationship occurs when the ‘interviewer’ is prepared to invest themselves and their identity into the relationship with the ‘interviewee’ (Oakley, 1981). In this research, the recorded kōrero, or interviews, with the collaborative researchers was ‘successful’ in that the enhanced research relationship was previously established, and the discussion was developed collaboratively. The ethic of hononga was especially prominent in the travel involved in having these kōrero with the collaborative researchers. Both TK and Bongee’s interviews were done during my time in Whakatāne, having travelled from Wellington for the wānanga hosted by Black Power Movement Whakatāne. These interviews

were significant in that they were held in spaces that both TK and Bongee felt at home in, and had welcomed me into – demonstrating the hononga (relationship, bond) with the collaborative researchers when it came to the formal aspect of the research. Denis’ interview also involved travelling to Ahuriri/Napier for the more formal kōrero, and then further whakawhanaungatanga where Denis took me on a tour of his papa kāinga, sharing the history of the rohe, his community, and his whānau – introducing me to significant people in his life along the way – demonstrating the enhanced research relationship and hononga evident through Denis’ manaakitanga.

Collaborative Analysis of Interview Data

Dodson and Schmalzbauer (2005) note the importance of the ‘interpretive’ stage of the research inquiry process, which often excludes the community members researchers work with. This is an important aspect that must be noted for this research, in that although a Master’s degree requires the student to draw conclusions and analyse the research ‘data’, it is crucial that the collaborative nature of research based on PAR engages in analysis alongside the collaborative researchers. Dodson and Schmalzbauer (2005) note that researchers tend to revert to the habit of analysing in isolation, and more commonly PAR methods are enacted during the research process, as opposed to the post-research process of analysis. This research properly implemented PAR methods of engaging with collaborative researchers throughout the analysis – ensuring regular kōrero, sharing of findings throughout the analysis process, and having received guidance from collaborative researchers in other aspects of the research process, this continued at this stage through the following process:

- Initial themes across each kōrero analysed by myself, the research initiator, then sent to all collaborative researchers for changes and feedback – through a written copy, and/or a voice recording, and/or a phone call or hui;
- A written chapter of a theme, which was then sent to all collaborative researchers for changes and feedback – through a written copy, and/or a voice recording, and/or a phone call or hui – with this element repeated for two themes, the third incorporated in the entirety of the thesis;
- A hui to kōrero about the entirety of the thesis – either via zoom or in-person, with a final copy sent to collaborative researchers prior to submission.

In committing to enacting principles of Te Tiriti o Waitangi, PAR and research ‘with’ not ‘on’ the community that is Black Power, it can be seen that this element of the process – the ‘analysis’ – engaged in conversation, dialogue, and kōrero, ensuring that the process engaged all researchers along with acknowledging and addressing any issues that may arise. The collaborative nature of this research, especially at this stage, was pursued by continuous engagement with collaborative researchers through hui, email, voice recordings, messages and phone calls.

Learnings throughout this research have included navigating how to most effectively communicate with collaborative researchers through continuous engagement while also acknowledging that there are other priorities for those involved in this research – as while the research initiator may be immersed in the world of research and working with the community on the specific research, those community members have their own lives that are their focus, and often lives which take precedent and are the exact lives which are the subject of the research (Williams & Cervin, 2004). As Andrae et al. (2017a) describe, the research relationship is one of “constant mutual learning” (p. 123). Part of navigating the principle of empathetic flexibility within decolonising research partnerships (Vaeau & Trundle, 2020) combined with PAR in this research, specifically in the interview and analysis process, was providing drafts of chapters to collaborative researchers in formats which suited them – a written copy, a voice recording or video summary of the chapter, or a hui, with an understanding that a voice recording summary as an initial communication method for drafts is working in the research kaupapa of empathetic flexibility due to the various timetables of collaborative researchers. As noted by those within Bishop’s (1995) research, the ‘typed script’ was seen as the beginning of an individual’s loss of their kōrero and their story. The way in which all information in this research was shared with collaborative researchers aimed to not perpetuate this loss of the collaborative researcher’s taonga – their kōrero – in working within the PAR method tradition. Bishop (1995) also notes that often a transcript or analysis may be essentially offloaded onto, in this case, collaborative researchers, with little to no understanding that reading and editing this is a large undertaking. In committing to the acknowledgement of collaborative researchers in this research having many priorities in their life, the process of providing analyses in various formats to the collaborative researchers was crucial to honouring partnership in decolonising research and in enacting PAR methods (Littman et al., 2021).

This section has shown how an ethic of hononga has informed key decisions about the methods throughout the project – from the creation of interview questions, to the collaborative nature of the interviews themselves, to the analysis of data.

Koha / Reciprocity

“**koha** – (**noun**) gift, present, offering, donation, contribution – especially one maintaining social relationships and has connotations of reciprocity.” (Moorfield, 2021).

The third guiding value and ethic of this research is koha / reciprocity. Koha has been a key element in the ways in which whakawhanaungatanga have been enacted, and the collaborative nature of hononga has been navigated, in working with the collaborative researchers on reciprocity and how their time and knowledge can be valued. As discussed previously, each collaborative researcher is valued as a person first, and it is known that each individual brings themselves to this project. This has meant that in exploring how koha will fit with each collaborative researcher, the individuality and what is valued by each person has presented differently. To provide two examples, in working on the concept of koha with Ngapari, and in providing the opportunity for what koha would be the most appropriate or helpful in the reciprocal exchange of time and knowledge, this led to the digitisation of Black Power VHS tapes that Ngapari had which were no longer able to be viewed. The koha that I was able to provide in the form of digitizing these tapes meant a part of Black Power history was restored and this would not have occurred had the process of koha had not been explored and one of the questions that is part of the foundation for this research – *who will this benefit?* (Brotherton & Barrios, 2004) – not been upheld. The thought put into how each collaborative researcher can be valued in what they have provided this project has been of significant importance in maintaining relationships and honouring their taonga, their kōrero. This was demonstrated again in how koha was given and received with TK, who I have been able to assist in writing reports for the wānanga held by Black Power Movement Whakatāne. This report writing was started by TK and the late Dr Carl Bradley, and was continued by TK and myself, where zoom hui between us were held regularly to write collaboratively. The reports were then collated and bound into booklets as resources for the rōpū ‘Te Tini o Meketū’. This process was koha in action, with myself having been invited to the wānanga held by Black Power Movement Whakatāne, and the time invested in this research by TK and Bongee during

and outside of the wānanga, the collaboration of writing these reports demonstrated the commitment to this ethic.

The ethic of koha has been an element of this project that was explored in grounding the research in PAR and the act of reciprocity in valuing and honouring the collaborative researchers. The three ethics within the research partnership with Black Power – whakawhanaungatanga/relationship-building, hononga/collaboration, and koha/contribution – have been at the core of the relationships that have evolved with members of Black Power and collaborative researchers, and have aimed to uphold PAR, decolonising research partnerships, and move forward in the ways in which collaborative methods can be enacted within gang research.

Conclusion

In the next three chapters, this thesis draws on kōrero from the collaborative researchers to examine the evolving social movement potential of Black Power in Aotearoa – with the voices of the men themselves becoming central. The kōrero was exchanged within reciprocal relationships based on trust and mutual respect, relationships made possible by a methodology informed by PAR and a longer tradition of scholars working to decolonise research collaborations between Māori and Pākehā. In drawing together these threads, the project contributes to the growing gang research methodology of partnership and collaboration with gang communities, as opposed to the voyeuristic nature that dominates gang research (Brotherton & Barrios, 2004).

By utilising PAR and decolonising research partnership methods (Vaeau & Trundle, 2020), this research is grounded in a methodology that values people first and worked to achieve a foundation of trust first and foremost, which have been nurtured in the relationships in, and outside of, the ‘formal’ research. PAR provides the opportunity for the relationships and collaborations formed to be strengthened, and has been a crucial element of this research (Barnsley & Ellis, 1992). The importance of research centring methodologies that work ‘with’ not ‘on’ communities, and the ethics of whakawhanaungatanga, hononga, and koha, have all contributed to the strong relationships with the collaborative researchers, while demonstrating the ways researchers can work with members of gangs in Aotearoa.

Chapter 3:

“Te Tini o Meketū” – The Multitudes of the Upraised Fist

Chapter title quote attributed to Paora White

This chapter traces the influence of the global Black Power Movement on Black Power in Aotearoa, and in the process, challenges claims these are disconnected. In referring to the group’s adoption of the name ‘Black Power’, for example, Gilbert (2016) argues that “although this name was inspired by the American ‘Black Power’ movement, the Black Power gang bears no relation to it and has no specific social, racial, or revolutionary goals.” (p. 364). But in this chapter, the kōrero from members of Black Power demonstrate not only clear lines of influence to global Black Power, but that the rōpū does indeed have specific social, racial, and revolutionary goals. These are inspired in part by the global movement, and often through the use of te reo Māori and te ao Māori, are being actively reinterpreted in the specific context of Aotearoa.

Black Power movements globally are seen to have catalytic effects on each other, with movements arising in different countries and that have the global symbolism then paralleled in local contexts, such as in Aotearoa. Dixon and Davis (2014) highlight that Black freedom struggles in North America and anti-colonial struggles in other countries brought racism and colonialism to the global stage, setting in motion the uprising of movements around the world, with the Black Power movement evidently influential in its ability as a movement to inspire globalisation in the fight against racial injustice (Frankel, 2012).

This chapter locates Black Power in Aotearoa amongst the global traditions of the wider movement. It outlines the ways in which global symbols of Black Power – the meaning of the term ‘Black Power’, for example, and the symbol of the upraised fist, have all influenced Black Power in Aotearoa and its localised manifestations. The chapter starts by highlighting specific inspiration from the USA along with key figures of the wider movement such as Bob Marley, and how these influences have played a part in inspiring those within Black Power in Aotearoa. The chapter then turns to explore how the symbolism of global Black Power has been reinterpreted and reworked, and as part of this, develops a case study of the rōpū ‘Te Tini o Meketū’ – which can be translated into English as ‘The Multitudes of the Upraised Fist’ – and how they are building a movement that follows in the footsteps of global and local activists. With links to the emphasis on self-determination in the global Black Power movement, Black

Power in Aotearoa localise these goals, with mana motuhake and the reclamation of indigeneity guiding ideals in the context within which the rōpū operates.

It is important to note that to correlate Māori mana motuhake and the global Black Power movement has the potential to minimise the indigenous sovereignty that comes with Black Power here in Aotearoa, and that mana motuhake and Black Power are not entirely comparable (Shilliam, 2012). This chapter aims to outline the ways in which traditions and symbolism of global Black Power are in parallel to how they have been localised and reindigenised in Aotearoa by Black Power, with te ao Māori being one of the kaitiaki for localising the global Black Power movement. As described by Shilliam (2012), we must explore the ways in which people have listened to and reinterpreted the global call for Black Power (p. 107), which this chapter will explore in-depth through the kōrero of members within Black Power in Aotearoa.

The Global to the Local

“The global history of Black Power is more than the story of the overseas diffusion of an American movement. It is the story of many interwoven, at times fraught, and often surprising relationships between Black Power activists and their ideas throughout the world” (Slate, 2012, p. 1).

There are conflicting statements surrounding the influence the global Black Power movement has had on Black Power in Aotearoa, statements which can be resolved by the kōrero from members themselves, who state the ways in which the global movement, and the symbols with which it embodies have inspired and generated new ways of expressing the kaupapa of Black Power within their own rōpū. The history of the origin of Black Power in Aotearoa confirms the global influence, with the founder, Reitu Harris, noting the global movement of Black Power as the inspiration for the name and symbolic upraised fist used by the group, specifically Nelson Mandela (Shilliam, 2015), Martin Luther King Jr., and Malcolm X (Payne & Quinn, 1991), the story of origin outlined as the following:

“The Mongrel Mob members grouped together and challenged the youths who sought to protect the girl, chanting: ‘We are the Mongrel Mob / Who are you?’ One of the youths retorted defiantly: ‘We are Black Power!’ Inspired by the images from

America's Civil Rights Movement, the gang adopted the clenched fist as their symbol as well as a 'Yo! Yo!' rallying cry" (Gilbert, 2013b, p. 61).

The late Bill Maung, Black Power's political advisor, describes Harris growing up amongst the media coverage of the Civil Rights Movement, and discovering the ways in which he could relate to this movement and racial injustice globally (Payne & Quinn, 1991). 1966 saw the Black Power movement in the USA specifically defined as "a movement for racial solidarity, cultural pride, and self-determination" (Joseph, 2009, p. 755), evidently not lost on Harris and the creation of Black Power. This movement crossed borders to Aotearoa, emphasised by Eugene in his kōrero about USA influence.

"Just like a lot of things that came out of the States and overseas - music, culture, religion...it all had an impact on Aotearoa at different levels I 'spose."

- Eugene

Since the call for Black Power by Stokely Carmichael, the movement has grown, adapted, and been reinterpreted locally and regionally in the USA (Joseph, 2009) – which has meant flow on effects globally in how Black Power has presented itself in other localised contexts, such as in Aotearoa, highlighted by Eugene's kōrero. The influence from the USA in particular, with the country grounded in settler colonialism, with the slavery and exploitation of African Americans, is described by Shilliam (2012) as overlapping with the dispossession of indigenous peoples and their land, cultures, spirits and lives – especially in Aotearoa (p. 121). The movement of Black Power in the USA has been one of the most influential forms of Black Power (Slate, 2012), seen to be a bold, true symbol of defiance, as it broke away from what was seen as a more 'civil' movement in the Civil Rights Movement (Joseph, 2009). This revolutionary element influenced Black Power in Aotearoa to join the fight against racial injustices in a way which was in-line with the unapologetic nature of the uprising of the global Black Power movement (Joseph, 2009). Eugene describes how one group, the Black Panthers, were part of this global influence that provided inspiration for how Black Power made sense of and paralleled this global kaupapa in Aotearoa.

"Because of the development of the Black Panthers to Black Power, that kind of helped us easily move into that space. Now whilst we were not, I 'spose, not all of us were aware of the Black Power movement outside of Aotearoa, we were aware that there was a Black Power movement inside Aotearoa. And we related that to black people. And I remember in the '80s, there were very few people in Aotearoa from African

nations, but those that were here, that we engaged with, we considered our brothers and sisters. You know, and we would, like we'd see someone, could've been from Somalia and we're like 'Yo brotha!', and they'd be like 'Yo bro!' you know."

- Eugene

What Eugene is referring to is the Black Panther Party in the USA, deemed a social movement that was able to create social change and transformation in the USA through the kaupapa of the global Black Power movement – a movement for racial justice through social, political, cultural and economic transformation (Joseph, 2009, p. 753). Eugene's kōrero on how the development of Black Panthers to Black Power aided in the creation of the group in Aotearoa is a clear argument against the notion that the rōpū has no political influence at its origin, when evidently the Black Panther Party is a political party representative of the global Black Power movement. What Eugene also highlights is the connection between those who have a shared experience of racial injustice, and how this brought awareness to the global movement that gained momentum locally. The symbolic kaupapa of the Black Power movement was empowerment, political self-determination, and racial solidarity in the shared knowledge of oppression (Joseph, 2009, p. 753). This is seen in how Eugene describes black people globally as being Black Power in Aotearoa's "*brothers and sisters*", finding shared experience in racial injustice, and creating a movement that then grounded itself in the fight against these injustices in Aotearoa.

The global Black Power movement originates from all over, with the fight for freedom by African Americans, to the anti-slavery movement, to Gandhi (Slate, 2012), to presenting itself in Aotearoa in forms such as the anti-apartheid protests in relation the Springboks Tour 1981, to the Polynesian Panthers (Shilliam, 2015), to Bob Marley and Keskidee Aroha – specifically of note for Black Power:

"If you think about Bob Marley's influence in the 70s and the fact that he was sitting at Denis' house having a cup of tea...we saw that as a, I 'spose, felt like where we wanted to be, you know. And we knew that we weren't, we're kind of disconnected with our own people here, but we still, wanted to be leaders in our own lives. You know, so having those, the likes of Keskidee and Marley and that...I 'spose acknowledging that we are something. That played a huge, huge role on us as a movement you know."

- Eugene

Eugene's kōrero highlights one of the ways in which the global Black Power movement had a profound impact here in Aotearoa. As mentioned by Eugene, Denis O'Reilly having Bob Marley at his "*house having a cup of tea*" was significant for Black Power in Aotearoa in that they saw an inspirational figure, who was a kaitiaki for global Black Power, connecting with the rōpū on a level that many do not – sitting down and conversing with a fellow member (Gilbert, 2013b). Marley visited Aotearoa one month before the Keskidee Aroha tour – what Eugene is referring to when he mentions Keskidee. The impact of roots reggae on gangs, and especially Māori and Pasifika members, is crucial, with members resonating in particular with the RasTafari concept of the 'soul rebel', a form of anti-establishment (Shilliam, 2015). Reggae is steeped in similar history to that of mana motuhake in Aotearoa, originating from Rastafarian resistance to the caste system in Jamaica, and Marley in particular applied this to the struggles of those in Africa also, with an overarching message of freedom and the core message of Marley's music to embrace one's 'black dignity' (Fared, 1998). Roots reggae spoke to many with its undertones of activism and reconnection with one's culture or whakapapa, with Marley and his music being described as "a revitalization of the very notion of *tikanga* itself" (Shilliam, 2015, p. 114). This speaks to the historical significance with which Eugene discusses Marley's influence in Aotearoa, and that having Marley connected with one of their own members, Denis, helped not only to signify that Black Power was an important rōpū in Aotearoa, but that connections were being made between what Marley represented and how the global kaupapa of Black Power could be enacted locally. This also brings to the fore Eugene's kōrero of how the global symbolism and inspiration from the Black Power movement has helped the original disconnection that many members of Black Power felt with their whakapapa – their taha Māori – with Marley's music paralleling these concepts.

Eugene also highlights Keskidee – referring to the Keskidee Aroha collective from the Keskidee centre. The Keskidee centre in London was created to aid young African-Caribbean people to reconnect with their whakapapa, and so was intrinsically linked to Aotearoa in this sense (through the concept of whakapapa), and the centre worked alongside local communities, developing the Black theatre group 'Keskidee', who focused on the global Black Power movement (Shilliam, 2015). Denis O'Reilly was one of several activists who founded the Keskidee Aroha collective in Aotearoa, a collective made up of members from Ngā Tamatoa, the Polynesian Panthers and other community activists (Shilliam, 2015). The organisers of the 'Keskidee Aroha' collective saw an opportunity to confront the issues of social disparity in Aotearoa with a "cultural renewal through a decolonial agenda. And for this purpose,

identification with Blackness through an artistic register might serve as the ‘catalyst’” (Shilliam, 2015, p. 90). The purpose of the Keskidee Aroha collective was to ‘nurture the soul’ with like-minded activists, and the collective linked the African-American concept of soul to the Māori concept of wairua, therefore grounding the collective in a te ao Māori framework (Shilliam, 2015). The Keskidee Aroha collective set up a tour, “a political history of *mana motuhake*” (Shilliam, 2015, p. 95), with the start of the tour beginning in Te Hāpua, where the 1975 Land March began. The tour embodied *mana motuhake*, with a keen focus on embracing one’s whakapapa, and affected communities where this need was prominent (Shilliam, 2015). Denis reflected on Bob Marley’s visit to Aotearoa on his blog in 2009, reflecting on why reggae connected with so many, and writing that he believed that the “Keskidee Aroha project provided a useful cultural dynamic at a crucial time” (O’Reilly, 2009, February 1), with Eugene’s kōrero outlining the role of this global Black Power movement in influencing the rōpū in Aotearoa. The presence of the global Black Power movement through Keskidee Aroha and Bob Marley in Aotearoa was a significant element of Black Power in Aotearoa in strengthening the ties between the global and local movement. The personal connection between Bob Marley, a central figure of Black Power movements internationally, and Denis O’Reilly, amongst the most influential early members of Black Power in Aotearoa, points to the intimate relationship between the global and the local at a formative stage in the group’s development. This relationship was overtly political – formed in the context of attempts by Keskidee Aroha to mobilise artistic expression as part of movements for decolonisation, of which Black Power was strongly connected to.

Reinterpreting Black Power and the Upraised Fist

Early studies of gangs found that the choices surrounding the name, traditions and symbols denote the kaupapa of the rōpū and hold significant meaning in what they represent to members, both individually and as a collective (Thrasher, 1927). Black Power as a movement is diverse in its meanings and this just emphasises the impact of this movement globally, having the ability to be reinterpreted by different communities in how ‘Black Power’ is represented (Slate, 2012). This is demonstrated in Black Power in Aotearoa, whose choice of their name by founder Reitu Harris has been reinterepreted by members to link strongly to te ao Māori while tied to the global kaupapa, seen in their use of te ao Māori concepts and kupu Māori when defining Black Power:

“Well to me, Black Power means brotherhood. Whanaungatanga... We've always been about that you know.”

- Ngapari

“Black Power. What does Black Power mean to me? Mana tu, mana ora, mana ake. That's what Black Power means to me. Mana tu, mana ora, mana ake - determine your future, determine your own destiny.”

- TK

“Rangatiratanga. Is what it means to me...it means being in control of one's own future.”

- Eugene

What is seen here is members Ngapari, TK and Eugene defining ‘Black Power’ through a te ao Māori lens: whanaungatanga; mana tu, mana ora, mana ake; and rangatiratanga. Whanaungatanga can be translated as “relationship, kinship, sense of family connection – a relationship through shared experiences and working together which provides people with a sense of belonging” (Moorfield, 2022). Ngapari’s kōrero on Black Power as a brotherhood – a collective through shared experience and belonging, with the word ‘whanaungatanga’ significant in te ao Māori, speaks to the importance of Black Power as a whānau, a collective. It demonstrates how the call for Black Power has been heard and interpreted in Aotearoa (Shilliam, 2012), taking the global definition of solidarity in the collective and relocating it locally – through whanaungatanga emulating the global concepts in its meaning of shared experiences and belonging – but also Black Power in Aotearoa’s own goal of being seen as and operating as an iwi, a whānau, not a gang (Shilliam, 2012). This is described by Shilliam (2012) as the “whānau renaissance” (p. 120) of Black Power.

TK’s definition of Black Power as “*mana tu, mana ora, mana ake*” is based on a type of call, or karanga, created by Black Power Movement Whakatāne and Te Tini o Meketū – meaning “*self-discovery, define your own path and maintain that path*” – summarised by TK as “*determine your future, determine your own destiny*”. This meaning of Black Power from TK is similar to Eugene’s kōrero on the definition – with the meaning of rangatiratanga including “chieftainship, right to exercise authority, chiefly autonomy, chiefly authority, ownership, leadership of a social group” and “sovereignty, principality, self-determination,

self-management” (Moorfield, 2022). These meanings outlined by TK and Eugene correlate to the global Black Power kaupapa of self-determination, localised in Aotearoa as mana motuhake, which can be seen clearly in the concepts of determining and being in control of your future and destiny from Eugene and TK’s definitions. These meanings by Ngapari, TK and Eugene speak to the ways in which members of Black Power are reinterpreting the meaning to fit the rōpū as one of the indigenous sources of Black Power represented in Aotearoa.

The upraised fist adopted by Black Power in Aotearoa on members’ patches and used as a communication symbol amongst members is more nuanced than a simple replication of the USA Black Power political fist (Shilliam, 2012), incorrectly deemed as purely a “borrowed” symbol (Newbold & Taonui, 2011, p. 177). The Black Power fist icon (Shilliam, 2012) demonstrates the origin of Black Power in Aotearoa as a political rōpū due to the inspiration drawn from global political movements. The upraised fist is a global protest symbol of solidarity, resistance and defiance (“Collecting Challenging Histories...”, 2017), encompassing the symbolism of Black Power and its “ethos of self-determination and anchored in a dogged quest for political power” (Joseph, 2009, p. 775), with Ngapari highlighting the importance of the symbolism behind the fist for Black Power in Aotearoa:

“Denis tried to, you know, um instill to us about...it's not just a fist, you know it has a kōrero about it.”

- Ngapari

As Ngapari notes, Denis has helped to pass on the kōrero of the fist to fellow members, instilling in them the history of the symbol used to this day, along with its significance in relation to the kaupapa of Black Power in Aotearoa, which parallels to its global use and symbolism. The upraised fist is most closely associated with Black Power/the Civil Rights Movement in the USA, and the anti-apartheid movement in South Africa (Osei-Kofi, Licon & Chávez, 2018). The fist is a global historical symbol that combines both radical-political symbolism and has been adopted, used, and interpreted by Black Power in Aotearoa in a variety of ways (Brotherton & Barrios, 2004). Bongee expands on Ngapari’s kōrero on the history of the fist and describes the ways in which the global symbolism of Black Power has been adopted in Aotearoa, combining the global and local connection in the symbol of the fist.

“Symbolic to - that guy in the Olympics raising the left fist, feet on the ground - so when you align that with our culture it's exactly the same - 'cause Papatūānuku is very very

important to people you know, but the raised fist is defined. So we acknowledge that that was the path that we took, you know it was sorta like 'f the world' blah blah...so the early Blacks looked at that fist, also we were more-, we analysed it a lot more... symbolic to the fist, the left and the right, and then you throw the right over to the American power to the people you know, but, both of them had violent connotations."

- Bongee

Bongee describes the significant and historic moment in the 1968 Summer Olympics in Mexico City seeing Tommie Smith and John Carlos – two African American athletes – raising their fists on the podium where they received their medals as the USA national anthem played, in solidarity with the ongoing injustices for people of colour globally (Helligar, 2021; Osei-Kofi et al., 2018). Bongee draws a connection between this historic moment of the upraised fist being beamed around the world, and Papatūānuku – with the feet of Tommie Smith and John Carlos grounded on Papatūānuku as they display the symbol that represents the fight against racial injustice (Osei-Kofi et al., 2018). Papatūānuku is the 'earth mother', and of profound importance in te ao Māori (Royal, 2007a). Papatūānuku gave birth to all life and provides the soil and earth with which all beings grow – with the concept of, and physical manifestation of, land in te ao Māori holding huge significance (Royal, 2007a). Papatūānuku is the foundation in te ao Māori, and is linked to tūrangawaewae – a place to stand, described by Royal (2007a) as "in the Māori world view, much of life is about finding one's tūrangawaewae, one's foundation and place in the world".

These concepts of Papatūānuku and tūrangawaewae being linked to the upraised fist demonstrate the ways in which the global symbol of the fist has been represented in Aotearoa by Black Power. Bongee notes that Black Power analysed the fist a lot more, and acknowledged "*that that was the path that we took*" in using the upraised fist, but that they have associated its symbolism with concepts aligning with the kaupapa of global *and* local Black Power – such as the aforementioned "ethos of self-determination" (Joseph, 2009, p. 775) of the fist, and the mana motuhake that connecting with one's tūrangawaewae represents (Royal, 2007a). The symbolism attached to the upraised fist for Black Power in Aotearoa, finding one's place in the world through connecting the fist to tūrangawaewae, is a strong indicator of the global meeting the local.

Te Tini o Meketū – The Multitudes of the Upraised Fist

This section looks at the reinterpretation of Black Power taking place within the Whakatāne chapter of the group – within which TK and Bongee are both māngai. This chapter of Black Power is around 30 years into a 100 year movement of transforming the Black Power Movement in the region, which began through a hui in 1992 with the kaupapa of “*where to from now?*”, as TK describes. The movement began due to change, “*it was change*” says Bongee, who was a key figure at the genesis of the movement. This movement is in action through mahi that includes, for example, holding regular wānanga as a stepping stone to creating their own kura – on a hīkoi to enact the goals of the movement outlined by TK as “*taha Māori, whānau, education*”. In another key example of global Black Power symbolism being reworked to guide local activism in Aotearoa, members call this movement “Te Tini o Meketū”, which is translated into English as “The Multitudes of the Upraised Fist”, further translated and transformed to fit the kaupapa of the rōpū as “Solidarity In Action”. Here is how TK and Bongee describe the meaning of Te Tini o Meketū:

“Toi. You’ll hear that word Te Tini o Toi. Te Tini o Toi is the multitudes of Toi...he had hundreds of kids, so Te Tini is multitudes and so we replace Toi with Meketū – so the multitudes of the upraised fist.”

- Bongee

“The multitudes of the upraised fists. So when you bring it all together ay you can only get movement.”

- Bongee

“For us now what we’ve gone and done is we’ve gone and added something else to that and Te Tini o Meketū now means for us – Solidarity In Action – nē. But for us, so as going back to what I was saying about us seeing ourselves and moving and thinking and operating as an iwi, that’s our iwi – is Te Tini o Meketū.”

- TK

Drawing on the language of “Te Tini o Meketū”, both Bongee and TK link the upraised fist to the Māori figure of Toi, or Toitehuatahi, a prestigious Māori ancestor, and important tangata whenua and tīpuna (Royal, 2005). There is a story of ‘Te Tini o Toi’ – Toi’s multitudes – who lived in Aotearoa before the canoes of Te Arawa, Tainui, and Mātaatua arrived (Royal,

2005). Toi is said to be closely tied to Whakatāne (Royal, 2005), with the te reo Māori name for the Bay of Plenty being Te Moana-a-Toitehuatahi. This deep connection with the whenua aligns with the connection of Te Tini o Meketū based in Whakatāne, alongside Māori whakapapa to Toi and their own reinterpretation that relates to the rōpū itself. The significance of the name Te Tini o Meketū in the connection between global and local Black Power is that Te Tini o Meketū translated from te reo Māori is “The Multitudes of the Upraised Fist” – signifying the links between this rōpū and global Black Power in the use of the fist, but then reinterpreted as “Solidarity In Action”. This reinterpretation is a crucial element in demonstrating how Black Power is localising the global movement– as essentially Te Tini o Meketū has two meanings, both combining the global and the local while working towards a locally contextualised, indigenous, manifestation of Black Power.

What also holds importance in this rōpū and the ways in which Black Power is being localised, is the connection Te Tini o Meketū has with their whakapapa and whenua, something that members of Black Power, many having come from state care, have not previously been connected to. It is well documented that the very origin of many gangs in Aotearoa can be traced back to state care (Stanley, 2016) and the mistreatment of particularly Māori boys, as well as the urbanisation of Māori (Shilliam, 2012) leading to the formation of rōpū in which they found solace in shared experiences (McRae, 2019). This is described by Eugene when discussing older Black Power members as “*they were the legends that had walked the halls that I’d walked, and had survived*” – the halls here referring to those of state care/boys’ homes. The origin stories of how members of Black Power became members have a distinctive theme – a forced dislocation from whenua and whānau through colonisation – emphasised by Bongee who notes “*you gotta understand that our people were disconnected from their lands*”. As put by Roguski (2019), this disconnection from whenua and whānau led to “identities often developed through metaphorical family structures, rather than biological affiliations, that were unified through a history of state care, a combination of criminalised labelling, a resistance to authority and social exclusion. It was within this context that the Mongrel Mob and Black Power developed” (p. 82). Te Tini o Meketū is a movement in which they are ‘coming home’ to their origin, their whakapapa, referenced by Bongee in his kōrero below.

“Colonisation created this. Ah they created it, and there's no turning back ... you've created all these monsters so all we need to do is assemble ourselves...in our manner, in our space, in our ways, and to be considered.”

- Bongee

This ‘coming home’ is emphasised by Bongee in his kōrero, with colonisation having played a significant role in the creation of these groups we deem to be gangs, and so Te Tini o Meketū is redefining Black Power in assembling themselves in a manner which brings them back to a space which they were disconnected from due to colonisation – their taha Māori, their whenua and their whānau. The ways in which Te Tini o Meketū has combined the global symbolism of Black Power in the upraised fist – meketū – with the important whakapapa of Toi in connecting to the name of the movement and to the rohe in which Te Tini o Meketū is situated, demonstrates the further localising of this movement in bringing back members to what they have lost, and is evident in all aspects contributing to the creation of Te Tini o Meketū. The reinterpretation of this rōpū as ‘Solidarity In Action’ in the localised manifestation of Black Power in Aotearoa and the ways in which this rōpū are redefining the concept of ‘gang’, creating their own movement, is described by Bongee as creating *“our own iwis”* and TK as *“understanding where we fit into our own whānau nucleus”*, demonstrating the ways that indigenous men in particular are questioning how colonialism has impacted their way of life, choosing instead to re-examine their indigenous identities (Anderson & Innes, 2015). This also speaks to the way in which Black Power as a global movement has the prominent kaupapa of fighting white supremacy, colonisation, racial injustice – and by Te Tini o Meketū reclaiming what has been lost from many members of Black Power (Payne & Quinn, 1991), they are continuing this fight and embodying the kaupapa of the global movement – they are *solidarity in action*.

TK’s father – Paora – alongside Bongee and other rangatira of Black Power Movement Whakatāne, were key figures in the move to creating a movement that reclaimed indigeneity and localised Black Power in Aotearoa. TK describes his father’s journey below:

“And he goes like this, ‘let’s try something that belongs to us, but we’ve never gone there before’ and they went ‘what’s that’ and he says ‘our taha Māori’. And all the bros looked at him, not all, some of the bros looked at him and went ‘What the fuck?! Ay! How the fuck does that fit into this world?’ he anticipated that answer...so he goes,

‘well, I commit me, my wife and my children to going out to seek the knowledge and then we will bring it back’.”

- TK

This hīkoi of reindigenisation TK speaks of has been crucial in Te Tini o Meketū moving to what has been mooted over the years of Black Power and other ‘gangs’ operating more as a whānau, a hapū, an iwi (Roguski, 2019; Bradley, 2020; Jackson, 2021), and grounding themselves in this whānau-based paradigm. However as TK said, Te Tini o Meketū have been operating as such, but now have their own terminology for it. Having Paora as a kaitiaki of this movement and being a visionary for the rōpū, furthering the hīkoi in embracing te taha Māori, is reminiscent of Bill Maung’s aforementioned kōrero on the potential and possibilities for Black Power:

“Black Power has got three things which are necessary for any political organisation to succeed: they’ve got organisation, discipline and courage. And with these three things they should be able to set up, not a political party so much as a political movement, which will bring the Māori people back to what they have lost ... which is their mana.” (Payne & Quinn, 1991, p. 123).

Te Tini o Meketū, as described by TK, exemplifies Maung’s kōrero, already engaged in the creation of a movement in connecting with their taha Māori, and honouring the hīkoi that Paora went on in order to raise the consciousness of and provide for the rōpū. As stated by TK, they are “*tangata whenua tuatahi*” – people of Aotearoa first and foremost. To enact the move to operating as an iwi, a hapū, a whānau, is the natural way for this rōpū. A move beyond being a ‘gang’, which is a concept not aligning with their kaupapa, and instead more so with a localised form of the global Black Power movement, a rōpū challenging racial injustice through the reclamation of indigeneity in a whānau-paradigm.

One of the ways in which this rōpū are reinterpreting the global symbolism at the origin of Black Power is through the patch. This has involved adopting new meanings entrenched in te ao Māori, such as Bongee’s earlier kōrero on the fist being an uprising from the grounding of Papatūānuku. TK’s following kōrero describing the patch demonstrates further the ways in which Black Power has adopted the global Black Power political fist, and reinterpreted it in a localised context. The patch of Black Power Movement Whakatāne (part of the collective that is Te Tini o Meketū) is a black leather patch, with a circle on this patch encompassing a black and white upraised fist on a white background surrounded by blue, above this the words

BLACK POWER (with a star in-between the words BLACK and POWER) in black lettering on a white background, and the word MOVEMENT below the fist, in black lettering on a white background. TK describes the meaning behind this patch below:

“This is what our patch talks about – that star there...if you understand the story of Tāne, when he ascended to the heavens to obtain the baskets of knowledge, this is what that star represents. Your goals, your future.”

- TK

“This is what the fist means to us Black Power Movement Te Tini o Meketū. The fist represents te ira tangata – that speaks to the journey taken in order to obtain the knowledge and achieve your goals. That’s what the fist represents to us, that’s us on our journey.”

- TK

The story that TK speaks of is the story of Tāne, which can be intrinsically linked to the power of the fist and the political element of Tāne gathering baskets of knowledge, raising the consciousness of his people. Tāne, in te ao Māori, is the figure who separated earth and sky – or his māmā and pāpā, Ranginui (the sky father) and Papatūānuku (the earth mother) – and is representative of “masculinity and action in the world” (Royal, 2007b). Poignantly, this representation of masculinity and action links to the origins of Black Power and the global political movement involving men of colour and indigenous men taking action on the inequities in society. TK’s kōrero also notes the reinterpretation that does away with the violent connotations of the clenched fist, which was previously noted by Bongee, as the clenched fist has often been associated with violence and increasingly utilised by white supremacists and ‘white power’ (Helligar, 2021), which detracts from the origin of solidarity it was intended for – predominantly for the fight against racial injustice. By reindigenising the fist, this takes the origin of solidarity and brings it into the context of Aotearoa and Black Power’s adoption of global symbolism made to uniquely fit the rōpū.

Shilliam (2012) explored the ways in which Black Power in Aotearoa are instructive in how they have been making sense of settler colonialism through what Shilliam (2012) describes as “survival strategies against racism and colonialism” (p. 108), in their actions as a rōpū. Specifically, that Black Power’s “strategy for family survival as an answer to colonial dispossession is crucial for better understanding the relationship between Black Power (as a broad movement and ideology) and indigenous self-determination” (p. 108). This ‘family

survival’ can be seen in the formation of and continued presence of Te Tini o Meketū. This rōpū has created their own survival strategies against racism and colonialism (Shilliam, 2012), upholding the kaupapa of the global Black Power movement, through the genesis of a movement that reclaims their whakapapa, their tūrangawaewae, and their whenua. Stokely Carmichael defined Black Power in 1966 as a way “to unite, to recognize their heritage, to build a sense of community. It is a call for black people to define their own goals, to lead their own organizations” (Joseph, 2009, p. 756). Black Power’s creation of Te Tini o Meketū – Solidarity In Action, is a localised embodiment of this definition, a rōpū connecting with their heritage/whakapapa, building their own community/movement, and defining their own goals/kaupapa as a collective.

Conclusion

“Te Tini o Meketū”, the namesake of this chapter, depicts the many facets of how the global Black Power movement presents itself in the Black Power rōpū in Aotearoa, the multitudes of ways in which it represents solidarity amongst the collective. Elements of Black Power in Aotearoa have clearly been inspired by the global Black Power movement in many ways, demonstrated by the kōrero from members in this chapter. The global Black Power movement and the key figures within it has created a platform for the localised manifestations of the global symbols, such as self-determination reinterpreted as the reclamation of whakapapa, mana motuhake and te taha Māori from Black Power in Aotearoa.

The upraised fist being the key symbol connecting all global Black Power movements, a symbol of solidarity, of a political uprising, a stand against injustice, demonstrates the core kaupapa of Black Power here in Aotearoa – a rōpū intrinsically linked to the call for solidarity with Black Power globally. This chapter has journeyed from the global to local, from Keskidee and Bob Marley travelling to Aotearoa, performing and highlighting the parallel struggles that were felt and heard by those in Aotearoa searching for their own form of self-determination – mana motuhake, to the global meaning of Black Power reinterpreted in te ao Māori, and of the upraised fist reindigenised with some Black Power members grounding the fist in Papatūānuku and Tāne. These global influences have been in parallel to the growing movement of the rōpū Te Tini o Meketū, with Black Power Whakatāne coming home to their whakapapa, operating as a whānau, hapū, iwi – being “*tangata whenua tuatahi*”, which demonstrates the development of inspiration from the global movement and the fight against racial injustice, to

the manifestation of a localised Black Power in the form of their own mana motuhake movement.

Not only does the name of the group ‘Te Tini of Meketū’/‘The Multitudes of the Upraised Fist’ indicate its parallels to the global fight against racial injustice through the Black Power movement, but the actions of this group – through reconnecting with their whakapapa, their taha Māori, their indigeneity – demonstrates the solidarity with their “*brothers and sisters*” globally (as noted by Eugene) who are fighting this same fight in the reclamation of what has been taken from them. Despite arguments that Black Power is disconnected from the influence of the global movement, this chapter illustrates how the multitudes of the upraised fist, the multitudes of Black Power symbolism that exist across the world, have been localised in a uniquely indigenous way in Aotearoa by the Black Power rōpū, finding self-determination/mana motuhake in the development of their own subcultural elements – epitomising solidarity in action.

Chapter 4:

“We Were Part Of A Pretty Conscious Political Crew” – Social Movement Practices within Black Power in Aotearoa

Chapter title quote attributed to Denis O'Reilly

The formation and continued presence of Black Power in Aotearoa is evidence of the influence and long-lasting effects of the global Black Power movement and is a testament to the ways in which Black Power in Aotearoa have adopted the methods of social movements. Yet, lacking from both gang literature and social movement literature is the acknowledgement of the political potential of gangs, and the social movement-specific methods they have utilised (Brotherton & Barrios, 2004). In Martínez's (2003) analysis of urban street activists in Los Angeles, he outlines clearly the three major schools of thought that have dominated the gang research sphere:

“the underclass discourse, the culture-of-poverty paradigm, and the deviant-psychopaths model.... In contrast, a more humanistic, traditional approach to the study of gangs has focused on their organization aspects, the politics of culture, and the institutional transformation of gangs.” (p. 98).

Moving away from previous discourse, in what this thesis has deemed the orthodox approach: gangs as criminal organisations, this chapter will focus on the ‘humanistic’ approach to gangs, coined in this thesis as the alternative approach: gangs as social movements. It will be explored in this chapter how Black Power has evolved in their development of institutional transformation and politicisation in becoming a social movement, with kōrero from members/collaborative researchers.

The definition of a social movement for this analysis will be drawn largely from Geschwender (1971), and his work *The Black Revolt: the civil rights movement, ghetto uprisings, and separatism*. Geschwender (1971) defines a social movement as:

“a continuing, collective attempt to restructure some basic segment of the social order through means other than institutionalized channels. As such, a social movement encompasses both organized and unorganized elements working toward a common objective” (p. 2.).

This definition will be the basis for the following analysis of the ways in which Black Power has adopted political and social movement techniques. As was outlined in the literature review of this thesis in the alternative approach to gangs, the evolution of the Almighty Latin King and Queen Nation (ALKQN) and their transformation from gang to social movement can be compared to the path of Black Power in its similar adoption of social movement techniques (Brotherton & Barrios, 2004), and this comparison will be a particular focus in this chapter. In arguing against the misinformed rhetoric of the lack of potential political of gangs, Brotherton and Barrios' (2004) work with ALKQN highlights that there is an antiestablishment essence to gangs, but an unexplored area is the cultural phenomenon relating to the philosophical understandings of radicalism that many members have in empowering others who are in a similar position in society. It seems that only the 'middle class' or acceptable social movements are afforded the ability to have these philosophical understandings, and social change agents of what are thought of as an 'underclass', or gangs, are not afforded this ability (Brotherton & Barrios, 2004). This analysis will demonstrate the complexities and philosophies in the symbolism, politics, evolution and leadership that have all created the evolving social movement that is Black Power, and the members who have led this change.

Black Power's Adoption of Social Movement Techniques

The study of resistance movements in relation to a gang, or a 'street organisation', transitioning to a social movement can be seen in the evolution of ALKQN. ALKQN worked hard to "elevate the organization from a street subculture to an anti-establishment community force" (Brotherton, 2006, p. 264), which in this chapter will be identified in Black Power, using the *kōrero* from members to demonstrate evidence of an evolving social movement, as well as the inherent political nature at the origin of the *rōpū*. Brotherton (2006) notes the effort amongst ALKQN to transform the group, with many members already facing marginalisation based on their Latino/a ethnicity, which similarly correlates to Black Power and the added marginalisation of being predominantly Māori, who have faced ongoing discrimination in Aotearoa. This is demonstrated by what Tamatea (2017) outlines as 'triple minority' status for members of gangs due to "(1) the public perception of gangs as intimidating, (2) negative attitudes towards (ex-) offenders, and (3) existing social prejudices towards ethnic minorities" (p. 58), which leads to what Tamatea (2017) calls 'communities on the fringe'. This highlights the perserverance of Black Power and their continued effort in their transitioning to a social

movement and adoption of political movement techniques despite dominant perceptions and beliefs.

Brotherton and Barrios (2004) identified the elements contributing to the transition of gang to social movement for ALKQN as the following:

- The involvement of radical intellectuals
- The evolution of new leadership strata
- The prison-to-street trajectory that avoids parochial turf wars
- The political development of and demands of the female members
- The coexistence of an anticolonial consciousness in the barrio
- The absence of any radical, alternative, political and social movements for the Latino/a working class (p. 25).

These elements can be seen in Black Power and will be outlined in this chapter, adapted slightly to fit more specifically to the rōpū, as: The Involvement of Radical Intellectuals; The Coexistence of an Anticolonial Consciousness; The Political Development of Black Power in response to the Wāhine; and The Evolution of New Leadership Strata: Social Change Agents & The Kahukura. In utilising the work of ALKQN in their move towards a social movement, the definitional model created by Brotherton and Barrios (2004) in describing ALKQN's elements of such social movement will be compared to the elements of how Black Power operates as a social movement throughout this chapter. The following analysis highlights the elements that have contributed to the political uprising and political conscientisation of Black Power, as they evolve and adapt with changing kaupapa, guided by social change agents' expertise and mentorship.

The Involvement of Radical Intellectuals

Radical intellectuals as part of a street organisation/gang transitioning to a social movement is crucial and has been almost a requirement in the majority of social movements in history – with advice, guidance and strategy from experience being key elements of furthering movements (Brotherton, 2006). When describing how ALKQN began their journey in

transitioning from a gang and becoming a social movement, Brotherton and Barrios (2004) note their initial struggle in finding inspiration from individuals and groups who were in a similar position to them, and who had succeeded in the plight against ‘the system’. In finding inspiration, they were validated and comforted somewhat by those who had come before them – such as those in the Black Panther Party – who had protested and rallied against similar battles they were facing (Brotherton & Barrios, 2004). In particular, ALKQN had what Brotherton and Barrios (2004) deem “organic intellectuals” (p. 160) – radical activists and social actors who assist in the politicisation of the group, and who were not only knowledgeable in social movement action but also worked in what Bongee often describes as “*the trenches*”, or the *barrio* in the case of ALKQN, meaning the grassroots and ground level of the membership. There are four types of organic intellectuals – the authentic radical, the theoretically informed radical, the radical as trainer, and the spiritual radical. Black Power has its own organic intellectuals, the first being the late Bill Maung who can be identified as ‘the radical as trainer’, a role defined as a person with experience in external social movements assisting in the politicisation of a gang (Brotherton & Barrios, 2004), echoed in *kōrero* from Bongee and Eugene:

“But we became involved in politics, and then anyway having an ex-Burmese gentleman whose name was Bill Maung...”

- Bongee

“Bill Maung contributed a lot to our families. 'Cause he couldn't understand why Māoris were fighting Māoris. And so he put a lot of emphasis on the youth of time, and we were that youth of that time, not fully understanding where the hell we came from and what created us.”

- Bongee

“Bill Maung...he changed my thinking in a big way.”

- Eugene

“He was the political advisor as I understood it, of the Black Power.”

- Eugene

As is seen in Bongee and Eugene's kōrero, a large influence in Black Power's political activism in Aotearoa was Bill Maung (Shilliam, 2012), an activist and magistrate from Burma (Gilbert, 2013b). Viewed by many as a mentor and in raising the political consciousness of those within gangs in Aotearoa, Maung was crucial in influencing the outspoken nature with which Black Power now utilises in their stances on political issues, outlined earlier in this thesis in literature of Black Power's political activism (Shilliam, 2012). Denis O'Reilly has described Bill Maung's life as "a ceaseless quest for justice and truth" (O'Reilly, 2011, June 1). The kōrero from Bongee and Eugene depicts a key component of politicisation – having a significant figure or an inspirational figure assisting in this process for the rōpū. Bill Maung's organic intellectual role as 'the radical as trainer' was similar to the mentorship received by ALKQN from their radical as trainer – a former member of the Harlem Black Panthers – who provided support in the form of strategy and leadership development (Brotherton & Barrios, 2004). Bill Maung's role similarly saw his knowledge of global movements and guidance contribute to the politicisation of Black Power, a common phrase of his being "the ballot not the bullet" (O'Reilly, 2011, June 1), encouraging members of Black Power to be engaged politically and to challenge the system first and foremost. Bongee and Eugene's kōrero notes this transfer of knowledge from Bill Maung of social change was enlightening, with the effort that Bill Maung put into the young Black Power and the early political action taken by the rōpū acknowledged as inspired by his sharing of knowledge in particular.

Bill Maung, alongside members of Black Power, pushed for work, sport, better housing, and an awareness of cultural identity within Black Power (Desmond, 2009) – and Black Power began to refer to themselves as "a movement, not a street gang" (Desmond, 2009, p. 163). This explicitly links to Brotherton and Barrios' (2004) definitional model of the move from gang to social movement, *identity*, with this element outlining that the group moves to defining itself as a movement, or something "other than the pejorative label imposed on it by the dominant society" (p. 52), guided by organic intellectuals such as Bill Maung, the radical as trainer.

Black Power's organic intellectuals also include 'the theoretically informed radical', namely Denis O'Reilly, a member of Black Power and skilled in providing practical assistance to any issues facing the rōpū, as well as a deep connection to theory, strategy and philosophy, describing himself as "a sponge for ideas about creating social change" (O'Reilly, 2008, September 1), and expands on this further below:

“Well I pretty quickly became the go-to guy for organising, dealing with cops, dealing with landlords, getting access to medical assistance.”

- Denis

“We'll have kōreros, I'll get them, we were using the board the other day with all these bloody charts of um, you know the write up charts that people have done and we were sort of analysing what fitted where and how could we describe that, and how could you sieve it. And they're all part of that, they're all reading um - 64 Shots - this is um, this is Kevin Roberts.”

- Denis

Denis' kōrero emulates Brotherton and Barrios' (2004) description of ALKQN's theoretically informed radical, someone who consistently provides and facilitates mentorship in the form of trusted relationships and consciousness raising through ideological texts, as well as an element of practicality in facilitating provision of resources otherwise inaccessible to others in the rōpū. This is seen in Denis' kōrero above, in which he actions collective consciousness raising and engagement with texts such as *64 Shots: Leadership in a Crazy World*, written by Saatchi & Saatchi chairman Kevin Roberts – a text which outlines the leadership skills that Roberts has acquired in his lifetime as a business leader. Denis demonstrates the key attributes of a theoretically informed radical in the provision of texts to upskill and politicize members of a social movement, utilising Roberts' text as “a spiritual treatise to assist activists like me [Denis] to combat poverty despair and alienation” (O'Reilly, 2016, June 22), and being inspired by Paulo Freire's book 'Pedagogy of the Oppressed', a text depicting theory behind conscientisation and political action (O'Reilly, 2008, September 1). This, in combination with the practical social action highlighted by Denis that he is able to assist with, exemplify the role of the theoretically informed radical.

The theoretically informed radical assists in raising the consciousness of members, seen in Denis' kōrero of action through leadership facilitation i.e. write up charts, and through events such as the Ōtātara Accord, later deemed 'The Ōtātara Awakening' (Welham, 2016) – in which both Black Power and Mongrel Mob fathers and sons were brought together and Denis noted that “we got people reading pretty deep philosophical literature from Plato – real thinkers – right through to Martin Luther King to Claudia Orange” (Kerr, 2018), demonstrating the impact of global and political texts on Black Power in Aotearoa, brought to life through the political

leadership of members and activists like Denis. In Denis' blog, he expands on the Ōtātara Awakening, noting that John Wareham – an influential figure and author – presented “the life of Malcolm X and the lessons that could be derived thereof. This had a profound impact; the realization that the price to pay for truth and leadership with integrity may well be the ultimate price. We went back to Plato's ‘The Cave’ and the exchange of ideas and insights became fast and furious. We worked our way through a text on the Treaty of Waitangi and then through Martin Luther King's ‘Reply from Birmingham Jail’” (O'Reilly, 2005, May 1). These texts, grounded in political and social action, highlight the impact of Denis' leadership in facilitating the awakening of members of Black Power, utilising his role as a theoretically informed radical with a sense of responsibility in raising the consciousness of other members.

The Coexistence of an Anticolonial Consciousness

A collection of researchers view gangs as groups that are formed from an ‘underclass’ and therefore could never enact social change or gain political traction as they would not represent, or be allowed to represent, wider society due to being an excluded group and stereotyped as apolitical (Brotherton & Barrios, 2004). Denis challenges this, highlighting the ways in which Black Power and its members have been influenced by the radicalism and protest movements surrounding the time of its inception, particularly anti-colonialism.

“We were part of a pretty conscious political crew and remember it was also, you know the ending days of the Vietnam War protests and all that sort of stuff so there was a whole thing of imperialism, anti-imperialism, the whole consciousness you know Pākehā settlers go home...and all that sort of stuff, so, you cannot not have been affected by that, yeah.”

- Denis

The concept of a coexistence of an anticolonial consciousness in the transition from gang to social movement is evident in the ways in which a rōpū like Black Power has built up its awareness of indigenous movements, participating in the uprising against colonisation, highlighted by Denis' kōrero through reference to “*Pākehā settlers go home*” and the political consciousness of Black Power in general. Black Power in Aotearoa can be seen to embody the politicisation of the global movement of Black Power in its participation in protests and social change in Aotearoa. As said by Stokely Carmichael, a key figure of Black Power in the USA,

“political power has to lie within the community” (Blair, 1977, p. 69) – and this is seen in Black Power’s political engagement in predominantly indigenous-led protests, described by Eugene:

“I know in the ‘80s you know our connection with, for example, with the protests, was that we, not only weren’t scared but were keen to be on the front line with bats, bats and helmets you know.”

- Eugene

“Springbok Tour...Bastion Point, Moutoa Gardens...Raglan...there was someone from the Black Power at every one of those. Ah although we, we were not welcome in those spaces - to a certain degree. So they didn’t want gangs, they wanted protesters. So we took off the gang guise and put a helmet on and just looked like everyone else.”

- Eugene

“I know others have different reasons for being there, some had vested interest in the lands that they were protesting about...but others were there because it was a fight against the system, and we wanted to be part of that.”

- Eugene

Eugene’s kōrero demonstrates a key component of political activity within social movements – the embrace of action pertaining to the redistribution of power (Wilkinson, 1971), evident particularly in Black Power’s engagement with social action to fight against the injustices of indigenous or oppressed people. This is not a complete surprise, as gangs have often engaged in anti-establishment action, such as in the 1960s when gangs in Soweto and Chicago in the USA engaged in street protests, militant action, and mass demonstrations (Hagedorn, 2006). This engagement in collective action by gangs in the USA was inspired by the black liberation movements (Hagedorn, 2006) – not dissimilar to Aotearoa wherein Black Power engaged in collective action inspired by both the nature of global Black Power but also the indigenous movements and reclamation of rights for Māori. Research highlighted by Coughlin and Venkatesh (2003) notes that some members’ engagement in gang activity is motivated by their political stance against how their particular culture or ethnic group are discriminated. This is outlined in Eugene’s kōrero of Black Power’s engagement in protests, with a drive to be engaged in anti-establishment, but also having cultural ties to the specific cause at hand. Other political engagement/protest-adjacent activity was mentioned by Denis and Ngapari, with Ngapari noting the “*bro’s in Auckland*” having more to do with the Land

March and Springbok Tour, and Denis noting Amensty Aroha – a group advocating for the injustices faced by who the government at the time deemed as ‘Polynesian overstayers’ – as a cause Black Power was part of. This political engagement demonstrates another element of the definitional model of social movements by Brotherton and Barrios (2004), the element of *perceived adversaries*. This element speaks to a group’s ‘enemy’ and must be beyond the common ‘turf wars’ with other gangs. In the case of Black Power, the enemy is the state, emphasised by their political engagement in indigenous rights and calling on the government to address this.

The Political Development of Black Power in response to the Wāhine

In exploring concepts of a social movement, Wilkinson (1971) describes the word ‘movement’ as being key to the core of the concept. The term ‘movement’ is globally what each group with some form of anti-establishment kaupapa strives for, it denotes change, and Wilkinson’s (1971) description of movements revolving around ‘change’ and ‘movement’ can evidently be seen in Black Power and their developed and evolved relationship with women engaged in the rōpū. As noted by Tamatea (2017), the research and coverage on members of gangs and crime is well-documented, but disengagement or desistance from crime is far less reported. Recounting the changing narrative on wāhine in the gang scene is TK and Eugene:

“So for me it’s about changing the narrative, but not only changing the narrative, changing the way we behave as well. 30 years ago, we never used to behave like this, I can tell you right now – it wasn’t like this. Rape, pillage and plunder.”

- TK

“But there were some that their behaviours I didn’t really aspire to? And some of it were the old-school gangster type behaviours. But I think I was lucky because I came at a time where the thinking started evolving, and it was around, I suppose a need or a want to fill a gap - and the gap was a cultural gap. So in order for that to happen, they had to look differently at themselves, and more importantly, at women. So there was a, there was a notion that it wasn’t cool to hold your partner’s hand you know, and they were chattels, chattels - which is a real colonised kind of view - but it was for them it

was a gangster view. A way of being. So when I came into the scene that started to change.”

- Eugene

In expanding Wilkinson’s (1971) working concept for social movements and change, they define a social movement as “a deliberate collective endeavour to promote change in any direction and by any means” (p. 27). This can be seen in TK and Eugene’s *kōrero* in the commitment to change from what TK describes as “*Rape, pillage and plunder*” and move towards being a more progressive *rōpū*, along with Eugene’s *tautoko* of behaviours that were “*old-school gangster type behaviours*”, with elements of colonisation having impacted members’ actions and views towards *wāhine*. Pip Desmond of the Aroha Trust, a collective for women in gangs that was mainly aligned with Black Power, echoed Eugene’s sentiment about the mistreatment of women – noting that “the boys were too staunch to pay attention or show affection to their partners” (Desmond, 2009, p. 157). The treatment of *wāhine* in Black Power has seen a drastic change overtime and is one of the key developments emulating the progression within social movements, and specifically ALKQN’s journey in this area. ALKQN has seen a similar shift to Black Power in the dynamic between men and women, with the Queens from ALKQN supported by the Kings in their call for a change in the power imbalances, and the move to reduce gendered power hierarchies (Brotherton & Barrios, 2004).

Both TK and Eugene speak of the mistreatment of *wāhine* within Black Power. We cannot overlook the knowledge of group rape, or ‘the block’, and there are many examples of the ways in which gangs have been overtaken by what have been stereotypical “*old-school gangster type*” gang traditions, as referenced by Eugene, which leave little space for growth and social change (Brotherton & Barrios, 2004). However, social movements are not always morally correct, and many movements go through what can be called a teething period as they evolve and change, with recognition of developing morals that can often be contradictory to the beginnings and turning points of the movement (Brotherton & Barrios, 2004). The abuse of *wāhine* was not restricted to gangs or Black Power, and the mistreatment of predominantly *wāhine* Māori in Aotearoa occurred throughout many institutions, organisations, and peer groups (Shilliam, 2012). Black Power is said to be the first gang in Aotearoa that banned rape within the gang, at their 1978 convention in Tokoroa (Gilbert, 2013b), with a move for members to be ‘de-patched’ for rape (Meek, 1992). The Aroha Trust actioned the fight to put a stop to gang rape and argue that this supposed ban in 1977/1978 was unbeknownst to them,

and their involvement only acknowledged in 2008 by Denis O'Reilly on his blog with the following kōrero: "Aroha Trust was one of the gutsiest, most feisty, courageous and generally unknown expressions of women's liberation that this country has seen. These were the women who challenged the Black Power over our attitudes to rape and who, at the end of the day, were responsible for a change in gang behaviour, nationally" (Desmond, 2009, p. 251). Eugene echoes this, and that the ban on rape is down to the "actions of the wāhine in that space" (Jackson, 2021). Women in the Aroha Trust even lodged an historical claim with the Waitangi Tribunal for all Māori women and their whānau who had experienced harm in the gang environment (Desmond, 2009). Black Power created a support group ten years after the ban on rape for those experiencing domestic violence, called *Pae Arahi o Te Manaaki* – the movement toward caring and dignity (Shilliam, 2012). Reitu Harris stated that the rape of women in Black Power used to occur on 'a weekly basis' (Gilbert, 2013b, p. 127), and any rape that occurred from 1978 onwards was dealt with through Black Power restorative justice practices, or on a marae (Gilbert, 2013b) – moving towards the whānau concept as Black Power moved from a 'gang' to more like an 'iwi' (Shilliam, 2012), echoed in kōrero from Bongee and TK.

"The new focus has turned back on the families....gang members putting more, investing more into their families - their wives, their partners. 'Cause at the end of the day ay you know, as proud and loud as we are, we're still number 2 in our house."

- Bongee

"The learning I'm talking about is where our women and our men and our kids learn how to work in unison and side by side and understanding that both ngā tāne and wāhine come with their own mana."

- TK

Seen in many social movements, those involved will often change their behaviour to base new behaviour on the evolving goals of the movement. Bongee echoes this, noting the direction of members of Black Power is whānau-focused, moving towards a rōpū that is committed to the change agreed upon in its knowledge of the harm against wāhine amongst Black Power. TK's kōrero expands on this, discussing the learning that is taking place in acknowledging the role both men and women in and around Black Power play in their journey to a more whānau-oriented environment. An aspect of collective action and identity highlighted by Della Porta and Diani (2006) in their analysis of social movements states that: "the evolution of collective action produces and encourages continuous redefinitions of identity" (p. 93). This

statement is crucial in this discussion of how social movements may go through changes and how these changes, amongst individuals and as a collective, are a necessary component of an evolving and adaptive social movement, highlighted by Bongee and TK in the change that is occurring in Black Power. This also highlights a concept from Brotherton and Barrios' (2004) definitional model of a social movement, *goals versus acts*, in which the goals of the membership must align with the actions – with Bongee's kōrero noting the ways in which Black Power's action towards wāhine align with the goals of the movement being more whānau-focused. The changes implemented in Black Power also demonstrate behaviour change in the context of crime and desistance theories (which can be applied to the orthodox approach to gangs) as Black Power have disengaged from a culture of violence, due to both the longevity and evolving kaupapa of the movement, to what TK describes as the understanding of the “*mana*” of *all* people in Black Power, and a ‘turning point’ due to wāhine confrontation (Tamatea, 2017; Desmond, 2009).

Despite the mistreatment of wāhine within Black Power, many of the women in the Aroha Trust outlined that Black Power was somewhat different amongst gangs in Aotearoa (Desmond, 2009). Wāhine in the Aroha Trust described Black Power as “a whānau thing, rather than a gang thing” (Desmond, 2009, p. 69), echoing Bongee's kōrero of the whānau framework Black Power has developed to exist within. Jane, one of the women from the Aroha Trust, poignantly stated: “At least when they wore patches, you knew what you were up against and could take steps to keep yourself safe. It was the men I'd been told I could trust who turned out to be the most dangerous” (Desmond, 2009, p. 230). Bradley (2021) reiterates this, acknowledging how those outside of groups such as gangs or outlaw bikers tend to use those within them as folk devils, unwilling to address their own misogynistic beliefs and behaviours.

There is an evident lack of research into women and gangs, and women *in* gangs (Coughlin & Venkatesh, 2003), specifically in Aotearoa. With the newly established Mongrel Mob Wāhine Toa chapter in Waikato (“Wāhine have got nothing to do with the patch’...”, 2019), the first official women's chapter of a gang in Aotearoa, there has been an increase in publicity surrounding women and/in gangs. This analysis somewhat remedies the lack of ‘male-female’ gang research (Coughlin & Venkatesh, 2003), which are analyses that omit the experience of the women from the research, however further research with personal experiences and kōrero with the wāhine in gangs is needed.

The Evolution of New Leadership Strata: Social Change Agents & The Kahukura

One thing that is evident amongst Black Power is the empowerment and inspiration they get from one another. Throughout the kōrero had with each of them they all mentioned each other as their mentors, inspirations, and the immense amount of learning that takes place amongst this rōpū of leaders. This is a definitive element of one of the four conceptual distinctions within social movements outlined by Edwards (2014). Edwards (2014) describes social movements as collective organised efforts to enact social change, as opposed to individual efforts to enact social change. This can be seen in Black Power and the nature of the brotherhood to support each other, adapt with any changing kaupapa, and is applied to the ways in which leadership is nurtured and developed within the rōpū, outlined by TK and Eugene below.

“Everyone has their own mana, everyone comes with their own skillset, it’s about those influential people building those platforms so that the people, both men and women, can find their rangatiratanga. For me that’s what mentorship and rangatira’s about. It’s not about telling people what to do, it’s about providing the platform and the space, the safe space, where those learnings and those teachings can take place.”

- TK

“The key is to model it. Because we can’t sell a dream if they can’t see themselves in that dream....so we have to model the dream. So, it’s kind of like, um less in saying things but don’t look at what I’m saying look at what I’m doing, and try that. Try to see yourself in that space.”

- Eugene

Eugene and TK speak to this key part of leadership and being a social change agent in an evolving movement – providing the space in which the consciousness raising of other members is the focus, and the responsibility of older and/or experienced members to do so. The role of street activists within their respective movements is outlined by Martínez (2003), in his research of urban street activists, which identifies three types of street activists: recovered gang member, OGs (original gangsters), and gang members. To describe two of these three types of street activists, first, OG street activists still maintain some ties to the gang but use these ties to encourage current gang members into political roles, non for profit organisations,

community-focused or government agencies (Martínez, 2003). Second, gang member street activists are activists that believe the gang can evolve and transition to a more politicised version of its current state – facilitating positive change based on the gang’s history and other social movements (Martínez, 2003). (Martínez, 2003).

As can be seen from Eugene and TK’s kōrero, they fall into the ‘gang member street activist’ category, as well as elements of the ‘OG street activist’ category, but to utilise the language of Brotherton and Barrios (2004) in reducing the use of the term ‘gang’, Eugene and TK are *social change agents* within Black Power. The sign of a good social change agent is the ability to create loyalty to the group and its kaupapa, utilising techniques that create a sense of purpose and hope (Jasper, 2014), such as Eugene’s aspirational role-modelling – “*model the dream*” – through actions in particular, not just words. It is not just the sense of higher purpose or action in line with the purpose of the movement, but good leaders create space for members to feel fulfilled on a daily basis and can meet the more immediate needs of group members (Jasper, 2014), which is echoed in TK’s kōrero of uplifting other members through the provision of safe spaces. The feeling of belonging, comradeship, role modelling – these are all key to a successful social movement and the leaders within the movement allow this environment to be created, seen in Eugene and TK’s kōrero *and* actions through engaging in various organisations that empower fellow members.

Gang leadership is not often portrayed as how it is seen in Eugene and TK, who embody their roles as committed social change agents. It is argued that there is not adequate research into the organisational elements of gangs, and this is one of the reasons that society has a lack of understanding of gangs and gang leadership in general – as they are unaware of the inner-workings (Brotherton & Barrios, 2004). Being ‘organised’ does not have to mean hierarchical structures when it comes to gangs or any group, and Black Power have evolved in how they not only identify leadership, but the fluidity with which this title now has, dispelling the myth of the stereotypical gang leadership via presidency, outlined by members of Black Power themselves.

“Well I 'spose when we look at it, you know, leaders is about how somebody acts, you know.”

- Ngapari

“Leader...that's a thing you identify.”

- Ngapari

“Sometimes when we talk about leadership, some of our older members hear ‘president’. And so it challenges them when we say ‘this young fella’s a leader’, ‘cause what they hear is that young fella’s a president.”

- Eugene

As can be seen by Ngapari and Eugene’s kōrero, the identification and labelling of leaders within Black Power is based on the identification of leadership via a person’s *actions* and *values*. Leadership within gangs has evidently evolved, from research in the 1980s outlining the hierarchy within gangs and the elements of leadership that relied heavily on militant ideals (Brotherton & Barrios, 2004), the main theme amongst analyses of gang leadership is that of negative stereotypes revolving around hypermasculinity and control. Black Power can be seen to move away from this, with the focus having shifted from presidency, and towards an identification system based on the qualities and actions of what it means to be a leader – actions outlined by Eugene earlier in role modelling, and by TK in his outline of the creation of safe spaces and platforms to grow future leaders. Black Power in Aotearoa has developed their own style of leadership, echoing Ngapari’s kōrero above, a leadership identification process based on the actions of members and emulating the formation of the kuaka, a migratory bird, inspired by an action programme ‘E tū whānau’ (O’Reilly, 2017, September 27).

“The term ‘kahukura’, you know that’s, for me, is about leadership. Ah, or being leaderful. And, there’s this terminology that we kind of developed around ah, a manu, a bird - a kuaka. And, the analogy of the kuaka is that when they, when they fly thousands of miles...the kahukura is the name of the leader of that particular flight, but it never remains the same. So, it changes, and then someone else takes the place.”

- Eugene

“This notion of the kahukura - the metaphor of the kuaka, that leadership being a behaviour rather than a position - and I think at one stage there we got into this, you know we fell into the trap of complying with the police model of a structured group whereas in fact we’re biological.”

- Denis

“The thing I noticed about leadership you know what like in those days...you know um one person...might be the war leader in a battle, and someone else...was the sort of, you know like the key leader, but other people would take on different things, it was a, in terms of ah tribal function you know might be...you know might step forward...and then if it came to, when I was dealing with cops and mainstream society, you know I was given a leadership function you know. So you know it was horses for courses you know...and again the metaphor the kuaka where the, where the lead bird changes you know and ah...because the wingspans overlap there's an updraft created and the leader is supported by the followers - which is a beautiful metaphor, you know.”

- Denis

This adopted leadership structure described by Eugene and Denis demonstrates the ways in which Black Power has transformed global social movement tactics of building leadership, with a specific structure that highlights the unity and solidarity amongst the rōpū – with solidarity in particular a core part of any movement. This, as Denis says – *“beautiful metaphor”* of the kuaka and the leadership structure of the kahukura is revolutionary in the ways in which it defies the stereotypical gang hierarchy of presidency, and instead has more of a political function in identifying what valuable attributes members can bring to the social change enacted by the rōpū. This is seen in Denis’ kōrero regarding which members took on which roles, dependent on where they were best placed to enact change, and were supported by fellow members, the other kuaka, as they took their place as the kahukura of that space. It was noted as early as the 1970s in Aotearoa that members and leaders within gangs were somewhat admired by politicians, with commentary on their natural leadership skills, leadership that could be built upon, and the potential in their future leadership (Gilbert, 2013b). There is a whakataukī that exemplifies this kōrero of the kuaka and kahukura leadership structure of Black Power – *kua kite te kohanga kūaka?* – who has seen the nest of the kūaka? (E Tū Whānau, 2022). In this case, the nest can be found in Black Power, fostering the members (kuaka) to become kahukura (leaders) and social change agents in building the social movement that is Black Power in Aotearoa. The kahukura leadership structure through which Black Power functions, described with philosophical resonance by Eugene and Denis, not only exemplifies the natural leadership skills of those in Black Power, but extends this further to admiration of a historical nature – seeing members as social change agents committed to a powerful and evolving social movement.

Conclusion

Black Power in Aotearoa is similar to ALKQN and other gangs in that they have been omnipresent alongside the rise of other social movements and radical groups, but were initially seen as a means of survival, as opposed to a political uprising (Brotherton & Barrios, 2004). However, this chapter has demonstrated that instead of members leaving to create alternative movements, they have stayed and pursued raising the consciousness of other members, evident through the ways in which Black Power operates with the use of social movement techniques – the involvement of radical intellectuals; the coexistence of an anticolonial consciousness; the political development of Black Power in response to the wāhine; and the evolution of new leadership strata: social change agents & the kahukura. When ALKQN was in the process of transformation, one of the leaders at the time – King Tone – said the following:

“right now the ALKQN, as I see it, it’s a lighthouse to the rest of the country of how gangs can make a transition” (Brotherton & Barrios, 2004, p. xvi).

Black Power is a lighthouse for other gangs and groups in Aotearoa, and the kōrero from the men involved in this project are those who have stayed and pursued the political, radical and social change with the rōpū, and are the social change agents and street activists of Black Power. Black Power is a rōpū that was built with an inherent political basis inspired by global Black Power along with other social movements, and transformed into the context of Aotearoa and the fight against racial injustice with the active marginalisation of Māori through colonisation. Edwards (2014) notes that often the ‘powerful opponent’, a concept discussed by other social movement theorists such as Della Porta and Diani (2006), is the state, and this can be seen in Black Power’s engagement in protests for predominantly indigenous kaupapa, and also the basis of anti-establishment and anti-colonialism in which Black Power exists (Shilliam, 2012).

The relationships between members of a social movement are what provides the momentum and sustenance for the movement to continue (Della Porta & Diani, 2006), evident in Black Power, a movement which has continued despite doubt that it would. Specifically the ways in which Black Power have developed the leadership structure of the kahukura to fit their evolving rōpū, and the collective nature with which this structure is founded on. Black Power has persisted with raising the consciousness of its members, furthering leadership and social

change agent skills, and participating in social action in a variety of different forms. As can be seen in this analysis chapter, and thesis, the supposed ‘criminality’ of gangs has not been of focus. Activists in Aotearoa have argued that “a lot of pseudo-criminal behaviour in the streets is [actually] a form of civil disturbance” (Shilliam, 2015, p. 48), with the term ‘street movement’ utilised by other activists in Aotearoa when referring to gangs. The continued existence and persistence of Black Power in Aotearoa is evidence of the strength in the evolution of this street movement come social movement, and the continued efforts of members of Black Power in their commitment to evolve and grow into the rōpū they are today, utilising political and social movement techniques to do so.

Chapter 5:

From the Patch to the Puhoro – Reimagining the Meaning of ‘Gang’ in Aotearoa

Within the field of gang research internationally, there is a long history of debates among scholars over how best to conceptualise the meaning of the term ‘gang’ (Wood & Alleyne, 2009) including considerable disagreement around what constitutes a gang and how best to define them (Wegerhoff et al., 2019). From early work by the Chicago School defining ‘the gang’ in terms of social organisation linked to urban migration where mainstream access was limited (see McDonald, 2003), to Thrasher’s (1927) work noting that gangs have become groups that evoke disapproval from society, in more recent research, the typical definitions used by researchers are linked to crime and gangs deemed criminal organisations (Gilbert, 2013b). From this definitional focus on criminality, researchers have set out to explain and predict gang behaviours to inform attempts to reduce the prevalence of supposed gang-related crime (Fraser, 2015). However, these debates over definitions of gangs often take place at a distance, voyeuristically, without full consideration of how members of those groups labelled gangs themselves view the meaning of the term. It is this common gap in the literature that is addressed in this chapter, which draws on kōrero with Black Power in Aotearoa to examine how the members make sense of the gang label that is routinely applied to them.

This chapter shows Black Power members reimagining the meaning of the terms ‘gang’ and ‘gangster’ in a range of ways. It describes how the collaborative researchers in this project are well aware of the negative connotations of the term ‘gang’ and the links it implies to criminality. More often than not, they rejected the label all together, describing it as a poor description of the group to which they belong. For them, the term gang was imposed on Black Power rather than chosen, and challenging the term ‘gang’ was part of a broader challenge they made to the criminalisation of members. Instead, collaborative researchers articulated Black Power as ‘whānau’ – including very directly through use of the phrase “Black Power whānau”. In this way, they drew on te ao Māori and ideals of family (Faleolo, 2014) to express the more positive and supportive role the group played in their lives.

The chapter also develops a case study examining how some collaborative researchers were moving away from the key marker of gang membership in Aotearoa: the patch (Gilbert, 2013b). They described how rather than wearing a patch displaying Black Power symbolism – which somewhat allowed society to target and vilify them – members may instead be tattooed

with a puhoro, a traditional form of Māori moko, demonstrating Black Power's continued hīkoi in engaging with their taha Māori, and their navigation of the complexities around the criminalisation of the patch that is put upon their rōpū.

This chapter responds to calls for researchers to view gang identification as heterogenous, contingent, and geographically specific (Fraser, 2015, p. xxvi). The term 'gang' has been used continuously throughout history, yet is a term imposed on these groups, and therefore exploration as to what terms originate from these groups themselves is required – especially in furthering gang research. This exploration is presented in this chapter where kōrero from members in Black Power demonstrates the imposed term 'gang' is disconnected with the kaupapa of the rōpū, who mainly refer to themselves as whānau, and who exist both in *and* outside of Black Power – they are not solely 'gang members', they are whānau who inhabit many communities. The chapter shows how in the specific context of Aotearoa, members of Black Power are drawing on te ao Māori to resist criminalisation and articulate an alternative vision of the group to which they belong.

An Imposed Term: Rejecting the Link Between Gangs and Criminality

The term 'gang' is one which evokes an association with crime, a group 'tarred with the same brush' of nuisance and destruction, a group said to "peddle misery" (Livingston, 2019). This 'war on gangs' is partially constructed by gang scholarship persisting with the orthodox associations of gangs and criminality. Instead of the culture and history that encompasses each individual gang, the reduction of gangs to a monolith associated with crime is what now dominates gang discourse (Fraser, 2015). These associations are felt deeply by those within the groups we deem to be gangs, and especially in Aotearoa, with members of Black Power acutely aware of the criminality attached to their very existence.

"The reason I don't like that word [gang] is because it takes on its own kind of connotations, based on fear. So when people talk about gangs, they talk about something that's bad you know...it's one of those words that...there's more than one meaning to it. And no one gets scared when you talk about a shearing gang? And take that word shearing away and all of a sudden it's something that's a threat to society you know!"

- Eugene

“See I don’t see ‘gangsterism’ as being part of it at all. At all. ‘Cause gangsterism, to me, has a criminality...thing to it.....and I don’t see our lifestyles being criminal lifestyles at all.”

- Denis

This kōrero from Eugene and Denis highlights the awareness of what the labelling of their group using the terms ‘gang’ and ‘gangster’ does to the wider public, and the ways in which members do not even connect to these terms that links them to crime. The terms ‘gang’ and ‘gangster’ have become so permanently linked to crime that there is immense difficulty in detaching this rhetoric from these terms that seem so ingrained in our society. Eugene notes this, in that the word ‘gang’ has connotations attached to it, and the fear and association with crime only occurs when it comes to certain groups, such as Black Power. As Denis highlights, associating Black Power with the terms ‘gang’ and ‘gangsterism’ do not even correlate with the kaupapa of the rōpū as their lifestyles are not defined by criminality, and Eugene reiterates this in his kōrero, noting the correlation between ‘gang’ and ‘bad’. This notion of ‘bad’ when it comes to members of gangs is not uncommon, with research on housing in Aotearoa demonstrating that ‘gangs’ and ‘gang affiliates’ in housing discourse led to stereotyping of ‘bad’ tenants, facilitated by further discourse of Pākehā needing ‘protection’ from Māori gangs in particular (Lewis, Norris, Heta-Cooper & Tauri, 2020).

For some collaborative researchers, the term ‘gang’ was rejected as a label forced on Black Power by outsiders with little knowledge of how the group actually worked, TK, for example, argued:

“That kupu ‘gangster’ or ‘gang’, that’s something that was put on us nē. Tuatahi I’m tangata whenua here.”

- TK

TK’s kōrero evokes the ongoing impact of colonisation on Black Power, with the words ‘gang’ or ‘gangster’ being “*put on us*”- that is, words that were not chosen by them and that they continue to resist. In the case of TK and many members of Black Power, they are tangata whenua, their whakapapa coming before the word gang was put upon them – with the criminalisation and problematisation of this term put upon them being an act of colonisation (Andrae et al., 2017a). Of similar sentiment to TK is echoed in kōrero from Eugene, who rejects the term ‘gang’ and his association with it altogether.

“When people ask me am I in a gang, I am definitely not in a gang... ‘cause I know what that word does for people’s psyche you know, but Black Power is part of who I am.”

- Eugene

What Eugene articulates here is a key component of the ways in which members of Black Power are conceptualising the group’s correlation, or lack thereof, with the term gang – with the word so knowingly entrenched in criminal connotations that there is a separation for Eugene between what is *Black Power* and what is *the gang*. Eugene states that *Black Power* is part of who he is, almost a physical component of his being, not this concept of the othering term that is the ‘gang’, as to members of Black Power the two do not intertwine. Rejection of the term altogether demonstrates an act of resistance in reclaiming their own personal definitions, for their *own* group. Wegerhoff et al. (2019) even argue that the term ‘gang’ is unfit for purpose, and instead the focus should be on the greater concept of gangs as *groups*. It is argued by Wegerhoff et al. (2019) that definitions that rely upon certain necessary conditions are unhelpful as they reduce often nuanced and evolving concepts to singular postulations. As gang definitions often revolve around the necessary element of criminality (Wegerhoff et al., 2019) this does not allow for the evolution and changes that groups, in this case gangs, go through. This supposed ‘necessary’ element is also, as we have seen from members of Black Power, not an element of the group that members deem necessary or definitive at all.

In kōrero with collaborative researchers, it was seen that members of Black Power were not only challenging the link between gangs and criminality but pushing back against the tendency to view gang membership as an all-encompassing identity. Gang scholars have often noted that gang identities are applied in homogenising ways (Moore, 1991) that don’t allow for the many facets of every individual to exist in harmony with part of who they are (Fraser, 2015). As Hagedorn (2006) puts it: “like all of us, gang members inhabit multiple social worlds and identities” (p. 299). These challenges to prevailing gang discourse were echoed by collaborative researchers in this project:

“I’d never ever just been Black Power....you can’t just be defined by one thing you know what I mean.....yeah, I was a, a Catholic and a this and a that and the other damn thing. Member of the Miramar Rugby League team....when people reduce identity to this one characteristic and that becomes the all-defining sort of thing it’s just...it’s not like that, it’s hand in hand you know.”

- Denis

There has already been calls for gang identification to be more nuanced than it is currently (Fraser, 2015), with the prevailing usage of the term seeing the individuals within these rōpū reduced to a sole descriptive of ‘gang members’, despite what Denis describes as what defines him as more than “*one characteristic*”. Allowing for a term such as ‘gang’ or ‘gang member’ to encompass whole personalities is problematic in limiting the perception of how then those within these groups can be seen to evolve (Venkatesh, 2003), often having to work within the confines of what the definition determines, when in reality, identities are not fixed, but fluid – and this relates to gang and gangster just as much as other identities (Penwarden, 2007).

In summarising the kōrero in this section of the chapter, Roguski’s (2019) research articulates how we should approach the issue of associating the term ‘gang/s’ and ‘gangster’ with criminality and negativity, issuing “a challenge to those who perceive gangs as a problem. The challenge is to reject outmoded criminogenic constructions and associated strategies, and listen, and appropriately respond, to the lived realities of the people in question” (p. 102). In reimagining the meaning of gang, we must take guidance from those *within* these groups that have been named and defined by outsiders, as identity comes from the inside, and members of Black Power are reimagining the current limitations put upon them of what defines being part of a ‘gang’.

Black Power as Whānau

The term ‘gang’ is one of many social constructs, with its defining features based on a perception from society, and these fluctuating with societal norms (Wegerhoff et al., 2019). Members of Black Power are reimagining this term ‘gang’ through the construction of their own language to define their rōpū. Denis has previously stated that “if we want paradigm shift we better invent new words or use different ones to those in current application” (O’Reilly, n.d., p. 22). Lauger (2012) describes gangs and those within them having their own individual definitions of what the ‘gang’ is to them, with personal experience and values intertwined with these definitions. This can cause a disconnect between what researchers deem to be a gang and how members view their own gangs (Lauger, 2012). There has been a long history by those within these groups we deem as gangs in defining themselves with different terminology, and even talking to individual members, within any gang, will bring about varied definitions (Lauger, 2012), paralleled in discourse below with Eugene and Ngapari.

“When I think about the Black Power whānau here in Wellington, I think about the League Club, I think about the locals at the pub, I think about um the people on the street that we lived on...there are whole communities that I consider to be Black Power whānau, you know...now, I just think like – Black Power, and then whānau.”

- Eugene

“I’d rather use the word ‘brotherhood’, you know, issues – you know that word gang, so you know...we all seek brotherhood out of whatever group we belong to.”

- Ngapari

As can be seen in the kōrero from Eugene and Ngapari, members of Black Power have alternative ways of defining Black Power as a group. Ngapari’s commentary on the preference to use the term ‘brotherhood’ as opposed to the term ‘gang’ firstly outlines that those in Black Power acknowledge the damaging effects of the term ‘gang’ and find other words to demonstrate their affiliation with the rōpū, and secondly demonstrates the variation with other members, such as Eugene, who describes Black Power as whānau, and the various communities that members as individuals may engage with. Eugene has been vocal about the whānau element of Black Power, especially at a time when his funding for the work he was doing with Mokai Kāinga was cut by the government when MPs discovered his affiliation with Black Power (Gilbert, 2013b). Eugene was told that if he publicly denounced his membership with Black Power and handed in his patch, he could have the funding reinstated – Eugene stated that he would do that if the Minister at the time also publicly denounced their brother, mother, and everyone they held dear – because this was the same thing in Eugene’s eyes (Gilbert, 2013b).

There has been a definitive move over time within gangs in calling, referring to themselves, or thinking of themselves as whānau/family (Faleolo, 2014; Nakhid, 2009) with this evident in Aotearoa from groups such as the Mongrel Mob Kingdom Wāhine Toa, Black Power, and Black Power Movement (Jackson, 2021), with Eugene encouraging the Aotearoa public to view members of these groups as ‘whānau first’ (Jackson, 2021). Other members also reimagine Black Power as a whānau, not a gang, and when having kōrero with Denis about what Black Power meant to him, he uses whānau explicitly, and TK describes the ways in which the rōpū are operating as such.

“Whānau. Non-judgmental aroha. Love. Strength.”

- Denis

“Even our thinking...in regards to us being a ‘gang’, his [Paora – TK’s father] vision way back then was in time, that was gonna become something of the old days, it was gonna become obsolete, and that we were going to become – not become, we were already that – but we were going to then see ourselves as whānau, hapū, iwi.”

- TK

“Whānau-tanga, hapū-tanga, iwi-tanga, it’s about seeing ourselves as a whānau tuatahi....understanding where fit into our own whānau nucleus....where our whānau fit into the hapū, and how we as a hapū fit into the wider iwi. So as far as becoming iwi and moving, operating, thinking like iwi, that’s what I’m talking about.”

- TK

We see the use of the term ‘whānau’ in relation to Black Power continually, and this is evidently a core component of the group, as expressed by TK and his description of his father – Paora – and his vision that the term ‘gang’ becomes obsolete, and that the rōpū operate as whānau, hapū, and iwi – which they are in the process of doing. Eugene has often explained whānau and iwi as better fitting words to describe what Black Power is (“Video: Take a rare glimpse inside Black Power...”, 2017), outlined in the literature review of this thesis where Eugene describes members including Black Power as part of their whakapapa (Shilliam, 2015). This speaks to TK’s following kōrero of his journey with Black Power beginning even before birth:

“Where did my journey begin with the Black Power? Well, mai te kōpū – from the womb. Ah, second generation Black Power, tipu ake au ki roto i te ao Black Power Movement...and it’s ah there where my journey began with the Power is from, from the moment I was born into this world.”

- TK

TK’s kōrero speaks directly to Eugene’s notion of naming Black Power as whānau, as an iwi – just as much a part of one’s whakapapa. Research demonstrates that ‘whānau’, ‘rōpū’ and ‘iwi’ are regularly used by those within these groups in Aotearoa we deem as gangs, but which also encompass not just members but wider whānau such as partners and children

(Roguski, 2019; Nakhid, 2009). Gilbert (2013b) identified early on in his research that those within gangs in Aotearoa are dependable and that the connections within the ‘brotherhood’ and familial aspect of gangs were like no other (Gilbert, 2013b; Radak, 2016). Campbell’s research (2011) demonstrated the ways in which gangs even mirrored a family unit, finding that older members in gangs took on fatherly roles, and the younger members close in age emulating the role of brothers, therefore practicing the whānau component in definitive roles. The research explicitly stated that “the ability of the gang to imitate a family unit often meant that the friends in the gang became more significant to participants than their biological relatives” (Campbell, 2011, p. 51). This is demonstrated by members of Black Power in their kōrero, particularly with their direct correlation between fellow members as whānau and brothers/part of the brotherhood, along with their conscious effort to be more whānau-focused, mentoring younger members in leadership, which speaks to a concept Radak (2016) has described as ‘generative behaviour’, a fierce protection of the next generation, found particularly within members of gangs.

Dichiara and Chabot (2003) note that many gangs, globally, define themselves as ‘families’, and there is a call for wider society to accept this internally determined definition, and that to deny this “ignores the fact that the notion of family is central to the self-definition of the gangs. Moreover, to reject their notion is unsociological, and makes it impossible to explore the ways in which marginalized populations build community and survive.” (Dichiara & Chabot, 2003, p. 88). Eugene also describes the elements of whānau and family being clear *within* Black Power, but perhaps not to the outsider.

“From the outside looking in there’s a difference between chapter and family. From the inside, there’s not that much difference.”

- Eugene

Eugene’s kōrero speaks to the ways in which there has been an overwhelming amount of definitions that come from *outside* these groups we deem gangs, and yet it is clear *within* these groups what the core identifiers/definitions/descriptions are – and this is overwhelmingly as ‘whānau’. However, in Hagedorn’s (1996) outline of gang field research, he noted the importance of not generalising specific gang research to not only ‘all gangs’ but also ‘all people within one gang’ as this further homogenises a complex, nuanced, and heterogenous community (Fraser, 2015) and can cause similar damage to the perpetuating negative stereotypes of gangs (Hagedorn, 1996). As can be seen in this research, although whānau is a

key identifier of Black Power, there is still nuance within the group – with Ngapari for example describing it as brotherhood, and most likely members wider than this research using other terms. What this research does do is seek definitions *within* the group and community at hand, and demonstrates the heterogeneous and nuanced rōpū that are gangs, or whānau. By viewing groups who have been labelled ‘gangs’ instead as ‘groups’ – with similar processes as other groups that share components such as whānau, hapū, and iwi – there is a move away from the ambiguity of socially constructed concepts. This allows for a redirected understanding of how certain groups develop and evolve due to the identification of the processes involved in their formation, without the hindrance of previous societal definitions (Wegerhoff et al., 2019).

The Patch to the Puhoro

Reconceptualising the meaning of ‘gang’, ‘gang member’ and ‘gangster’ sees the reimagining of traditional aspects of these groups deemed as gangs shifting to different ways of expressing identity and affiliation. This is seen in Black Power, in how they are tackling the navigation of changing the way in which they express their affiliation with the rōpū. This section of the chapter will look at the move from ‘the patch to the puhoro’, an example within a greater shift to redefine and reimagine what it means to be Black Power, and moving away from the traditional identifiers of being in a ‘gang’, specifically the wearing of the patch.

The patch for those in Black Power holds much mana. Within gangs, especially in Aotearoa, the patch has become somewhat of a key signifier of association, with the unity of the group and representing the kaupapa tied into the wearing of the patch (Gilbert, 2019). It is a core element of affiliation within the rōpū, and as was explored in Chapter 4, Black Power has much meaning in the design of their patch with the upraised fist and the reinterpretation of the global Black Power symbolism in a localised context. There is a notion of responsibility that comes with the patch and the wearer of it – Denis echoes this in his kōrero below.

“When Bill Maung died...I put my patch down on his coffin, kia pakeke ahau you know, I’m now an old man, you know what I mean...I can no longer physically...defend it – and I always thought that was...a responsibility.”

- Denis

As outlined by Denis, the responsibility that comes with the patch and the kōrero around physically defending it demonstrates the way those within gangs attach accountability, mana

and kaupapa to the patch itself. To some, members may seem to be defending what is ‘just’ an item of clothing, however from this research it is seen that the patch evidently holds more meaning – to wear a patch is to wear one’s kaupapa. The patch holds responsibility so much so that members are ‘de-patched’ for bringing disrepute on the kaupapa of the gang, for example members being de-patched for rape (Meek, 1992), emphasising the patch as intrinsically tied to the rōpū it represents. Yet along with the responsibility that is put on the wearer of the patch, it is an element of the gang and gangsterism that ignites controversy in the restrictions it poses for the rōpū to engage in their taha Māori, described by Bongee and Eugene specifically.

“Our people are not so forgiving...you know they still stand at the gate challenge us when we come on with our patches and things like that.”

- Bongee

“We’ve got a list of marae that allow us on with patches you know? And there’s not many of them.”

- Eugene

Bongee and Eugene outline how the wearing of the patch has become a way in which they are further excluded from society and excluded from an element of many members’ lives that there is a move to connect with. The challenging of one’s identity when engaging with another element of one’s identity presents difficulties for many members of Black Power, especially when reconnecting with their taha Māori. The restrictions of the patch are not limited to the marae but extend to all of Aotearoa. Laws such as a The W[h]anganui District Council (Prohibition of Gang Insignia) Bill in 2008/2009 (“Collecting Challenging Histories...”, 2017), which banned the wearing of patches in this rohe – seen to be a discriminatory practice (Gilbert, 2013b). The Māori Party co-leader at the time, Pita Sharples, described the whakaaro on the banning of patches as “rubbish” (Gilbert, 2013b, p. 279), and poignantly stated “don’t assume that people who form or join roopu, as they call themselves, are all breaking the law and are there to intimidate you, even though you are intimidated by them” (p. 279). There are varying whakaaro on the patch and its place in Aotearoa, especially as being labelled as deliberately “intimidating” (“Banning gang patches”, 2018), conversations which are arising once again in light of the National Party’s push to ban patches in a variety of areas (“National’s gang crackdown plan...”, 2022).

Despite the complex feelings surrounding the ways in which members are often excluded from their marae due to a tangible item that represents one's affiliation with a 'gang' – the patch – there has been a move of working towards a way in which the redefining of 'gangster' could fit with the ways members of Black Power are more consciously engaging with te ao Māori, and engaging in kōrero around the role of the patch in Aotearoa, with Eugene describing the navigation of this journey.

“Other side of the coin, if it's this piece of clothing that stops us from engaging, then where is a compromise from our perspective. Which is now why I wear a puhoro! And so I see that as my compromise...it's based on Whakatāne - on their whakaaro you know. But I am not even allowed on my own marae with my patch. But I'm allowed on every marae with my puhoro. And so that now for me is my, emblem, for want of a better word, of my dedication to the Black Power.”

- Eugene

What Eugene speaks of here is firstly the way in which the rōpū Te Tini o Meketū have impacted the wider Black Power with the ways in which they are building a movement that incorporates te ao Māori into gangism. Through the visions of TK's father – Paora – complemented by the action of the people in that rohe, they are redefining 'gangster', through adorning themselves with tā moko and puhoro. Eugene now wears a puhoro – which is *moko* (tattoo) on the thigh or arm (Moorfield, 2022), in this case Eugene wears his around his thigh, buttocks and legs. The puhoro that Eugene speaks of is not the type of 'gang tattoo' many may be familiar with – which have a history of their own. Stan Coster, member of the Mongrel Mob, notes the symbolism behind his 'gang' tattoos as “an inseparable and permanent part of his self” (Andrae, McIntosh & Coster, 2017b, p. 10-11), with Coster also envisaging a transition to tā moko becoming somewhat of a replacement of patches (Andrae et al., 2017a). This is similar to Eugene's connection to the puhoro – incorporating te ao Māori into te ao 'gang'. Eugene's kōrero on the puhoro being his “*dedication to the Black Power*” is similar to his earlier kōrero of Black Power being essentially a physical part of who he is – although it does not define him, it is linked to his being in a way which the puhoro represents, perhaps more so than the patch. Eugene discusses the hīkoi in his move from the patch to the puhoro.

“It was based on a kōrero from TK - who talked about a whole chapter up there who was thinking in that space...and he for me was redefining gangster.”

- Eugene

“And then he told me the story about the...bros that had decided that they'd wear a puhoro...and I was like I love that, and I wanna do that.”

- Eugene

“You know I’ve got my patch tattooed on my back...which for me has always meant I no longer need to wear one anyway. And I, I think a lot of emphasis in our communities is based on that piece of clothing. And whilst I understand it, I’m starting to not agree with it. And that’s because I see it as a barrier to participating in society you know, and if only, if only we can evolve to a point where we reclaim or reindigenise our space ... – not to please society – but so that we can be part of something that can benefit our whānau within that space.”

- Eugene

What Eugene discusses here speaks to many elements of Black Power – the ways in which they do leadership, learning from each other, and also the consistent hīkoi to evolve as a movement, and evolution to engage their taha Māori. This move from a symbol of gangsterism – the patch, to an indigenous source of affiliation to the rōpū – the puhoro, speaks to the combining of two worlds. In an interview, TK spoke of Māori leading the change in gang culture, and seeing this as the way forward (Livingston, 2019). TK says that connecting with one’s taha Māori has been beneficial to members (Livingston, 2019). ‘Gang culture’ has often been seen as an adapted form of whanaungatanga and kotahitanga (Newbold & Taonui, 2011), and of interest is the ways in which ‘the wearing of’ can apply to tā moko, puhoro, and patches. This is demonstrated in Eugene’s kōrero in the reindigenisation of the rōpū and the opportunity for flexibility in how one ‘wears’ their kaupapa, however with the complex nature of how te ao ‘gang’ combines with te ao Māori.

Kōrero from other collaborative researchers on the move away from the patch parallels Eugene’s hīkoi in navigating this space, with other members envisaging a way forward in rejecting components of Black Power that are still intrinsically linked with criminality and/or traditional gangsterism.

“We mightn’t exist. We might exist for something else.....We might exist with no patches.....the world’s changed you know.”

- Ngapari

What Ngapari speaks of here is the capability of the rōpū to acknowledge how the current ways of operating may be unsustainable in maintaining the core kaupapa of brotherhood, if aspects such as the patch are going to restrict the engagement with elements that are becoming of more significance for the rōpū – such as their taha Māori. TK’s whakaaro echoes this in how the rōpū is changing and evolving, especially with the use of the patch, and essentially the insignificance of the patch as a material item:

“It’s about living for your colours, but when I say your colours - I’m talking about your people. It’s about living for your own destiny, for your future, as opposed to die for- who the fuck wants to die for a bit of material?”

- TK

This kōrero from TK speaks to the wider goals of Black Power in the move from how they are redefining what it means to be not only a ‘gang member’ or ‘gangster’, but Black Power. TK’s comment of the current way of dying *“for a bit of material”* highlights that the current way in defending the patch is no longer sustainable for the group. Instead, there is a move to living not for a piece of material, but for the group and its people itself, and which the patch to the puhoro is one element in this transformational shift.

Conclusion

“I’m mentoring...a couple of our boys at the moment - one of them...he still has doubts about his own potential. And he’ll go ‘but I’ll always be gangster’, I say ‘I know that bro you just gotta redefine what that means!’”

- Eugene

Eugene articulates this chapter in his kōrero – looking forward in redefining what it means to be gangster, reimagining the meaning of gang as more than the limiting criminalisation of the term, reimagining what it *is* to be Black Power. The new gangster can, and is, being redefined. Black Power are defying and resisting the common associations with gangs, navigating the complexities of the connotations attached to this term, and doing so with a real transformational shift to engage with their taha Māori, alongside exploring the move away from more traditional aspects of gangsterism, such as the patch. Black Power are living

for their colours, their people, and moving away from the outsider and colonial determinants of the social construct that are ‘gang’ and ‘gangster’.

With international gang researchers unclear on the conceptualisation and the defining components of a ‘gang’, the focus has predominantly been on the criminality associated with these groups (Wegerhoff et al., 2019). Members of Black Power reject these definitions implying gangs as criminal organisations, and even reject the term ‘gang’ as an appropriate label for the group they identify with. ‘Whānau’, ‘rōpū’, ‘brotherhood’, ‘iwi’ are terms used by members of Black Power to describe their group, with an overwhelming use of the term ‘whānau’ in defining not only members, but in keeping with their whānau-focused paradigm shift of this term including partners, children, and the wider community – which aligns with the greater meaning of whānau in te ao Māori. Black Power is increasingly engaging with their taha Māori, seen in this chapter in their move from the patch to the puhoro, choosing to explore what aspects of traditional gangsterism – the patch – may no longer serve the rōpū, and defining their new gangster through reimagining what identity through the puhoro may look like.

Through reimagining the term ‘gang’ in rejecting of the associations with criminality, moving toward the gang as whānau, and in transitioning from the patch to the puhoro, Black Power is redefining gangster, and in doing so they are challenging the ingrained societal and research prejudices that currently determine what it means to be in a ‘gang’. This chapter has presented kōrero from members of Black Power, who despite the continued usage of the term ‘gang’ used against them have remained steadfast in their hīkoi to reject and redefine the meaning of ‘gang’ and ‘gangster’ in Aotearoa. In the process of doing this, they have developed their own ways of expressing their affiliation with the rōpū, and the thoughtful kōrero that is occurring amongst the rōpū as they navigate these progressions to alternative forms of identification, demonstrate the evident nuance in what is a commonly homogenised group.

Conclusion

Redefining Gangsterism: Social Change Agents in Black Power has heard directly from members of Black Power, the collaborative researchers, in presenting an alternative approach to how gangs and those within them are understood. This research contributes to the growing body of critical gang scholarship that argues: “the blanket indictment of gangs as criminal organisations is both intellectually dishonest and sociologically baseless” (Dichiara & Chabot, 2003, p. 79), with kōrero that demonstrates the social movement potential of a ‘gang’ in Aotearoa – Black Power. Given the heightened discourse surrounding gangs as we enter another election year in Aotearoa, this research is particularly poignant as it pivots from common stereotypes and narratives, instead providing a rich history Black Power’s engagement with global anti-racist movements and symbolism at their genesis, their adoption of social movement techniques and the reimagining of the meaning of ‘gang’ in Aotearoa. Through Black Power’s engagement with their taha Māori, the entrenchment of goals and ideals in a te ao Māori framework, the ways in which the group is reconceptualising their kaupapa sees a uniquely localised manifestation of a global movement that continues the fight against racial injustice through reclamation of whānau, whenua and whakapapa.

This thesis has covered literature that sets the scene for the landscape on gangs in Aotearoa, with the media, politicians, law enforcement and researchers facilitating anti-gang laws, sensationalist reporting, and the war on gangs in Aotearoa. With the dominant discourse on gangs being gangs as criminal organisations, this thesis outlines this orthodox approach to gangs and presents the alternative approach of gangs as social movements, a concept this research grounds itself in. Through a growing gang scholarship of the political potential of gangs and social change occurring within these groups, the history and politics of Black Power in Aotearoa section of this chapter further demonstrates the global activist space that Black Power originates from.

This thesis is founded on the meaningful research relationships and partnerships with members of Black Power, the collaborative researchers in this project. Through using participatory action research, ensuring the research works ‘with’ not ‘on’ the community at hand – Black Power – and a commitment to the hīkoi of decolonising Māori-Pākehā research collaborations, this research has a solid foundation of trust and collaboration in its research partnership with Black Power. The collaboration throughout the project has allowed for the kōrero from the collaborative researchers to be *theirs*, and adds a layer of meaning to this thesis

that would not exist had this research partnership not been held in such regard as being the most important aspect of the research. Through whakawhanaungatanga/relationship-building, hononga/collaboration, and koha/reciprocity, this research partnership has been thoughtfully navigated and accommodating of the lives that are intertwined in this project.

Kōrero from collaborative researchers demonstrates that Black Power does indeed have specific social, racial and revolutionary goals (Gilbert, 2016), tied to the global Black Power movement that have been reinterpreted in an Aotearoa context. The chapter “*Te Tini o Meketū*” – *The Multitudes of the Upraised Fist* located Black Power in amongst the kaupapa of the global Black Power movement, having been directly influenced in their use of naming their rōpū and the use of, and meaning behind, the upraised fist. With the USA in particular influencing traditions of Black Power in Aotearoa, such as the Black Panther Party, Keskidee, and key figures such as Bob Marley, the rōpū have then reinterpreted global symbols through their connection to te ao Māori and the upraised fist. The upraised fist is linked to the grounding symbolism of Papatūānuku, giving birth to life, and giving birth to the upraised fist – the global fight for solidarity against racial injustice. Members have also reinterpreted the meaning for Black Power in Aotearoa, contextualising it locally, through its kaupapa being whanaungatanga and rangatiratanga for example. Te Tini o Meketū – a rōpū based in the Whakatāne rohe are embodying the local manifestations of global Black Power in both the name of their kaupapa and their aspirations for the group. The name ‘Te Tini o Meketū’ directly translates to ‘The Multitudes of the Upraised Fist’ – corresponding to global Black Power, and reinterpreted as ‘Solidarity In Action’ – depicting the goals of this group, to support each other in building a movement that can awhi all whānau to thrive. The group are also reinterpreting and reindigenising the patch, through intertwining the upraised fist and global symbolism, to the story of Tāne and his journey to the heavens, obtaining the knowledge and raising the consciousness of his people, emulated in Black Power and the consciousness raising that occurs in this rōpū.

Consciousness raising and the elements of social movements that are seen in Black Power are covered in the chapter “*We Were Part Of A Pretty Conscious Political Crew*” – *Social Movement Practices within Black Power in Aotearoa*. This chapter expanded on the alternative approach presented in this thesis of gangs as social movements. Black Power is seen to have adopted the elements of social movements, having sustained their group membership since their origin in the 1960s/1970s, engaged in political and social action, committed to raising the consciousness of members, and utilised leadership in a novel way, entrenching it in

a te ao Māori framework. With certain leaders paving the way forward for the rōpū, the collaborative researchers have been key figures in this transformation through their intentional transfer of knowledge and actions. Black Power have done this in parallel to ALKQN's (Brotherton & Barrios, 2004) framework of social movement evolution – a street organisation come social movement in the USA – through the involvement of radical intellectuals, the coexistence of an anticolonial consciousness, the political development of the rōpū in response to the wāhine, and the evolution of new leadership strata as social change agents and the developed leadership formation of the 'kahukura'.

Given the debate on the term 'gang' and international gang research continuing the search for an accurate conceptualisation of this term, the chapter *From the Patch to the Puhoro – Reimagining the Meaning of 'Gang' in Aotearoa* sees kōrero from those whose voices have been nullified from this discourse, members of a 'gang', Black Power, and how they are reimagining the term 'gang'. It is seen that the term 'gang' is rejected by members of Black Power, seen to be a term put on the group, and not one they use themselves. Instead, the term whānau is utilised more frequently, describing members and their communities. In keeping with the whānau-focus that Black Power is embracing, and their engagement with their taha Māori, Black Power are incorporating te ao Māori in their navigation of moving away from what is seen as traditional display of gangsterism – the patch, and reimagining their affiliation through a traditional Māori moko – the puhoro.

In the spirit of the collaborative research that has guided the project throughout, this thesis concludes with the kōrero of Denis O'Reilly as he articulates the collective purpose of Black Power in Aotearoa:

"I go back to... 'the five whys'... What's our collective purpose? To support each other. Why? To enable members and their whānau to thrive. Why? To build and develop achieving whānau. Why? To have the resources, capacity, capability to enjoy our tino rangatiratanga. Why? To build a strong, collaborative, successful national Māori movement. Why? To be all that we can be, and to contribute to the wellbeing of Aotearoa....It's not to be the meanest mother fuckers in town, or to have the most bling, or easiest access to crack or whatever you know...It's actually, you know, it's to grow. Puāwaitanga...to let people flower."

- Denis

We have seen the essence of this collective purpose echoed throughout this research, with collaborative researchers sharing kōrero that demonstrates the ways the rōpū works through the challenges faced by the dominant, negative, narrative on gangs in thoughtful ways, always with each other. Members of Black Power are blooming – *puāwaitanga* – they are social change agents in an evolving social movement that as a collective are redefining what it means to be gangster, to be Black Power.

Kupu Māori

The list below is a glossary of kupu Māori / Māori words in alphabetical order of Te Pū Taka / The Māori Alphabet (a, e, h, i, k, m, n, ng, o, p, r, t, u, w, wh). All kupu Māori definitions attributed directly to Moorfield, J. C. (2022). *Te Aka Online Māori Dictionary*. <https://maoridictionary.co.nz/>

ahau	(pronoun) I, me.
ake	(particle) from below, upwards, in an upwards direction – indicates direction upwards when following verbs of motion.
ao	(noun) world, globe, global.
Aotearoa	(location) North Island – now used as the Māori name for New Zealand.
aroha	(noun) affection, sympathy, charity, compassion, love, empathy.
awa	(noun) river, stream, creek, canal, gully, gorge, groove, furrow.
awhi	(noun) embracing, embrace, adoption, adopting.
haka	(noun) performance of the haka, posture dance – vigorous dances with actions and rhythmically shouted words. A general term for several types of such dances.
hāngī	(noun) hāngī, earth oven – earth oven to cook food with steam and heat from heated stones.
hapū	(noun) kinship group, clan, tribe, subtribe – section of a large kinship group and the primary political unit in traditional Māori society.
hīkoi	(noun) step, march, hike, trek, tramp, trip, journey.
hoa	(noun) friend, companion, mate, partner, spouse, ally.
hononga	(noun) union, connection, relationship, bond.
hui	(noun) gathering, meeting, assembly, seminar, conference.

ira tangata	(noun) human genes, human element, mortals.
iwi	(noun) extended kinship group, tribe, nation, people, nationality, race – often refers to a large group of people descended from a common ancestry and associated with a distinct territory.
Kahukura	(personal name) a name of several <i>atua</i> and ancestors, including: the <i>atua</i> of the rainbow, the ancestor of the North who learnt the art of netmaking from the <i>patupaiarehe</i> , an <i>atua</i> of war, and the ancestor who returned to Hawaiki on Horouta to bring the kūmara to Aotearoa.
kai	(noun) food, meal.
kāinga	(noun) home, address, residence, village, settlement, habitation, habitat, dwelling.
kaitiaki	(noun) trustee, minder, guard, custodian, guardian, caregiver, keeper, steward.
kaitiakitanga	(noun) guardianship, stewardship, trusteeship, trustee.
kanohi ki te kanohi	(stative) face to face, in person, in the flesh.
kaputī	(loan) (noun) cup of tea.
karanga	(noun) formal call, ceremonial call, welcome call, call.
kaupapa	(noun) topic, policy, matter for discussion, plan, purpose, scheme, proposal, agenda, subject, programme, theme, issue, initiative.
kawa	(noun) <i>karakia</i> (ritual chants) and customs for the opening of new houses, canoes and other events.
kawhe	(loan) (noun) coffee.
ki	(particle) to, into, towards, on to, upon – indicates motion towards something.
koe	(pronoun) you (one person).

koha	(noun) gift, present, offering, donation, contribution – especially one maintaining social relationships and has connotations of reciprocity.
kōpū	(noun) womb, uterus.
kōrero	(verb) to tell, say, speak, read, talk, address.
kōrero	(noun) speech, narrative, story, news, account, discussion, conversation, discourse, statement, information.
korowai	(noun) cloak – in modern Māori this is sometimes used as a general term for cloaks made of <i>muka</i> (New Zealand flax fibre).
kotahitanga	(noun) unity, togetherness, solidarity, collective action.
koutou	(pronoun) you (three or more people).
kuaka	(noun) bar-tailed godwite, <i>Limosa lapponica</i> – a brown-and-white migratory wading bird with a long, slightly upturned, black bill and a pink base which breeds in the northern hemisphere and summers in the southern.
kupu	(noun) word, vocabulary, saying, talk, message, statement, utterance, lyric.
kura	(noun) school, education, learning gathering.
Mātaatua	(personal noun) migration canoe which landed at Whakatāne and finally ended at Hokianga before being dragged overland to Tākou. (personal name) people descended from the crew of this canoe from Hawaiki whose territories are in Northland and the Bay of Plenty.
mahi	(noun) work, job, employment, trade (work), practice, occupation, activity, exercise, operation, function.
mai	(particle) from, since – indicating an extension in time or space. It marks the point from which the time or place is measured.

māmā	(loan) (noun) mother, mum.
mana	(noun) prestige, authority, control, power, influence, status, spiritual power, charisma – <i>mana</i> is a supernatural force in a person, place or object.
manaakitanga	(noun) hospitality, kindness, generosity, support – the process of showing respect, generosity and care for others.
mana motuhake	(noun) separate identity, autonomy, self-government, self-determination, independence, sovereignty, authority – <i>mana</i> through self-determination and control over one's own destiny.
Mana Motuhake	(noun) a Māori political party (separate identity) which became part of the Alliance Coalition. It was founded in 1980 by Matiu Rata.
māngai	(noun) spokesperson, speaker, representative, orator, agent, delegate, consul.
manu	(noun) bird – any winged creature including bats, cicada, butterflies, etc.
Mangu Kaha	(noun) Black Power – a gang name.
Māori	(noun) Māori, indigenous New Zealander, indigenous person of Aotearoa/New Zealand.
marae	(noun) courtyard – the open area in front of the <i>whareniui</i> , where formal greetings and discussions take place. Often also used to include the complex of buildings around the <i>marae</i> .
mātauranga	(noun) knowledge, wisdom, understanding, skill.
mātauranga Māori	(noun) Māori knowledge – the body of knowledge originating from Māori ancestors, including the Māori world view and perspectives, Māori creativity and cultural practices.
maunga	(noun) mountain, mount, peak.
mau rākau	(noun) Māori weaponry.

mihi	(noun) speech of greeting, acknowledgement, tribute.
mihi whakatau	(noun) speech of greeting, official welcome speech – speech acknowledging those present at a gathering.
motu	(noun) island, country, land, nation, clump of trees, ship – anything separated or isolated.
nē	is that so? won't you? won't we? isn't it? – interrogative emphasising a question, request of proposal and often followed by <i>rā</i> or <i>hā</i> .
ngā	(particle) (determiner) the – plural of <i>te</i> .
Ngāti	(personal noun) Prefix for a tribal group, now written as a separate word, e.g. Ngāti Maniapoto.
ngā mihi	acknowledgements
noho	(verb) to sit, stay, remain, settle, dwell, live, inhabit, reside, occupy, located. (verb) remain – sometimes used before other nouns or verbs to indicate a state over a period of time.
pā	(noun) fortified village, fort, stockade, screen, blockade, city (especially a fortified one).
Pākehā	(noun) New Zealander of European descent – probably originally applied to English-speaking Europeans living in Aotearoa/New Zealand.
pakeke	(noun) age, maturity.
pāpā	(noun) father, uncle, dad.
Papatūānuku	(personal name) Earth, Earth mother and wife of Rangi-nui – all living things originate from them.
papa kāinga	(noun) original home, home base, village, communal Māori land.
pātai	(noun) query, question, enquiry.

Pōneke	(loan) (location) Wellington.
pōwhiri	(noun) invitation, rituals of encounter, welcome ceremony on a marae, welcome.
puāwai	(verb) to bloom, come to fruition, open out (of a flower).
puhoro	(noun) <i>moko</i> (tattoo) on the thigh or arm.
oranga	(noun) survivor, food, livelihood, welfare, health, living.
rangatira	(modifier) high ranking, chiefly, noble, esteemed. (noun) chief (male or female), chieftain, chieftainess.
rangatiratanga	(noun) chieftainship, right to exercise authority, chiefly autonomy, chiefly authority, ownership, leadership of a social group, domain of the <i>rangatira</i> , noble birth, attributes of a chief. (noun) kingdom, realm, sovereignty, principality, self-determination, self-management – connotations extending the original meaning of the word resulting from Bible and Treaty of Waitangi translations.
Rangi-nui	(personal name) <i>atua</i> of the sky and husband of Papa-tū-ā-nuku, from which union originate all living things.
rohe	(noun) boundary, district, region, territory, area, border (of land).
rōpū	(noun) group, party of people, company, gang, association, entourage, committee, organisation, category.
roto	(location) the inside, in, within, interior.
rūnanga	(noun) council, tribal council, assembly, board, boardroom, iwi authority – assemblies called to discuss issues of concern to iwi or the community.
taha Māori	(noun) Māori identity, Māori character, Māori side, Māori heritage, Māori ancestry, Māori descent.

Tainui	(personal noun) crew of this canoe from Hawaiki are claimed as ancestors by tribes of the Waikato, King Country and Tauranga areas. (personal noun) term used for the tribes whose ancestors came on the <i>Tainui</i> canoe and whose territory includes the Waikato, Hauraki and King Country areas.
tamariki	(noun) children.
tāne	(noun) husband, male, man.
Tāne-mahuta	(personal name) <i>atua</i> of the forests and birds and one of the children of Rangi-nui and Papa-tū-ā-nuku.
-tanga	A suffix used to make verbs into nouns, sometimes called derived nouns.
tangata	(noun) person, man, human being, individual.
tangata whenua	(noun) local people, hosts, indigenous people – people born of the whenua.
tangihanga	(noun) weeping, crying, funeral, rites for the dead, obsequies – one of the most important institutions in Māori society, with strong cultural imperatives and protocols. Most <i>tangihanga</i> are held on marae.
taonga	(noun) treasure, anything prized – applied to anything considered to be of value including socially or culturally valuable objects, resources, phenomenon, ideas and techniques.
tautoko	(noun) support, backing.
tā moko	(noun) traditional tattooing – Māori tattooing designs on the face of body done under traditional protocols.
te	(determiner) the (singular) – used when referring to a particular individual or thing.

Te Arawa	(personal noun) canoe which brought the ancestors of the Arawa and Ngāti Tūwharetoa tribes to Aotearoa. (personal name) people descended from the crew of this canoe from Hawaiki who form a group of tribes in the Rotorua-Maketū area.
te ao Māori	Māori world.
Te Moana-a-Toitehuatahi	(location) Bay of Plenty (sea).
te reo Māori	(noun) the Māori language.
Te Tiriti o Waitangi	(loan) (noun) Treaty of Waitangi.
tikanga	(noun) correct procedure, custom, habit, lore, method, manner, rule, way, code, meaning, plan, practice, convention, protocol – the customary system of values and practices that have developed over time and are deeply embedded in the social context.
tino rangatiratanga	(noun) self-determination, sovereignty, autonomy, self-government, domination, rule, control, power.
tipu	(verb) to grow, increase, spring, issue, begin, develop, sprout, prosper, originate.
tīpuna	(noun) ancestors, grandparents – plural form of <i>tipuna</i> and the eastern dialect variation of <i>tūpuna</i> .
tohunga	(noun) skilled person, chosen expert, priest, healer – a person chosen by the agent of an <i>atua</i> and the tribe as a leader in a particular field because of signs indicating talent for a particular vocation.
tuatahi	(modifier) first.
tūrangawaewae	(noun) domicile, standing, place where one has the right to stand – place where one has rights of residence and belonging through kinship and <i>whakapapa</i> .
wahine	(noun) woman, female, lady, wife.

wāhine	(noun) women, females, ladies, wives – plural form of <i>wahine</i> .
wairua	(noun) spirit, soul – spirit of a person which exists beyond death.
wānanga	(noun) seminar, conference, forum, educational seminar.
whakaaro	(noun) thought, opinion, plan, understanding, idea, intention, gift, conscience.
whakapapa	(noun) genealogy, genealogical table, lineage, descent – reciting <i>whakapapa</i> was, and is, an important skill and reflected the importance of genealogies in Māori society in terms of leadership, land and fishing rights, kinship and status. It is central to all Māori institutions.
whakatauki	(noun) proverb, significant saying, formulaic saying, cryptic saying, aphorism.
whakawhanaungatanga	(noun) process of establishing relationships, relating well to others.
whānau	(noun) extended family, family group, a familiar term of address to a number of people – the primary economic unit of traditional Māori society. In the modern context the term is sometimes used to include friends who may not have any kinship ties to other members.
whanaungatanga	(noun) relationship, kinship, sense of family connection – a relationship through shared experiences and working together which provides people with a sense of belonging.
whenua	(noun) country, land, nation, state.

References

- Aldrige, J., Medina, J., & Ralphs, R. (2008). Dangers and problems of doing 'gang' research in the UK. In F. Germet, D. Peterson & I. Lien (Eds.), *Street gangs, migration and ethnicity* (pp. 31-47). Willan.
- Anderson, K., & Innes, R. (2015). *Indigenous men and masculinities: legacies, identities, regeneration*. University of Manitoba Press.
- Andrae, D., McIntosh, T., & Coster, S. (2017a). Marginalised: An Insider's View of the State, State Policies in New Zealand and Gang Formation. *Critical Criminology (Richmond, B.C.)*, 25(1), 119-135.
- Andrae, D., McIntosh, T., & Coster, S. (2017b). "You can't take my face": A personal narrative of self-modification through tattooing in the Aotearoa/New Zealand prison system. *New Zealand Sociology*, 32(2), 5-27.
- Ball, R. A., & Curry, G. D. (1995). The Logic of Definifion in Criminology: Purposes and Methods for Defining "Gangs.". *Criminology (Beverly Hills)*, 33(2), 225-245.
- Banning gang patches. (2018, July 30). *Radio New Zealand*.
<https://www.rnz.co.nz/national/programmes/thepanel/audio/2018655841/banning-gang-patches>
- Barnsley, J., & Ellis, D. (1992). *Research for change: participatory action research for community groups*. Women's Research Centre.

- Barrios, L., Brotherton, D., & Kontos, L. (2003). Introduction. In L. Barrios, D. Brotherton, & L. Kontos (Eds.), *Gangs and Society: Alternative Perspectives* (pp. vii-xvi). Columbia University Press.
- Baum, F., MacDougall, C., & Smith, D. (2006). Participatory action research. *Journal of Epidemiology and Community Health* (1979), 60(10), 854–857.
- Bell, J. M. (2014). *The Black power movement and American social work*. Columbia University Press.
- Bellamy, P. (2009). *Young people and gangs in New Zealand*. Parliamentary Library.
- Bishop, A. R. (1995). Collaborative research stories : whakawhanaungatanga (Thesis, Doctor of Philosophy). University of Otago. Retrieved from <https://ourarchive.otago.ac.nz/handle/10523/531>
- Black Power founder Reitu Harris dies. (2017, July 12). *Radio New Zealand*. <https://www.rnz.co.nz/news/national/334989/black-power-founder-reitu-harris-dies>
- Blair, T. L. V. (1977). *Retreat to the ghetto : the end of a dream?*. Hill & Wang.
- Blauner, R. (1972). *Racial oppression in America*. New York: Harper and Row.
- Block, G. (2021, September 22). *Covid-19 spreads to third gang as Hells Angels prospect infected*. <https://www.stuff.co.nz/national/health/coronavirus/300412629/covid19-spreads-to-third-gang-as-hells-angels-prospect-infected>

Bradley, C. (2020). Outlaw bikers and patched street gangs: the nexus between violence and shadow economy. *National Security Journal*, 2(1), 31-48.

Bradley, C. (2021). *Outlaw Bikers and Ancient Warbands Hyper-Masculinity and Cultural Continuity* (1st ed. 2021). Springer International Publishing.

Brotherton, D. (2006). Toward the Gang as a Social Movement. In J. Hagedorn (Ed.), *Gangs in the global city: alternatives to traditional criminology* (pp. 251-272). Urbana: University of Illinois Press.

Brotherton, D., & Barrios, L. (2004). *The Almighty Latin King and Queen Nation : street politics and the transformation of a New York City gang*. Columbia University Press.

Burgess, J. (2006). Participatory action research: First-person perspectives of a graduate student. *Action Research (London, England)*, 4(4), 419–437.

Burke, K. J., & Hadley, H. L. (2018). I'm Empowered by a Better Connection: Youth Participatory Action Research and Critical Literacy. *The High School Journal*, 101(4), 217–235.

Campbell, S. M. (2011). *Youth gang membership: Factors influencing and maintaining membership*. [Thesis, Master of Social Sciences in Psychology]. University of Waikato, Hamilton, New Zealand.

- Carr, J., & Tam, H. (2013). Changing the lens – Positive developments from New Zealand. *The Chronicle, International Association of Youth and Family Judges and Magistrates*. (pp. 14–19).
- Caxaj, C. (2015). Indigenous Storytelling and Participatory Action Research: Allies Toward Decolonization? Reflections From the Peoples’ International Health Tribunal. *Global Qualitative Nursing Research*, 2, 1-12.
- Christian, H. (2019, June 09). *Once Were Warriors 25 years on: Gangs and being poor, then and now*. <https://www.stuff.co.nz/national/111969648/once-were-warriors-25-years-on-gangs-and-being-poor-then-and-now>
- Chevalier, J., & Buckles, D. (2013). *Participatory action research theory and methods for engaged inquiry*. Routledge.
- Christopher Luxon seeks to rein in gangs promoting their lifestyle on social media. (2022, June 15). *Radio New Zealand*. <https://www.rnz.co.nz/news/political/469138/christopher-luxon-wants-gangs-barred-from-promoting-their-lifestyle-on-social-media>
- Collecting Challenging Histories - the ‘Manga Kahu’/‘Maunga Kahu’ (Black Power) T-shirt. (2017, May 18). *Puawai Cairns, Te Papa Tongarewa / Museum of New Zealand*. <https://blog.tepapa.govt.nz/2017/05/18/collecting-challenging-histories-the-manga-kahumaunga-kahu-black-power-t-shirt/>
- Coughlin, B. C., & Venkatesh, S-A. (2003). The Urban Street Gang after 1970. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 29(1), 41-64.

Costley, C., Elliott, G., & Gibbs, P. (2010). Collaborative Research. In C. Costley, G. Elliott, & P. Gibbs (Eds.), *Doing work based research approaches to enquiry for insider-researchers* (pp. 102-114). SAGE.

Coverage of gang funerals overdone, expert says (2021, June 19). *Radio New Zealand*.
<https://www.rnz.co.nz/news/national/445083/coverage-of-gang-funerals-overdone-expert-says?fbclid=IwAR3TEtiYDy6AoTBFd89x4Qt1QrHATkeqGSh1nofmUFOmjuB0sIgl4-FuIt4>

Covid case who presented at Middlemore lives at Mongrel Mob gang pad (2021, September 15). *1News*. <https://www.1news.co.nz/2021/09/15/covid-case-who-presented-at-middlemore-lives-at-mongrel-mob-gang-pad/>

Covid-19 Delta outbreak: Covid positive Black Power gang member bailed despite Corrections' concerns (2021, September 21). *NZ Herald*.
<https://www.nzherald.co.nz/nz/covid-19-delta-outbreak-covid-positive-black-power-gang-member-bailed-despite-corrections-concerns/YXXQEOLMGMIGZHCUEZ2QCCZYLO/>

Curtis, R. (2003). The Negligible Role of Gangs in Drug Distribution in New York City in the 1990s. In L. Barrios, D. Brotherton, & L. Kontos (Eds.), *Gangs and Society: Alternative Perspectives* (pp. 41-61). Columbia University Press.

Cyr, J. L. ST. (2003). The Folk Devil Reacts: Gangs and Moral Panic. *Criminal Justice Review* (Atlanta, Ga.), 28(1), 26-46.

Della Porta, D. & Diani, M. (2006). *Social movements : an introduction* (2nd ed.). Blackwell.

Desmond, P. (2009). *Trust: a true story of women and gangs*. Random House New Zealand.

Deuchar, R. (2009). *Gangs, marginalised youth and social capital*. Trentham Books.

Deuchar, R. (2018). *Gangs and Spirituality Global Perspectives* (1st ed. 2018). Springer International Publishing.

Dichiara, A., & Chabot, R. (2003). Gangs and the Contemporary Urban Struggle: An Unappreciated Aspect of Gangs. In L. Barrios, D. Brotherton, & L. Kontos (Eds.), *Gangs and Society: Alternative Perspectives* (pp. 77-94). Columbia University Press.

Dixon, C., & Davis, A. (2014). *Another politics: talking across today's transformative movements*. University of California Press.

Dodson, L., Piatelli, D., & Schmalzbauer, L. (2007). Researching Inequality Through Interpretive Collaborations: Shifting Power and the Unspoken Contract. *Qualitative Inquiry*, 13(6), 821–843.

Dodson, L., & Schmalzbauer, L. (2005). Poor Mothers and Habits of Hiding: Participatory Methods in Poverty Research. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 67(4), 949-959.

Edwards, G. (2014). *Social movements and protest*. Cambridge University Press.

- Eggleston, E. (2000). New Zealand youth gangs: key finds and recommendations from an urban ethnography. *Social Policy Journal of New Zealand*, 14, 148-163.
- Elden, M., & Chisholm, R. (1993). Emerging Varieties of Action Research: Introduction to the Special Issue. *Human Relations (New York)*, 46(2), 121–142.
- Ensor, J. (2021, May 21). *Sofitel shooting: More arrests linked to recent Mongols, Head Hunters gangs tensions*. <https://www.newshub.co.nz/home/new-zealand/2021/05/sofitel-shooting-more-arrests-linked-to-recent-mongols-head-hunters-gangs-tensions.html>
- E Tū Whānau (2022). *He Kuaka – Te Mana Kaha O Te Whānau*. <http://www.hekuaka.co.nz/>
- Faleolo, M. (2014). *Hard-Hard-Solid! Life Histories of Samoans in Bloods Youth Gang in New Zealand*. [Thesis, Doctor of Philosophy in Social Work]. Massey University, Albany, New Zealand.
- Fared, G. (1998). Wailin’ Soul – Reggae’s Debt to Black American Music. In M. Guillory & R. C. Green (Eds.), *Soul : Black power, politics, and pleasure*. (pp. 56-74). New York University Press.
- Felner, J. (2020). “You Get a PhD and We Get a Few Hundred Bucks”: Mutual Benefits in Participatory Action Research? *Health Education & Behavior*, 47(4), 549–555.
- Fine, M. (2013). Echoes of Bedford: A 20-Year Social Psychology Memoir on Participatory Action Research Hatched Behind Bars. *The American Psychologist*, 68(8), 687–698.

- Frankel, O. (2012). The Black Panthers of Israel and the Politics of the Radical Analogy. In N Slate (Ed.), *Black Power beyond Borders* (pp. 81-106). Palgrave Macmillan, New York.
- Fraser, A. (2015). *Urban legends: gang identity in the post-industrial city* (First edition.). Oxford University Press.
- Geschwender, J. A. (1971). An Introduction to the Black Revolt. In J.A Geschwender (Ed.), *The Black revolt: the civil rights movement, ghetto uprising and separatism* (pp. 2-5). Prentice-Hall.
- Gilbert, J. (2013a). *Submission to the Law and Order Select Committee on the Prohibition of Gang Insignia in Government Premises Bill*. Commissioned by Law and Order Select Committee.
- Gilbert, J. (2013b). *Patched : the history of gangs in New Zealand*. Auckland University Press.
- Gilbert, J. (2016). The Reorganisation of Gangs in New Zealand. In S. Harding & M. Palasinski (Eds.), *Global Perspectives on Youth Gang Behavior, Violence, and Weapons Use*. (pp. 346-365). Information Science Reference.
- Gilbert, J. (2019). New Zealand: patched gangs, police and political corruption. In *Handbook of Organised Crime and Politics* (pp. 363-373). Edward Elgar Publishing.
- Gilbert, J. (2022). *Making Gang Laws in a Panic – Lessons from the 1990s and beyond*. New Zealand Law Foundation.

- Gilbertson, G-M. (2021, January 02). *New Zealand gangs on the rise: Why young Kiwis are getting patched*. <https://www.stuff.co.nz/national/crime/123699877/new-zealand-gangs-on-the-rise-why-young-kiwis-are-getting-patched>
- Hagedorn, J. (1996). "The emperor's new clothes: theory and method in gang field research". *Free Inquiry in Creative Sociology, Special Issue: Gangs*, 1-12.
- Hazlehurst, C. (2006). Observing New Zealand "Gangs", 1950-2000: learning from a small country. In J. Hagedorn (Ed.), *Gangs in the global city: alternatives to traditional criminology* (pp. 120-152). Urbana: University of Illinois Press.
- Hagedorn, J. M. (2006). Gangs in Late Modernity. In J.M Hagedorn (Ed.), *Gangs in the global city : alternatives to traditional criminology* (pp. 295-317). University of Illinois Press.
- Helligar, J. (2021). *How the Clenched Fist Became a Black Power Symbol*. <https://www.rd.com/article/history-behind-the-clenched-first-and-the-symbol-for-black-power/>
- Henry, R. (2015). Social Spaces of Maleness: The Role of Street Gangs in Practising Indigenous Masculinities. In K. hagedorn & R. Innes (Eds.), *Indigenous men and masculinities: legacies, identities, regeneration* (pp. 181-196). University of Manitoba Press.
- Henry, R. (2018). Sites of survivance: A symposium on global Indigenous street gangs. *Journal of Applied Youth Studies*, 2(3), 70-75.

Hewett, W. (2021, October 02). *National MP Simeon Brown attacks Government over lack of transparency with COVID-19 in gangs.*
<https://www.newshub.co.nz/home/politics/2021/10/national-mp-simeon-brown-attacks-government-over-lack-of-transparency-with-covid-19-in-gangs.html>

Huffadine, L. (2021, July 15). *Is Labour funding the Mongrel Mob? What you need to know.*
<https://www.rnz.co.nz/news/political/446977/is-labour-funding-the-mongrel-mob-what-you-need-to-know>

Jackson, H. K. (Producer). (2021, August). *Gangs* (Series 3, Episode 27) [TV series]. Te Ao With Moana; Māori television.

Jarrold Gilbert: Gang fight night really is evidence of desire for change. (2017, July 24). *NZ Herald.* <https://www.nzherald.co.nz/nz/jarrold-gilbert-gang-fight-night-really-is-evidence-of-desire-for-change/D5MYBLXICM5ENB2LPLBMYEM5OY/>

Jasper, J. A. (2014). *Protest : a cultural introduction to social movements*. Polity.

Joseph, P. (2001). Black Liberation Without Apology: Reconceptualizing the Black Power Movement. *The Black Scholar*, 31(3-4), 2-19.

Joseph, P. (2009). The Black Power Movement: A State of the Field. *The Journal of American History* (Bloomington, Ind.), 96(3), 751-776.

Kemmis, S., McTaggart, R., & Nixon, R. (2014). *The action research planner : doing critical participatory action research* . Springer.

- Kelsey, J., & Young, W. (1982). *The gangs: moral panic as social control*. Institute of Criminology, Victoria University of Wellington.
- Kerr, F. (2018, December 19). *Mongrel Mob, Black Power should join forces to repel invaders, gang leader says*. <https://www.stuff.co.nz/national/107615474/mongrel-mob-black-power-should-join-forces-to-repel-invaders-gang-leader-says>
- Kiddle, R., Elkington, B., Jackson, M., Ripeka Mercier, O., Ross, M., Smeaton, J., & Thomas, A. (2020). *Imagining Decolonisation*. Bridget Williams Books.
- Lauger, T. (2012). *Real gangstas : legitimacy, reputation, and violence in the intergang environment*. Rutgers University Press.
- Lawson, H. (2015). *Participatory action research* (First edition.). Oxford University Press.
- Lewis, C., Norris, A., Heta-Cooper, W., & Tauri, J. (2020). Stigmatising Gang Narratives, Housing, and the Social Policing of Māori Women. In *Neo-Colonial Injustice and Mass Imprisonment of Indigenous Women* (pp. 13-33). Spring International Publishing.
- Littman, D., Bender, K., Mollica, M., Erangey, J., Lucas, T., & Marvin, C. (2021). Making power explicit: Using values and power mapping to guide power-diverse Participatory Action Research processes. *Journal of Community Psychology*, 49(2), 266–282.

- Livingston, T. (2019, October 24). *Father Gregory Boyle says compassion is the best approach to gangs*. <https://www.stuff.co.nz/national/116763214/father-gregory-boyle-says-compassion-is-the-best-approach-to-gangs>
- Martínez, J. F. E. (2003). Urban Street Activists: Gang and Community Efforts to bring Peace and Justice to Los Angeles Neighborhoods. In L. Barrios, D. Brotherton, & L. Kontos (Eds.), *Gangs and Society: Alternative Perspectives* (pp. 95-115). Columbia University Press.
- May, T. (2011). *Social research issues, methods and process* (4th ed.). McGraw Hill.
- McAdam, D. (1982). *Political Process and the Development of Black Insurgency 1930-1970*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- McCullough, Y. (2021, March 25). *Gang gun ownership ban bill 'racist' politics, Mongrel Mob tells MPs*. <https://www.rnz.co.nz/news/political/439150/gang-gun-ownership-ban-bill-racist-politics-mongrel-mob-tells-mps>
- McDonald, K. (2003). Marginal Youth, Personal Identity, and the Contemporary Gang: Reconstructing the Social World? In L. Barrios, D. Brotherton, & L. Kontos (Eds.), *Gangs and Society: Alternative Perspectives* (pp. 62-74). Columbia University Press.
- McRae, A. (2019). *State care institutions central to early gang formation – academic*. <https://www.rnz.co.nz/news/national/402731/state-care-institutions-central-to-early-gang-formation-academic>

- Meek, J. (1992). Gangs in New Zealand Prisons. *Australian & New Zealand Journal of Criminology*, 25(3), 255-277.
- Minkler, M. (2004). Ethical Challenges for the “Outside” Researcher in Community-Based Participatory Research. *Health Education & Behavior*, 31(6), 684–697.
- Mongrel Mob, Head Hunters, Comancheros gang members arrested, \$3.7 million in assets seized in Operation Trojan Shield (2021, June 08). *1News*. <https://www.1news.co.nz/2021/06/07/mongrel-mob-head-hunters-comancheros-gang-members-arrested-37-million-in-assets-seized-in-operation-trojan-shield/>
- Moore, J. (1991). *Going down to the barrio : homeboys and homegirls in change*. Temple University Press.
- Moorfield, J. C. (2022). *Te Aka Online Māori Dictionary*. <https://maoridictionary.co.nz/>
- Morrah, M. (2021, October 01). *Coronavirus: Man with COVID-19, believed to have gang links, allowed to isolate at home*. <https://www.newshub.co.nz/home/new-zealand/2021/10/coronavirus-man-with-covid-19-believed-to-have-gang-links-allowed-to-isolate-at-home.html>
- Morris, A. D. (1984). *The Origins of the Civil Rights Movement*. New York: The Free Press.

Nakhid, C. (2009). The meaning of family and home for young Pasifika people involved in gangs in the suburbs of South Auckland. *Social Policy Journal of New Zealand*, 35(1), 112-128.

National's gang crackdown plan: 'dog-whistle politics' – Mob leader (2022, June 12). *Radio New Zealand*. https://www.rnz.co.nz/news/national/468967/national-s-gang-crackdown-plan-dog-whistle-politics-mob-leader?fbclid=IwAR1skpC2LKOX85stPEXVygNSbCEF6BT4uNmXVGZ3AVeObExRvK1Qw_7L3TQ

Newbold, G. & Taonui, R. (2011). Māori Gangs. In T. McIntosh & M. Mulholland (Eds.), *Māori and Social Issues* (pp. 171-190). Huia Publishers.

New Zealand National Party (2021, October 6). *One Rule For Gangs, Another For Everyone Else* [Press release]. <https://www.scoop.co.nz/stories/PA2110/S00057/one-rule-for-gangs-another-for-everyone-else.htm>

Oakley, A. (1981) Interviewing women: A contradiction in terms. In H. Roberts (Ed.), *Doing Feminist Research*. (pp. 30-61). London: Routledge.

O'Reilly, Denis. (n.d.). *Trends in New Zealand Society: Violence and Social Change - Towards the realisation of the potential of the tribe of Ngā Mokai and the cessation of Māori gangism*. Presentation, Institute of Judicial Studies.

O'Reilly, D. (2005, May 1). The Space at the Edge. *NZEDGE, Nga Kupu Aroha – Words of Love*. <https://www.nzedge.com/magazine/the-space-at-the-edge/>

O'Reilly, D. (2008, September 1). Let He Who is Without Sin. *NZEDGE, Nga Kupu Aroha – Words of Love*. <https://www.nzedge.com/magazine/let-he-who-is-without-sin/>

O'Reilly, D. (2009, February 1). Reggae's Doing Fine. *NZEDGE, Nga Kupu Aroha – Words of Love*. <https://www.nzedge.com/magazine/reggaes-doing-fine/>

O'Reilly, D. (2011, June 1). Kia Pakeke Ahau. *NZEDGE, Nga Kupu Aroha – Words of Love*. <https://www.nzedge.com/magazine/kia-pakeke-ahau/>

O'Reilly, D. (2016, June 22). 64 Shots: Leadership in a Crazy World – Review. *NZEDGE, Nga Kupu Aroha – Words of Love*. <https://www.nzedge.com/magazine/64-shots-leadership-in-a-crazy-world-review/>

O'Reilly, D. (2017, September 27). Reitu Noble Harris, Kahukura. *NZEDGE, Nga Kupu Aroha – Words of Love*. <https://www.nzedge.com/magazine/reitu-noble-harris-kahukura/>

Osei-Kofi, N., Licona, A. C., & Chávez, K. R. (2018). From Afro-Sweden with Defiance: The Clenched Fist as Coalitional Gesture? *New Political Science*, 40(1), 137–150.

Parliament to consider ban on public funds to gangs (2021, September 23). *Radio New Zealand*. <https://www.rnz.co.nz/news/national/452138/parliament-to-consider-ban-on-public-funds-to-gangs>

Payne, B., & Quinn, P. (1991) *Staunch : inside the gangs*. Reed.

- Penrod, J., Loeb, S., Ladonne, R., & Martin, L. (2016). Empowering Change Agents in Hierarchical Organizations: Participatory Action Research in Prisons. *Research in Nursing & Health*, 39(3), 142–153.
- Penwarden, S. (2007). Being a good blood: examining the possibilities of resistance to gender discourse of “gangsta” identity among young men in school in Auckland. *New Zealand Journal of Counselling*, 27(2), 51-62.
- Radak, G. (2016). *Ex-gang members who have become help-professionals: What influences their desistance from gang involvement and their career choice?* [Thesis, Master of Social Work in Social Work]. Massey University.
- Ralph, L. (2014). *Renegade dreams : living through injury in gangland Chicago*. University of Chicago Press.
- Reason, P., & Bradbury, H. (2001). *Handbook of action research: Participative inquiry in practice*. London: Sage Publications.
- Rhetoric, politics mean gangs ‘left to rot’ in NZ – Harry Tam (2022, June 13). *1News*. <https://www.1news.co.nz/2022/06/13/rhetoric-politics-mean-gangs-left-to-rot-in-nz-harry-tam/>
- Roguski, M. (2019). Achieving wellbeing and prosocial transformation through social mobilisation : an evaluation of a gang empowerment strategy. *Decolonization of Criminology and Justice*, 1(1), 78-105.

- Roguski, M. & Tauri, J. (2012). The politics of gang research in New Zealand. In K. Carrington (Ed.), *Crime, Justice and Social Democracy: An International Conference Proceedings, 2nd edition* (pp. 26-43). School of Justice, Queensland University of Technology, Australia.
- Roper, C. (1987). *Report of Ministerial Committee of Inquiry into Violence; presented to the Minister of Justice, March 1987*. Department of Justice.
- Royal, TA. C. (2005). *First peoples in Māori tradition – Toitehuatahi. Te Ara – the Encyclopedia of New Zealand*. <https://teara.govt.nz/en/first-peoples-in-maori-tradition/page-7>
- Royal, TA. C. (2007a). *Papatūānuku – the land – The importance of Papatūānkuku. Te Ara – the Encyclopedia of New Zealand*. <https://teara.govt.nz/en/papatuanuku-the-land/page-1>
- Royal, TA. C. (2007b). *‘Te Waonui a Tāne – forest mythology – Tāne and his forests’, Te Ara – the Encyclopedia of New Zealand*. <https://teara.govt.nz/en/te-waonui-a-tane-forest-mythology/page-1>
- Sanday, P. R. (1990). *Fraternity Gang Rape: Sex, Brotherhood, and Privilege on Campus*. New York: New York University Press.
- Sassen, A. (2006). The Global City: One Setting for New Types of Gang Work and Political Culture? In J. Hagedorn (Ed.), *Gangs in the global city: alternatives to traditional criminology* (pp. 97-119). Urbana: University of Illinois Press.

- Shilliam, R. (2012). The Polynesian Panthers and the Black Power Gang: Surviving Racism and Colonialism in Aotearoa New Zealand. In N. Slate (Ed.), *Black Power beyond Borders* (pp. 107-126). Palgrave Macmillan, New York.
- Shilliam, R. (2015). *The Black Pacific: Anti-Colonial Struggles and Oceanic Connections*. London: Bloomsbury Academic.
- Slate, N. (2012). Introduction: The Borders of Black Power. In N Slate (Ed.), *Black Power beyond Borders* (pp. 1-10). Palgrave Macmillan, New York.
- Small, S. A. (1995). Action-Oriented Research: Models and Methods. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 57(4), 941–955.
- Small, Z. (2021, May 04). *Green Party co-leader Marama Davidson defends visit to Waikato Mongrel Mob gang pad*. <https://www.newshub.co.nz/home/politics/2021/05/green-party-co-leader-marama-davidson-defends-visit-to-waikato-mongrel-mob-gang-pad.html>
- Smith, L. T. (2012). *Decolonizing methodologies : research and indigenous peoples* (Second edition.). Zed Books.
- Smith, S. E. (1997). Deepening Participatory Action-Research. In N. Johnson, S. Smith, & D. Willms (Eds.), *Nurtured by knowledge : learning to do participatory action-research* (pp. 173-264). The Apex Press.

Stanley, E. (2016). *The Road to Hell: State Violence against Children in Postwar New Zealand*. Auckland University Press.

Stoudt, B., & Torre, M. (2014). *The Morris Justice Project : participatory action research*. SAGE Publications.

Taking Issue: can gangs ever be good for society? (2020, October 29). *The University of Auckland*. https://www.auckland.ac.nz/en/news/2020/10/29/taking-issue-can-gangs-ever-be-good.html?utm_campaign=Social&utm_content=1606193280&utm_medium=social&utm_source=facebook

Tam, H. (2022, June 12). *Luxon's groundhog day announcement on gangs*. <https://www.stuff.co.nz/opinion/128938839/luxons-groundhog-day-announcement-on-gangs>

Tamatea, A. (2017). The last defence against gang crime: exploring community approaches to gang member reintegration. *Practice (Wellington, 2013)*, 5(2), 55-61.

Thrasher, F. (1927). *Gang: Study of 1,313 Gangs in Chicago*. Chicago, University of Chicago Press.

Touraine, A. (1981). *The Voice and the Eye: An Analysis of Social Movements*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Vaeau, T., & Trundle, C. (2020). Decolonising Māori-Pākehā Research Collaborations: Towards an Ethics of Whanaungatanga and Manaakitanga in Cross-Cultural Research Relationships. In *Indigenous Research Ethics: Claiming Research Sovereignty Beyond Deficit and the Colonial Legacy* (Vol. 6, pp. 207–221). Emerald Publishing Limited.

Venkatesh, S. (2003). A Note on Social Theory and the American Street Gang. In L. Barrios, D. Brotherton, & L. Kontos (Eds.), *Gangs and Society: Alternative Perspectives* (pp. 3-11). Columbia University Press.

Video: Take a rare glimpse inside Black Power hui as feared gang vows to cut back on crime and build better future for whānau. (2017, September 04). *1News*. <https://www.1news.co.nz/one-news/new-zealand/video-take-rare-glimpse-inside-black-power-hui-feared-gang-vows-cut-back-crime-and-build-better-future-whanau/>

Waatea News (2021, September 30). *Dennis O'Reilly – Gangs demonised during pandemic*. [Radio broadcast]. Waatea News. <https://waateanews.com/2021/09/30/dennis-oreilly-gangs-demonised-during-pandemic/>

Warning from history in 'gang warfare' panics (2022, May 08). *Radio New Zealand*. <https://www.rnz.co.nz/national/programmes/mediawatch/audio/2018840860/warning-from-history-in-gang-warfare-panics>

‘Wāhine have got nothing to do with the patch’ – gang member (2019, 30 September). *Radio New Zealand*. <https://www.rnz.co.nz/news/national/399942/wahine-have-got-nothing-to-do-with-the-patch-gang-member>

- Wegerhoff, D., Dixon, L., & Ward, T. (2019). The conceptualization of gangs: Changing the focus. *Aggression and Violent Behaviour*, 47, 58-67.
- Welham, K. (2016, November 01). Gangs trial new ways. *NZ Drug Foundation*.
<https://www.drugfoundation.org.nz/matters-of-substance/archive/november-2016/gangs-trial-new-ways/>
- Wilkinson, P. (1971). *Social Movement* (1st ed. 1971.). Macmillan Education UK.
- Williams, L., & Cervin, C. (2004). *Contemporary approaches to participatory action research in Aotearoa/New Zealand*. School of Social and Cultural Studies, Massey University.
- Willms, D. G. (1997). Introduction: “You Start Your Research on Your Being”. In N. Johnson, S. Smith, & D. Willms (Eds.), *Nurtured by knowledge : learning to do participatory action-research* (pp. 7-12). The Apex Press.
- Winter, P. (1998). ‘Pulling the Teams Out of the Dark Room’: The Politicisation of the Mongrel Mob. In K. Hazlehurst & C. Hazlehurst (Eds.), *Gangs and youth subcultures: international explorations* (pp. 245-266). Transaction Publishers.
- Wood, J., & Alleyne, E. (2009). Street gang theory and research: Where are we now and where do we go from here? *Aggression and Violent Behavior*, 15(2), 100-111.

Appendices

Appendix 01



Redefining Gangsterism: Social Change Agents in the Black Power

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS WITH COLLABORATIVE RESEARCHERS

WHAKAWHANAUNGATANGA

- How did your journey with Black Power begin?
- How do you define your current 'role' within Black Power?

SOCIAL / COMMUNITY ACTIVISM

- What social / community activism have you engaged in within Black Power?
- What social / community activism have you engaged in outside of Black Power?
- What social / community activism has Black Power been part of? i.e. Land March, Bastion Point etc.

MENTORSHIP

- Who have been your mentors?
- How does mentorship and developing leadership / social change agents work within Black Power?
- Have you had any mentors outside of your immediate Black Power whānau? i.e. political mentors, social activist mentors.

BLACK POWER – GLOBAL MOVEMENT

- Have you – as an individual – been influenced by global activism and/or global movements? i.e. Black Power in the U.S.A. and the civil rights movement, Black Lives Matter (BLM).
- Has Black Power been influenced by global activism and/or global movements? i.e. Black Power in the U.S.A. and the civil rights movement, Black Lives Matter (BLM).
- What does the term 'Black Power' mean to you?
- How does the 'political fist' tie in with Black Power in Aotearoa?
- What have been some historical moments for Black Power regarding social change? i.e. indigenous political activism.

BLACK POWER AS A SOCIAL MOVEMENT

- What are the elements of Black Power that could determine it as social movement and those within it social change agents? i.e. manifesto, roles, plans of action.
- How would you describe the ways in which Black Power and its social change elements have developed overtime? i.e. maturation.
- Have you seen a shift in what it means to be Black Power / a gangster overtime?
- How do you envisage the future of gangsterism and social change agents in the Black Power?